

of your leadership. Therefore your Communist workmates are thrust into prison. It is hoped in this manner to render you defenceless and docile!

Prove to the Generals, the exploiters and the Social Democratic leaders that they are reckoning without you. A storm of protest against the prohibition of your fighting organization, a powerful wave of sympathy and enthusiasm, an energetically carried out act of solidarity, of help and support for the forbidden Communist Youth, must bring to nought the astute plans of the exploiters.

You also, young Social Democratic worker, must now recognize what action, with the help of your leaders is intended against the proletarian Youth. The fate of the young Communists today will tomorrow be your own fate! The proletarian Youth must take up the gauntlet which has been flung down. Away with those who, by splitting and treachery, weaken you in the fight which is forced upon you. Over their heads to the fighting United Front of the young workers and peasants for the defence of your interests — that is the need of the hour!

The working Youth must welcome this unintended testimonial on the part of the ruling class.

With all means and with all forces strengthen the forbidden Communist Youth! Gather more firmly round your red flag! Every young worker and peasant must be a new fighter for the Communist Youth! Tear to fragments the prohibition which will deprive you of your best weapon! Down with the Dictatorship of the White Generals! Down with the White Terror conducted with the help of Social Democracy!

Long live the prohibited and dissolved Communist Youth of Germany! Long live the brave proletarian Youth of Germany which in the battle for the Future, stands at the side of the fighting proletariat and in the front ranks!

Moscow, 25th. November 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

### DOCUMENTS

#### The Declaration of the Communist Fraction in the German Reichstag on the Dissolution of the C. P. of Germany.

The law against the Communists is here!

The Fascist military dictatorship declares the Communist Party to be dissolved.

General von Seeckt obeys the commands of the treasonous Kahr!

The revolutionary will of the working class embodied in the Communist Party is to be crushed with the mailed fist.

The military dictatorship tears aside the last constitutional and democratic trappings which concealed the grim reality.

The working class laughs at this prohibition by a general who has sprung up from the rubbish heap of history.

The leader of a troop of yokels will, with the sanction of this so-called parliament and this so-called government, dictate the will of heavy industry to a people numbering sixty million.

In the name of the Weimar Constitution which has been torn into a thousand pieces, the hirelings of Stinnes and his consorts have driven out the democratically elected workers' government in Saxony. In the name of this Weimar Constitution, they have destroyed the press of the revolutionary workers and their organizations, so that the working masses, the only hope for the salvation of the German people, shall remain without leadership in the struggle and in order that the final victory of Fascism and militarism may be assured.

In the name of the torn up Weimar Constitution, in the name of the German nation we call out:

Away with this government of starvation, of suppression of the working people, of the dismemberment of Germany!

Away with the military dictatorship!

General von Seeckt exercises dictatorial powers in the most brutal manner. It was he who organized the Hun-like campaign against Saxony. It was he who abolished the right to strike. As a recompense therefor he has conceded two favours. He permits those who possess gold to obtain money of a constant value, and gives expression to the wish that the bourgeoisie and profiteers shall not regale themselves openly in the public restaurants, but shall carouse and feast in their own resplendent dwellings. The dictatorship of General von Seeckt is not a

national dictatorship, but is a dictatorship of those who drove the German people into the criminal war, who, out of lust for territory, caused it to bleed in the war, who for five years after the war have greedily exploited it, and who today wish to set up a despotism in order to plunder shamelessly what yet remains of Germany.

The national dictatorship is a lie. The dictator von Seeckt does not venture to impose taxation on the Stinnes, the Krupps and the Junkers in order to provide bread for the starving Rhine and Ruhr districts. He intends to deliver them to the French. General von Seeckt will not venture to take bread from the Junkers in order to feed the two and a half million industrial workers in the occupied portion of Germany who are unemployed through no fault of their own. The dictatorship of Seeckt is helpless when it is a question of representing the interests of the Nation, i. e. all those who are working with brain or hand either in town or country; it only attempts to scourge the people, to place it under the yoke of exploitation and robbery. We therefore proclaim a life and death struggle against the dictatorship of suppression and exploitation of the working people, against this dictatorship of bourgeois bankruptcy.

In this hour we summon the German proletariat to the fight for the dictatorship of all those in Germany who are toiling and suffering. It is History which is calling all who are suffering need, whether in town or country, at the bench or in the office, to gather together, to set up the dictatorship of the great majority of the German people and, with iron determination, to lead the German people out of misery and disruption.

Social Democracy, which has not yet expelled such a man as Ebert, who gave his sanction to the setting up of the Fascist dictatorship of General von Seeckt, — this Social Democracy has become the accomplice of Fascism, it bears the full responsibility for all the shame of this dictatorship, for the misery of the masses of the people and for the collapse of Germany. Whoever fails to break with the Social Democracy is equally guilty, and he who seeks to hide this guilt by oppositional phrases is an even more dangerous enemy, because he seeks to deceive the workers, while Ebert and Wels have lost the entire confidence of the people. We call upon the left Social Democrats to prepare for the deciding struggle. Will they participate in the uprising of the working class, or will they finally rot in the slough of the Socialist Party of Germany?

If the latter is the case, then the corpse of left Social Democracy must be removed from the ranks of the workers.

The Communist Reichstag Fraction calls upon the proletariat to prepare for the final struggle. The revolt of the proletariat is the only thing which can save the German people. The military dictatorship seeks to render this impossible by forbidding the workers' organizations and suppressing the Labour press. Now is the time to set up everywhere illegal organizations. The military are converting the Reich into an armed camp. Well now, we will obtain these weapons and use them for the emancipation of the workers. We will not wait for the collapse of the military dictatorship. It is necessary to expedite it by our struggle. It is necessary, day by day, to reply to each of its blows; to answer its attempts to stifle the voice of the people by demonstrations in all the streets of the German towns.

To its attempt to starve us out it is necessary to reply with the marshalling of the unemployed.

In the fight against the military dictatorship, we shall prepare the armed uprising and the victory of the proletarian dictatorship!

Long live the Communist Party of Germany!  
Long live the Communist International!

#### To Our Readers

After a four weeks interruption the "Inprekorr" is again being published. It retains its previous character and will furnish readers with detailed and exact reports concerning the most important events and happenings in the sphere of Economics, Politics and the Labour Movement in all countries. Owing to technical reasons, the present English issue is limited to eight pages but the edition will be enlarged as soon as circumstances permit.

Readers will please note the New Address to which all communications should be sent: Postamt 64, Schließfach 29, Vienna VIII.

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 74 [50]

29th December 1923

Address for all communications: Vienna VIII, Postamt 64, Schließfach 29. — Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr Vienna.

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## The Bankruptcy of Germany.

By E. Pavlovsky.

Two years ago when I published a booklet which predicted the collapse of Germany, my views were only shared by quite a small group of comrades. Many comrades accepted the thing as a basis for propaganda without being convinced of its absolute correctness. Among the bourgeoisie my views were universally rejected.

