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# - INTERNATIONAL -

# PRESS

# CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 50 [29]

12th July 1923

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

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## For International Discussion

# Is the Time Ripe for the Slogan: "The United States of Europe?"

By Leon Trotsky.

I think that in conjunction with the slogan "A Government of Workers and Peasants", the time is appropriate for issuing the slogan "The United States of Europe". Only by uniting these two slogans shall we get a definite, systematic and progressive response to the most urgent problems of European development.

The last imperialist war was essentially a European war. The incidental participation of America and Japan did not alter its character. Having secured what she required, America withdrew her hand from the flames and returned home.

The motive power of the war consisted in the fact that the capitalist forces of production had outgrown the boundaries of the European national States. Germany had set herself the task of "organizing" Europe, i. e. of uniting economically the European continent under her own control, in order then seriously to set about contending with Britain for world power. The aim of France was to break up Germany. The small population of France, her predominant agricultural character, and her economic conservatism, make it impossible for the French bourgeoisie even to consider the problem of organizing Europe, which, indeed, proved to be beyond the powers of German capital, backed as it was by the military machine of the Hohenzollerns. Victorious France is now maintaining her mastery only by Balkanizing Europe. Great Britain is inciting and protecting the French policy of dismembering and exhausting Europe, all the time concealing her work under her traditional mask of hypocrisy. As a result, our unfortunate continent is disintegrated and dismembered, exhausted, disorganized and bankrupt—transformed into a madhouse. The invasion of the Ruhr is a piece of violent insanity accompanied by far-sighted calculation (the final disruption of Germany)—a combination which is not unfamiliar to the psychiatrist.

Behind the war lay the need of the forces of production for a wider field of development, unhampered by customs barriers. Similarly, in the occupation of the Ruhr so fatal to Europe and to mankind, we find a distorted expression of the need for uniting the coal of the Ruhr with the iron of Lorraine. Europe cannot develop economically within the State customs frontiers created at Versailles. She is compelled either to remove these frontiers, or to face the prospect of complete economic decay. But the methods adopted by the ruling bourgeoisie to overcome the frontiers it itself created, are only increasing the existing chaos and accelerating the process of ruin.

To the toiling masses of Europe it is becoming ever clearer that the bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the basic problems of European restoration. The slogan "A Workers' and Peasants' Government" is designed to meet the attempts of the workers to find an issue by their own efforts. It has now become necessary to indicate this issue more concretely, namely, to assert that only in the closest economic co-operation of the peoples of Europe lies the path to the salvation of our continent from economic destruction and enslavement to American capitalism.

America is standing aloof from Europe, patiently waiting until her economic agony has reached such a pitch, that it will be easy to step in and buy up Europe—as Austria was bought up—for a mere song. But France cannot stand aloof from Germany, nor can Germany stand aloof from France. Therein lies the crux, and therein lies the solution, of the European problem. Everything else is incidental. We asserted long before the imperialist war that the Balkan States are incapable of existing and of developing except within a federation. The same is true of the various fragments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and of the Western portions of Tsarist Russia living outside the Soviet Union. The Apennines, the

and Scandinavia are limbs of the European body stretched out towards the seas. They are incapable of an independent existence. The European continent in the present state of development of its productive forces is an economic unit—not a close-locked unit, of course, but one possessing profound internal ties—as was proved in the terrible catastrophe of the world war, and again revealed in the mad adventure of the Ruhr occupation. Europe is not a geographical term; it is an economic term, something incomparably more concrete—especially in the present, postwar conditions—than the world market. Just as federation was long ago recognised as essential for the Balkan Peninsula, so now the time has arrived for stating definitely and clearly that federation is essential for balkanised Europe.

There remain to be considered the question of the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and of Great Britain, on the other. It is obvious that the Soviet Union will not be opposed either to the federative union of Europe, nor to its own admission to such a federation. Thereby, too, a bridge will be created between Europe and Asia.

The question of Great Britain is much more uncertain; it depends on the pace at which her revolutionary development proceeds. Should the "Government of Workers and Peasants" triumph on the European mainland before British imperialism is overthrown—which is extremely probable—then the European Federation of Workers and Peasants will of necessity be directed against British capital. And, of course, the moment the latter is overthrown the British Isles will enter as a desirable member into the European Federation.

It might be asked: why a European Federation and not a World Federation? Of course, as the world develops economically and politically it will tend to become a world economic unit, and to become more and more centralised, depending upon the level of technical development reached. But we are now concerned not with the future socialist economy of the world, but with finding a way out of the present European impasse. We have to lay a solution before the gullied and ruined workers and peasants of Europe, quite independently of how the revolution develops in America, Australia, Asia, or Africa. Looked at from this point of view, the slogan "The United States of Europe" has its place in the same historical plan with the slogan "A Workers' and Peasants' Government"; it is a transitional slogan, indicating a way out, a prospect of salvation, and furnishing at the same time a revolutionary impulse for the toiling masses.

It would be a mistake to measure the whole of the world revolution with the same footrule. America came out of the war not enfeebled, but strengthened. The internal stability of the American bourgeoisie is still very considerable. It is reducing its dependence upon the European market to a minimum. The revolution in America—considered apart from Europe—may thus be a matter of decades. Does that mean that the European revolution must proceed step by step with the American revolution? Certainly not. If backward Russia did not, and could not, await the revolution in Europe, all the more Europe will not, and must not, await the revolution in America. Workers' and Peasants' Europe, blockaded by capitalist America (and at first, perhaps, by Great Britain) will be able to maintain herself and develop as a closely consolidated military and economic union.

It must not be overlooked that the very danger arising from the United States of America (which is assisting the destruction of Europe and is ready to step in subsequently as its master) furnishes a very substantial bond for uniting the mutually destructive peoples of Europe into a "European United States of Workers and Peasants". This orientation, of course proceeds from the difference in the objective situations in the European countries and in the mighty Transatlantic Republic, and is not directed against the international solidarity of the proletariat, nor against the interests of the revolution in America. On the contrary, one of the obstacles to the development of the revolution throughout the world lies in the vain European confidence in the American uncle (Wilsonism, the charitable feeding of the worst famine districts of Europe, American "loans", etc., etc.). The sooner the masses of the nations of Europe recover the confidence in their own powers which was destroyed by the war, and the more closely they are rallied around the slogan of a "Union of the Workers' and Peasants' Republics of Europe" the more rapidly will the revolution develop on both sides of the Atlantic. For just as the triumph of the proletariat in Russia furnished a mighty impulse to the development of the communist parties of Europe, so, and even to an incomparably greater degree, will the triumph of the revolution in Europe furnish an impulse to the revolution in America and throughout the whole world. Although, when we abstract ourselves from Europe, we are obliged to peer

into the mists of years to perceive the American revolution, yet we may safely assert that by the natural sequence of historical events the triumphant revolution in Europe will serve in a very few years to shatter the power of the American bourgeoisie.

Not merely the question of the Ruhr, i. e. of European fuel and iron, but also the question of reparations is envisaged in the scheme of "The United States of Europe". The question of reparations is purely a European question, and can be solved in the near future only by European means. The Europe of Workers and Peasants will have its reparations budget—as it will have its war budget—as long as it is menaced by dangers from without. This budget will be based upon a graduated income tax, upon levies on capital, upon the confiscation of wealth plundered during wartime, etc. Its incidence will be regulated by the appropriate bodies of the European Federation of Workers and Peasants.

