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GERMANY

The Situation in Germany

By *Emil Höllein.*

Berlin, September 19, 1923

The present week will bring yet further decisive events in the sphere of home politics. Tomorrow, the Reichstag will at last reassemble after its five weeks recess. The raising of the parliamentary drop—scene will be introduced by a sitting of the Committee for Foreign Affairs.

The Social Democrats, as well as the bourgeois Democrats, have for some days past been expecting great things from the reassembling of the Reichstag. The events in Munich have weakened the position of the Right sections. Nevertheless, they continue to stand by their demand for a government of national dictatorship with the withdrawal of Stresemann. In this they find support in the ranks of the German People's Party. It is stated with certitude that Reich President Ebert would refuse to nominate a cabinet of the Right. If, under such circumstances, it came to voting in parliament on the question of a dictatorship of the Right or parliamentary government, it is highly probable that even the centre parties would vote against the Right Dictatorship. In such a parliamentary atmosphere the way would again be made free for a coalition of the centre parties with the Social Democrats.

Meanwhile, the prospects for the revival of a government after the style of the Wirth Government have become very remote. And this has been brought about by that dexterous parliamentarian, Stresemann. Herr Stresemann convened a meeting of the central committee of his party for yesterday (Sunday), and this pronounced itself, almost unanimously, against an open dictatorship of the Right. It demanded rather the retention of the Stresemann Government, which in form does not constitute a Right Dictatorship, but which in fact

carries out in the most excellent manner the economic, social, and inner and foreign political program of a Right Dictatorship.

As a result of this a new situation has now arisen. A favorable opportunity is presented to the centre parties to embark on a further policy of trimming. The Social Democrats, on the other hand, have been thereby freed from the nightmare of an open dictatorship of the Right. The Berlin capitalist paper, the *Montagsmorgen*, which is characterized by its close connections with Social Democracy, already announces that the proposed vote of no confidence of the Communists and German nationals will be rejected, whereby it would seem that the further existence of the Stresemann Government would be assured for an indefinite time.

If this assumption proves to be correct, the inner political developments would, as a consequence, proceed further towards the Right. The Stresemann Cabinet, fortified by a parliamentary vote of confidence, could then proceed more drastically even than before against the Left, in order in this way to placate the unfriendliness towards it of the Right. In this it will be able to reckon upon the silent toleration if not upon the open support of the Social Democrats, the so-called Left Wing of which is at the present moment directly vying with the reaction in its vilification of the Communists. And we know from past experience that Social Democratic incitement against Communists is always the precursor of actions by the Police and the Government against the Communists.

That the Social Democrats will gain very little by this base kind of service can be inferred from the communication sent by General von Seeckt to the *Vorwärts*. That worthy semi-official organ of so many Reich governments has been reprimanded and put in its place by Herr von Seeckt in the same manner as an old family servant who has ventured upon too great familiarity.

The question meanwhile is, whether things will turn out exactly as envisaged by the parliamentary manipulators. In the foreign situation of Germany, decisions of the most

weighty importance are preparing for the immediate future. The leading Entente powers are for the time being only agreed upon one thing. They all most emphatically condemn the conduct of the government in regard to the question of Military Control and the return of the Crown Prince. On the other hand there exist differences of opinion between them with regard to the measures to be adopted in order to force their will upon Germany. Up to now Poincaré has shown that he can venture to act alone. And his allies on their side have likewise proved that they do not possess the will to hinder him in such separate actions. This time it is alleged that the differences between England and France are much more acute than at any time previously. In addition to this, Italy, in the present case, is openly on the side of England. Who, however, has followed the events of the past year knows that this attitude on the part of England and Italy is not prompted out of pure love for Germany, but arises solely out of questions of bargaining to be settled at the cost of Germany. What special advantages will England and Italy be able to squeeze by these hagglings? In any case the measures adopted by the Entente, or by any single member thereof, and the attitude of the German government towards them will change the home policy in a fundamental manner.

In the meantime, one is continually reminded that the executive power in Germany has been transferred to the militarists. There is not a day passes without new decrees being issued by General Seeckt. These decrees are characterized by their own peculiar style. In contradistinction to the tedious and bombastic announcements of the parliamentary government and of the Reich President, the wording of the decrees of General von Seeckt is marked by that clarity and transparency which are usually to be met with in a self-confident militarist. It is not simply the clatter of machine-guns or the thunder of cannon, much more it resembles the cutting sweep of a sabre, or better still, of a fine rapier which, however, —alas!— only strikes the air. For there is no doubt that the economic decrees of Herr von Seeckt will neither terrify the extortioners and gormandizers, still less will they procure bread and fuel for the people.

November 22., 1923.

Meanwhile the Reichstag has entered on its deliberations, but, on account of the intervening holiday (Wednesday), during which the printers were not working, we were unable further to deal with the situation in detail. In spite of the stormy scenes of the opening session, nothing has so far eventuated which contradicts what we have said. In our next number we shall deal with the developments which have meanwhile taken place.

Problems of the German Revolution

The Foreign Political Difficulties of the German Revolution By G. Zinoviev.

The difficulties confronting the German proletarian revolution, in the problems raised by the relation of forces at home, sink into nothingness when compared with the difficulties facing it from abroad; these will arise on every side as soon as proletarian power has won the victory in Germany. The danger of immediate war on the part of the French, Czech, and Polish bourgeoisie, the possibility of an English blockade—these are most important international political difficulties lying in the path of the German revolution.

The proletarian revolution in Germany, from its first steps onward, is of greater international significance than even the Russian revolution. Germany is a more developed country than Russia, Germany is in the centre of Europe. Germany may be designated the central nerve of Europe. The fate of the Germany of today is closely bound up with the fate of France. The proletarian upheaval in Berlin is bound almost automatically to call forth this or that intervention from Paris, the main centre of present-day international reaction. Germany possesses a mighty proletariat, one which only needs to stir its great limbs in order to upset the balance of any other country venturing to make war on revolutionary Germany. The mighty power of the German proletariat may serve to secure peace for the whole of Europe. The German generals are anxious for a war of revenge, the German workers are anxious for peace. The foreign political difficulties are the Achilles' heel of the German revolution.

The advantages possessed by Soviet Russia, when it entered the world arena in 1917, were as follows: Above all,

the "others" were still at war. International imperialism was divided into two camps, and these were fighting to the death. It was difficult for international imperialism to unite immediately against Soviet Russia. The strife between the imperialist robbers in the two camps gave the new-born Soviet Russia breathing space.

In the second place, Soviet Russia was saved by the enormous extent of its territory. We were able to gain time by giving way over great areas. Soviet Russia complained of being "surrounded" by the bourgeoisie, and in point of fact this being "surrounded" was of no little detriment to the proletarian state: intervention, blockade, etc. But it was not by any means possible for the bourgeoisie to "surround" Soviet Russia so immediately as it can Germany, and therefore the danger was not so great.

But on the other hand the Russian revolution lacked other advantages which are at the disposal of the German. Above all, the Russian revolution was the *first* revolution, whilst the German proletarian revolution is able to utilize the experience—and not only the experience—of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (Soviet Russia), which has already existed as a workers' state for 6 years; the proletarian revolution in Russia suffered, however, the disadvantage of beginning at a time, 1917, when there were no Communist Parties at all in other countries, or these were but small weak groups. The German revolution begins at a time when the Communist International has already existed for about 5 years, when the Communist movement has spread over the whole world, and when the Communists have become a great power in the decisive countries of Europe. "Organizational experience" has been gained by both parties, by the international bourgeoisie and the international proletariat alike. The struggle will therefore be the more determined.

In the years 1923—1924 we do not find two sharply defined imperialist groups fighting one another in the world's arena, as was the case in 1914—1917, when the imperialism of the Entente was at war with the group antagonistic to it. On the other hand, however, the mutual struggles *within* the Entente itself are assuming an increasingly obstinate and permanent character. It is true that the imperialists are not openly at war with one another, but the profound enmity which exists is growing from day to day. It suffices to point out the competitive armaments of France and England. The international bourgeoisie is disintegrated by inner antagonisms and constant competitive struggles.

There can be no doubt but that international imperialism will attempt to create a united front against the German proletarian revolution. But what degree of success will be here attained is very much in question. The history of the struggle of the international bourgeoisie against the Russian revolution in the course of 6 years has shown the formation of such a united front to be no such easy matter for the bourgeoisie. In the camp of the imperialist bourgeoisie there will doubtless be two political systems fighting with reference to the German revolution. The one system may be designated as *annexionist* and *imperialist*, the other as social and class-conscious in the widest sense of the word.

The limited imperialist interests of various cliques of the international bourgeoisie will spur on influential circles of this bourgeoisie simply to enrich themselves by means of the German revolution, to annex this or that tract of territory (Ruhr valley, East Prussia, etc.). Various influential cliques of the international bourgeoisie will arrange their plans on the assumption that a Communist government in Germany is the best road to its disruption, will most weaken their competitors, will render possible the annexation of certain parts of German territory, etc. Such an idea as this may prevent "them" from forming a compact and completely united front of the international bourgeoisie against the German revolution—in a similar manner as was repeatedly the case with reference to the Russian revolution in the period 1917—1923. Wilhelm II., when his troops were in Pskov, pursued precisely such an annexationist imperialist policy, and pushed all social and class criteria into the background.

It must, of course, not be forgotten that at that time Wilhelm II. was fighting to the death with Entente imperialism.

It need not be emphasized that the German revolutionary proletariat must adapt its tactics to the possibility of difficult issues, that is, it must be prepared for the eventuality that international imperialism may regard the German revolution not merely as a separate episode, but as an event decisive for the destinies of the whole of bourgeois Europe. If international imperialism arrives at this estimate, it may

immediately draw the logical practical conclusions from it.

France, England, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia—these are the most important countries likely to intervene immediately in the course of the revolution in Germany.

In this sense the fate of the German proletarian revolution will not only be decisive for Germany, but also for England, France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

England. Suggestions may already be seen in the English imperialist press pointing out the advisability of having Baltic ports occupied by the English fleet, that "English interests" may be secured in case of a revolution. That wing of the English bourgeoisie likely to propose a more or less neutral attitude with regard to the German revolution will probably be fairly influential. But even if England should decide to employ the blockade against proletarian Germany, this blockade will not possess any decisive significance. And the England of today is not capable of putting a great continental army in the field against the German revolution.

France. In a military way imperialist France doubtless represents a very great power. France possesses complete supremacy with respect to air equipment, technics, and everything pertaining to war. But should France be seized with the idea of occupying revolutionary Germany on any great scale, she would require hundreds of thousands of men for this purpose (probably no fewer than a million). This army would finally be overtaken by a like fate to that of the army of Wilhelm II. during the occupation of revolutionary Ukraine. In such a war the decisive factor would doubtless be the trend of feeling of the troops. And in such a war the moral preponderance would be entirely on the side of proletarian Germany and its allies. The idea cherished by some leaders of the French bourgeoisie, of crushing the German revolution with the aid of black troops only, would be a perfectly hopeless undertaking. Black workers, of whom some thousands are employed in the hardest municipal work in Paris, are already taking part in the economic strikes, side by side with the Communist workers.

It may safely be maintained that, should imperialist France declare immediate open war against revolutionary Germany, the German proletarian revolution will be capable of presenting an extremely powerful resistance to imperialist France. The revolutionary influence of the German events will be particularly powerful in France in this case.

Poland. There are certain strata of the Polish bourgeoisie which may prove the most dangerous and bitter enemies of the German revolution. Even should the French imperialists not risk sending their own troops against the German revolution, they will not hesitate to send bourgeois Poland into the battle. It is easier to risk the life of a vassal than one's own. Should that section of the Polish bourgeoisie which is most inclined for adventures actually agree to play the rôle of hangman of the German revolution, it would sign its own death warrant by so doing. The sinister inheritance of nationalist feeling, still influencing wide masses of the Polish proletariat, will be swept away most rapidly by precisely the proletarian revolution in Germany. The more ambiguous the attitude adopted by the Polish Socialist Party towards the German revolution, and the greater the inclination shown by its leaders to support the adventure plunged into by the Polish bourgeoisie at the behest of French militarism, the more rapidly will the Polish proletariat emancipate itself from the nationalism of the Polish SP. The ruling sections of the Polish bourgeoisie are oppressing the Ukrainians, the Lithuanians, the Germans, and the Jews. As soon as the Polish bourgeoisie stirs as much as a finger towards beginning a war of conquest against the German revolution (or against Soviet Russia), it will speedily be convinced that it has been standing on the crust of a volcano, and it will find that the national question in Poland is more difficult to solve than ever.