Today, the fact that the German state is bankrupt is universally recognized. The state was not in a position to pay its officials their salaries on the 17th December. They received only the half of their pay with the intimation that "it is intended that the remaining half shall be paid on the 24th December". The state railways which have recently been separated financially from the German state, are equally bankrupt. The bankruptcy is not limited to the Reich and the business enterprises of the Reich: every individual state and every town is likewise bankrupt.

Production itself is involved in a most severe crisis. The number of the unemployed among the six most important trade unions were, on the 31st October, according to the returns of the skilled trades unions as follows:

Union	Membership in 1000	Entirely unemployed (percentage)	Short time (percentage)	Total	Per cent
Building workers	487	25.8	—	126	25.8
Wood workers	394	18.5	33.3	204	51.9
Metal workers	1152	18.9	77.1	1106	96.0
Textile workers	685	10.6	58.3	472	68.9
Factory workers	676	11.0	22.0	223	33.0
Printers	68	18.2	59.0	46	68.1
Total	3462	17.2%	41.6%	2177	57.3

According to these figures there were at the end of October in the most important branches of production, already 57.3 per cent. of the workers either unemployed or on short time. Since then the situation has become still worse. Production in Germany is labouring under the most severe crisis which can be imagined. This crisis is bound up in the closest manner with the bankruptcy of the state.

The present bankruptcy of the German state finances, which is becoming so plainly apparent, is no new phenomenon. The German state was already financially bankrupt two years ago. But this fact was concealed by the continually increased output of paper money. In the Autumn of 1923 all possibility of further concealment came to an end as the agrarians and peasants refused to sell their products in exchange for paper money. As a result it became impossible to supply the towns with food and the imperative necessity arose of creating a new currency which would be accepted by the peasants. This led to the creation of the Rent Mark and put a check to the further covering of the deficit, and thereby to the concealment of bankruptcy, by the unlimited issue of paper money.

The cause of the bankruptcy of the German Reich — apart from the foreign political and social relations, into which we will not go further in this connection — lies before all in the absolute taxation sabotage of the German bourgeoisie. The total taxation paid by the German people reckoned in gold marks at the official dollar course, amounted:

In the year 1922	1178.2	In the year 1923
January	57.2	
February	43.3	
March	54.8	
April	85.8	
May	122.6	
June	48.3	
July	48.3	
August	13.6	
September	14.4	
Total	474.7	

Of these amounts the greater portion was derived from taxes on the working class (wage tax reductions) and on the "consumers" — (which likewise means in an overwhelming measure the working class) in the form of taxes on the turnover of businesses and taxes on articles of consumption. The taxes paid by the German bourgeoisie and the German agrarians

together has not amounted this year, at the very highest estimate, to more than 200 million gold marks. It must also be taken into consideration in this connection, that under the new regulations of the finance system of Erzberger, the greater portion of the expenditure of the various states and municipalities had likewise to be met out of the revenues of the Reich, so that the bourgeoisie has paid no state or municipal taxation worth speaking of.

How trifling the amount of this taxation is can be seen by a comparison with the state income of France or of England. The state income of France amounted in the years 1922 and 1923 to over twenty milliard paper francs, equal to about six to seven milliard gold marks; that of England to 900 to 1000 million pound sterling, equal to 17 to 18 milliard gold marks. After making the fullest allowance for the impoverishment of Germany, it is still inconceivable that the German people, numbering sixty million could only raise taxes amounting to one fifth to one tenth of the sum raised by the people of France numbering about one third less.

This systematic tax sabotage on the part of the German ruling classes was partly conducted out of political considerations. The German ruling classes desired before all to furnish proof to the Entente that Germany was incapable of paying reparations. This policy incurred a complete defeat through the occupation of the Ruhr and ended with the actual separation of the most important economic portion of Germany from the Reich. The other motive for the tax sabotage was the idea of thereby enforcing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Although the privileges and positions of power which the working class had won in the November Revolution were gradually done away with, a valuable residue still remained over: the legal eight hour day, the demobilization decree, the factory councils etc. The motive which actuated the most conscious portion of the ruling classes in their sabotage of taxation was that of not allowing any means to be at the disposal of this „Marxist“ state. When we speak here of the political aims of the tax sabotage, we have in mind the class and historical import of these proceedings. The individual tax-payer shirked the payment of taxes simply from egoistic and selfish motives, as the state was too weak to compel him to pay.

There now arises the question, how the financial situation in Germany will shape further. At present there is no possibility of the Reich being able to meet the necessary expenditure. As a result of the law for the creation of the Rent Mark, the further discounting of Bills etc. has been discontinued. The Rent Mark credit which was financed up to 1200 million Rent Marks has already been exhausted. There only remain therefore the following solutions: First, the increase of the capital of the Rentenbank and in connection therewith the increase of the credits to be granted to the state; secondly, new credits by the Reichsbank; third, the issue of a further quantity of gold loans and reserve gold bonds; fourth, foreign credits, and fifth, increasing the revenue from taxation with the simultaneous reduction of expenditure, i. e. the balancing of the state budget. Of these possible courses the first three lead unavoidably to the scrapping of the stabilization of the paper mark and rent mark which has been achieved since the 20th November. Foreign loans are hardly likely to be had under present circumstances except under conditions which would amount to converting Germany into a colony. (Very characteristic in this respect are the conditions under which the state railways received a credit of 700,000 pound sterling. As security for this credit, stores of coal were granted and in addition thereto the great banks and large industries have taken over the guarantee. For this well-secured loan the state railways are paying not less than 12 per cent. interest.)

With regard to the balancing of the state budget, this will be impossible unless the German bourgeoisie pay at least from fifteen to twenty times more taxes in gold than it did in the year 1922. Now the political reasons which hitherto caused the German bourgeoisie to regard it as inexpedient to pay taxes no longer exist. France, by the occupation of the Ruhr has secured for herself pledges and compelled at least a portion of the German bourgeoisie to deliver reparations. On the other hand, as a result of the passing of power into the hands of General Seeckt, the long-desired Dictatorship of the German bourgeoisie has been actually realized. The prolongation of the working time to that of the pre-war level, the discharge of workers whom the capitalists regard as superfluous or objectionable has been already accomplished, while real wages have been reduced to

about 44 per cent of the pre-war level\*). In short, the conditions have been created under which the German bourgeoisie can regard the German state as its state. The problem can now be stated as follows:

Will the German bourgeoisie, under the altered conditions, possess the will to secure the continued existence of the German republic by shouldering the necessary burden of taxation?

Assuming it possesses the will, is the German bourgeoisie capable of yielding the necessary taxes?

It appears that in view of the change in the relations of power of the classes and out of fear that the victory that has been gained over the working class may be endangered by the collapse of the state, the fully class conscious section of the German bourgeoisie is very much inclined to abandon its policy of taxation sabotage. In this respect the declaration of the organ of Stinnes, the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, of the 14th December is very characteristic. It states:

„The question for the moment is, that money be immediately provided, not only in the interest of the state, but also in the interest of national economy... It must lead to the most serious consequences if one day the administration of justice, the Police, the Reichswehr etc. should cease to function, if the wages of the officials can no longer be regularly paid, if corruption spreads and complete dissolution comes.