We shall not here indulge in prophecies as to the speed at which the union of the European republics will proceed, in what economic and constitutional forms it will express itself, and what degree of centralisation will be obtained in the first period of the workers' and peasants' régime. All these considerations we may safely leave to the future, remembering the experience already gained by the Soviet Union constructed on the soil of the former Tsarist Russia. What is perfectly obvious is that the customs barriers must be thrown down. The peoples of Europe must regard Europe as a field for a united, and increasingly schematic, economic life.

It might be argued that we are in reality speaking of a European Socialist Federation as part of World Federation, and that such a régime can be brought about only by the dictatorship of the proletariat. We will not stop to answer this argument, since it was refuted by the international analysis made during the consideration of the question of a "Workers' Government". "The United States of Europe" is a slogan in every respect corresponding with the slogan "A Workers' (or Workers' and Peasants') Government". Is the realisation of a "Workers' Government" possible without the dictatorship of the proletariat? Only a conditional reply can be given to this question. In any case, we regard the "Workers' Government" as a stage towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therein lies the great value of the slogan. But the slogan "The United States of Europe" has an exactly similar and parallel significance. Without this supplementary slogan the fundamental problems of Europe must remain in suspense.

But will not this slogan play into the hands of the pacifists? I do not believe that there exist such "lefts" nowadays as would consider this danger sufficient grounds for rejecting the slogan. We are living in 1923 and have learnt a little from the past. There are the same reasons, or absence of reasons, for fearing a pacifist interpretation of "The United States of Europe" as there are for fearing a democratic-S.R. interpretation of the slogan "A Workers' and Peasants' Government". Of course, if we advance "The United States of Europe" as an independent programme, as a panacea for achieving pacification and reconstruction, and isolated from the slogans "A Workers' Government", the "United Front", and the "Class Struggle", we shall certainly end in democratised Wilsonism, i. e. in Kautskyism, or something baser (if there is anything baser than Kautskyism). But, I repeat, we live in the year 1923 and have learnt a little from the past. The Communist International is now a reality, and it will not be Kautsky who will initiate and control the struggles associated with our slogans. Our method of posing the problem is in direct contrast to the Kautsky method. Pacifism is an academic programme, the object of which is to avoid the necessity of revolutionary action. Our formulation is an impulse to fight. To the workers of Germany, not the communists (it is not necessary to convince them), but to the workers in general, and in the first place to the social-democratic workers, who fear the economic consequences of a fight for a workers' government; to the workers of France, whose minds are still obsessed by the questions of reparations and the State debts; to the workers of Germany, France and of all Europe, who fear that the establishment of the workers' régime will lead to the isolation and economic ruin of their countries, we will say: Europe, even if temporarily isolated (and with such a powerful bridge to the East as the Soviet Union she will not be easily isolated), will be able not only to maintain herself, but to consolidate and build herself up, once she has broken down the customs barriers, and has united herself economically to the inexhaustible natural riches of Russia. "The United States of Europe"—a purely revolutionary perspective—is the next stage in our general revolutionary perspective. It arises from the profound differences in the situations of Europe and America. Whoever overlooks these differences, which are of such vital significance at the present

time, will, willy-nilly, reduce a true revolutionary perspective to a mere historical abstraction. Naturally, the Workers' and Peasants' Federation will not stop in its European phase. As we have said, by our Soviet Union an outlet has been obtained into Asia, and from Asia into Europe. We are, therefore, here envisaging only a stage, but a stage of great historical importance, through which we must first pass.

## POLITICS

### Declaration of Independence of the American Working Class

By John Pepper (New York).

#### The New America.

What are the new factors in the economic, social and political life of America, which will render possible the creation of a revolutionary mass party of the working class?

Many Americans are not as yet aware of it, but it is a fact nevertheless that the world war has given birth to a new America. In Europe during the war, there was a commonly known anecdote relating to the senile Austrian emperor Francis Joseph, that he was for a long time dead, but that the people at his court did not dare to tell it to him. We may say that a new America has been born in the war, but that the philosophers and sycophants of capitalism do not dare to tell it to her.

The unprecedented accumulation and concentration of capital has given rise to three fundamental facts. First, the growth and centralization of the government. Second, the growth and unification of the working class. Third, the bankruptcy and revolt of the farmers.

The federal government has become omnipotent, with a gigantic bureaucracy, with a tremendous army and National Guard, and with the power to interfere in the daily life of every citizen. The government is arbiter in every struggle between capital and labor.

Never as yet has the working class attained to such social significance as at present. The proletariat is the product of capitalism. Its social significance was bound to grow, for the very reason that the capitalist mode of production became the general, reigning mode of production in the United States. In the last ten years, the center of gravity of national production has shifted to big industry. The Old America imported manufactures and exported raw material; the new America imports raw material and exports manufactures. In the last ten years the majority of the population of the United States has for the first time become urban. But the working class has not only grown in number, in social importance and in density, but it has also become more unified internally. The great differences between skilled and unskilled workers, between native and foreign-born workers have been considerably levelled during and after the war. Never before has the working class shown so militant a spirit and such a feeling of solidarity as to-day.

The same capitalism which increased the number and social significance of the working class, has decreased the number of farmers and ruined them economically.

Capitalism produced, in the big industries and big cities, its own grave-digger—the working class. And at the same time it changed the farmers—its surest mass support in the past, to a bankrupt, despairing, revolting mass. To-day, the farmer is forced to sell his products cheaper than he produces them. The average income of the farmers in 1918 was \$1278, and in 1920, \$465. And in the last year, the farmer has been even worse off. The Joint Congressional Commission of Agricultural Inquiry reports: "Measured in purchasing power, the farmer's dollar during the last twelve months has been worth less than in any preceding months in thirty years." Wherever the farmers turn, they face capitalist exploitation. The meat-packers, railroads, milk trusts, grain gamblers and cotton brokers, the elevator systems, the banks, are all blood-sucking leeches on the body of the farmer. Capitalism has ruined the farmers to such an extent, that it is now forced even to override its own economic laws. Between bankers and farmers, there no longer exists that highest capitalist law—cash-payment. The farmers are simply no longer paying the mortgages, and yet the capitalists do not take the land away from them, because they cannot do anything with it themselves. The condition of the farmers is unbearable. The farmers are in rebellion. This rebellion is assuming various forms. First, a mass desertion of

the farmers from the land. During ten years, from 1910 to 1920, the agricultural population decreased by 1,727,000. In 1922, in a single year, the decrease of the agricultural population was no less than 1,120,000. Second, the farmers organize various cooperatives against the middlemen and trusts. Third, the farmers organize for the political struggle. The Non-Partisan League, the agricultural bloc in Congress, the La Follette Group, the Democratic insurgents, are but various helpless political expressions of the farmers' rebellion. Fourth, the poorest and most conscious elements of the farmers realize more and more that the only remedy for them is the joint fight with the workers against the common enemy—the capitalists.

The centralized, omnipotent, capitalist government, the growing and ever more unified working class and revolting farmers—these are the new factors in American political life. Capitalism has created the omnipotent government—that mightiest of all its weapons, thereby producing that very force which pushed the workers and farmers into politics, into the fight, not only against individual capitalists or trusts, but against the capitalist government as an institution.

Capital the great revolutionist has laid down the foundation for a Labor Party.