Czecho-Slovakia. The geographical situation of Czecho-Slovakia is such that it could play an important part in the suppression of the proletarian revolution in Germany. The frontier troops of the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie could be in Dresden within a few hours. But the nationality problems of Czecho-Slovakia are again a stumbling block in the way of all united counter-revolutionary action on the part of its bourgeoisie. It is, besides, not impossible that even among the bourgeoisie people may be found capable of grasping the fact that a White Germany would signify a serious danger to the Czecho-Slovakia State, and that Soviet Germany would at least not threaten the existence of Czecho-Slovakia. The powerful Czecho-Slovakia proletariat, headed by the Communist Party, will prove capable of fulfilling its historical mission.

A victorious proletarian revolution in Germany would probably be the signal for a great movement in Austria for affiliation with Germany. The Austrian workers would be able to play a not unimportant part against the Bavarian Fascisti, who, it is now perfectly clear, are going to form the German Vendée. Reactionary Hungary has already reached such a stage of internal crisis that it no longer comes in question as an active power for the suppression of the German revolution or for war against the allies of Soviet Germany. The victorious German revolution will call forth unexampled enthusiasm, and awaken the slumbering power of the French, Polish, and Czecho-Slovakia proletariat.

The Communist Parties in France, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland, will find themselves faced by gigantic tasks. They will have to exert their utmost endeavors for the organization of immediate and open revolutionary support of the proletarian government of Germany by the proletariat of their countries. The German proletarian government, after the revolution, will not reject the idea of buying itself off from the Entente imperialists on certain conditions. It may be that it will make payments to the French government as laid down in the Versailles Treaty, should the price thus paid enable it to purchase peace, the withdrawal of troops from the Ruhr area, etc.

It may be that the German revolution has also to undergo its Brest Litovsk. The possibility of this is not excluded. At any rate the CP. of Germany—the leading power in the impending German revolution—does not absolutely refuse to face such a possibility. We can imagine the German proletarian revolution proceeding even under such conditions as those of Brest. This does not by any means signify a failure of courage, a clipping of the wings of the German revolution. The force of attraction of the approaching German revolution is not thereby weakened in the least. It is merely that we do not enter the German revolution so ignorant, so lacking in political experience, as we entered the October revolution in Russia in 1917. We are only too well aware of the powers of the international bourgeoisie. We do not forget for a moment that these powers are even more dangerous and threatening for the German revolution than for the Russian. We are fully cognizant of the fact that the millions of people entering the revolution do not want war, but peace, however high the price at which it is bought.

But should the international bourgeoisie attempt immediate open war against the German proletarian revolution, it is possible that foreign imperialism may win initial successes, but its final and speedy defeat is inevitable. The 60 millions of the German people, led by a proletarian government, will be able to repulse the foreign conquerors, and the German proletarian revolution, despite all obstacles, will be victorious.

The Robbery of the Eight Hour Day in Germany

By Z. Leder.

At present there is being decided the fate of the eight hour day in Germany, and at the same time the fate of the German revolution. The decision on the fate of the eight hour day in Germany will again determine in advance whether international capital will succeed in forcing longer working hours on the workers of other countries as well. It is therefore of the greatest interest for the whole international working class to examine somewhat more closely into the facts relating to the robbery of the eight hour day in Germany.

The Crisis in the "Grand Coalition", the Stinnes' Edict, and the Attack on the Eight Hour Day.

The discussions in the press, and above all the ultimatum issued by the almighty Hugo Stinnes in his organ: *the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, on 8. October, have thrown a brilliant light on the connections between the question of the eight hour day and the crisis in the "Grand Coalition" during the first days of October. On September 30, the colliery owners of the Ruhr district met together at Königsborn, and unanimously resolved that the working hours of the mining proletariat must be lengthened to 8½ hours for under-ground workers and 10 hours for surface workers. Hugo Stinnes demands, in so many words: "Just as the work performed throughout Germany must be brought up to a prewar level again, so the work in the mines must be increased to half as much again of the present output. The decision of the represen-

tatives of mining capital was passed on by Hugo Stinnes to the chairman of the Reichstag fraction of the German people's Party; points 10, 11 and 12 of this decision, as cited by the Communist Reichstag deputy Frölich from the parliamentary rostrum on October 9, are as follows:

10. The working hours obtaining before the war must be permitted again, in order that the production of goods may be increased, and the cost price so lowered, that Germany be again capable of competing in the markets of the world.

Unless this measure is adopted, unemployment and famine will decimate the German people.

11. Conventions of every description, central tariff agreements or syndicates, in so far as they have the effect of rendering production more expensive and hindering export, are to be set aside and prohibited, at least for the time being.

12. Strikes are to be prevented in undertakings of vital importance. Those willing to work must be protected under all circumstances in all undertakings.

After Stinnes had issued this edict, his parliamentary henchmen, headed by the heavy industrial wing of the German People's Party, offered their Social Democratic coalition colleagues the choice, either to give the government the powers enabling the Stinnes program to be carried out both in the sphere of economic finance and social politics, by means of emergency enactments, or to leave the government altogether. Social Democracy permitted itself to be pushed "to the brink of self abnegation"; Social Democracy and the trade unions declared themselves ready to promote the increase of production by every possible means; the trade unions went further, and promised to use all their influence towards having the necessary overtime worked in the mines and other industries. But all these concessions failed to satisfy Stinnes or his parliamentary agents. Stinnes was heading for a dictatorship by his own creatures. At the last moment a compromise was arrived at. The bourgeois parties agreed to carry out the abolition of the eight hour day, as dictated by Stinnes, by a regular parliamentary process, and thereby to spare the Social Democrats the necessity of demonstrating that they have obviously retreated before Stinnes' dictates.

But even before this safe method of carrying out his dictates could be put into practice, Stinnes again clumsily tore aside the curtain, and permitted a glimpse of what was going on behind the scenes. On the 8. October posters were placarded in all the collieries of the Ruhr district, issued by the colliery union, informing the workers that from that day onwards, the eight and a half hour shift was to be worked by the workers underground instead of the seven hours as hitherto, and a ten hours shift for the surface workers. At the same time it was announced that Stinnes had sought for confirmation of this program of his in a personal interview with the French commander in chief Degoutte, and had received assurance of the aid of the French bayonets for the suppression of any resistance on the part of the German miners. A simple inquiry was directed to the Chancellor, Stresemann, in a letter dated 7. October, asking if the colliery industrialists might "calculate on support for: a) carrying out the ordination lengthening working hours to 8½ hours in occupied and unoccupied territory, b) the immediate cancelment of the demobilization ordinations and of the ordinations issued at the time of the Ruhr occupation with regard to the giving of notice to workers and employes."

The conspiracy against the eight hour day was revealed. Stinnes capital purzues the realization of its aims, and to this end avails itself of all possible means—the strongest possible pressure on the "representatives of the people" and on the Central Government, the employment of the methods of high treason and the surrender of the sovereign right of the German nation to the "hereditary enemy", the promise of economic advantages to the heavy industry of this hereditary enemy, in return for the aid to be lent by his bayonets against the German workers.

The Repealing of the Eight Hour Law by Parliamentary Methods?

Social Democracy boasted of having "saved the principle of the eight hour day by means of energetic and skilful tactics, and at the same time thwarted the dangerous manoeuvre executed against the Republic from the right". A dictatorship of the Right—thus decared the *Vorwärts* at the moment when the Grand Coalition was being patched together—would have been replied to by the working class by a general strike; but even if this general strike had been

successful, the best that could have resulted for us, in the opinion of the central organ of German Social Democracy, would have been the return to the coalition. Coalition government and parliamentary scene-shifting—these are thus the means by which Social Democracy promised to preserve the eight hour day of the German working class!

It soon became apparent what parliamentary methods, the Social Democratic bourgeois coalition, and the Stinnes—Ebert republic were to bring the German working class. The German ministry of labor, under the joint administration of Dr. Brauns, representative of the German National Centre Party, and of the Social Democratic trade union leader Silberschmidt, submitted to the Reichstag a draft of the temporary labor law, which exceeded even the dreams of the employers. According to this draft, regular working hours are not to exceed eight hours. But a number of enactments follow referring to allowable deviations from the eight hours. Paragraph 9, fixes the real limit for the new "normal working day" by stating that "the number of hours worked daily is not to exceed 10, even when the exceptions named under clause 3 are applied". This 10 hour "normal" working day can however be exceeded "for urgent reasons of common welfare", in the form of overtime (clause 9). This enactment makes it clear that the alleged maintenance of the principle of the eight hour day is in reality the introduction of the ten hour day as the normal working time, and that the possibility is created for further exceeding these "normal" ten hours by means of overtime. This is equivalent to declaring that the ten hour day does not include overtime, and that the employer is thus under no obligation to pay for the two extra hours. Longer working hours can be enacted for whole trades or professions or groups of workers, simply by means of an order on the part of the minister of labor, if only "there is considerable and regular readiness to work" (clause 2). That the very elastic phrase "readiness to work" opens the way to an arbitrary lengthening of working hours is clear enough. The right of the workers, employes, and officials, to a determinative voice in the matter is abolished by the bill. This gives the employers the unlimited right to lengthen the working time by two hours daily on 30 days of the year, according to their own wishes. Further, the permissible working hours for the whole undertaking—this includes the ten hour working day—for female and youthful workers can be exceeded by an additional hour for male workers, in certain cases by two hours. Working hours can be increased at any time by tariff agreements. In factories possessing no tariff regulations, the competent authorities are entitled to introduce longer working hours on the application of the factory owner, provided this application is based on "reasons important for the technical running of the undertaking, or for general economics", and especially in cases where "more work is the prerequisite for the lessening of unemployment". The same right is possessed by the provincial authorities for the sphere of control of several boards of control for certain trades as well as for whole branches of industry, in certain cases even without application being made by the owner of the undertakings. In this case no complaint is permissible, the decision of the supreme national or provincial authority is absolute. Even in the mines, and in undertakings where the workers are exposed in a high degree to the effects of nitrogen, poisonous substances, dust, and the like, it is permissible to extend the working hours for longer than eight hours—to be sure only as a "temporary" measure, but every time that the general welfare renders the extra work urgently necessary. The bill is so accomodating to the wishes of the employers with regard to longer working hours, that it contains a special paragraph allowing provisions contained in tariff and working agreements, still valid at the time when the new law comes into force and providing for shorter working hours, to be terminated by a month's notice. The control officials for the various crafts and for the mines, are also authorized by law to allow, on application, exceptions with regard to the intervals of rest, the time of the working hours, the prohibition of the employment of women and young person for certain work, etc., provided that such exceptions are on behalf of "important reasons referring to the technical running of the undertaking or to the interests of the commonweal".

The above synopsis of the bill suffices to show that its deciding tendency is to release capital from any legal limit whatever with respect to the exploitation of the working powers of the wage worker. The chairman of the Metal Workers' Union, the Reichstag deputy Dissmann, speaking at the conference of the free trade union federation committee on 17. October, was perfectly right in characterizing this bill as

one in which the eight hour day is converted into an exception, while the ten hour, and even longer day, is made the rule. And it was with the full agreement of his audience that he could exclaim that the working people should fling this bill before the feet of the government!

The Social Democrats who represented the Reichstag fraction in the negotiations with the bourgeois parties seem to think otherwise. On 22. October the national council, under the chairmanship of the Social Democratic minister Robert Schmidt, passed the bill, the sole protests against it coming from the representatives of the socialist communist governments of Saxony and Thuringia, the social democratic president of the Province of Saxony, and the bourgeois (!) mayor of the city of Berlin. An agreement is also said to be about to be arrived at in the mining districts with regard to the abolition of the seven hour shift, although the conference of the committee and district leaders of the Miners' Union entered protests against the bill as late as 22. October. We thus see that an open surrender of the eight hour day is being prepared, although the trade Union leaders in their proclamations assure the masses that the eight hour day will not be allowed to be disturbed.

The last of the Rights won by the November Revolution and the Social Revolution.