The interests of national economy and the interests of the state are seldom so closely bound up with one another as they are in the present and future days.“

The near future will therefore prove whether the German ruling classes possess a sufficiently strong political class-will to uphold their own state; or whether the process of dissolution has already made such progress, that this class-will to maintain the state will be shattered against the individual and personal interests.

The second question, whether the German ruling classes are economically capable of raising so much taxation as will render possible the continued carrying on of the business of the state, is very difficult to answer. It depends before all on the readiness to fight of the German proletariat in the widest sense, on the workers, employees and officials. If the present apathy of the German proletariat be a lasting phenomenon, if the workers, employees and officials continue to tolerate the prolongation of the working time, the reduction of real wages and the existence of an enormous army of unemployed without offering a struggle, if they accept without resistance the consolidation of the bourgeois dictatorship; then it is quite conceivable that the German bourgeoisie would be in a position to bring about for a while the financial stabilization of the bourgeois dictatorship at the expense of the working classes. In this connection it must also be remembered that if the dictatorship of the German bourgeoisie were stabilized for any length of time, it would cause that capital which has been sent abroad to come streaming back, and also call forth a new stream of foreign capital. It is also probable that foreign capital would be prepared to grant a large loan if the bourgeois regime in Germany appeared to be stable.

The results of this development would be the conversion of Germany into a colony of the Entente powers, under which the German capitalists, in the service of foreign capital, would exploit the German working class and continually depress its standard of living to those of an actual colonial people. This transformation would lead to a degeneration of the German people and eventually to mass emigration and wholesale mortality.

The present moment is so desperate that it would be wrong to cherish illusions. Complete as the collapse of the German Reich is at the present moment, its restoration under bourgeois leadership is not out of the question, provided there exists among the ruling classes the necessary class-will and if the working class does not oppose to this bourgeois class-will its own bitter, tenacious and obstinate revolutionary will! The events of the past weeks will lead the great mass of the German working class in this direction!

\*) According to the calculations of the official journal „Wirtschaft und Statistik“, (Economics and Statistics), the average wages of the skilled workers in the mining, building, wood, metal, and textile industries as well as skilled factory workers and printers amounted on an average in the month of October to 15.58 gold marks per week compared with a wage of 35 gold marks in 1913, that is 44.51 per cent. of the pre-war wages.

## POLITICS

### The Recent Crisis in Dutch Politics

By Gerard Vanter (Amsterdam).

It is in many respects significant that the first great conflict that has arisen between the governing parties in Holland for some years past has not originated in questions of home policy, but is directly connected with the great world-political problems in the Far East. It is surprising in this connection that the Dutch working class — it is true, more or less unconsciously — connived at the imperialist plans of the government of the great petroleum magnate Colijn, and failed to contribute in an adequate measure to the bringing about of the overthrow of the Colijn-Ruysch de Beerenbroek government.

The plans of the Dutch imperialists aim at the construction of a powerful fleet, besides the erection of naval bases for the purpose of „defending“ the Dutch colonies in the East Indies. Three hundred million Dutch guilders are — for the present — to be expended for this purpose, in order that (of course under the protection of the English Dreadnoughts) it will be possible to defend Dutch neutrality in the coming war. This „independent policy“, as the illustrious Foreign Minister, Jonkheer van Karnebeek designated it, demanded at the same time an enormous reduction in the wages of the employees in the civil service and „economizing“ in education and all other cultural work. As a result of this, it was possible to conduct a lively agitation against the naval plans of the Dutch imperialists which met with a great response among the broad masses of the workers.

On September 23, there were held in Amsterdam great protest demonstrations, the greatest which have ever been seen in Holland. Unfortunately, the workers did not succeed in uniting in one demonstration, as the Communists endeavoured to get them to do. There were therefore two demonstrations held on the same day participated in by 85,000 people. That in which the Social Democrats took part numbered 70,000 while that held by the Communist Party numbered 15,000. The agitation carried on subsequent to this, in which the Communist Party of Holland of course played a very active part, broke the phalanx of the government majority for, when the naval bill had to be voted on in parliament, ten of the Catholic members voted against it, because they feared, not without cause, the indignation of the Catholic workers.

As a result, the Colijn-Ruysch de Beerenbroek ministry was overthrown by 50 votes against 49, as the ministers were both personally and collectively, definitely committed to the naval bill.

The Social Democratic Party, and in the first place its leader Troelstra, did not fail to send up a great cry of victory. Troelstra, although during the debates in Parliament he declared he would not grant a single penny for military purposes, expressed his readiness to accept government responsibility. He was then summoned to an interview with the Queen, but the latter finally entrusted, not Troelstra, but the Catholic deputy, the president of the Second Chamber, Koolen, with the task of forming a government. It is expected that this Mr. Koolen will succeed in again forming a „Right“ cabinet.

It is thus once again proved that the most dangerous moment for the working class is that following a victory. The workers allowed themselves to be rendered content by the paens of victory chanted by Troelstra and neglected to carry on the agitation further for the direct dissolution of Parliament and for new elections.

The Communist Party, and the workers in the Trade Unions who sympathize with it, are everywhere, in their agitation and propaganda calling attention to this neglect and in this they are meeting with growing approval among the masses. Of great importance in this connection is the emergence of E. d. o. Fim men, whereby a left wing is beginning to be formed in the ranks of the Dutch Social Democracy which is making itself particularly felt in the trade union field. An opposition has finally arisen in the free trade unions, which declares itself ready to march in a united front along with the Communists and revolutionary workers.

### America and the Recognition of Soviet Russia

By I. Amter.

The question of closer relations with Soviet Russia if not of recognition, is occupying the center of the stage in America at the present time. A number of United States Senators and Congressmen visited Soviet Russia last summer; business men and bankers have inspected the country. All of them, with the exception of Congressman Britten, have spoken in favor of closer relations with Soviet Russia; a few have been even for recognition.

The present discussion is the climax of a campaign that has been going on for the past year, under the particular leadership of Senator Borah. Although Borah was prevented from visiting Soviet Russia this past summer, he has been the most outspoken champion of recognition. He has been able to mobilize considerable sentiment for his position, not only among the workers and farmers, but also among the industrialists and financiers.

The sentiment among the business men and bankers has been based on practical needs. Steel production has been carried on in the United States at a tremendous speed. The country has not been able to absorb all the production: the boom that started about a year ago is practically over, and the steel mills are beginning to slow down. The United States Steel Corporation, which was at one time working at 95% capacity, is now operating at 80 per cent; the Independent mills are working only at 60 to 70% capacity. There is a huge surplus of iron and steel and the unfilled tonnage is diminishing.

For several years, both during and since the War, America has been turning more and more to the South American market. But South America is in no position to take a large portion of American production for the simple reason that South America is an exporter of raw material, primarily to Europe. Europe is unable to buy this material, and as a consequence trade with South America is slowing down. Hence American steel manufacturers are turning to the biggest market that the world has to offer, viz., Soviet Russia. The reports of travelers to Soviet Russia have convinced the manufacturers that Soviet Russia is solvent and that industry and agriculture are on a stable basis. They feel convinced that Russian Communism is on the wane, and business with Soviet Russia on a sound foundation.