#### The Decay of the Old Parties.

The two big old capitalist parties of the Republicans and Democrats present a picture of chaos and disintegration. They have no differences to-day in their program. The Harding administration is the direct continuation of the Wilson administration. No one can discover any difference between Palmer and Daugherty. Wilson was for the League of Nations of the World Court, and Harding is for the World Court of the League of Nations. That is the sole difference. Both are for government by injunction against the workers inside of the fatherland, and for capital export for the bankers with the help of the bayonets of the fatherland. They resemble each other like twins. How could this be otherwise, since God Capitalism has created both in his own image.

The two old capitalist parties are remnants of the old America, when the class conflicts were not as yet so sharply developed. Great masses of farmers as well as workers have always voted for both parties. The conflict between capitalists and farmers and between bosses and workers has become so acute to-day, that they cannot remain in one and the same party. The class-conflicts are breaking the old-party framework. We find to-day much more bitter conflicts within the Republican and Democratic Parties, than between them. Sharper and sharper conflicts arise from the dilemma, that both parties would like to serve the capitalists and at the same time retain the votes of the farmers and workers. Especially sharp do these internal conflicts show themselves as factional conflicts within the Republican Party. And that is precisely because it is the party in power, and thus provokes greater criticism from the masses. Especially interesting do these factional conflicts show themselves in the clash within the Republican Party, over the World Court. The bankers are for a world-court. They want the participation of the United States in European affairs, because they want profit-bearing export of capital to Europe. The farmers and lower middle class are against the World Court, and against participation in European affairs because they have no interest in capital-export and, on the contrary, their interest is to have cheap and plentiful money here in America. Harding and Hughes must carry out the orders of the capitalists and fight for the World Court. But the Republican party-machinery under the leadership of John T. Adams, chairman of the Republican National Committee, is against the World Court, not because they are any the less lackeys of capitalism than Harding, but because they fear that the farmer-masses will break completely with the Republican Party. The third faction in the Republican Party is formed by the La Follette group which, in the interest of the well-to-do farmers, stands in opposition to the capitalist Harding administration all along the line. The *New York Tribune*, one of the leading Republican organs, commented as follows upon these factional conflicts: "If cooperation with Europe was solely a doctrine of the Democratic party, or of the Communist party, the official literature of the Republican National Committee could hardly be more savage against everything that seems to promote it." President Harding, in a desperate speech, has begun a campaign against factionalism: "Can any student of our times in America, or the world, doubt for a moment that factionalism is developing as never before? We have our factions which seek to promote this or that interest, without regard to the relationship to others and without regard for common weal." The *Detroit Free Press* sees with the greatest

consternation that these factional fights, which were begun by the agricultural bloc and the La Follette group, will inevitably lead to the breaking up of the party organizations: "The logical end of the process will be a complete division of the country on lines of interest or class such as one sees in European parliaments, where agrarians, clericals and laborers clash with each other and with other parties founded upon socialism, communism, republicanism and monarchy."

Not as yet so open but just as severe are the class-conflicts within the Democratic Party, where mainly the representatives of the Southern big landowners and the Eastern Tammany Hall are in conflict with such representatives of the lower middle class as Hearst and Hylan.

### The Third Party and the Labor Party.

The logical outcome of the factional struggles, in other words class struggles, is the third party movement.

The third party movement is not a movement of the working class. All the groupings which tended towards a third party show that they are led in the interests of the well-to-do farmers and lower middle class. The agricultural bloc in Congress is but a union of the farmer of the Middle West with the landowner of the South. The Non-Partisan League was born out of the rebellion of the exploited farmers, but its policy is simply to represent the interests of the well-to-do farmers. La Folletism, like the agricultural bloc and the Non-Partisan League is but a political expression of the interests of the well-to-do farmers without regard to their old political party adherence. All these groups are also supported by a part of the working class, but they were never and are not now the representatives of the workers in industry and on the farms. The third party movement, as it appears in the Middle West, has as social contents the class interests of the well-to-do farmers, and the town middle-class which is surrounded by a farmer population and is dependent upon the farmers economically. The third party movement in the eastern part of the United States presents another picture. Its social contents is here mainly the political expression of the small business men and store-keepers of the big cities. Hylan, the demagogic mayor of New York, and the yellow Hearst papers represent the Eastern type of third party movement. From the class point of view, the differences are not so great between the Western and Eastern third party movements. But there are great differences between their origins and social traditions, and so also in the phraseology and their manner of struggle. A single name can unite to-day the Western farmers and Eastern lower middle class in one third party—the name of Henry Ford. Henry Ford is no Western farmer nor is he an Eastern petty bourgeois, but he can become the ideal of both. He personifies the dream of the petty bourgeois, he is the mechanic who has become the richest industrialist of the world. And he personifies the dream of the well-to-do farmer: he manufactures cheap tractors and even cheaper autos and still cheaper fertilizers. And he unites in himself the dreams of both, for he is an opponent of Wall Street. The logical presidential candidate for a third party is therefore Henry Ford.

The third party movement is an enemy of the working class no less than are the old capitalist parties. It is a betrayal of the working class when an attempt is made to induce workers to join the third party movement. The interests of the well-to-do farmers are different from the interests of the workers and poor farmers. La Follette and Hearst want to destroy the trusts. The interest of the workers demands the submission of the trusts to the control of the workers. The lower middle class wants to destroy big industry. The program of the workers must be workers' rule over big industry. The Non-Partisan League wants cheap credits for the farmers and an alliance between the farmers and bankers. The program of the exploited farmers must be: The land should belong to the one who uses it. Only an independent political party of the working class can represent the interests of the laboring masses of the factories and farms alike.

### Poincaré's German Fascisti.

By Heinz Neumann.

The Munich trial of the Bavarian Fascisti may be counted among the greatest trials of history. That which was whispered about for years among the workers, but could never be proved, has now been plainly proved by a bourgeois court of justice: German Fascism is working, politically, organizationally, and financially, in the service of the French bourgeoisie.

The "Fatherland" fighting organizations of Bavaria had intended to carry out a military *coup d'état*, with the support of French imperialism, for the purpose of crushing "Bolshevism", that is, the North German working class. In the period between autumn 1922 and spring 1923, the black-white-red murder organizations received 100 million French francs through the agency of Lieutenant Colonel Richert, the representative of Millerand.

The putsch was to be carried through in March by the Ehrhardt Brigade, the Blücher Federation, and the Hitler Hundreds. All preparations had been made, down to the smallest detail. It was intended to "cut off Bavaria militarily, from North Germany" with the joint aid of Bavarian and French troops.

Fascist rule was to be established in the form of a "national dictatorship". Over 100 persons were to be shot on the first day of the action, these victims being on the black list. A regency council, composed of the conspirators Fuchs, Machhaus, and the well-known murderers of workers: Kahr, Epp, and Pöhner, with the addition of the most important leaders of the voluntary corps, was to take over state power. Capital punishment was to be the penalty for strikes.

The French Lieutenant Colonel Richert, officer of the army staff, coal commissary in the Saar area, head spy for the French courts of justice, and confidence man of Mr. Lyonel, the president of the foreign committee of the French chamber, gave binding pledges as to the aid to be afforded by France. Besides the 100 million given in bribes, which have actually been paid out and distributed among the various fatherland societies in Bavaria, he promised that French weapons and equipment would be placed at their disposal. He conveyed the German nationalist traitor, Machhaus, in a motor car to Saint-Avoid, in order to show him the captured German cannon there in readiness for the equipment of the national socialists. And above all, he assured the conspirators, as early as December of last year, that they should be supplied with cotton, coal, and lime. When the "hooked cross" followers anxiously inquired if the available forces would suffice for the successful carrying out of the putsch, Richert replied in the name of the French government:

"The Ruhr army has received instructions to lend favorable support to your action."