Despite the great haste shown by the Stresemann-Sollmann government to pass the working hours bill, and to legally abolish the eight hour day, the bill has not yet become law. The whole German proletariat, in the factories and in the organizations, declares that it will not be forced into doing extra work for capitalism. The industrial exploiters declare for their part that they will be contented with nothing less than a return to the working hours customary before the war. The association of German employers' unions, in its resolution passed on 26. October, raises "a warning voice before the whole public", and declares that the bill now lying before the Reichstag is not capable of bringing about the hoped for "restoration of economics" or the "increase of production necessary for the cheapening of the necessities of life for the German people". The *Kölnische Zeitung* of 28. October is, however, able to report on further details on points regarded as indispensable by the capital magnates. The extra work question cannot be settled solely between employers and trade unions, but also with the representatives of the undertakings. The number of days which the employer may select for the workers to work two hours extra should be 60 and not 30 days. According to the opinion of the mining lords the pre-war working time should be reintroduced without hindrance, while in the lignite industry the twelve hour shift should be introduced. In the pig iron and steel producing industry the increase of working hours to ten is also insufficient; in the pig iron industry in particular the twelve hour shift should be resorted to again.

Capital reveals clearly and unequivocally the direction in which it is tending. Its dictates are no longer limited to the ten hour day, but have extended to the eleven and twelve hour day. It is not satisfied with the compromises and "half-and-half" measures of the Social Democrats. It has no choice but to endeavor to achieve its aims through the medium of an open dictatorship. The fight for the eight hour day thus represents only one part of the general struggle against the dictatorship of Stinnes capital, and for the establishment of a government of the working people.

Meetings of Intellectuals in Berlin

By G. G. L. Alexander.

The approach of the proletarian revolution has lent additional importance to the question of the relations between proletarians and intellectuals and further to the question: «What is the attitude taken by the intellectuals towards the revolution?» The proletariat in Germany had a sorry experience of the intellectuals at the time of the November revolution of 1918. At that time a large number of, artists, authors, and savants joined the revolutionary movement; a bourgeois-revolutionary literature sprang into being, and it became fashionable for intellectuals to coquet a little with Bolshevism, or even to behave like Bolsheviks. But when the revolution was suppressed, these «intellectual revolutionists» bethought of their bourgeois origin, and went over to counter-revolution; at best they remained neutral. But now the ad-

vance of economic decay has proletarianized a great section of the intellectual professions. Since the first catastrophic fall of the mark, and the overthrow of the Cuno government in August of this year, these brain workers have been applying to us with inquiries and communications; they tell us of their impoverishment and misery, and ask the Communists to find a means of escape. Thus the problem of the intellectuals has again become one of the questions of the day. In addition to this, Radek's Schlageter speech, and the Frölich-Reventlow controversy following it, have led to the rapprochement of a certain category of intellectuals. And finally, the Communist students have sought to influence the youth, and have found means of getting into touch with the Free German and many other bourgeois youth associations. The question has been, how best to retain hold of all these intellectuals, and to reach even wider circles.

Those members of our Party who are in contact with the various groups of interests and professions have accomplished the preliminary work required for propaganda on a large scale, and have received much aid in this from the Communist Youth. By this means the first meeting of intellectuals could be called together in the West of Berlin. The meeting was packed full, speeches were delivered by Paul Frölich and a number of other speakers, who addressed themselves especially to their colleagues in the various professions; among these were Dr. Klauber, M. D., Dr. Ausländer, Student Instructor Albert Knab (chairman of the Artists' Association), Karl August Wittfogel, for authors and students. In the course of the discussion objections were raised by opponents of various tendencies but were quite without effect. It soon appeared that the economic misery, the widespread starvation, unemployment, and impossibility of carrying on scientific work for lack of the necessary working mediums, had already so influenced the intellectuals, so revolutionized them, that a definite fighting spirit pervaded the meeting. During the same week a second meeting was held in the centre of Berlin, specially intended to reach the Free German and other youth associations. The penetrating and comprehensive address delivered by Karl August Wittfogel, who showed special understanding of the needs of youth, did not fail of its effect. This meeting could boast of a considerable positive result 10 bourgeois youth unions declared themselves ready to join the struggle for emancipation of the revolutionary proletariat; they have remained in constant touch with the Communist students and the Communist Youth, participated in a joint appeal, etc.

All these successes led to a decision to convene further meetings of intellectuals, and to promote similar action all over the country. As a result two further meetings of intellectuals were held in Berlin. One of these, again held in the West, was so overcrowded that an overflow meeting had to be held. For the next meeting therefore, one of the largest halls in Berlin was chosen. Although held in the same district again, and despite bad weather and the relaxed tension in the political situation at the moment, this meeting too was overcrowded, and formed an even more powerful demonstration than the last. The chief speaker was Comrade Höllein. A brief but rousing speech was also held by Fritz Weiss, who succeeded in making a deep impression on the audience by pointing out that the struggle being carried on by the revolutionary proletariat, by the Communist Party, is not merely a fight for the morsel of daily bread, and not a political struggle, but the cultural struggle of our epoch, and that the proletarian struggle not only decides the fate of the German working class, but the fate of the whole of German culture. —Arthur Holitscher spoke on behalf of Henri Barbusse, now on trial before the French government for fighting side by side with the revolutionary proletariat for the great cause of humanity. It was resolved to send an expression of sympathy to Henri Barbusse.

This third monster meeting of the intellectuals was the first to be interfered with by the Safety Police. Our pamphlets and newspapers were confiscated, and three literature sellers arrested. A commission elected by the meeting was successful in having the printed matter handed over again, with the exception of the "Sturmflagge", and in obtaining the release of those arrested.

The success of these meetings in Berlin shows that even the middle classes of the population are ripe for the idea of Communism, for revolutionary struggle. Similar work must now be done in the larger towns all over the country. It has been decided to issue a periodical devoted to cultural questions, "the New Front", in support of the work among the intellectuals.

International Hunger Relief Congress for Germany

Invitation to an International Congress of all Relief Organizations and Committees with the Theme: Hunger in Germany.

Just as in 1921, when, through a fearful natural catastrophe, millions of Russian peasants and workers were threatened with starvation, so today hundreds of thousands of hands are busy throughout the world, in order to bring succour to the German workers, officials, small annuitants and other poor people, who are now menaced by a like distress.

Almost all the organizations and committees, which worked with us for the amelioration of Russian distress in 1921, have today undertaken a relief action for starving Germany.

Once more, as in 1921, we take the initiative in convening an International Congress, which shall unite all the organizations and persons active today in the relief of German hunger. This Congress will win for the action large additional numbers of people ready to help, and at the same time enable us to discuss how overlapping may be avoided and cooperation of the various Relief Committees and Organizations brought about.

The Congress takes place in Berlin (Reichstag Building) on Sunday, December 2., at 11. A. M.

We request that announcements, letters, proposals etc. be addressed to our Central Office, Berlin, Unter den Linden 11.

International Workers' Relief.

The Central Committee.

(signed) Klara Zetkin, Käte Kollwitz, Dr. Alfons Paquet, Ernst Toller, Willi Münzenberg, Max Barthel (Germany); Anatole France, Henry Barbusse, André Marty (France); Henriette Roland-Holst, Edö Fimmen, J. W. Kruyt, J. Brommert (Holland); Martin Andersen-Nexö (Denmark); Ture Nerman, Z. Höglund (Sweden); S. Sievertsen (Norway); J. Matthieu, Pastseel (Belgium); Prof. Forel, Fritz Platten (Switzerland); Smeral, Kreibisch (Czechoslovakia); Prof. Graziadei, Misiano (Italy); Upton Sinclair, A. Davis (America); Helen Crawford, Edgar Whitehead (England); Lunatscharsky, Petrovsky, Bogdanov, Maxim Gorki, Olga Kameneff (Russia).

POLITICS

The Situation in Poland.

By Maciejevski.

The mighty uprising of the working class, beginning in the last week of October, has thrown a sudden flashlight on the situation in Poland. Poland too is living over a volcano.

The elements of this unstable equilibrium are manifold. They must be sought in the spheres of home and foreign politics alike.

The destructive elements of a foreign political nature arise from two facts: in the first place from the political, military, and economic-financial dependence of Poland on the Entente—above all on France—and in the second place from Poland's special position between two stools: Soviet Russia on one side and revolutionary Germany on the other.

Never before has the dependence of "independent Poland" on the Allies, and especially on France, been so clearly evident as during the last few weeks—on the eve of the sixth year of independence. Now that the Ruhr occupation has torn a rent in the *status quo* established by the Versailles. Peace, Poland's foreign policy is completely dominated by the endeavor to draw the knots tighter which bind Poland to the Allies, that this status may not be altered, but where possible further developed and promoted (in the spirit and on the lines of the old imperialist desires of France and Poland in the years 1918/1919). Tangible evidence of this may be found in the latest negotiations with the member of the Finance Committee of the French Senate, M. Henry Berenger, in reference to a loan to be employed for military purposes, to the organization of a centre for the military training of Polish generals under the guidance of the French military authorities, and further to the delegation of two of the highest military authorities of Poland—its former Minister of War and its former Chief of the Generalstaff—Generals Sikorski and Sosnkovski, to France for military purposes. And if we further recollect the delegation of a financial "adviser" to Poland by

England, and the rôle played by this power in Polish-Danzig relations, as also the latest negotiations conducted by the Polish Minister of Finance, Kucharski, in London, with reference to the floating of a loan, the dependence of Poland upon England becomes sufficiently evident.

Poland's position between Soviet Russia and the revolutionary ferment in Germany determines in advance the policy of its leading bourgeois circles. The *Rzeczpospolita* (Republic), a paper which excellently reflects the opinions prevailing in the ruling class, contained an article by the chief editor in its issue of October 29, in which the latest changes in the Cabinet were justified:

"The forthcoming period of the next few months will be decisive. . . . Now, at the moment when the whole of Central and Eastern Europe is put out joint by the upheavals in Germany and the presumed readiness of the Soviets when the transformations in Germany are throwing open the gates for a new configuration of conditions in the whole of Europe, it is necessary to exert our powers of political pressure in the sphere of international politics".

This declaration on the part of a leader of one of the four parties of the right forming the Government Bloc expresses plainly enough what rôle bourgeois Poland expects to play in the coming great revolutionary upheavals in Central and Eastern Europe. It chooses the rôle of the outermost rampart of capitalist "order" towards the East, the rôle of the furthest outpost of the gendarmerie watching over the "peace" of Europe at the present day—France. The interest evinced by Poland in the latest speeches of Comrade Trotzky concerning the German Revolution is evidence of the fact that bourgeois Poland is by no means inclined to play the part of a "bridge"; it is anxious to play an active part in the coming struggle, and this is scarcely compatible with the rôle of a "bridge".

The internal political difficulties at present being experienced by Poland are no less acute than the foreign political ones.

Formally regarded, the trouble here is a result of financial insolvency. This generates rises in prices, and though these have not increased to an extent comparable with German conditions, still the rise is enormous; it also causes an industrial crisis, a gaping disparity between the wages and salaries of the broad working masses and the prices of all articles of daily consumption. The rising prices are thus a powerful revolutionizing factor. The financial insolvency deprives the State of any possibility of satisfying the demands of its workers without going from bad to worse in this respect. The financial insolvency is one of the most important causes of the industrial crisis in the country, which has otherwise the advantages of possessing important industrial raw materials, good labor power, and an average quantity and quality of technical means of production. The latest social crisis is therefore partly to be sought in this insolvency.

But even so we have not reached the rock-bottom of things. Considering the natural wealth of Poland, and its relatively advantageous foreign political position—compared with Germany—its pecuniary embarrassment is somewhat difficult to understand. Here a differentiation must be made between two things: in the first place, the present attitude of strained militarist-imperialist attention of the Polish State, and, in the second place, the struggle which has been going on uninterruptedly for years between the two great classes of bourgeois Poland, the industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie and the rural petty bourgeoisie. This struggle continues obstinately, and is concerned with the question as to which of the classes is to enjoy all the advantages offered by the state, and which is to bear all the burdens. As neither of the two parties want to bear the burdens, recourse has been made to the means adopted by all bankrupt states during the present transitional period: the great masses of the workers are robbed by means of the inflation swindle. And though Poland has no Stinnes as yet, still it may be seen that the great financial and industrial magnates, are making gigantic profits by means of the same system of inflation, which is ruining workers, clerks, officials, middle class and petty bourgeoisie. Just a few days ago a representative of the peasantry pointed out, in the Senate, that one of the causes of the unprecedented conditions in Poland is the credit policy pursued by all Polish governments with reference to the banks. At New Year—so the speaker said—the sum granted to the banks as credit from the government, amounted to 180 milliards of marks (at the then rate of exchange ten million dollars). At the present time

the value of this loan amounts to 120,000 dollars at most. In this manner the state has lost 9,880,000 dollars—more than the value of the whole of the paper money in circulation. The banks are paying 1 to 3 % interest on this loan, and receive, 15 to 18 % "officially", but "unofficially" a great deal more. The profits of the banks for 10 months may be estimated to be at least 300 milliard Polish marks.