The French occupation of the Ruhr and the union of the iron of Alsace-Lorraine with the coal of the Ruhr has placed France in a most favored position. This union is making France a formidable competitor in the steel market of the world. The United States does not look upon this competition with equanimity. France, furthermore, is seeking closer relations with Soviet Russia. Several missions have already visited Russia; several English missions have likewise been in Soviet Russia and have reported most favorably on trade relations. Only the United States stands outside: her situation in Europe is fraught with danger.

The farmers of America are in a serious situation. There is a huge surplus of wheat on the market: 200,000,000 bushels last year and 160,000,000 from this year's crop. This, despite the fact that wheat production was reduced this year. The farmers have been clamoring for a reduction of the freight rates, as a means of relieving their position. In 1913, the railroads received 13% of the price of corn, in 1923, the railroads and distributing agencies took 47% of the price of corn. The railroads, realizing their power, refused to make any reduction. The farmers again looked to the restoration of the German market. This has been frustrated by the chaotic condition into which Germany has been plunged by capitalist machinations and the occupation of the Ruhr. When Coolidge announced a loan to Germany to the amount of 150,000,000 dollars for the purchase of food in the United States, the farmers applauded him. A representative of the Farm Bureau, who was in Berlin at the time, declared that the farmers of America would support the idea. But this again has for the time being been thwarted. America does not yet consider the moment propitious for taking a hand in the German situation and settling it with American gold.

American farmers have been frightened by the news of the increasing quantities of grain that Soviet Russia is putting on the international market. Russian grain is cheaper than American grain: there is great danger for the American farmer that his produce will be forced off the European market. Hence he demands that the American government come to an arrangement with the Russian peasants with regard to grain prices on

the international market. America is approaching an election and the six million farmer votes are not to be despised. Coolidge, therefore, is listening to their demands, not only to appease the rebelliousness which is rising, but also to capture their votes! A very skilful election manoeuvre!

Before the earthquake in Japan, America became apprehensive of the growing power of Japan and her encroachments in the Far East. The Japanese disaster has put an end to the aims of Japanese Imperialism for some time to come. Even though the Japanese government announces that the state of Japan is sound, all of her resources, nonetheless, will be required to restore the industries and buildings that have been destroyed. Had conditions been as before the earthquake, America would have needed the aid of Soviet Russia in the Far East. As things are today, American will take advantage of Japan's embarrassment to draw Soviet Russia nearer and make a friend of her for future purposes.

Hughes is taking an intransigent stand. He has been against relations with Soviet Russia, as being „unfit“ for contact with „civilized“ nations. He roundly declares that America must have nothing to do with Soviet Russia. He stated most recently, during the discussion in the Cabinet, that either this condition must continue, or America must recognize Soviet Russia de jure. This is sheer bluff, for Hughes would oppose nothing more energetically than any kind of recognition. Hughes is a possible choice as the candidate of the Republican Party. If Coolidge is trying to disarm the Progressives and is making a bid for the nomination, Hughes is going him one better and offering the Progressives still more.

Samuel Gompers is an inveterate foe of Soviet Russia. On fitting and unfitting occasions, he assails Sovietism and Communism. At the convention of the American Federation of Labour, a resolution calling for the recognition of Soviet Russia was overwhelmingly defeated. Gompers has not the rank and file of the organized labour movement behind him. Gompers' dictum in political matters, and that of the American Federation of Labour have no weight with the American workers, who act as they please. Coolidge knows that and disregards Gompers. The fact, however, is that large masses of workers, without being sympathetic to Soviet Russia, demand „Hands off“.

The political, industrial and financial situation is placing the question of Soviet Russia before America as an issue. Elections, too, are coming. Borah may well be satisfied with things

## ECONOMICS

### The Economic Effects of the Micum Agreement.

By Rolf (Berlin).

The „Ruhr War“ has been finally brought to a close by the arrangements which were made under the Agreement between the Micum (Mission Interalliee de Contrôle des Usines et des Mines) and the Rhenish-Westphalian Colliery Union and in that of the Micum with the Wolff and Krupp groups: the Rhenish-Westphalian colliery industry has ceased to form a part of the German productive apparatus; it has become a part of the French. From these agreements the aims with which the Ruhr war was entered upon become quite clear. It was never embarked upon on account of reparations or because of the failure of German heavy industry to fulfil its obligations, but in order finally to clear up the relationships between the German and French heavy industries. And from start to finish German heavy industry has been endeavouring to get linked up with the French, in the first place to free its best preserved portion from the remainder of Germany which had ceased to be capable of competition, and in the second place to open up possibilities for recovering, at least a portion, of the world markets which it had lost. The Ruhr war has been carried on in order to decide the respective shares to be received by French and German industry in their treaties. And the French have secured the victory through their military power and by their success in overcoming the economic difficulties which at first threatened their industries. The Micum Agreement, together with other private unpublished agreements, is the outward expression of the relationship between the German and French industries in their alliance.

German heavy industry is also using this agreement in order to intensify the struggle within German capital. The companies concerned are placed in a more favourable situation by the Micum Agreement than the colliery companies pure and simple. The advantage which was afforded heavy industry proper (that is the coal and iron concerns which had combined) by the renewal of the Rhenish Westphalian Coal Syndicates agreement of 1908 — which agreement excluded horizontal trustification in favour of vertical and hence was directed against the „pure“ colliery companies — was increased by the reduction of the outstanding coal duties in the case of the companies party to the Micum Agreement. At the same time these circumstances tend to bring about a new concentration in the Rhenish-Westphalian Mining industry and an almost complete absorption of the „pure“ mining concerns into the syndicate.

Are the terms of the Micum Agreement capable of being carried out by German heavy industry?

The agreement provides for the payment by all collieries of the sum of 15 million dollars for coal duty, fines, etc. 10% of which must be paid within the first fourteen days after conclusion of the individual agreements made by individual concerns with the Micum, and the remainder within two to six months in graduated payments. Assuming the price of a ton of German coal to be 7 dollars, the sum of 15 million dollars represents the market value of the Ruhr coal output for 1—2½ years.

In addition to this, for every ton of Ruhr coal sold in occupied and unoccupied Germany, a tax of 10 French francs must be paid, which secures however, exemption from payment of further duties (Coal tax, etc.) It has been proved that this tax is easily borne since the price of German coal considerably exceeds that of English and French, despite the fact that the wages of the Ruhr miners is only a tithe of that received by the English and French miners.

Besides this the Reparations payments have to be considered, which are not published in the Agreement but are detailed in the unpublished appendices, but which, it is rightly assumed, exceed those of the reparations programme hitherto made public. For example, the figures for the delivery of coke, which is the most important product for the iron concerns, extend as high as 35% of the production.

Despite the unquestionable difficulties which these circumstances impose upon the German section of heavy industry, they can be overcome — even without touching real values and without sacrificing even a portion of the credit granted by the Government during the period of passive resistance. The coal duty of 40% and 30% respectively has been abolished. The tax of 10 francs presents an impost of only 6% of the selling price of coal.