The Fascisti were by no means satisfied with the help promised from France. They applied simultaneously to Czecho-Slovakia and to Mussolini. The Jewish coal dealer Munk acted as intermediary in the consultations with the Prague ministry for foreign affairs. He proposed to the Czechs that "troops should be mobilized on the Saxon frontier to relieve the action in Bavaria", and further declared, as commissioned by his principals these fatherland lovers, that: "Should Czecho-Slovakia desire to occupy parts of Upper Silesia and the Slavonic districts of Saxony, Bavaria would not interfere." On March 4, 1923, a consultation was arranged between representatives of the Czech government and the German "hooked crusaders" at an hotel in Prague, at which Munk was to take part. The Bavarian "Coal Import Company" sent monarchist officers belonging to the national defence organization to Prague, in order that further arrangements might be made with Benesch, Kramarsch, Rasin, and the French general Mittelhauser. It was solely owing to the sabotage of the German major Mayr that this conference did not take place.

Fuchs entered into personal relations with Mussolini. The Fascist deputy Cebaldi, in the course of a consultation with Fuchs at Innsbruck, promised the delivery of foodstuffs to the value of 100 million lire, should the national socialist enterprise succeed.

During the course of the trial, it became increasingly evident that the action taken by Fuchs and Machhaus was by no means the isolated action of separate individuals, but that the relations between the Bavarian Fascisti, and through them between all other Fascisti and the French government, formed a well thought out, tried and firmly knit system. German Fascisti and French agents travelled unceasingly between Paris, Mayence, Wiesbaden, and Saarbrücken on the one hand, and Bavaria on the other.

It is characteristic that a great part of the provocative announcements made by the fatherland societies in Bavaria, the innumerable presentation of colors, regimental celebrations, unveilings of monuments, etc. were financed directly by French francs. Some weeks after the occupation of the Ruhr, for instance, the Fascist "Blücher federation" celebrated the dedication of its colors. On this occasion Schaefer, a government engineer,

declared that the standard would "wave amid a hail of bullets before the trees blossomed again". At the same time, the national socialist Esser, Hitler's deputy, delivered an address of a particularly bloodthirsty character. It now turns out that the whole affair was entirely paid for by French money.

The black-white-red Hohenzollern section of the Fascisti which is carrying on a sham fight against the white-blue separatists, is now attempting to cast the blame of national betrayal on to the Wittelsbach wing. This clumsy attempt at denial has however, been amply disproved by the trial itself. It has been definitely proved that known leaders of the Hitler national socialists, the shock troop leaders Ströbl and Stiglbauer for instance, have been actively involved in the crime. Ludendorff has, of course been acting as the wirepuller behind the scenes.

The Wittelsbach circles themselves are even more plainly unmasked as national traitors in the service of France. Rupprecht von Wittelsbach committed the rascally deed of carrying on negotiations with the French spy Richert, through the mediation of the Count of Soden. This crime is proved up to the hilt against him.

And Kahr and Pöhner, these faithful German Bavarians, have also carried on treasonable relations with the most brutal representatives of French militarism.

The heads of the police and the national defence army have also been fully aware of the treasonable designs of Fuchs and Machhaus. Frick, a leading official and political leader of the Munich police, took part in the consultations relating to the putsch. Generals Epp, Möhl, and von Lossov, heads of the national defence army, were the patrons of Fuchs and Machhaus. The police even permitted Lieutenant Colonel Richert, meanwhile promoted to propaganda chief for General Degoutte, to enter Bavaria between February 16-22, about six weeks after the Ruhr occupation, to reside undisturbed at the Romental estate near Diessen, and finally to hold a consultation with national defence army officers on February 20, in Machhaus' apartments in Munich. Although the police, as well as the Minister for Internal Affairs, Schweyher, and the Prime Minister, von Knilling, were informed of all these details, they permitted Richert to continue his work without interruption, deliberately sabotaged his arrest, and allowed him to depart comfortably for the French quarters of the murderous general Degoutte.

Volumes could be filled with the enormous amount of material brought to light at this trial. The political results are decisive for the working class. German Fascism has suffered its severest ideological blow by these revelations. German counter-revolution, which is living on the nationalist propaganda and the national delusions of petty bourgeois and proletarian masses, is unmasked as the shock troops of national treason, as the bloody sword of Poincaré.

The Communist Party will now proceed to a general political attack on Fascism. The glaring facts of the Munich trial must be driven into minds of the proletarian and petty bourgeois masses of Germany.

But the trial also possesses its international significance. With the exception of the *Oeuvre*, there is not a single bourgeois paper in France which has published an exact report of the proceedings. Richert himself states that he distributed the 100 million francs received from the French state treasury. And today he is still an active officer in the Ruhr army. Colonel du Bac and Captain de Pommerde, both active French officers, carried on simultaneous negotiations with the Bavarian separatists in Frankfurt and Wiesbaden. Richert promised the armed advance of the French army along the Maine line, and the support of the German conspirators by the Ruhr army. He has several times expressly stated that he has not been acting in his own name, but on the special orders of Millerand, and with Poincaré's knowledge. The French government has hitherto denied the truth of all the incriminating documents as to its interference in German affairs in favor of the separatist policy. It has impudently denied the genuineness of the Daria memorandum, and of the Tirard report on the Dorten movement. Will Poincaré deny that he commissioned Richert, and provided him with funds from the state? Will he deny that the French ambassador in Munich, Dart, received the conspirators Machhaus and Munk in his apartments to five o'clock tea, and gave them instructions?

Our French comrades will doubtless raise these questions, within and without the French chamber.

The Czech working class will also be interested to know why Benesch and Kramarsch opened up connections with Fuchs and Machhaus, why the Czech general consul in Munich drew up false passports for officers of the German national defence army, and why he held consultations of a highly treasonable character.

The class conscious workers of Germany will recognize from this trial, however, that every advance made by German Fascism implies an advance of Poincaré. The masses of Fascist followers must be ideologically awakened, but Fascism itself will be finally settled in Germany not so much by the ideology as by the united forces of the working class. The danger of national treason will not be removed until Ludendorff, Hitler, and Wulle, the real wire-pullers standing behind Fuchs and Machhaus, are brought before the proletarian revolutionary tribunal.

### The Coal Robbery in the Ruhr

By Peter Maslovski (Essen-Ruhr).

We are now in possession of exact German data on the transport of coal and coke from the occupied Ruhr territory to France and Belgium. In order to form a correct judgment on the amount of coal and coke obtained by Poincaré, it should first be observed that the German coal barons maintain that the number of reparation coal trains (each with 50 waggons) crossing the western frontier from the Ruhr area before the occupation, averaged 37 daily. At the beginning of April after two months of occupation, it was joyfully announced that the pledges so violently seized by Poincaré at the points of one hundred thousand bayonets were proving completely unproductive. For during the month of February only 1,700, and in March only 990 waggon loads of coal were sent to France and Belgium. Thus a whole month did not even yield the daily average of coal supplied before Poincaré's occupation. This is the result of the occupation of 22 pits.