This small example serves to show that as a matter of fact the social background of Polish financial embarrassment is the same as has brought about Germany's financial position: big capital is making use of the state to extract the utmost possible amount of "substance" from the productive categories of workers, whilst the state itself is gradually rendered destitute of all the means which it requires for its normal functions.

But the internal political difficulties are by no means confined to the financial, economic, and social convulsions. Poland, created under the slogan of the right of self-determination of nations, bears within itself the canker of national conflicts. In order that we may gain an idea of this side of Poland's inner life, we must accord consideration to two facts in their relation to recent occurrences.

At the present time the law courts of the Polish bourgeois Republic are demanding that 25 deputies be delivered over to "justice". Among these deputies are 16 Ukrainians. This justifies a liberal Polish political economist—who, by the way, is a former Czarist general and Russian cadet!—in making the assertion that Polish "justice" is thus pursuing the purpose of annihilating the representation of a whole nationality. There is the less doubt about the truth of this in view of the fact that the ruling Polish party—the National Democrats—has invariably held it to be one of its most important tasks to exterminate the "non-existent" Ukrainian nationality. A second example: A short time ago, the President of the Republic, M. Voyciechowski, travelled through the border districts of "his" realm. In the course of this journey he visited the old Lithuanian town of Grodno. On this occasion a decree was issued—this was established as a fact a few days ago in the Senate by a representative of the radical peasants' party—to the effect that neither windows nor balconies were permitted to be opened in the streets through which "his majesty" passed. "Thus travelled Nicolaus II", was the ironical comment of the oppositional senator. But for the full realization of the piquancy of the situation it is necessary to know that M. Voyciechowski, who is doing his best to promote reaction in Poland at the present time, was for many years a leader of the Polish Social Democratic Party, and until 1905 smuggled whole hundredweights of revolutionary literature against Nicolaus into Poland on his own back! But to regard the matter from its serious side, mention must be made of a rumour, though this is not yet confirmed, that two divisions of troops stationed on the Russian frontier have "emigrated" to Russia! It may easily be imagined the perils bourgeois Poland feels at its own flanks "in view of the revolutionary convulsions in Germany and the presumed readiness of Soviet Russia"!

This is a broad outline of the circumstances which have led to the changes in the Polish Government, two National Democratic Ministers being replaced by two others — leaders of the second rank (Seyda and Glombinski) being substituted in the Cabinet by the actual leaders of the party, Dmovski and Grabski. Other changes are the appointment to the position of vice-president of Voyciech Korfanty, who as the leader of "Christian Democracy" shares Dmovsky's notoriety as an "eater" of Germans and a zealous agent of French big capital. The basis of the Cabinet has also been further "extended" by the substitution of a representative of "Christian Agrarianism", the sugar magnate Chlapowski, in the Ministry of Agriculture, in place of a National Democrat (this party is to receive another portfolio in place of this). This is not only for the purpose of "extending" the basis of the Cabinet, but also of increasing its power and "competence". In other words: bourgeois Poland is to stand ready to give battle to the hereditary enemy at home and abroad as soon as the hour strikes.

The Situation in Hungary

By L. F. Boross.

On November 7. delegates from the League of Nations arrived in Budapest, commissioned to obtain information on the financial and economic situation in Hungary, and on the possibility of granting an international loan. The raising of the loan question has caused the rule of White reaction in Hungary to enter a new phase. The first period, bloody and petty-bourgeois Fascist in character, was replaced after a short time by the period of "consolidated" reaction of the big landowners and high financiers, which has, with far less noise, but far more logic, succeeded in reducing the suppression of the working class to a complete system. The next stage, now beginning, is the period of preparation for the transformation of Hungary into a colony of the Great and the Little Entente. The strictly "national" prime minister, Count Bethlen, still continues to seize every opportunity of giving assurances that the terms which Hungary is to be compelled to accept in order to obtain a loan will be perfectly compatible with the "national dignity" of the country. The leader of the League of Nations "delegation mentioned above, the League of Nations" Secretary Avenol, left, however, no doubt, in the interview between him and an editor of the *Pester Lloyd*, that the procedure would be precisely the same as that pursued with regard to Austria at the time when the question of granting an international loan to this country came in question.

The economic policy of the White regime has plunged the Hungarian working population into frightful poverty, and the country into a financial catastrophe. The real wages of the workers amount to about one third of their prewar wages, in connection with which it must also be observed that the prewar real wages of the Hungarian workers were already much lower than those of, for instance, the German or West European workers. The deficit in the state budget increases daily, the bank note press works with increasing diligence. The rate of exchange of the Hungarian crown sinks inexorably, if at a less rate of speed than the German mark. The frequently changing Ministers of Finance in the Bethlen Government have been attempting to alleviate the financial embarrassment by various means: a deflation policy has been experimented with, an inflation policy has been given a trial, and a number of other devices resorted to. All these attempts were condemned to inevitable failure beforehand, if only for the reason that there is no other country where the propertied classes pay so few taxes as in Hungary. At the same time the Note Bank grants paper money credits to big industry and to the large banking concerns, on the German pattern, so that the steadily sinking rate of exchange enables these undertakings to reap enormous profits at the expense of state finance. Despite these privileges, industry does not prosper; unemployment is spreading, especially in the metal, wood, and chemical industries. The situation is worsened by the constant economic conflicts carried on against neighbouring countries.

Under these circumstances the "national" government had no choice but a "rapprochement" (in other words, a capitulation) to the "hereditary enemies" of the neighbouring states of the Little Entente, and an attempt to obtain an international loan. The terms of this loan have not yet been settled; but various utterances enable us to ascertain that Hungary is not only to be subjected to the full financial and economic control of the Great and Little Ententes, but will have to furnish internal political guarantees as well. The chief of these guarantees is the complete break with the petty-bourgeois Fascist and slum proletarian wing of the White reaction, which will probably be forced by strict military control completely to renounce its secret preparations, and, further, a political rapprochement to the democratic pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie, which has hitherto been strongly combatted by the government and forced to emigrate to a considerable extent, and in whose wake the leaders of Hungarian Social Democracy are following. This may be seen from a speech delivered by the Czecho-Slovakian Prime Minister, Benes, in which he made the following observation: "Hungary must learn to recognize that friendly relations with her neighbours will also be secured by permitting the democratic opposition at home to have full play, and especially the *émigrés*". This is, of course, not demanded on philanthropic grounds; the Czecho-Slovakian Prime Minister is not troubled with the idea of protecting the *émigrés* among the revolutionary workers. But he hopes to find, in the leaders of the democratic bourgeoisie and of Social Democracy, a secure support for his economic and political plans in Hungary.

Bethlen is attempting to evade the fulfilment of these conditions by sham measures and small concessions. His endeavors — which may be sincere — to get rid of the unpleasant crew of rowdy Fascists who only hinder the consolidation of "legal" White terror, are and will remain quite ineffective, for the Fascists have their protectors and guarantors right up to the highest positions in the state apparatus — up to that corrupter of the whole state, Horthy. On the day before the arrival of the League of Nations' delegation, the Government had the Fascist deputy Ulain and some other Fascists arrested, because these had negotiated with Hitler and Ehrhardt regarding coups to be carried out simultaneously in Hungary and Bavaria. At the same time some meetings of the "Awakening Hungary" League were prohibited. Ulain was found to be in possession of an agreement between the Hungarian and the Bavarian Fascists. In accordance with this agreement, the Bavarian state (naturally after Hitler's victory) recognizes the Hungarian state to be reconstituted within the prewar frontiers. The title of the agreement runs: "Introductory agreement between the states of Bavaria and Hungary, for the purpose of establishing political and military cooperation". Bavaria undertakes to put specially trained soldiers at the disposal of Hungary for specific purposes of Hungarian actions, etc. Many Bavarian subjects were arrested in Budapest, for the most part members of the Fascist organizations "Reichsflagge" and "Oberland". Ulain is reported to have to stand trial before a court martial. The Government is this time really acting as if it intended to settle with the Fascists. To what extent this intention is to be taken seriously, and to what extent it is possible to carry it out at all under present conditions in Hungary, may be judged by the following: Ulain was released for several hours after his arrest, so that he had the opportunity of informing his fellow-culprits of the state of affairs. The Bavarian officers and students who were arrested, and of whom even the official police report asserts that they had the intention of overthrowing the present Hungarian government by force of arms, were treated with the utmost consideration and sent across the frontier. The Social Democratic newspaper may well ask if the government would have acted in the same manner if the Russian government had sent a few hundred persons to Hungary for the purpose of overthrowing the Government by force of arms. At Ulain's examination his demeanor justified the assumption that the state corrupter Horthy had been initiated into the plans for the coup. Ulain declared that he had no inclination to make any statements whatever so long as Horthy was not present. It is also highly probable that the whole affair will be hushed up again, and will prove to be nothing more than a manoeuvre for distracting attention, got up for the benefit of the members of the League of Nations' delegation, who are to be given the impression that the Bethlen government is really anxious to maintain law and order, even against the Right. On the other hand, Bethlen has not prevented the publication of Ulain's demand, so compromising for Horthy, and this indicates strained relations between the Prime Minister and Horthy.

Although the conflict between the two wings of White reaction may on this occasion be once more smoothed out by compromises, a further aggravation of the conflict is inevitable. Bethlen is determined on capitulation. And additional proof of this is the fact, indignantly pointed out by the Fascist press, that the Government sent representatives to the jubilee celebration at the Czech Embassy in Budapest, where one of the events celebrated was the robbery of large tracts of territory from Hungary. But for the petty bourgeois Fascists the capitulation and the Entente control would signify death, for the granting of the loan is only to be counted upon when Hungary is placed under a capitalist regime undisturbed by either Right or Left, and freed from any military tricks on the part of the shabby intelligenzia. The Fascists are thus compelled to combat a capitulation regime. It is not possible to predict the forms which this combat will assume. But it will afford the proletariat the opportunity of utilizing the conflict, and of taking active independent part in influencing the destinies of Hungary.

The activity of the Hungarian working masses is expressing itself in heroically conducted economic struggles, despite the almost complete suppression of any possibility of organization. Corrupt Social Democratic leaders have been forced by the masses of their own party to stand at last for a complete political amnesty. The attitude taken by the Social Democrats in the loan question is merely a consistent adherence to the tactics which they have hitherto pursued.

One section supports Bethlen in the capitulation, another section, that of the *émigrés*, hopes that a Czech control, or even Czech bayonets, may bring about the "democratization" of Hungary. But the revolutionary proletariat should be aware that it has nothing to expect from either Bethlen or from Benes and Czech imperialism, that it will have to take up the struggle, with the same clearness of purpose as the Ruhr proletariat, against its own and against foreign capital.

The Policy of the Comité des Forges

From the Versailles Peace Treaty to the Ruhr Occupation.

By Georges Lévy (Paris).

Ever since the Versailles treaty was concluded, it has been obvious that the Comité des Forges, and also the Colliery Committee, have been endeavoring to secure at low prices the amount of coal and coke required for smelting the iron ore of Lorraine. Although it may appear reasonable, from the standpoint of capitalist philosophy, that Germany should make good the difference between the amount of coal produced before the war and the amount produced since the war in the collieries of the devastated Departements of Nord and Pas de Calais, until these mines are fully restored, still it is by no means justifiable when a further delivery of coal and coke is demanded from Germany. But this demand is made by the Versailles treaty. For the devastated collieries produced 27,389,000 tons in 1913, and 11,408,000 tons in 1920, which means a reduced output of 15,981,000 tons. Germany should thus have only been called upon to supply this deficiency. And the amount of the difference should have decreased in proportion as the work of restoration of the mines proceeded. France secured to herself the Saar coal mines by article 45 of the peace treaty, and the output of these mines in 1921 amounted to 9,574,000 tons and in 1922 to 11,241,000 tons. Paragraph 2 of appendix 5 of section VIII of the peace treaty permits France to demand the delivery of 7 million tons of coal for a period of 10 years. In addition to this, Germany has to supply a further quantity of coal during these 10 years, the amount to correspond to the difference in output of the destroyed collieries before the war and the output of the year in question in each case. The amount to be delivered under this last demand is not to exceed 20 million tons yearly during the first five years, or 8 million tons during the following five years.