The Rhenish-Westphalian collieries, however, will, as heretofore, tolerate no reduction in their profits. They are transferring the whole burdens of the agreement upon the shoulders of the proletariat and hope to increase their profits through increased exploitation. The Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry is, of its own accord, altering the legal eight hour day into a nine and nine and a half hour day for surface workers and an eight hour day for underground workers. The trade unions and working class leaders are renouncing, without opposition, positions of the utmost importance, not only for the proletariat of the Ruhr, but for the proletariat of the whole world. The abandonment of the eight hour day marks the beginning of the struggle of Franco-German Capital against the working class and will be followed by the introduction of the remaining demands of the heavy industry — wage reductions, mass dismissals, wage differentiations, repeal of social legislation, limitations of the rights of the factory councils.

The setting aside of the eight hour day is not only a matter for the Ruhr proletariat, nor of the proletariat of unoccupied Germany, it concerns much more the proletariat of the whole world. The abolition of the eight hour day in the Ruhr will be followed inevitably by that of the eight hour day in the remaining industrial states, if only to prevent the possibility of German-French dumping competition. The duty of the Ruhr proletariat, of the German proletariat, of the proletariat of the whole world is: resistance and support of the struggle against the relinquishing of the eight hour day, the world's proletariat must not suffer such a great defeat.

The Micum Agreements bring with them an intensification of the world crisis. They strengthen the French economic hegemony in Europe. French capital and German capital, which is

closely bound up with it by secret agreements and secret participation, are now in a position through the uniting of the German coal with the French iron districts, to bring renewed acute competitive force to bear upon the world markets against the efforts of the remaining iron producing countries, and above all against England and America. Already, according to Sir Robert Horne, French heavy industry is in the position to undersell the British by two pound per ton as a result of the depreciation of the franc and the resulting increase of profits through the wage reductions effected by this depreciation. A further cheapening of production in French iron through the support of the German heavy industry brings increased pressure to bear upon the iron production of the other countries, intensifies unemployment, and makes the world crisis more acute. Already, before the appearance of the increased French competition, the so-called Ruhr boom in North America had expired. And accordingly only 3.1 million tons of steel, for example, were produced in the United States in September as against 4 million tons in May. The deliveries of the Steel trust have fallen from 7.4 million in March and 7 million in May to 5 million in September. In England the steel production has decreased from 821,000 tons in May to 695,000 tons in September.

The crisis in unoccupied Germany caused by the incapacity of German Industry (resulting from the backward state of her productive apparatus) which prevented her from entering into competition in the world market, has now become unbearably greater through the separation of the Ruhr area, which can today be no longer considered as part of the German, but only of the French economic system. The best of Germany's important industrial and raw material areas are lost. She is certainly attempting, by relinquishing the eight hour day, by drastic mass dismissals and by keener exploitation, to stem the crisis — but she must soon give up the task as a hopeless one.

The result of the Micum Agreement is an intensification of the world crisis and an embittering of the competitive struggle within the world's economic sphere. But this intensification of the world crisis must unquestionably hit back at its originators, the Franco-German heavy industry. It is a mistake to assume that during the Ruhr war the German and French industries were opposed to one another in two distinct camps, and that the conclusion of the Micum Agreement has consolidated them into a unified continental trust. From the beginning there were more antagonism within the German than within the French heavy industry, which presented in fact two wings (in Germany the antagonists Stinnes-Wolff-Krupp, in France the antagonists Schneider-de Wendel). The antagonistic groups within the German as within the French Industry have now united into a single group which is, at least, also strongly influenced by the great American concerns of Morgan and Rockefeller.

In the union of the German and French Industries in the Micum Agreement lie the germs for new conflicts which will find expression through the intensification of the world crisis. In the single groups struggle will ensue from part of them over the share of participation in the event of a reduction in sales, and the single German-French groups, through international extension and combination with one or another world concern, will fight with one another over the share in exports. With the intensification of the world crisis and the abolition of the eight hour day a new and enormous burden is cast on the proletariat. They bring with them the keenest exploitation of the workers and in addition the enormous suffering endured by the great masses of unemployed. It is the task of the proletariat of the whole world, in combination with that of Germany and the Ruhr, to fight against the enormous menace presented by this new offensive of Capitalism.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Wage Struggles of the Metal Workers and of the Industrial and State Employees of Austria.

By Ernst Haidt, Vienna.

Since the beginning of this year the collective agreements of the Vienna metal workers as well as the industrial employees have expired. It was intended to make the renewal of the agreements the occasion for restoring to the workers and officials a part of

that which the employers had previously taken away, partly by way of the agreed wages reduction, but in still greater measure, through the ruthless wage deductions in particular concerns. In April the Union of Metal Workers put forward a claim for a 15% increase, but in reality only 10% was demanded from the employers and the negotiations ended in the securing of a 5% increase. In the deciding conference the bureaucrats of the Metal Workers Union could only secure the agreement of the Factory Council to this increase by pledging their determination to continue the agitation for the outstanding 15%. Naturally the promise was not carried out. In course of time the Vienna collective agreement and with it the agreements of the other wage districts were conditionally extended and at last, at the end of July, the Union of Metal Workers agreed to a further three months provisional agreement and to the exclusion of the operation of the index for the months of August, September and October. In this the metal workers were told that they were making a good bargain, as during this time there was little doubt the index would be a negative one. The facts, of course, presented another picture. During the months in question the index, which moreover did not represent the actual increase, showed an increase of 7% in the cost of living. Apart from the excessive wage reductions which in the case of many higher paid metal workers amounted to 20%, the whole metal workers lost 14% of their wages in the course of the year. In the case of the industrial employees the conditions were analogous so that the metal workers and employees were this time compelled to demand a corresponding settlement of their wages and salaries.

The executives of both unions hastened to bring the matter to the fore and the executive of the metal workers union demanded a 15% wage increase, an increase of the basic figure of the cost of living index from 46 to 50%, an increase of the grades of wage increase to meet the high cost of living from 800, 1300, and 1500 crowns to a uniform 1500 crowns per hour. Thereby the wages of the women and young persons, would in some degree be increased. The Union of industrial employees demanded a uniform increase of 25% together with the re-fixing of the minimum salaries. The employers flatly refused the demands in both cases. The metal industrialists agreed to a certain increase in the minimum wage established by the agreements, and the industrialists in all trades agreed to improve the salaries of employees where special efficiency in the employee warranted, but flatly refused the uniform increases. Evidently there was here the intention to exclude the organization of the employees and to hand the individual employee over to the goodwill of the employers. A barefaced conspiracy against the organizations. All attempts of the union officials to come to terms were foiled by the refusal of the employers. Above all the former capacity to negotiate had to be restored and nothing remained but the threat of a general strike. The officials (6000) of the electrical industry had gone on strike, and the employers retaliated by locking out 11,000 metal workers. From the side of the unions in question an ultimatum supported by the trade union commission was issued, after expiration of which the strike would follow, with the cutting off of light and power of every kind. At this time however the demands of the state employees were also acute, they demanded an increase in their salaries of 30%. How little the threat of the general strike was earnestly intended can be seen from the fact that the Trade Unions Council did not use the opportunity to co-ordinate the strike of the state employees, the metalworkers and the industrial employees. And further, during the negotiations relative to the demands of the state employees, those of the officials of the state railways were separately considered and ended at the same time as the general strike threat was operating, and the leaders turned to the government to invoke its mediation in the „menacing catastrophe“. Negotiations were started and the following terms arrived at: for the metal workers a wage increase of about 6% instead of the 15% demanded, alteration of the basic index figure from 46 to 50, proportional increase in the time rate basis set forth in the provisional agreement but which had been long exceeded. The industrial employees obtained a 6% increase instead of the 25% demanded. The Metal workers and industrial employees have thus only obtained a part of that which was taken away from them in the course of the year, and this despite the threat to use the extreme weapon of attack, though of course, the Government, and Employers knew that it would not be used by the Executive of this Trade Union Council. The mood of the workers and industrial employees is accordingly bad.