It goes without saying that the German capitalists, in the first flush of the passive resistance which they have since practically abandoned, considerably exaggerated their success for purposes of propaganda, just in the same way as Poincaré has used every endeavor to put the best possible face on the success of his coal raid. From the very beginning there has been a great discrepancy between the German and French reports on the amounts of coal transported over the frontier.

The German reports already gave 9,497 waggon-loads as the amount of coal sent away in the month of April, an amount almost four times as much as that of the two previous months combined; and it is a very remarkable circumstance, and a sign of the gigantic steps being taken towards the alliance of the French and German capitalists, that the German capitalist press admits an export of coal for May, which is more than double that of April. It is stated that the official survey of coal and coke transport from the Ruhr area, across the bridges at Duisburg, Hochfeld South, and Düsseldorf, in the direction of France show that 18,069 waggons have passed the frontier by rail, 2,500 by water, making a total of 20,569. The words: "not a particle of coal for the French" are no longer heard from bourgeois lips. The German bourgeoisie seeks to hide its capitulation with the hypocritical consolation: "as soon as the coal reserves accumulated at the pits have been carried away, it may be assumed with certainty that the compulsory exploitation and transport will show a great falling off"; it is also characteristic that this phrase takes it as a matter of course that the coal accumulated at the pitheads is lost in any event and belongs to Poincaré. This is an impudent swindle only intended to conceal the miserable helplessness and capitulation of the German bourgeoisie. Enormous masses of coal have accumulated at the pits, and continue to accumulate from day to day, for the mining magnates force the workers to work further for Poincaré. Not merely one case, but dozens, can be cited, in which the mine-owners have employed every means to force the miners to bring up coal, as soon as they make any attempt to protest against the military occupation by striking. As a rule, the German mine-owners and the French generals contrive to keep up the appearance of sticking to the formula of "no work under bayonets" by a piece of camouflage; the transport yard, militarily occupied, is divided off from the miners raising coal by means of a barbed wire fence. In many places even this comedy is not considered necessary. Thus—to mention one striking instance,—at the Mont Cenis pit the coal has been tilted for weeks directly into the waiting French trucks, as soon as it comes up from the pit. The assertion that the transport of coal for Poincaré will rapidly sink again as soon as the heaped coal has disappeared, is a perfectly idiotic attempt at deception, for only one half at most of the 220 pits in the occupied part of the Ruhr area are in Poincaré's military power, and there are mountains of coal accumulating at the mouths of the unoccupied pits such as even the oldest miners have never seen before, and these masses of coal will inevitably also fall into the hands of imperialism in view of the cowardly and

exclusively profit-seeking attitude of the German bourgeoisie. Franco-Belgian imperialism moves forwards slowly, feeling its way, but is proceeding with none the less certainty and directness to the occupation of all undertakings.

In the face of these undeniable facts, the Ruhr workers merely shake their heads when they hear that in unoccupied Germany there is never a word spoken of willingness of German heavy capital to come to an understanding at the expense of the German proletariat, never a word of the high treason of the mining barons, but that a wide prevalence is given to absurd and treacherous lies accusing the communists of stabbing in the back the self-defence formed against Poincaré. For every workman in the Ruhr knows perfectly well that right from the beginning it was only the communists who adopted an unequivocal and decisive attitude with regard to the coal question. It was the communists who, persecuted by the enraged opposition of the government, of heavy industry, of the trade union bureaucracy, and of all parties, including the social democratic party, proposed that the stacked coal be distributed to the poorer population, to public institutions, to war-disabled, pensioners, etc., before it fell into the clutches of French imperialism. It was upon the initiative of the Communists, aided solely by the Union of Hand and Brain Workers and by the revolutionary shop stewards, that the shop stewards congresses occupied themselves with the question of how the accumulated coal was to be protected from seizure by Poincaré. And it was the communists who were again alone in attempting to apply practical measures for the distribution of the coal, that is, by direct proletarian mass action. If these measures have not been successful to the extent wished for, this is entirely the fault of those parties and authorities who have deliberately frustrated the right measures taken by the communists, and have preferred to enter into a compact with the French.

The proletariat of the Ruhr, which has up to now borne the whole burden of the passive resistance, whilst Stinnes and his companions continue to earn millions by the Ruhr struggle, now perceives plainly in this coal raid of Poincaré's that it is again to be the sole sufferer. Above all, the Ruhr miner now personally experiences the treachery committed by the German bourgeoisie. For the miners of the Ruhr are being deprived of what has belonged to them for centuries by fully attested rights; i. e. their allowance of coal. And this because they refuse to sign French counterfoils for the allowance, whilst the pit managers even have the use of their luxurious motor-cars confirmed in writing by Poincaré's generals! As even the smallest quantity in a knapsack is confiscated, and the possessor made legally liable, the miner loses a part of his wages, much to the advantage of the German mining barons, who thus retain large quantities of coal, and increase their profits still further. The miners of the Ruhr are not only suffering these material disadvantages but they are in actual danger of their lives in many places, where the heaps of coal are liable to spontaneous combustion, threatening the lives of many hundreds of these hard-working underground toilers.

Thus Poincaré's piratical raid on the Ruhr coal is another demonstration that the German capitalists, although not quite agreed at the moment with their French colleagues as to the share each is to have of the booty squeezed from the proletariat, have already built their bridges of communication with French capital upon the backs of the Ruhr miners. The fight being carried on by the working masses against the coal raid of French imperialism is thus a further proof of the inherent necessity of grasping the sole weapon which can be effectual in the Ruhr, the weapon of international proletarian action.

## A Communist Agrarian Motion in the Polish Parliament

By H. Walecki (Warsaw).

United Poland is a predominantly agrarian country. Out of the approximately 27 millions of the population of the lands belonging to the Polish state, an average of 62% is rural; in the various districts of the country this percentage varies from 29% (Upper Silesia) to 73% (Galicia and the eastern districts); in what was formerly Congress Poland the percentage is 57%. The overwhelming majority of the country population consists of small holders who possess, taken all together, over 17 million hectares, whilst about 13 million hectares belong to the large landowners. The throwing back of industrial development, caused by the war, the long years of occupation, the loss of markets, etc., helped to aggravate the agrarian situation.

Under these circumstances, the fate of the social revolution in Poland greatly turns on the struggle being carried on by the small peasantry for the possession of land.

In order to prevent this struggle developing in a revolutionary direction, the Polish national assembly passed an agrarian reform act as early as July 1919, before the war with Soviet Russia; this reform was passed by a majority of two votes, and provided for a compulsory expropriation of large estates (forests excepted) for the purpose of selling the land to the peasants. The actual execution of this "agrarian reform" has, however, been cynically sabotaged by every succeeding government. Only a ridiculously small number of bankrupt estates have been parcelled among the richer peasantry at high prices. At the same time plans were worked out (for political reasons) for colonizing the annexed eastern, non-Polish districts.

The government coalition formed some weeks ago, participated in by the party of the large peasantry (Witos) and by the large landowners, is based on the abandonment of the principle of compulsory expropriation.

The oppositional parties of the medium and small holders, and the socialists, content themselves with demanding that the "agrarian reform" of 1919 be carried out.

The communist fraction of the "Union of town and country proletariat" in the Polish Parliament (consisting of two deputies only, comrades Krolikovsky and Larencki, but supported by a number of sympathizing small-holder deputies) a few days ago brought in a bill for the "expropriation of large estates without compensation, for the purpose of distributing the land to the landless and small-holding village population".