In 1920, Germany delivered 14 256 028 tons of coal, in 1921, 10 896 971 tons, and in the year 1922 12 million tons.

The ordinations of the Versailles treaty thus resulted in France's securing more coal than she could make use of herself. For up to 1921 the Saar pits were able to export 3 448 000 tons of coal. The Comité des Forges demanded more coal, more than the reparation claim allowed. The French iron industrialists began to fear that the coal deliveries would not be carried out regularly, and that Germany would not fulfil her obligations. They pursued a policy having an eye to the future. And for this reason they presently commenced their campaign for the occupation of the Ruhr area. They demanded this occupation quite openly, pointing out the difficulty of providing French heavy industry with coal and coke.

In May 1921, M. Le Prevost Launay, a deputy belonging to the Bloc National and a member of the board of control of the iron and steel works of Levallois-Aulnay (a firm affiliated to the Comité des Forges), began to agitate for this proposal in the nationalist paper *L'Eclair*. He maintained that nothing but the occupation of the Ruhr could secure peace to Europe. In the *Journée Industrielle*, a capitalist organ, closely connected with the Comité des Forges, because Westphalia—which furnished coke to some of the blast furnaces of the Saar area, to the blast furnaces in Lorraine, and to more than half the blast furnaces in the Departement Meurthe et Moselle—was delivering to France neither the amounts of coke which she required, nor the amounts prescribed by the Versailles peace treaty and the subsequent agreement made on the basis of this treaty. He pointed out that, after the reconquest of Lorraine, the French output of cast iron and steel could be increased from 5 to 11 million tons. On May 30, 1921 the same newspaper published an article on the future of the French industry, from which we quote the following passage:

"If the Germans succeed in doing without the ore of Lorraine, and in employing their Ruhr coke for other

purposes, instead of exporting it to France, our metal industry will be severely threatened. But if we on the other hand succeed in finding another source of coal for our Lorraine ore, this would signify a considerable strengthening of our position"

It is thus the aim of French heavy industry to secure for the future a certain and reliable supply of coal and coke from the Ruhr valley. As French heavy industry itself declares, this is a point of vital importance for it. The Versailles treaty reserves for French heavy industry and French colliery capital the coal and coke of the Ruhr, at low prices.

The engineers intrusted with the technical mission connected with the Ruhr occupation are all members of firms affiliated to the Comité des Forges—M. Coste, the manager of the Blancy mine; M. Aaron, manager of the Smelting and Steel Works of the North and West; M. Daum, manager of the Iron and Steel Works on the Marne, and Homécourt. The press and propaganda bureau in the Ruhr district was also placed in the hands of M. Francois Poncet, the director of the society for economic studies and research, an association founded by the Comité des Forges, and Herr Max Hosschiller, a notorious agent of this same Comité des Forges.

The continuity of the policy pursued by the Comité des Forges, with respect to coke and coal, since the conclusion of the Versailles treaty, is exemplified by the following:

In the first place by the very clearly and definitely expressed enactments on coal deliveries, contained in the treaty itself, although this same treaty only contains the very general term of "materials and miscellaneous" with respect to other war sufferers;

In the second place by the continuous press campaign carried on by the papers *Journée Industrielle* and *L'Eclair*;

In the third place by the exploitation of the Ruhr area delivered into the hands of the members of the Comité des Forges; and

In the fourth place by the allocation of all positions in the press and propaganda bureau to journalists in the pay of the Comité des Forges.

The profits gained by French heavy industry and colliery capital from the Ruhr occupation at the present time, and likely to be gained by them in the future from a Franco-German mining trust, show beyond all doubt, that it is solely the Comité des Forges and the Colliery Committee of France whose interests are involved in the Ruhr policy pursued by Poincaré. But of course this fact is veiled, now as before, beneath the lying formula of the "benefit of the community", the "reparations", and the "state security" of France.

The Twelve Million Pieces of French Silver

By V. Vilensky Sibiryakov (Moscow).

Loucheur declared that, should a revolution break out in the unoccupied territory of Germany, France would refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Germany, but that the French troops "would probably maintain order in the occupied territory".

This announcement implies that France has no intention of relaxing her grip on the occupied territory, but is, on the contrary, prepared to defend it at the point of the bayonet. Loucheur has no desire of course to interfere in the affairs of the German revolution. It would be a mistake to conclude from this that influential French circles sympathize with the German revolution. It is far more probable that French imperialism, in view of the feeling obtaining among the French working population, believes that any such interference on its part would not meet with success, and therefore deems it expedient to declare its neutrality for the present.

Poincaré, it is true, gives a different reply to the question as to what France would do in the case of a German revolution, for he has signed an agreement with the Little Entente and with Poland, in accordance with which these states are granted a loan of 1200 million francs for the financing of military preparations in their armies.

What else does this loan signify than the preparation for a fresh European war? Would France thrust these milliards into the tattered pockets of the petty states of the Little Entente, if French imperialism were not anxious to drive

these states into conflict with the German revolution? It is obvious that Poincaré, in granting these fresh credits to the Little Entente, entertains a somewhat different opinion to Loucheur.

France has not been satisfied with her position in the League of Nations since Versailles. In addition to utilizing the League of Nations for her own purposes, France called the so-called Little Entente into being. The Little Entente consists of those small European states whose policies are determined by the credits afforded by the Paris Exchange. But the French Exchange has not granted money on pure good faith to its greedy young offspring; it has on the contrary imposed conditions worthy of Shylock, and demands that the money be immediately converted into the blood of Little Entente soldiers as soon as the French army staff issues the command.

French imperialism has been confident of thereby securing an adequate force for keeping vanquished Germany in constant fear of an attack. The cruel European reality has, however, destroyed French imperialist plans in many respects. The Little Entente threatens to go to pieces before the League of Nations has been overcome, and now Poincaré is obliged to revive his dying Little Entente with a fresh dose of war-credit beef tea. Poincaré hopes for nothing from the French, for they are exhausted after the great war, and have little sympathy for his adventurous schemes. A fresh European war is as unpopular in France as among the other nations of Europe. But Poincaré keeps France hypnotized by holding the German danger over its head, and is squandering the substance of the people for fresh war adventures which, he asserts secure the present peace to the citizens of France. The means thus obtained are then employed to buy up Senegalese negroes, Czecho-Slovakians, Poles, and other mercenaries, with whose help French imperialism maintains its position of power.

In fact, wherein lies the difference between the Czecho-Slovakian or the Pole under the command of a French officer, and the negro who is now defending the "interests" of France in the Ruhr valley! They are one and all maintained by the French Exchange, and the French Exchange regards them one and all as cannon fodder and naught else. Never before was there a more open and cynical system of hiring mercenaries as there is today. In former times, single persons or troops were bought for this hireling service, but today the French Exchange, aided by the European "democratic" stock-jobbers, buys up wholesale the lives of whole populations.

France will not interfere in the internal affairs of the German revolution—thus declares Loucheur. And perhaps he will be right as far as outward forms are concerned. France will send no Frenchmen again—to Berlin. But how has France formulated the terms of the agreement with Czecho-Slovakia and Poland—the agreement under which these countries are to be paid 1,200 million francs? Do not these countries undertake to march against Berlin as a return-service for those pieces of French silver which they receive from the French Exchange?

However this may be—French imperialism has a bitter disappointment before it. It is impossible to buy over whole peoples. The utmost which can be done is to buy the traitorous governments and to induce these to promise to deceive their own peoples. But it is impossible to go further! And it is difficult to deceive whole peoples, especially when the masses are beginning to think seriously about the events going on around them. The latest events in Poland have shown that the Polish workman has recognized the hopelessness of the present position of Poland, which is a mere tool in the hands of French imperialism.

French imperialism therefore will scarcely succeed in its attempt to make use of not only Poland, but this time Czecho-Slovakia as well, for its fell purposes. In view of the great events shaping in Europe, the peoples may refuse to aid their governments in carrying out the obligations which they have undertaken, even when these obligations have been paid for in pieces of French-silver. It is probable the working population of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland will not be willing to betray the German proletariat, and its refusal to act against the German revolution will utterly upset the calculations of French imperialism which is working today for the preparation of a fresh carnage among the peoples.

ECONOMICS.

The World Economic Situation

By Eugen Varga.

The hopes entertained by the capitalist world of an improvement in the situation of the world's economics in 1923 have met with but a very slight degree of fulfilment. The improvement only extends to the United States, and certain parts of Europe: above all to France and Belgium, though it is very doubtful whether the improvement in the two last named countries is of a real character. It appears to be bound up with the slow depreciation of the rate of exchange. As we have learnt by experience, and especially by the example furnished by Germany, a depreciation of currency only causes a boom so long as the purchasing power of the money standard is considerably higher in the home market than in the world's markets. So long as these conditions last, the country concerned is capable of exporting to the world's markets. But at a certain point a change sets in—which can be observed at present in its crudest form in Germany—the depreciation of the rate of exchange no longer conceals the fact that in such countries, production is objectively dearer, calculated in working time, than in countries with a more stable valuta, this in turn involving a rise in prices beyond that of the world's markets, despite a depreciated and falling rate of exchange.

The collapse of the capitalist world market is still proceeding, and in even a more acute form. One symptom of this is the fact that the currencies of the neutral European countries, which for so long maintained their value as compared with the dollar, are now on the down grade: the Swiss franc, the Dutch florin, and the currencies of the Scandinavian countries, are now all showing a decline in relation to the dollar.

It is interesting to observe in this connection that two different circles have been formed in the international exchange of commodities, corresponding to the rates of exchange; the countries with depreciated currencies also form a circle among themselves. The exchange of commodities between countries with a high valuta and countries with a low valuta is becoming more and more difficult and restricted.

A glance at the various great economic areas yields the following picture:

The United States of America.

The boom in the United States reached its highest point in the Spring (March/April). During the Summer a certain slackening was observable. This is evidenced alike by statistics as to production and the foreign trade statistics.

Production amounted to:

	Crude iron	Steel	Balance of steel trust orders	Consumption of cotton
	(In thousands of tons)			(In 1000 bales)
May	3868	4196	6981	621
August	3435	3619	5415	492

In the course of the month of September a slight improvement seems to have set in again, but the data concerning production have not yet been published.

The point of decisive importance for us is the fact that the American boom was incapable of raising European economics to a higher level. And all hope of it now doing so is past. Whilst the boom in the United States reached such a culmination during the months of March, April, and May that the trade balance of the United States showed an excess of imports over exports, in June a change set in: foreign trade showed a preponderance of exports over imports. This means that more American goods were thrown on the world's markets than America purchased abroad. There is thus no further hope of America exercising a favorable influence on European markets, already suffering from a crisis. The imports of the United States, which amounted to 398 million dollars in March, sank to 275 million dollars by August. The hoped-for revival of the European market by means of extensive purchases on the part of America has thus proved illusory.

The American economic reports are still optimistic in tone, but more and more voices are to be heard, especially in banking circles, expressing the opinion that the favorable state of the American markets cannot be maintained unless

the European markets are restored. They point out that even in 1922, Europe absorbed 54% of the exports from the United States. The farmers are also in favor of action for the restoration of Europe. The price of agricultural products in the United States is determined by the world's market prices, and these are determined by the prices which Europe is able to pay. The very limited purchasing power of Europe is absorbed to an increasing degree by Russia! In America, wheat has been used for feeding the cattle of late. It is suggested that credits be granted to Germany in the form of wheat supplies, etc. The readiness of the United States to take part in some sort of solution of the reparation problem is to be ascribed to these facts.

The British Empire.

England is still in the most difficult position of all the countries of Europe. Her situation has grown steadily worse during the period just elapsed. The number of unemployed increases from week to week, and it is calculated that by the New Year there will be as many out of work as last year, if not more. The benefits derived by England from the occupation of the Ruhr have already ceased. Besides this, the situation of the textile industry continues to be extremely bad, and the restriction of cotton production is being prolonged from month to month. The English political economists appear to be more and more inclined to abandon the hope that England will be able to feed her population by exporting industrial articles in exchange for food and raw materials. Absolute perplexity prevails. Attempts are being made to improve English agriculture, and to organize emigration to the English settlement colonies; all the traditions of English political economy are being called into doubt; protective duties and inflation of currency are being demanded!