After the success of the employers, the Government concerned itself with the demands of the state employees. During the negotiations the Chancellor Seipel brought the proposals relative to the officials salaries before the National Council. These contained a reduction of the minimum from 165.4 to 158.8. That is in effect, a decrease in salary. At this point the dictatorial attitude of the Chancellor produced the strike of the Post, Telegraph, and telephone officials which, according to the plan of organization, would be supported according to the Trade Unions Council, by other sections of state officials. However, it did not come to that. As with the struggle of the metal workers and industrial employees, the question was transferred to the National Council and there to a sub-committee, where a compromise was worked for. The result was that the Government can safely say, that despite the strike they succeeded in crushing the state employees. The latter renounce all claim to the index variation until May, and all this for a sum, which in the lowest wage group affords the two-months back payment of 130,000 kronen. This termination which is the product of the compromise policy of the Social Democratic members of the government has naturally enraged the members of the technical Union, particularly where the workers predominate. Not until 24 hours later, and only after a part of the post office activity which had been renewed was again suspended, could the now more isolated unionists be brought to abandon the strike. It is now apparent that the trade union leaders, as well as the government members of the Social Democratic Party never had the intention to use the strike weapon but only to use the threat to effect a compromise with the employers and a coalition with the Christian Socialist Party. To this compromise policy were the most vital interests of the workers and officials sacrificed, it was purchased at the price of an economic lowering of their status, and defeat. This should bring the workers and officials to realize that only by the unconditional use of the class war weapon, even against the wishes of their leaders, can they defend themselves against their enemies, the employers and the government.

## FASCISM

### Fascism in the United States

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

Fascism, as a well-defined institution, has not appeared in the American class struggle as yet. The basic reason for this is, that in spite of the bitterness of the class struggle there has not been a far-reaching and fundamental crisis in the capitalist system. American capitalism is still lusty and strong, it still feels the blood of youth coursing through its veins, its productive powers are still on the increase. The labour movement generally is still completely dominated by a bureaucracy without the faintest traces of class-consciousness. The ideology of the trade union movement is shot through and through with bourgeois influence, its economics is capitalistic, its philosophy is, at best, middle class liberalism. Subjectively, it presents not the slightest menace to capitalism. The objective strength of capitalism, coupled with the subjective weakness of the labour movement, renders impossible at this time such a crisis as would bring into existence a well-organized and militant Fascist movement at all comparable to the classic bands of Mussolini.

But if the Fascist menace is as yet vague and diffused in America, it is still very real. The roots of Fascism are imbedded deep in the soil of American life, and today, under the stimulation of the example of triumphant Mussolini, they begin to push through the soil in many places. Branches of Mussolini's own party are formed among the Italian immigrant population of America. The Ku Klux Klan is flourishing, especially in the South and Middle West, and from its strongholds, the backward agrarian districts, is reaching into the middle class circles of the cities. The American Legion, ex-service men under the leadership of bourgeois ex-officers, is still a powerful exponent of Fascist ideology, in spite of the things that have somewhat retarded its development in that direction. The Minute Men of the Constitution, the latest comer in the field of budding Fascist organizations, bids fair to become a militant anti-labour band of picked members of the bourgeoisie. Fascism is taking up a

very real position, is becoming more aggressive, is adopting the devious methods and tactics necessary to adjust itself to national and local peculiarities, and bids fair to challenge the labour movement even before any revolutionary developments have shaken American society. The counter-revolution in this country is organizing its forces far in advance of the revolution.

In spite of all that has been written about the Fascisti, the workers of America have no clear idea of what it means to the labour movement. The capitalist class has no trouble in recognizing Fascism, in Italy and at home alike, as its friend. Judge Gary of the Steel Trust visited Mussolini in 1923, and came back to praise him and his work. The labour movement is more hesitating. Regarding the direct branches of Mussolini's party, it has been forced to take a stand against it. Due to the strenuous counter-activity of the unions with a large Italian membership, particularly the garment trades of New York City and through them the Central Trades and Labour Council, the Anti-Fascist Alliance was formed, largely under the inspiration and direction of the Communists. The Anti-Fascist Alliance has carried on a propaganda that has neutralized the Fascist Party in America, and has placed the American labour movement on record against Fascism. But this has not meant action against the Fascist movement of American origin and American trademark.

The American Legion, composed of ex-service men, founded and led by ex-officers of the American Expeditionary Force in France, has developed along the well-known Fascist lines. In countless towns and cities it has accumulated a record of strike-breaking activities and general violence against the labor and revolutionary movements which has made it hated in labour circles. Its spiritual kinship with the Fascisti of Italy was dramatically expressed when it invited Mussolini to be its guest at the San Francisco Convention of the Legion, October, 1923.

With a keen appreciation of the tactics of Mussolini, the American Legion modified its attitude toward the trade unions early in its career, and adopted the policy of "boring from within". In spite of the handicap of bitterness against it among the rank and file, it soon registered results with this policy, and at the Cincinnati Convention of the A. F. of L., June, 1922, an open alliance was proclaimed between the Legion and the Gompers bureaucracy. Now, a year later, posts of the Legion are being formed within the unions themselves. To those familiar with the development of Fascist trade unions in Europe, it will be readily seen that the basis for repeating the history of Italian labour is being laid in America. The trade union bureaucrats have a natural affinity for Fascist ideology, and when the time comes for the real Fascist Party of America they will, no doubt, furnish much of its leadership as have their counterparts in Europe. If Mussolini had been able to attend the Legion Convention, we might have had the sublime spectacle of Samuel Gompers and Benito, the dictator, speaking together from the same platform; it would have symbolized the growing power of Fascism within the labor movement of this country.

Another Fascist organization, the Minute Men of the Constitution, was organized only this year, 1923. It is led by Brigadier-General Charles G. Dawes who is, in addition to his military honours, an ex-budget expert in the Harding administration and a banker, connected with the Central Trust Company of Chicago. The Minute Men is more of a picked body than the Legion; the latter, although led entirely by bourgeois elements, has more of mass character. The Legion was hindered in its development as a complete Fascist body by this fact; to retain its mass following it was forced to make some show of fighting for the "soldiers' bonus", in which the Legion found itself in opposition to the ruling capitalist clique. The class-conscious bourgeoisie saw that the Legion had its limitations as a Fascist instrument, and this was undoubtedly one of the considerations that led to the formation of the "Minute Men", openly and frankly an adjunct of the "open shop" forces, militantly anti-labour, and aspiring to the role of shock-troops in the counter-revolution. It is too early to say whether it will achieve this ambition or not.