In the introduction to this bill it is pointed out that: "Above all, the large estates must be expropriated without compensation. The forests must become the property of the state, and come under a rational system of forestry enabling them to yield sufficient building and firing wood for the landless and small holding peasantry. The whole of the land thus expropriated is to be distributed free to the landless and small-holding peasants, with the exception of land used for industrialized agricultural undertakings, as well as land in a state of high cultivation, which is to remain in the hands of the state for purposes of developing agriculture and aiding the peasants farms."

The administration of this agrarian reform is to be placed in the hands of land commissions, these to be elected at a general election by the landless and small holding peasantry. These commissions, as representative of those sections of the population whose interests are most at stake, are to be accorded a decisive vote in the question of land distribution. The land offices are merely to be the executive organs of these commissions, their office is to carry out the decisions of the commissions with the utmost rapidity, to superintend the systematic distribution of the land, to lend support to the landless and small-holding peasants in the form of timber, stock, seed corn, money, and business advice, and to protect the landless and small-holding peasants from being exposed to any injustice.

The bill itself comprises 17 clauses. The most important of these are to the following effect:

Private property in land, if over 60 hectares in extent, is confiscated without compensation.

Land is allotted gratis.

When the land is distributed, those having a first right to a share are the agricultural laborers who have lost their work in consequence of the dividing up of the land. The next category entitled to a share is formed by other landless elements who have been chiefly engaged in agriculture, or possess professional qualifications; the third category is formed by the small holding peasantry.

In the eastern frontier districts the right to a share of land is possessed exclusively by the native landless and small-holding population, regardless of nationality. The allotment of land to persons not coming under any of the above categories is contrary to law, and will be annulled.

State and estate land up to the extent of 15 hectares, if actually in the possession of small tenants, as well as land rented by a small landowner and which, together with his own property does not exceed 15 hectares becomes the property of the tenant.

The land allotted in accordance with this law is not to be made the subject of purchase, sale, or gift.

Undertakings producing seed, or devoted to cattle rearing or fishing, the industrialized agricultural undertakings, and undertakings on a high level of agricultural cultivation, are not subject to distribution; that is, they are retained undivided as central points of economical agriculture. They become the

property of the state, and are carried on under the management of agricultural commissions.

The forests pertaining to the expropriated estate are not subject to distribution, and become the property of the state without division.

There is no doubt whatever that the bill brought in by the communist deputies will be rejected by the representatives of the big bourgeoisie, of the large land owners, and richer peasantry, who, joined together possess a majority in Parliament. This majority will also utilize every Parliamentary trick in order to smother the bill in commission and to prevent its being discussed by the fully assembled Parliament. The attitude adopted by the oppositional fraction will be more difficult. The groups of the national minorities, which determinedly resist the national suppression exercised by the government, will split on the question, in accordance with their class interests. A part of the small and medium peasant fraction may possibly vote for the communist bill. The social democrats will most likely introduce a "less Utopian" bill of their own.

But the real object of the presentation of such a bill by the communists, just at the moment when the new governmental majority is on the point of abrogating all agrarian reforms whatever, lies for the most part in the Parliamentary effect. The agitation for the slogans contained in the bill: Expropriation of large estates without compensation, and the distribution of the land among the landless and small holding peasantry, will be carried on among the broadest masses of these strata of the population.

Whilst all communist and revolutionary literature is, to a wide extent, confiscated, and its distribution prevented, this bill, drawn up in simple and generally comprehensible terms, is already finding its way to the masses, in thousands of copies, in every part of the country.

## The Position of the Workers in Polish Upper Silesia

By Maciejewski (Warsaw).

During the strike in German Upper Silesia it was reported that our brothers on that side of the frontier, driven to despair at the conditions consequent on the daily increasing acuteness of the impending collapse of capitalist economics in Germany, have been throwing longing glances at Polish Upper Silesia. They have precious little cause for doing so! The following will make this clear.

It is possible that the real wages of the Polish Upper Silesian workers were, for a time, somewhat higher than those received by the miners of German Upper Silesia; but probably this is a mere passing phenomenon which will vanish as rapidly as it appeared.

As a matter of fact, after a comparatively long period of stabilization of prices, the Polish mark again sank tremendously at the end of April, and the beginning of May, and prices rose accordingly. The purchasing power of the wages received by the miners has decreased accordingly—it has decreased even further, for prices rise daily, whilst wages are paid out at longer intervals. As early as June 10, our Upper Silesian organ *Pravda* (Kattowitz) pointed out that, within a few weeks, provisions had risen in price by almost 30%; lard by even 50%, sugar by 110%. The Upper Silesian commission for calculating the cost of living reckoned that the food expenses of a family had risen from 589,000 marks in April to 621,000 marks in May, that is, by 4%. Upon this the board of arbitration based its award, raising wages by 10% for the month of June, until July 1. Now, especially after the disastrous fall of the Polish mark during the last few days, and the equally disastrous rise in the price of food, I believe that our German Upper Silesian brothers will cease to cast longing glances over the frontier.

And this is not all! Capitalist exploitation in our part of Upper Silesia is not confined to a wage slavery equalling that which prevails on the other side of the border. Polish Upper Silesia, as is known, is entirely dependent on Germany for selling its coal. It can send but little of its coal to Poland, and exports 70% to Germany. If this export to Germany declines, the Polish Upper Silesian pitmen feel this promptly and acutely. And this is the case every time the comparative values of the German and Polish marks undergo a great alteration. If the Polish mark is high in value, then it is more advantageous for Germany to import the necessary coal from Great Britain

and not from Polish Upper Silesia. This immediately affects the position of the Polish Upper Silesian workers. Another "advantage" possessed by the Polish Upper Silesians is that they are already beginning to feel the scourge of persecution against the communists, which in Poland is taking the form of proscription, deprivation of rights, and outlawry. "Communist puches" are concocted, on the approved pattern, and sham bomb attacks got up by police spies. In Cracow, even an attack on the Jews was laid at the door of the Upper Silesian communists! Thus we shall not have long to wait before we have an anti-communist law in Upper Silesia, framed according to the best Polish models.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### Our Fight for Factory Councils

By A. Lozovsky.

Factory Councils are at once a creation and an instrument of the revolution. If we follow the history of the factory councils movement, we see that its development has a general connection with the course taken by the revolutionary movement. When the wave of revolution ebbs, the importance of the factory councils decreases accordingly. It is only necessary to consider the rise and fall of the factory councils movement in England, the history of the factory councils in Czechoslovakia and in Austria, the springing up, the subsequent decline, and the present revival of the factory councils movement in Germany, and the connection is clearly discernible between this working class organization and the degree of acuteness of the general class struggle. During the course of the last two years the principal question raised by the factory councils, the question of workers control, has everywhere retired into the background, except in Germany. The offensive of the capitalists, and the necessity of directing the attention of the masses to the defence of their old positions, have caused the slogan of workers' control to remain in abeyance. Instead of directly attacking the capitalist system, we have had to confine ourselves to defensive measures. To a certain extent, this applies even to Germany, although here the revolutionary forces are steadily increasing in strength.

At the present time, there are ample signs that the period of weariness and passivity undergone by the working class is now at an end. In all countries, renewed activity may be observed among the masses. The brutality of the leaders of the bourgeoisie greatly contributes to enhance the class consciousness of the workers. But the more the working class seizes the initiative, the more decisive becomes the question of workers control. It is, however, useless to discuss workers control until organizations are created capable of exercising it.