The British Imperial Conference has been engaged in the attempt to convert the Empire into a self-sufficing economic whole, able to remain aloof from the rest of the world behind its system of preferential duties. But the deliberations showed that the economic position of the various English colonies varies far too much to allow of the possibility of such a plan being realized. Canada's interests lie in the development of its industries, and it is already much more closely bound up with the United States than with England. And in other colonies independent industries have also sprung up since the war, and these would be very unwilling to submit to a new policy. This is especially the case with India. While on the other hand there is in England itself a strong party of industrial and commercial capitalists which is strongly opposed to the idea of a self-sufficing British Empire; these circles stand in fear of increased prices of food, which would result in higher costs of production, and ultimately in decreased competitive power in the world's markets.

It would seem as if the divergence of interests is so great, that it is impossible for any unified economic policy to be arrived at. The confused condition of English economics is aptly characterized by the tendency being shown by very influential circles of industrial capital to take up the idea of an inflation policy, though perhaps not openly. In this regard the speech made at Glasgow by Geddes, the president of the powerful Federation of British Industries, is extremely characteristic*). In the course of this address he expressed his doubts whether the country would be able to bear, in addition to all other difficulties, the sacrifice demanded by a continual improvement in the value of the currency. Deflation had been carried on to a great extent for a number of years. For a number of years the value of the pound as compared with the dollar had been raised; there had been a frightful burden of unemployment; taxation had been terribly heavy. There should certainly be some sort of connection, between the country's financial policy and the economic situation. In international commerce, a policy of continuous deflation and continuous sinking of prices signified a displacement of trade, an increase of the burden of international debt, and a constant exertion to adapt prices and costs of production to the constantly sinking price level. It seemed to him (Geddes) that this added an unbearable burden to those already being carried. These burdens could be lightened by a policy less exclusively devoted to the improvement of the rate of exchange with America, and more to the restoration of permanent economic conditions. The speaker further announced that the report of the

*) As early as September 9, the English Minister of Labor delivered a vague speech to the same effect.

commission appointed by the Federation of British Industries for the purpose of studying this question would be published within a few days.

The idea of introducing a system of protective duties** and of bringing about an inflation, as well as the ever growing tendency to neo-Malthusianism, are the best proofs that the English political economists have lost all hope of the restoration of the conditions once vital to England in the economics of the world.

France and Belgium.

At the present moment the economic situation of France and Belgium appears to be the most favorable of all Europe. The number of unemployed recorded is very small; France employs more and more foreign labor. As already mentioned above, this is to be chiefly ascribed to the gradual fall in the rate of exchange. This renders it possible for French and Belgian industry to sell their goods on the world's markets, and to enter into keen competition with England and the United States. The English press has lately been filled with complaints about the intrusion of the products of the French wool and metal industries into the markets of England itself. The Bradford Chamber of Commerce recently demanded that the government should introduce protective duties in favor of the English wool industry. Within the last few days the French newspapers published reports as to an agreement said to have been come to between France and England, in accordance with which the products of the Ruhr valley, which have accumulated during the period of the Ruhr occupation, are not to be dumped on to the English markets. (*Matin*, 25. October*). As already mentioned above, French and Belgian economics appear to be flourishing in the same manner as was the case with Germany in the years 1921 and 1922.

Germany.

At the present time, Germany's economic situation is characterized by a complete reversal in the matter of prices. After the middle class has been entirely expropriated by means of the inflation, a state of affairs has been arrived at compelling the middlemen selling to the final consumers — the small dealers, craftsmen, inn-keepers, etc. — to resort to calculating in gold marks, in order to avoid being left absolutely without the means for renewing stock. This has swept away the last appearances of cheap production and economic prosperity. What we have always insisted on has now become apparent; production in Germany is in effect dearer than in the world's markets. This has given rise to an acute crisis in the finding of markets. Unemployment grows from day to day, and when we call to mind the unemployment in the Ruhr district, concerning which we have no data, we can estimate the number of those out of work as far exceeding a million and the number on short time at several millions.

The transition to the gold mark calculation reveals the absolute impoverishment of Germany. Those shops which sell articles of general use, clothing, footwear, etc., are bare of customers. The general impoverishment of the whole middle and working classes is such, that there are no purchasers for such goods at the present prices. The profits which the tradesmen hoped to gain by adopting the gold mark calculation are not realized owing to the lack of buyers. Since prices have risen the foreigner has disappeared as a buyer. The rich peasantry are already well supplied with industrial articles; the poor peasantry are equally unable to buy, for they are heavily burdened by the new taxes, and the frightful rate at which money loses in value renders them afraid of putting their slight surplus of food products on the market. German economics have thus become involved in a crisis of such acuteness as is probably unexampled in the history of capitalist economics. The unsolved reparation question, the tendency to disruption in the Reich itself, the hopeless situation of German finances, all these contribute to increase the hopelessness of German economics.

In spite of the fresh taxes, in spite of the abandonment of the resistance in the Ruhr area, expenditure rose more

***) The Prime Minister, Baldwin, again expressed himself a short time ago as decidedly in favor of the introduction of protective duties.

*) The organ of French heavy industry *l'Usine*, Oct. 27. confirms this report, and observes that this has been a friendly service, and that the reserve stock of iron accumulated in the Ruhr has not exceeded 100,000 tons.

than the dollar in the 10 days between the 10th. and 20th. October. Again the state revenues do not cover one per cent of the expenditure; 99 % is covered by the printing of banknotes. And no bourgeois government will be in the least able to alter these conditions.

Japan.

Japan is an ultra-European great power whose economic progress has received a severe set-back owing to the earthquake catastrophe. The inner economics of Japan naturally show, at the moment, a certain revival as a result of the extensive work of restoration, but there is no doubt Japan is paralysed for a time as a factor in international economics. The Japanese catastrophe has caused certain favorable economic effects in other countries, especially in the silk industry of Italy and France, in the same way as the Ruhr occupation improved the trade of other countries; this, however, is devoid of significance for the world's economics as a whole.

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To sum up, we can only repeat that, with the exception of the United States, where a satisfactory amount of economic prosperity may be locked for for a considerable period, although the boom of this Spring may not be repeated, the economics of the whole capitalist world, and above all of the European capitalist countries, are still in a state of chronic crisis. Indeed, we may safely assert that the situation of European economics has rather deteriorated than improved during the period just passed through.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The New Epoch in the Polish Labor Movement

By P. Tokarski.

The following article, which has reached us after considerable delay, deals with the events preceding the development of the mighty mass struggles in Poland. Ed.

After almost three years of continuous apathy and depression in the working class, a change for the better has taken place of late in the ranks of the working class—its activity is increasing. Under the pressure of ever increasing impoverishment and exploitation, the working masses of Poland are awakening from the apathy which has hitherto possessed them, and are taking up the struggle against their misery in a most determined manner.

This change of attitude of the Polish proletariat may be of great significance for the future of the world revolution, for Poland lies between Soviet Russia and revolutionary Germany, and it will greatly depend on the trend of feeling and demeanour of the Polish proletariat whether Poland will play a revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary rôle in the forthcoming events in Germany.

The change in question was shown by the Polish working class as early as July and August of this year, in the industrial struggles. It was not shown merely by the occurrence of mass strikes, for there were such strikes during the period of depression as well, but the forms taken by these struggles indicated the determined line of action taken by the strikers, and showed a firm resolve to fight accompanied by assured confidence of victory. The June struggles were participated in by trade unions of every description; the strike leaders were elected jointly. This was to be observed most clearly in Lodz, where a joint strike committee was elected, and—commissioned to exercise control over the strike activities of the various trade unions. The June struggles were of an acuteness long unknown to Poland. And they were crowned by success: the greater part of the demands made were granted, and in the textile and metal industries comparatively favorable collective agreements were obtained. These successful struggles resulted in a further growth and even greater revival of the labor movement. They were the first signs of the change going on in the Polish proletariat.

These first signs were followed by others, and the new spirit has become gradually more and more visible in the inner organizational life of the trade unions. In this connec-

tion the elections to the Conference of the Textile Workers' Union have been of great significance. These elections took place in September and August, after the general strike of the textile workers. The skilful activities of the strike committee, which was mainly composed of Communists, earned for the Red oppositional list and for the Communists the confidence and sympathy of the working class. 35 of the 67 mandates for the Conference fell to the opposition. The reformist executive of the union declared the election to be invalid, for purely formal reasons, and succeeded in having the election repeated for Lodz (22 out of the total 35 oppositional mandates were from Lodz, the centre of the Polish textile industry). But it was of no avail. At the second election the list of the opposition obtained even more votes than the first time, and the 22 Mandates were all retained. A second proof of the profound change which has taken place in the Polish trade unions is the introduction of proportional representation in the Warsaw section of the Metal Workers' Union. For two years the revolutionary minority have been fighting a violent battle for proportional representation. The reformists have clung desperately to the majority principle. At the congress they were determined to have the majority at any price, and decidedly rejected the proportional system. At the conference held by the shop stewards of the Warsaw metal factories at the end of September, a resolution moved by the Red fraction was adopted, in which "the recognition of the proportional ballot for the Union Executive, in accordance with a special electoral system to be decided by a special commission" was demanded. The candidates thus chosen in the proportional elections in the factories form a common bloc under the name of the "United Front of the Metal Workers' Union". At the above conference it was also decided that the Executive of the Union should cancel all expulsions of revolutionary members from the organization.

And finally, the success of the united front slogan is a striking proof of the change of attitude of the masses. The tireless Communist propaganda of the last eighteen months is now bearing fruit. This may be very plainly observed in the electoral campaign in the lodges for the sick. In the Dombrov coal basin, where the elections were held on October, in Lodz, and in other districts, electoral blocs were formed by the Union of Revolutionary Town and Country Proletariat, the Socialist Party of Poland, and other labor organizations. These blocs have had to delegate purely working class representatives to the committees of the lodges for the sick, so that the yellow organization might be removed from the administration of these lodges. In the Dombrov coal basin, and in Lodz, this agreement was arrived at, and unified action in the electoral campaign made possible, solely through the pressure exercised by the masses, and was carried through against the will of the leaders of the Polish SP.

Everywhere we find evidence of the change of feeling in the Polish working class; alike in the sphere of economic and political struggles and in the organizational life of the working class. The Polish Socialist Party, the reformist Labor Party of Poland, driven out of the fold of the government and forced into opposition, is standing irresolute and perplexed before the new spirit now pervading the workers. On the one hand it would like to bring about mass action, in order to regain prestige in the eyes of the governing clique, and on the other hand it trembles because the masses now rising into activity might turn against it in the end.

The Witos Government of the big capitalists and agrarians has only one reply to make to the growth of the labor movement: repression. And it is an actual fact that deeds of violence are now being committed in Poland, which remind us of the year 1920. Apart from the mass arrests of workers under suspicion of being Communists (in Warsaw alone 140 persons were arrested in the night of the 14th to the 15th of October), the Government has now proceeded to the dissolution of the trade unions. Not only the trade unions in sympathy with the Communists are being dissolved, but the Socialists trade unions also.

The Government is attempting to hamper the advance of the labor movement by means of ruthless repression, and to keep the Polish worker submissive. Will it succeed in doing this? We doubt it.

The strike wave of July and August has not yet ebbed, and fresh mass strikes are breaking out in every part of Poland. The strike in Upper Silesia was scarcely over before the textile workers of Lodz, the miners in Dombrova, and

even the "aristocratic" and still reformistically inclined railwaymen in Galicia, were taking up struggles of their own. And whatever the issue of these strikes, one thing is certain: they will not cease, but will spread more and more widely. The fall of the Polish mark and the ever rising prices of food are the surest guarantee of this.

The British Worker and the German Workers' Revolution

By Jack V. Leckie.

27. 10. 23.

The importance of a German Workers' Revolution in its relationship to the British Labor Movement is as yet imperfectly understood. This is chiefly due, first, to insularity, i. e. remoteness from Continental politics; second, to the confusionist tactics of the British Labor Party and Trade Union leaders. The Labor Party policy is an Empire policy, marked by a disinclination to mix in European affairs. Its attitude to the German Workers' Revolution, when it is not busy backing Baldwin's foreign policy, is confined to formal protests against French Imperialism. It has no encouragement for the revolutionary "deutschen Arbeiter". When invited to express its official attitude in the event of a German Workers' Revolution taking place, it is—silent!