If the American Legion and the Minute Men of the Constitution show us two faces of the Fascist movement in America, particularly its crystallization among the ex-soldiers and within the labour unions, the Ku Klux Klan presents a phase not less important and differing in many respects. The K. K. K. is the most native, 100% American, and at the same time the most typical expression of Fascism in this country. It has its origin

and its stronghold in the agricultural districts. It is sweeping hundreds of thousands of the agrarian population into its folds, and is now gathering in the clerks, petty officials, middle class elements, and municipal employees, especially through the middle western States, and is even achieving some success among the isolated communities of workers such as the coal miners. Along with its spectacular organizational expansion it has become a belligerent and noisy, even if hooded and secret, factor in political life. It is making a bold bid for power in many communities.

Nominally the K. K. K. is a centralized organization, but actually it centralizes little but the sale of robes, etc. Even in this field (the economic exploitation of the ignorant yokels making up its membership) the K. K. K. has had several secessions and splits, and there are now several competing bodies, which are carrying on litigation against one another in the courts. It is actually decentralized in action and practical policies, taking on the most conflicting aspects in the various localities. In one community it may be militantly prohibitionist, its mauling masked bands flogging and mutilating "bootleggers" — illegal vendors of liquor — while in another neighbouring center the same whitehooded costume hides the faces of violators of the prohibition law and violence is turned against Federal enforcers of the Volstead Act. It may, in one locality, be an instrument of small producers and tenants trying to control the market for cotton and tobacco; near by it may simultaneously be carrying on violent suppression of tenant and farm labour movements. In its methods it is typically Fascist, except for the notorious white robe and hood; this mask is in contrast to the bold and open violence, the boast of the Fascisti in Italy.

There is conflict on the surface, without ever becoming a serious struggle, between the various Fascist bodies. Thus the Gompers bureaucracy in the trade unions, while adopting the American Legion, condemns the Fascisti and the K. K. K. Many sections of the Legion are publicly against the Klan. Sections of the labour movement are opposed to the Legion, in spite of Gompers sanction. All sorts of local antagonisms exist. But all of these budding Fascist organizations go to the same roots, and a fundamental harmony exists between them. This is even being demonstrated quite publicly. The Commander of the Legion, Owsley, praises Mussolini and threatens that the Legion will follow in his footsteps; the Legion invites Mussolini to its Convention. Gompers and his family condemn Mussolini. But that does not interfere with the closest alliance between the Legion and A. F. of L. bureaucracy, and Gompers speaks from the same platform to which Mussolini has been invited. Judge Gary endorses Mussolini, the Legion endorses Mussolini, Gompers endorses the Legion and brings it into the labour movement, the American Legion Convention refuses to condemn the Klan one week after Gompers condemns it — but through all the manoeuvres a greater solidarity is exhibited among the aristocracy, the leading spirits, of all these aspiring Fascisti. The "red menace" is being used to fuse them together, and when a revolutionary situation develops they will doubtless be united.

The bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labour is playing a role in the development of Fascism that is continually growing more important. In addition to the alliances with organizations of a fundamentally Fascist nature, it is also developing internally along the typical Fascist lines, more openly and definitely than even D-Aragona in Italy. At the October, 1923, Convention of the A. F. of L. in Portland, the fundamental program of the Gompers machine was enunciated by Major George L. Berry, president of the Pressmen's Union and prominent American Legionist, as follows:

We of the American Federation of Labour stand for four great principles governing industry. These are the ownership of property, an adequate return on investments, an adequate return allowed industry for the matter of deterioration, and that all workers, including managers, get proper compensation for what they put into industry.

Upon this basis the Gompers family appeal for a united front with the employing class against the growing unrest of the rank and file of labour. The employers have greeted the move with great enthusiasm. Such labor-hating organs of capitalism as the Chicago Tribune and the Journal of Commerce promptly endorsed it. The officials of the United Mine Workers Union, at the conclusion of a series of articles proclaiming a "red menace", said: "It is a situation that challenges not only organized labour but every employer as well. This is one occasion when labour and the employer might very well join hands and fight together instead of fighting each other."

Just as the renegades and reformists in the Italian labour movement gave leadership and service to the Fascisti, in the persons of Mussolini, Rossoni, and their kind, so we have every reason to believe the American bureaucrats and reformists will furnish much of the real Fascist leadership in the American class struggle. There can be no other meaning to the alliance of Gompers with Gary and Mussolini through the American Legion, to the programme of class collaboration, and to the campaign of expulsions, splits, and general violence, launched against the adherents of the Red International of Labour Unions. It may be confidently predicted that, with the new revolutionary wave sweeping over Europe, with growing unemployment and economic crisis facing America, with the intensifying of the class struggle and the growing power of the Red International with the rank and file, the American Fascisti will soon be a reality, that it will have an unexampled clutch upon the throat of Labour, and that its record for violence and brutality will vie with that of the classic exponents of Fascismo in Italy.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The White Terror

By Anatole France.

We print below a Foreword which the world-famed writer Anatole France has written to the French edition of Jack London's "Iron Heel", which has just been published in book form. Ed.

"The Iron Heel" — That is the forceful expression which Jack London uses in order to characterize the Plutocracy. The book which bears this title appeared in the year 1907. It portrays the conflict which one day will break out between the Plutocracy and the People, if the gods in their anger so permit. Ah! Jack London possessed that genius which perceives that which remains hidden from the mass of men. He possessed powers which enabled him to anticipate things. He foresaw all those events which are being enacted in our times. That fearful drama which he presented in the "Iron Heel" has, up to the present, not become an actuality and we do not know where and when this prophesy of the American disciple of Marx will be realized.

Jack London was a socialist, in fact even a revolutionary socialist. The man who, in his book, discerns the True and foresees the Future with its Wisdom, Strength and Goodness is named Ernest Everhard. He, like the author, had been a worker who earned his bread with the labour of his hands. For you must know that the man who wrote fifty wonderful volumes, all permeated with the defiant and challenging spirit of life and who died young, was the son of a worker and began his magnificent career in a factory. Ernest Everhard is full of courage and wisdom, full of strength and gentleness, all of which qualities are common to him and the writer who has created him. And in order to complete the similarity existing between the two, the author gives his hero a wife possessing a great soul and a strong mind, whom her husband makes a socialist. And we know that "Charmian", together with her husband Jack, withdrew from the Labour Party so soon as this Party betrayed signs of moderation.

The two revolts which form the subject of the book which I here present to the French reader, are of a bloody nature. They exhibit, in the plans of these who provoke them, such treachery and in their carrying out so much cruelty, that one asks oneself whether they would be at all possible in America, in Europe and particularly in France. For myself I would not consider them as possible if I had not before my eyes the example of the June days and the crushing of the Commune of 1870, which reminds me that against the poor everything and anything is permitted. All proletarians of Europe have, like their American class comrades, felt the imprint of the iron heel on their own bodies.