The approaching period, in which the increased activity of the masses will play a great part, must bring about the revolutionizing of the factory councils where these already exist, and the formation of such councils where they are lacking. The formation and capturing of factory councils is one of the chief tasks of the Communist Parties. It is superfluous to discuss in detail the role of the factory councils in relation to the class struggle as a whole, for the congresses of the Communist International have already dealt with this question. It is, however, necessary to draw attention to one point.

There exists a certain trend of opinion which maintains that all energies can be absorbed by the factory councils, and that even the trade unions can be replaced by these. There is no doubt but that, in the future, the factory council will be the foundation upon which the trade unions are built. In this respect, the lessons to be learnt from the Russian trade union movement are very important. Until the October Revolution the factory councils movement ran parallel with the trade union movement. In many places the factory councils contended with the trade unions for precedence. But since 1918, this dissension has ceased. All trade unions have been reconstructed on the basis of the factory council, and the unity of the Russian trade union movement has been established. We believe that the trade union movement throughout the world has to tread this path. The tendency to substitute the factory councils for the trade unions is therefore extremely dangerous. It will only be possible for us to reconstruct the trade unions on a new principle when we have conquered them. Our action for the winning of the trade unions must therefore be carried on more energetically than ever. The strengthening of the power of the factory councils is also the best means of preserving the unity of the trade union movement. The slogan of control of production by the factory councils must be

raised in every country. If we consider the course taken by the labor movement in Germany during the last few months, we see the extraordinary significance again being attained by the factory councils. This action must be continued. In every workshop and factory these councils must serve to strengthen the working class. Reformism is destroyed the moment we have won the factory councils. For reformism will then only have the trade union apparatus, but without the working masses. The conquest of the factory councils is, at the same time, the indispensable premise for the revolutionary training of the trade unions, for only that trade union is a powerful trade union, which possesses a direct support in every shop and factory. For these reasons the struggle for the factory councils occupies a most important place in the violent conflict raging between reformism and communism along the whole world front of the labor movement.

## The Revolt of the German Land Slaves

By H. Rau (Berlin).

Wages strikes are spreading like wild-fire among the agricultural workers of Germany at the present time. The agrarian capitalists have over-estimated the patience of the agricultural laborers. But they have also over-estimated the after-effects of the defeats suffered by the agricultural laborers of Germany in almost every struggle in which they have taken part during the last few years, defeats due to the treacherous actions of the reformist bureaucracy of the "German Agricultural Workers' Union" (D.L.V.). Although the D.L.V. lost one third of its members in the year 1922 through these—its membership sank from more than 600,000 to approximately 400,000—still the present strikes prove that the fighting spirit of the German rural proletariat is by no means broken. Here we do not fail to recognize that the present strikes among the agricultural workers are in part struggles of despair.

The burdens thrust upon them by the war, the burdens of the bankrupt capitalist economy, including the rapidly increasing national debt resultant on the Ruhr action, are not only felt by the rural workers in the form of higher prices caused by indirect taxation, increased railway freights, etc., but also in the form of increased direct taxation.

The valuation of the payments in kind for the purpose of imposing income tax has reached such a point this year that many agricultural laborers have not only received no cash wages whatever, but have to bring money with them at the end of the week, in order to be able to pay all taxes, and the increased sick, club and pension fund subscriptions. This means that the payments in kind, though scarcely sufficient for the recipient himself, have to be sold in part. This applies especially to the provinces of Silesia, East Prussia, Pomerania, and also to Mecklenburg.

The greatest agricultural struggle is at present proceeding in the province of Silesia. It is necessary to examine somewhat closely the conditions obtaining here, as they form a striking example of the bankruptcy of the collaboration policy, and as the present struggle of the agricultural labor movement puts the question more unequivocally than ever: Collaboration or revolutionary class struggle?

The Silesian rural workers received no rise in wages between February 15 and May 26, 1923. The reformist trade union bureaucracy allowed itself to be put off with the most ridiculous arguments during the negotiations with the land-owners. For instance: "The index figures have not yet been issued"; or "No increase of prices has been noted."

And yet these strategists, though lacking an index figure, could have convinced themselves by the price of every egg, of every trouser button, that the prices had actually increased three and fourfold. The D.L.V. leaders sang many effective songs to the agricultural laborers, lauding their own energy, and their determination to force the land-owners to make concessions, even by strikes if necessary. But at the same time the agricultural laborers were told that they should be patient until the next wage negotiations. The reformists were at least able to record one success: they had restrained the workers from fighting during the sowing period. This was in complete accord with the collaboration policy, and was, above all, strictly along the civil peace lines pursued by the German Social Democratic Party.

As a result of the wage negotiations held on May 26, the agricultural laborers received the "mighty rise in wages" of 80 marks (!) per hour for a married worker on full time. 80 marks are about four thousandths of a gold plennig. This

"rise" was accepted by the D.L.V. bureaucrats with the observation that "they were anxious to avoid a general agricultural strike in Silesia."

A strike which subsequently broke out spontaneously in the district of Striegau (Silesia), was defeated by a trick. The bureaucrats declared to the agricultural workers that as a result of the negotiations an emergency bonus of from 30,000 to 50,000 marks would be paid. It turned out afterwards that the sum in question was an advance received, which would otherwise have had to be paid back. However, while this small strike was being broken, strikes broke out spontaneously in 14 other districts, equally expressive of resistance to the will of the D.L.V. bureaucrats. Four further districts joined these shortly afterwards. This mass movement forced the trade union bureaucracy to recognize the strike, and to proclaim the general strike in Silesia.

The leadership of the strike, reluctantly taken over by the D.L.V. bureaucrats, was weakened by dissensions, greatly to the detriment of the striking workers. The strike leaders issued a circular to the leadership of the local groups, calling upon them to take part in the general strike, and to hold out "until general negotiations regulate the wage conditions for the province". The circular called upon the groups to negotiate separately with the employers, for the following insufficient demands: fourfold increase of February cash wages, lump sum bonus to the amount of one month's wages, allowance of payment in kind for the term of the strike, no dismissals in consequence of the strike.

These separate agreements have the practical effect of weakening the general strike. The strikers of various districts ask for a concerted demand for: Increase of the payment in kind, of permanent value, by 4 hundredweights of corn and the like; besides this, that the strike leaders should cause the emergency work to be stopped throughout the district. This latter demand is the more necessary since the sowing season is over, the harvesting season not yet arrived, and since, despite the social democratic Minister for the Interior, Herr Severing, the state strike-breaking gang has been set to work, partly under the protection of the security police. The strike leaders have refused to have the emergency work stopped, and the agricultural laborers are even called upon in places, in the name of emergency work, to thin out the turnips, this being at present the only specially urgent work apart from the care of the live stock. And when the struggle extends from day to day, despite the poor financial support lent by the Silesian industrial workers, and despite the lack of unity among the strike leaders; when this struggle has already extended to the forestry workers and to the Upper Silesian agricultural laborers; when the agricultural laborers have given up the emergency work in some districts of their own accord; when they disarm and thrash the Fascist bands which put in an appearance—all this goes to prove the heroic fighting spirit animating the majority of the striking agricultural laborers, numbering more than 100,000 in all. It also augurs well for the victorious result of the Silesian agricultural strike. And it is keeping the strike leaders from an open betrayal of the strikers, which would signify the destruction of the free trade union of agricultural labor in Silesia. The fighting spirit of the great mass of Silesian agricultural workers is forcing the D.L.V. bureaucracy to deviate from its collaboration policy, and from the now-enhanced interest felt in civil peace by the German Social Democratic Party. This explains the dissensions among the strike leaders.