This does not mean that the British working class is disinterested or that the revolutionary sections are idle. Huge demonstrations have been held in every industrial centre, under the auspices of the miners' minority movement; the R.I.L.U., the Communist Party, Sections of the Independent Labor Party, Trades Councils, etc. Propaganda has been concentrated on the mining, engineering, Railroad and Transport (sea and land) industries. A fierce campaign is also being conducted within the Trade Unions. Through every section of the working-class, official and unofficial, there has been organized a demand for the immediate reestablishment of the National Council of Action with a view to centralized mass action. The popular slogans are: — Hands off the German Workers' Revolution; Stop the production and distribution of war material; Recall the British troops from the Rhine; Support the German worker and the British 8 hours day; Prepare for the General Strike Protest.

Many responses are forthcoming. The Welsh miners lead the demand for direct action. The national unemployed movement is conducting a strong propaganda. Important Trade Councils favour an all-in protest mass action.

If Official Labor can be induced to act, success is certain. If Official Labor fails to act in defence of the German Workers' Revolution the masses will. This action may, however, be sporadic and less effective. The war prejudice against the "Bloody Hun" is rapidly evaporating. British workers are beginning to recognize and must soon demand—as a measure of self protection—the united front of the German and British workingclass.

E. C. C. I.

To the Workers of All Countries

The recent big strikes in all parts of Poland, the strikes of the miners, the textile workers, the railwaymen, the postal servants, the general strike in Upper Silesia, in Galicia and Warsaw, and finally the bloody struggles in Cracow, Tarnov, Borislav—draw the attention of the international proletariat to the Polish Section of the proletarian fighting front.

These events go to prove that the Polish working class is no longer passive, that it has the will to oppose the capitalist offensive, and that the capitalists can nowhere succeed in making obedient slaves of the workers. Thus the German workers can see that they do not stand alone in their difficult struggle, that their Polish brothers are also engaged in a struggle with their own reaction and will not tolerate an intervention of their government in the German revolution.

The proletarian revolution of Germany has certainly influenced the workers' struggles in Poland. What an impetus must have been and has been given to the movement of the exploited in all countries by the revolutionary struggle of the German proletariat! The alternative before it is: revolution or slavery and barbarism.

In the recent struggles of the Polish working class all the problems of the Polish revolution suddenly became evident, and the way in which the Polish proletariat must follow its struggle has become clear.

The savage terror of the Dmovsky-Korfanty government, the militarisation of the railwaymen, the field court-martial against strikers, all this has shown what crimes the bourgeoisie is capable of in the struggle for its profits. It has shown to the wide masses of the working class that they must overthrow this government of junkers and capitalists if they do not want to perish of hunger, that they must struggle for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

But this slogan is no longer a mere theory. The experiences of the last few weeks have shown that this is not an unattainable aim, and that it might have been realised in this struggle. It has become evident how weak the bourgeoisie is in Poland, and how great are the reserves of the revolutionary forces.

Upper Silesia, the stronghold of Polish nationalism and of bourgeois influence on the working class, entered the struggle allied with German-Polish capitalism. When the Polish government hastened to the assistance of the German coal magnates with police forces and soldiery, Korfanty's former rebels advanced under the red banner and under communist leadership against the soldiers of the government.

In Cracow the Polish and Ukrainian peasants in uniform went over to the workers and gave to the proletariat the weapons which the bourgeoisie had intended for use against them.

To extend and to consolidate this alliance between the workers and peasants which was sealed with blood in Cracow, is the chief lesson to be drawn from the Cracow events, the main task of the Polish Communists and a guarantee of the victory of the Polish Revolution. The Polish peasants and the peasants of the oppressed national minorities led by the workers will overthrow the bourgeoisie.

From the Cracow events the Polish working class must learn how to make the slogan of the *disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the armament of the workers a reality.*

Henceforth this must be the main slogan of the working class. Cracow will give the workers courage and confidence in their ultimate victory, and will be a menacing spectre to the bourgeoisie.

Now as ever the main task of the struggling working class must be *the establishment of a united fighting front.* To achieve this, the Polish communists as well as the Communist International have repeatedly declared and have shown in practice that they are willing to join forces with anyone determined to fight against the bourgeoisie for the demands of the proletariat. This time, too, the Polish Communist Party from the very beginning did its utmost to draw the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party and the opportunist leaders of the trade unions into the common struggle. From the beginning it pointed out to the workers that only a common and united struggle of all branches of industry and industrial districts can and will lead to a victory over the government.

In Poland, as in other countries, it is the Communists who will always endeavour to unite the proletariat for the struggle against the common enemy. Therefore, as long as the opportunist leaders and centrist groups exercise their influence on considerable sections of the working class and decide regarding their participation in actions, the Communists will compel them, in spite of their unwillingness and repeated treachery, to participate in common action through the pressure of the masses.

But the masses must learn from their experiences not to judge their leaders by their words, but by their deeds. And what are these experiences and deeds? The Polish Socialist Party has done its utmost to isolate the separate struggles. From the beginning it opposed the victorious Upper Silesian strike. It did not support the railwaymen and prevented wholehearted support being given them by the working class as a whole.

It was only when the government introduced field court-martial against the strikers that the indignation of the entire working class compelled the leaders of the PSP. to issue the slogan of the general strike, and it was only with gnashed teeth that they joined the movement.

And it was only when the great trial of strength began, when the masses entered at last in closed ranks into the struggle against the much hated enemy that the abominable treachery and infamy of those who pretend to be the representatives of the workers became evident. For months past they had been advocating war against the present government, and when in Cracow the soldiers went over to the people, they hastened to the assistance of this very government for fear that it might be overthrown by the masses in the streets and not by parliamentary bargaining.

For the last five years the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party adorned their central organ with the slogan "Long Live the Workers' and Peasants' Government", but when the day arrived when this government could become a reality, they betrayed the workers and peasants and delivered them to the tender mercies of the government of the capitalists and junkers.

In Warsaw they gave the order to retreat when Cracow rose in rebellion. They sold out their own brothers in Cracow for fear of their victory. They delivered the workers and soldiers of Cracow to the brutal revenge of the capitalists. The eyes of those who have hitherto been blind must be opened at last. The leaders of the Polish Socialists are afraid of the workers' victory, they are afraid of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution. Under their leadership the working class cannot but be defeated. Under their leadership it cannot escape from the yoke of capitalism, from hunger and humiliation.

Workers! Profit by the lesson drawn from the events in Poland and Germany. Just as the revolts of the German proletariat are crushed by Ebert and Sollman, they are crushed in Cracow by Moraczewsky and Daszynsky. No honest worker still in the ranks of the Socialist Party can tolerate such crimes. Down with the executioners and Judases! Rally under the banner of the Communist International! Prepare for new struggles! Profit by the recent great events! Rally the wide masses to the banner of Communism!

ALL HONOUR TO THOSE WHO FELL IN CRACOW!
LONG LIVE THE POLISH REVOLUTION!
DOWN WITH THE TRAITORS!
LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.
November 1923.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Norwegian Labor Party split by Tranmael!

By R. Schüller.

Whilst still in the midst of a decisive and exhausting struggle against their bourgeoisies, the Communist Parties have received the news of the split in the Norwegian Labor Party. (section of the C.I.). At the extraordinary congress of the N.L.P., held in Christiania from 2. to 5. November, 169 delegates, led by Tranmael, Bull, Falk, and Lian, broke with the Communist International and split the N.L.P. The minority—100 delegates—have remained faithful to the C.I. and the principles of the Party, and these continued the Party conference of the N.L.P. (section of the C.I.) after the 169 majority had withdrawn. The name of the Party was changed into the Communist Party, and since the 5. November not only the *Arbeiderblad* of the splitter Tranmael has appeared in Christiania, but also the *Kommunistblad* of our Party.

What is the real inner meaning of these important events, which have been welcomed with howls of joy from the whole bourgeois press? These occurrences signify that the open and secret adversaries of the C.I. in the old N.L.P. have at last converted their repeated threats into actual deeds, and have selected a most difficult juncture for the whole international labor movement as the most suitable

moment to rupture the ties between the N.L.P. and the C.I. They signify more than this; they signify that they have utterly miscalculated, and that a real Communist Party has now come into being in Norway.

The crisis in the N.L.P. is as old as its membership in the C.I. The affiliation of the N.L.P. to the C.I. took place in 1919, during the epoch of the rising tide of revolution, and under the pressure of the masses. But when the N.L.P. entered the C.I., it was not as a Communist Party, but in point of actual fact as a semi-Communist Labor Party, not built upon individual membership, but upon the collective affiliation of whole trade union organizations. It thus naturally retained a great many non-Communist and even Social Democratic members. Even the old semi-Syndicalist, semi-Social Democratic group of leaders joined the C.I. with the rest of the party, partly from sentimental motives, partly from motives of calculated opportunism. But since the II. Congress of the C.I. in the year 1920 (21 Conditions) resistance began against the C.I. Although the worst Social Democrats left the Party at that time, still it did not succeed in establishing any degree of unity in its ranks. And with the further ebb of the tide of revolution a certain anti-Communist and anti-Bolshevist group, Mot Dag, was formed. This group of intellectuals, based on the depression of the masses, was designated by Bucharin, at the Party congress in February of this year, as the future Fascisti. And this group (Bull, Falk, and their companions) now combined with the oppositional tendencies of the semi-Syndicalists (Tranmael) and of the Centrists (Lian) into a great oppositional bloc against the C.I.

After much friction, the crisis broke out openly after the IV. World Congress of the C.I. The majority (Tranmael-Bull-Lian) replied to the resolutions adopted by the Congress on the formation of a world party, by the decision to withdraw from the C.I. But a storm of protest on the part of the members forced the majority to withdraw this decision. And here it must be observed: There is no Party which has been accorded such tolerant and patient treatment by the C.I. as the N.L.P.; every consideration has been given to the special conditions of the country. Even this sorry resolution of 21. December did not induce the C.I. to take any steps; on the contrary, it sent its most prominent representative to Christiania, and was successful in maintaining unity and avoiding a rupture, all through the use of the most comradely methods. The action taken by the C.I. at the Party conference in February was along the same lines.

But although the Party conference publicly professed a few faithful Party comrades belonging to the minority began an offensive against Moscow immediately after the session of the Enlarged Executive. The whole of the resolutions passed by the Enlarged Executive were flatly rejected; the Youth League, which stood for the C.I., was gagged; and a few faithful Party comrades belonging to the minority group were expelled from the Party. It was clear that the majority led by the Mot Dag was determined either to force its will upon the C.I. by its brutal action, or to break with the C.I.

The majority demanded a revision of the statutes of the C.I. with regard to international centralism, requiring that this should be decreased; it rejected the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government for Norway as an "opportunist" danger, and unsuited for application at the present time; it refused to stand for the Red International of Labor Unions; and it rejected the resolution adopted by the Enlarged Executive on the matter of religion. The transition of the Party from collective to individual membership was sabotaged; the Youth League, which was faithful to the C.I., was combatted.

The questions here dealt with were vital ones for Communist organization and policy; it was a question of for or against the Communist International. After the session of the Enlarged Executive, the Executive published an Open Letter to the Party members, once more dealing in a comradely manner with the whole of these questions, but at the same time stating plainly that that it had already become an actual question of "for or against the C.I.". But the majority convened an extraordinary congress, and submitted to this propositions of a completely irreconcilable character, directed entirely against the resolutions of the C.I. The Executive of the C.I. exerted its utmost endeavors to maintain unity, but in a letter entitled "A Declaration and a Proposition", and submitted to the Party conference, it declared at the same time that no resolutions should be passed against the C.I., as the C.I. would now be obliged to regard such

action as a rupture with the C.I. on the part of the delegates concerned.

Still the majority did not give way in the least, but remained perfectly irreconcilable. The representatives of the Executive made persevering attempts to avoid a rupture, and went to the utmost limits in their anxiety to come to an understanding. Voices were heard even in the ranks of the majority itself, endeavoring to check the majority in its attack on the C.I. But in vain. Every attempt at an understanding was shipwrecked on the obstinate and hostile resistance of the majority, which had completely succumbed to the leadership of the Mot Dag-clique. The majority even flatly refused to appoint a commission entrusted with the task of finding a basis for an understanding; and it flatly refused to entertain the proposal made by the "Centre", that no division be taken, but the question first be put to the members. It was determined to bring about the rupture. 169 delegates rejected the proposition of the C.I., and left the C.I. The minority continued the Party conference as a section of the C.I.

The Tranmael-Bull-Lian group have completely disregarded the express wishes of the members; they have left the C.I. and split their Party, at a moment when the international working class is most bitterly in need of unity and international leadership. But this group is laboring under a delusion if it fancies that it can draw the N.L.P. along with it. The split was carried out without the knowledge and consent of the members and now when their decision is asked it is certain that the majority of them will not follow the "National Communists", but the section of the C.I., the Communist Party of Norway.