One of these days, however, the fight between Capital and Labour will again flare up. Then one will experience days like those of the revolts in San Francisco and Chicago, the indescribable horror of which Jack London has already portrayed beforehand. Nevertheless, there is absolutely no ground for the assumption that on that day (be it near or distant) Socialism will again be ground under the iron heel and choked in blood.

In the year 1917, someone had exclaimed to Jack London: "You are a terrible pessimist!" Sincere socialists reproached

him with bringing fear into the Party. But they were wrong. Those who have the rare and precious gift of being able perceive things beforehand, must openly call attention to these dangers which they sense, in advance. I recollect that the great Jaures said more than once: „With us, the forces of the classes against which we have to lead the fight are not sufficiently known. They have the power and they are credited with possessing virtue. The clergy have forsaken the morals of the church in order to take up those of business, and the whole of society will, as soon as it is seriously threatened, enter the field in order to defend itself.“ He, too, was right, just as Jack London was right, in holding the prophetic mirror before us in order to reveal our failings and shortsightedness.

We will not compromise the future. It belongs to us. The Plutocracy will fall. Now, in its fullness of power, one already recognizes signs of its collapse. It will disappear, because every caste regime is doomed to death. Wage Slavery must disappear, because it is unjust. It will fall at a time when it is still insolently boasting of its strength, exactly as Slavery and Serfdom fell.

And when one observes it closely one notices already today that it is worn with age. The war, which the large industry of every country brought about, the war which was their war, the war from which they hoped to acquire further wealth, has brought so much and so widespread devastation, that the international Oligarchy has itself been shaken, and the day is approaching when it will come crashing down on a ruined Europe.

I cannot, however, say that it will collapse at one blow and without a struggle. It will offer resistance. Its last war will perhaps be long drawn out and be marked by ups and downs. Oh, you heirs of the proletariat, oh you future generations, you children of the new times! You will conduct the war, and if ever cruel reverses cause you to have doubts as to the success of your cause, so will you again pluck up courage and exclaim with the noble Everhard: „It is true we have lost this time, but not for always. We have learnt several things. To-morrow we will take up the struggle again, more equipped and strengthened in wisdom and discipline!“

## The Voice of a Bulgarian Priest

(Letter from Pastor Athanas to his son, a student in Austria.)

My dear Son,

On the 1st of October last there came into our village, Boris Gentschiff, a medical student from Graz (Austria) and his brother Ivan Gentschiff, active officer. The Commandant of the village Colonel Todoroff, was replaced by Ivan Gentschiff for some „very important reasons“. The new Commandant Gentschiff caused fifteen cut-throats, millionaires in soldiers uniforms, to come from Philippopol. On the 3rd of October the whole gang spent the entire day in drinking with the brothers Gentschiff in the house of Pelo Popoff, and continually threatened that after the wine they would drink blood.

Towards 7 o'clock in the evening they actually placed thirteen reasants, among them your brother Petko, on a motor waggon and drove them towards Philippopol. We begged that at least they should be transported by day, but were compelled to silence by having bayonets pointed at us. The commandant forbade anyone to leave the village and issued no permits to leave.

The motor waggon drove off, accompanied by the cries of the women and children. The commandant and his brother, however, went on with their drinking in order to suppress the voice of conscience.

Days passed and we knew nothing whatever of the fate of the men arrested, until on the third day, Nikola Nikolov came from Kurtevo into our village and brought us the following terrible news: When the motor waggon was between the villages of Kurtevo and Kara-Tair in the neighbourhood of the water mill of Kalju Kurtev on the right side of the wall, the chauffeur said the motor was damaged and he could not drive any further. Thereupon, the bandits cried: „Throw the fat one out!“ They dragged your brother Petko from the waggon and tortured and ill-treated him in a most terrible manner. After he had received 50 knife wounds, his skull was beaten in. Nikola

was also killed in the same manner. The others fled, three of them however being shot.

This sad news soon spread abroad and caused great consternation in the whole village. We are terribly upset. Your sister-in-law who is left a widow with three children is inconsolable. I find no words in order to express my indignation over these wild beasts, our rulers, nor tears to weep over my sorrows. I only wait for death which will put an end to this misery, and I shall no longer have to hear and see the weeping and crying of the widows and orphans.

After great trouble we — two priests — persuaded the commandant to give us permission to bury the murdered men. At seven o'clock in the evening the waggon arrived with the naked mutilated corpses. The commandant commanded us to have them clothed for burial by eight o'clock next morning. The funeral took place at three o'clock. The investigation Committee demanded by us was not granted.

Nobody in the village knows why these people were arrested and murdered. The chief guilt for the murders rest upon the government, which allows such bandits and bloodhounds, as those drinkers and gamblers the brothers Gentschiff, to murder innocent men. Hard times have arrived for the people. Neither the turks nor the Enitschars have, at any time, committed such atrocities.

Scarcely, had the Government of the learned Professor Zankov come to power, along with all parties of Law, Order and Democracy — the so-called constitutional harmony party together with the Social Democrats — when all the poor people were drenched in blood, the elite of the people were killed, mothers robbed of their sons, wives of their husbands, and children of their fathers, but „Democracy“ was maintained.

When you receive my letter, write immediately to your brother in America that he shall report to all the newspapers. Bring all this to the knowledge of the German and English press. The whole world shall know that Bulgaria is ruled by beasts who drink human blood. There, in Western Europe there live men who will understand our cry. They will hear the weeping of thousands of children who, with the approach of winter are left behind as orphans without shelter and without bread. I firmly believe that public opinion in Europe and America, after it has heard of these atrocious deeds, will not allow itself to be deceived again by our rulers.

In the name of the thousands of parents, widows and orphans, in the name of the whole people we demand an investigation into the acts of our Government with regard to the innocent blood that has been shed.

Do not forget to call attention to the fact in the press that the brothers Gentschiff, who are immediately responsible for the murder of the five peasants, are allowed to go about free. The following is a list of those in our village who have been arrested and murdered without reason:

### Confined in the prisons of Philippopol:

1. Angel Angelkoff, aged 24, teacher, married.
2. Kalofer Shudareff, aged 27, peasant, married.
3. Lazar Nikoloff, aged 24, machinist, single.
4. Boris Christoff, aged 28, peasant.
5. Slavej Christoff, aged 25, brother of the above.
6. Peter Nedeltschiff, aged 26, worker.
7. Angel Nedeltschiff, aged 17, brother of the above.
8. Kostadin Bakardjitscheto, aged 20, worker.

### Murdered:

1. Petko Ivan Todoroff, aged 43, married.
2. Stojan Pannoff, aged 30, teacher, married.
3. Michael Tr. Toshkoff, aged 32, teacher, married.
4. Nedeltscho P. Ljachov, aged 16, tailor's apprentice.
5. Nikola Georgieff, aged 20, peasant, single.

This is the sad news from our village. Bring everything to the knowledge of the whole civilized world. From Widin to the Black Sea and from the Rodopi Mountains to the Danube, a whole people is enslaved and thousands are slaughtered like cattle. Many prosperous towns and villages are being converted into heaps of ruins, the schools into prisons and the prisons into hells.

Kritchim, the 3rd of November 1923.

Greetings from

Your father.