Tranmael-Bull-Lian, the organizers of the struggle "against Moscow", are in reality fulfilling the historical rôle of the bourgeoisie, for they are hampering the Scandinavian working class from entering into the revolutionary struggles of the working class of the Continent. The greatest bourgeois newspaper of Norway is right when it greets Tranmael, after the rupture, as the Saint George who is protecting his Norwegian home, and has slain the "Asiatic" dragon of Communism and Soviet Russia. These gentlemen are congratulating themselves too soon. Norway is not exempted from the struggles of the Communist International by the crime committed by the majority. On the contrary, the new era now beginning in the labor movement of Norway signifies the participation of Scandinavia in the world revolution. For a real and powerful Communist Party has come into being!

THE WHITE TERROR

A Cry for Help from the Brazilian Communists

By *El Encerrado* (Rio).

Although it is but two years since the young Brazilian Communist Party was called into existence by several small groups of active comrades, scattered throughout the mighty land of Brazil, it has already for over a year been condemned to an almost entirely illegal existence.

In July 1922, when an insurgent movement organized by the so-called "liberal" elements with whom the CP of Brazil has not joined forces, proved a failure, the Epitacio government—one of the most reactionary and anti-proletarian governments which Brazil has ever known—imposed a state of siege upon the country, and began a systematic campaign of agitation against its opponents. It began with the Communists.

Despite the paucity of their numbers, our Brazilian comrades represent the sole organized party in the whole country. They have to carry on a constant struggle with the anarchists, who unfortunately permit themselves to be influenced all too frequently by the anti-revolutionary agitation of their co-anarchists in Europe and the United States. Another disadvantage suffered by our comrades is the fact of their living scattered all over a country in which communication is extremely difficult, and where quite three months is required to get from one end of the country to the other. To this must further be added that the material upon which they have to work consists for the most part of immigrants, the majority of whom are possessed of but one wish: to accumulate wealth

with the utmost possible rapidity and then to leave the country again, and that they are confronted by a young, brutal, and inflexible capitalism, accustomed to overrule all resistance.

The police have already on several occasions confiscated the printing equipment, the records, the bookselling establishment, and the funds of the CP of Brazil. Many comrades have been incarcerated for weeks, and even months, in the prisons, without any reason being given for their arrest, and without any hope of release. We need only name a few of these: Peres, a brush-maker, Joaquin Silva, carpenter, the proletarian writer Brandac, already imprisoned for the second time; Canellas, the delegate to the 4. World Congress at Moscow; further José Marcillo, Thereza Escobar, Everado Dias, and Astrojeldo Pereira, who entered energetic protest against the war in 1914, from a class war standpoint, and again in 1917 against the participation of Brazil in the world crime. In March 1918 Pereira published a pamphlet with reference to the Brest-Litvsk peace treaty, in which he predicted the overthrow of German militarism beneath the blows of the Bolsheviks.

A trade union which raised a protest against this persecution was suppressed by the authorities. Police officials in high positions declare openly that the mere avowal of Communism suffices to justify the sharpest persecution.

A new enactment has been issued gagging the trade union organizations. The members of trade unions are now only permitted to meet together under the supervision of a police official, and any discussion of questions lying beyond their narrowest professional interests is strictly prohibited.

This reign of rampant reaction is supported by the church and the Catholic press. The present president of the state of Brazil, Bernardes, stands for the inquisitorial Catholicism of the state of Minas Geraes, and the bourgeois reaction of the state of Sao Paulo.

Our imprisoned comrades are in danger of deportation to the convict station of Aere, situated immediately on the equator.

The Brazilian Communists call upon the comrades in all countries to spread abroad the knowledge of these facts, and to send telegrams of sharpest protest to State President Bernardes in Rio de Janeiro, and to the Brazilian embassies of their own countries, against the incarceration and transportation of our comrades.

At least the world has now the opportunity of seeing what Brazilian democracy is in reality.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Trotsky's Command to the Red Army on the Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics celebrates its 6th anniversary amidst the gathering clouds of great and terrible events in Europe. In view of the endeavors being made by the imperialist robbers of the world to tear the body of the German nation to pieces, and in view of the heroic efforts being made by the German working class to defend the independence of the country and to clear the way to a socialist state of society, we are more resolved than ever to secure the independence of the Soviet Union and its future. The workers of all countries possess our warmest sympathies. Our powers are devoted to the preservation of peace. But the military watchfulness of the Soviet government will not relax until the piratical intentions of imperialism are frustrated.

On November 7., the 6th anniversary of the greatest revolution, the troops solemnly march past before the assembled workers. Our parade, this time as always, will represent neither hot-headed over-zealousness nor any description of belligerent provocation. But more than ever before it will express our complete readiness to interpose our own bodies between our peace and work, and those who venture to attempt any attack upon them.

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of War of the SSSR, and People's Commissary for the Army and Navy.

L. Trotsky.

RELIEF FROM RUSSIA

Russian Peasants' Assistance to the German Proletariat

By Ehrenfried Wagner.

While the German proletariat is fighting its vanguard struggles with reaction, while the working class population of Germany is bringing great sacrifices and is suffering terrible privation, while the German workers and peasants are face to face with decisive struggles, in the Hinterland of world revolution the Russian workers and peasants are getting ready for assistance on a large scale. The Russian proletarians follow with the greatest interest the present events in Western Europe. To the last peasant the Russian Soviet people have realized what it would mean for the Russian Soviet Republic if reaction were triumphant in Germany. All workers, peasants and members of the red army are also aware that the German proletariat will do its utmost to prevent the establishment of a white regime in Germany. The Russian proletariat is waiting impatiently for the outbreak of the German Revolution and for the proclamation of the German Soviet Republic. The Russian red army and the Russian workers and peasants' sons would like to march immediately, arms in hand, to Germany to the assistance of the German comrades who are hard pressed. But the time is not yet ripe for this kind of assistance.

To show, however, to the German proletariat how strongly they sympathise with it, the Russian workers and peasants have organized another kind of assistance. The revolutionary people of Russia realize that the coming struggles in Germany will exact great sacrifice. One must be prepared for every emergency. Russia knows the horrors of civil war. Therefore, it was enough for the Central Committee of the International Red Aid to appeal to the Russian workers and peasants and they at once mobilised their forces for immediate aid on a large scale to the German proletariat which will be soon in the midst of a devastating civil war. The readiness to help is most noticeable among the German peasants who found in Soviet Russia a second fatherland. The German communists on the Volga and in the province of Odessa say: "We cannot take a direct part in the struggle with the bourgeoisie, but we can help the German workers and peasants with bread and money. Thus the Provincial sections of the International Red Aid are receiving daily large and small quantities of foodstuffs, corn, cattle, money and valuables of all kinds. For instance, the peasantry of the Odessa district alone has forwarded up to date to the Red Relief 25,000 Poods Corn. The waggons were unloaded by the transport workers free of charge. The arrival of the corn was an occasion for great demonstrations and mass meetings: "At the first call from Germany, the corn will be sent off!" The peasants of the Nicolaev District have sown corn on 400 desjatins of land, and the produce is also to be forwarded to the International Red Aid for the German workers. Further gifts of corn have been received from the peasants of the Seltz district (620 poods wheat) and from the peasants of the Yaransk district (500 poods of corn). The province of Viatka has up to now contributed 5031 poods of corn and 216 chervontzi (about 1000 Dollars).

These contributions from the German colonists are particularly significant, as they come from districts which only a little while ago were stricken by famine. But the Russian peasants are anxious to repay the German workers for their assistance during the famine in the Volga district.

The Russian people however are not limiting themselves to consignments of food. Thus the Moscow Central Committee of the International Red Relief, has again received a gift from the Odessa province, viz. a box full of valuables: gold watches, rings, silver cigarette cases, earrings with precious stones, as well as many foreign gold and silver coins. In Odessa itself, 2080 gold roubles (1,040 dollars) 100 dollars and 8 lire were collected for the political prisoners. The International Red Relief expects to receive a net profit of 10,000 gold roubles (5,000 dollars) from the Odessa silver lottery, which is to be expended for the victims of the proletarian class struggle. Even the inhabitants of the steppes in far away Kirgeesia have mobilized their forces, and have already delivered 100 head of cattle. They are organizing

a Red Relief Week for the German workers. The miners in the Urals have already collected over 5,000 gold roubles and have promised to keep up collections.

All these figures already show to-day that the Russian proletariat is in earnest with its assistance to the German revolutionaries. As we are only at the beginning of our "aid action", we may be sure that the aid will be of a substantial kind. The German proletariat will be made to realise that it does not stand alone in its present hard struggle, and that the Russian people does not rest content with mere resolutions and expressions of sympathy, but means to give effective help. And it must be admitted that the sacrifices which the Russian proletariat is bringing are heroic. For although Russian economy has been looking up recently and the people are beginning to breathe freely again, it cannot be said that they are giving out of their abundance.

Moreover, the Russian proletariat is not only collecting for the hard pressed German proletariat. It is also assisting with the same readiness and self abnegation all proletarians who are lingering in prisons throughout the world. Not a single appeal of the International Red Relief has been left without response. The Russian proletariat is always ready and willing to repay to its brothers throughout the world a thousandfold what it received from them itself.

May the proletarians of all countries, who are not directly engaged in class struggle and are not called upon to risk their lives, take an example from the heroic self abnegation of the Russian workers and peasants!

The Russian Relief Action for the Children of the German workers

The Soviet Russian Relief League for the children of the German workers has issued an appeal to all the workers of the Soviet Union, from which we reprint the following passages:

"The bony hand of famine has seized the German worker and his family by the throat. The uncontrollable and criminal economic measures adopted by the German bourgeoisie and the German opportunists, and the frightful pressure exercised by Entente capital, have utterly ruined German industry, and plunged the working class into the profoundest depths of want and misery.

The proletariat of Germany is literally starving beneath the pressure of taxation and the iron ring of merciless impoverishment, which is increased from day to day by the catastrophic depreciation of the mark. The workman is no longer able to buy even a few pounds of black bread. In order to avoid actually starving to death, the working men and women raid the gardens and fields of the landowners during the night, and instead of obtaining bread receive the bullets of the police. There are innumerable suicides occasioned by starvation.

But the sufferings of the adults cannot be compared with the far greater torments endured by the children of the German workers. The German children are condemned to slow death by starvation. Infantile mortality increases daily,

and the inevitable accompanying phenomena of starvation—scurvy and tuberculosis—are undermining the health and lives of the children with inexorable cruelty.

Can the workers of the first Workers' and Peasants' Government remain inactive spectators of the misery endured by the German workers, the tortures suffered by the children of the workers of the Germany?

Working and peasant women! Remember that during the years in which the Soviet Union suffered bitter need—during the time of the Volga famine—the German working women, afforded great help to the workers' children of the Soviet Union, collecting money and other gifts in their native country, and providing your starving children with food and clothing. Many of your children owe their lives to the care and support of the German working women.

Comrades, working men and women, peasants, it is our duty to hasten to the aid of the children of the German workers, and to save them from the tortures of death by starvation.

In Red Moscow the working women have already begun to organize this relief action. A resolution passed by a meeting of working women's delegates decided on the immediate commencement of the activities of the Relief League for the German workers' children. This league is managed by a committee elected by the delegate meetings.

All workers are free to join the league; everyone paying the membership subscription of five gold copeks monthly, and actively supporting the measures of the league, has a right to become a member. It is only if broad masses of workers belonging to the Soviet Union participate that the means can be raised to enable immediate aid to be brought to the starving German children.

Working women and peasants! Follow the example of the Working women of Moscow. Found sections of the national league in aid of the German workers' children in your delegates' meetings. Workers! Organize nuclei in your factories and state institutions, from groups of friends of the Relief League. Peasants! Become members of the League!

Workers one and all! Collect gifts in money and in kind, and send these in a properly organized manner to the committee of the National League.

The close friendship and unity between the workers of the Soviet Union and the workers of Germany are the best guarantee for the victory of the German working class in the impending revolutionary struggles!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

To Our Readers

We regret that owing to the action of the Military Dictator, General von Seeckt, in ordering the closing down of the Friedrichstadt Druckerei, we were only able to publish an eight page "Imprecorr." last week. Other arrangements have now been made for printing the "Imprecorr." and we hope in future to be able to maintain our usual sixteen page issue.

Ed.