The chief task of the communists is to strengthen the strike front. Meetings and demonstrations of strikers, and appeals to the industrial workers to lend moral and financial support to their class comrades in the country, revive the spirits of the rural workers, and bring them into closer contact with the Communist Party than before. Very important and successful work is also being done by us Communists among the followers of the German National Agricultural Workers' Union, which carries on scab propaganda. The results yielded are not only new members for the D.L.V. and participation in the strike, but also the formation of communist local groups of agricultural workers.

The agricultural workers' strike which has broken out in East Prussia (besides smaller strikes in Pomerania and on the farms adjoining Berlin) requires a no smaller expenditure of energy. Here the strike first broke out in one district, and now 6 agricultural districts are involved in the struggle. In one district only is the struggle recognized by the D.L.V.; in the other 5 districts the strike is declared to be "wild". The situation of the East Prussian agricultural laborer is as wretched as that of the Silesian. The D. L. V. bureaucracy fears that it may be forced into a general strike here also. In order that it may here maintain its collaboration policy, as well as the direct and indirect coalition policy of the Social Democratic Party, it is betraying the agricultural laborers from the very beginning.

The socialist rural councillor, Kahl, at once set the Technical Emergency Aid in action; the safety police and the national defence troops were held in the background as threats. The landowners are seeking scabs among the unemployed of the cities, and the attempt is being made to induce Polish workers to lend a helping hand to the German Money-Bags.

The agricultural laborers have drawn perfectly correct conclusions from the treachery of the D.L.V. bureaucrats, and are electing new district leaders from their own ranks to direct their struggle. The Communist Party, and the provincial committee of the factory councils, appealed to the industrial workers for moral and financial aid. Besides this, the Communist Party in East Prussia is exerting every endeavor to control the organization and agitation work of the struggle conjointly with the striking agricultural laborers, and to create a central leadership. A correct estimate of the measures necessary at the present juncture has already led to an intensification of the struggle by a cessation of emergency work. The East Prussian agricultural laborers are faced by a very severe struggle against the well organized junkers.

The 150,000 agricultural laborers striking in Germany at the present time are a threat against capitalist rule. The rural proletariat of Germany is steadily marching to the support of the revolutionary industrial proletariat.

## The German Seamen's Strike

By A. J. Smolan.

The German seamen have to suffer much more than the industrial workers from the enormous depreciation of the mark. In the first place they cannot obtain anything at all for their wretched paper marks at the foreign ports where they go on shore, and in the second place they are split up into so many small organizations that they are never able to present a united front against their exploiter. Their wages are thus even lower than those of most industrial workers. The national section of seamen in the German transport union forms, together with a number of smaller organizations of the officers and ships engineers, the "Working community of seamen's craft unions". This working union is ready to make any concessions to the shipowners, because it is anxious to avoid a struggle at all costs. As the largest organization among German seamen—the German Seafarers' Union, which is affiliated to the R.I.L.U.—is based on the class struggle, and refuses to take part in the working union, no united action is possible. As the working union has accepted the low offers made by the shipowners, the majority of the seamen were obliged to be satisfied with the monthly wage of 217,635 Marks for the month of April. With this sum the seamen had to buy the most necessary articles of his outfit, and support his family for a whole month. But when the working union agreed upon a 75% rise for May, the indignant seamen lost all patience, and entered on a spontaneous strike. Without any prompting on the part of the organizations the crews of all the ships lying at Bremen ceased work on Wednesday 6. June, and almost unanimously resolved to strike. The same happened at Emden, Danzig, and Lübeck. In all these towns the majority of the seamen organized in the transport union voted for the strike together with the members of the seafarers' union. They were also joined on June 7. by the Hamburg seamen who, at a great meeting decided by 595 votes, as against 25, for the strike. The meeting, the largest which had been held for years, demanded that wages be paid on a gold basis, and that the regulations for seamen, dating from the Kaiser's time, be abolished. The demand for gold wages is more justified in the seafaring profession than in any other, for the sailors spend the greater part of their time in foreign ports and cannot buy their articles of daily use in their native country. Although they have to live under precisely the same conditions as their colleagues from other countries, the low value of the German currency means that they generally receive only a tenth of the wages of an American, English, or Scandinavian seaman. And yet the German shipowners are quite in a position to pay an international rate of wages, for they work under much more advantageous conditions than foreign shipowners. All their freight rates are reckoned by the dollar, and at the same time the costs of maintaining their ships are much lower, as repairs in a German shipyard are incomparably cheaper than abroad. Seafarers cannot be classed among the workers of their native country, the group of workers to which they belong is entirely international. It is thus an unheard of injustice if one section of this group has to work for a fraction of the customary wages, merely because another and decaying currency is valid in their native country.

The demand of the German seamen for international wages, is only too justified and if the the necessary pressure is once exercised, the fulfilment of this demand will not be found so impossible as the advocates of working unity would like to make us believe. The strikers demands could have been obtained if the other large and small organisations representing the seafaring profession had adopted an attitude similar to that taken by the Seafarers Union during the marine engineer's strike last year; it showed its solidarity with the strikers with the effect that the strike ended successfully. This year conditions were more favorable for a strike, as the dissatisfaction among the dock and shipyard workers at the low wages had created a strong fighting atmosphere; the dockworkers strike just ended in Hamburg, as well as the mighty meetings held by the shipyard workers on the day that the seamen strike was resolved upon, go to prove this. The leaders supporting class co-operation, of whom those belonging to the transport union assert that they stand on the basis of the class war, did not however want to fight. At the same time as the members of the Seafarers Union, with an overwhelming majority, resolved upon the strike, the section of the seamen of the transport union also held a meeting. At this meeting the leaders succeeded in having an agreement with the shipowners accepted, according to which the seamen were to receive the magnificent sum of 380,000 Marks for the month of May. It is true that the majority was not very great. 102 voted for the agreement and 74 against. In order to secure this majority, the stewards from the great passenger steamer Cap Polonio were fetched by motor-car. But as these live on tips more than wages, they had little interest for the strike.

If one compares the two meetings, it appears that that held by the Seafarers Union was three times as large as that of the transport union. It is obvious treachery therefore when the Working Union on the following day, designates the strike as a "wild" strike, and calls upon its members to go on working as before. If such proceedings are permissible, then no organization can resolve upon a struggle without fearing that it will be designated as "wild" by the leaders of some civil peace minority. Were the case reversed, and if the members of the Seafarers Union had worked during the ship engineers strike last year, they would certainly have been accused of strike breaking by the Working Union, and rightly. It is also interesting to note that the notorious Reeger, leader of the Stettiner "International", affiliated to the syndicalist F.A.U.D., took his stand against the strikers with the declaration: a strike at the present time is madness! for which piece of wisdom he earned the laudations of the leaders of the transport union.

The attitude adopted by the Working Union had the effect of bringing confusion into the ranks of the fighters, so that the strike had to be broken off after six days. But it was not without its effects. For the Working Union had scarcely informed the ship-owners that they could not hold back the masses, when a further 20% was granted for June.

The seamen have been able to learn a great deal from the lost strike. They have seen that a seamen's strike can only be successful if conducted by one single powerful organization. The seamen organized in the transport unions may learn from this fight that they must deal with treacherous leaders before they can take serious steps against the exploiters through their organizations. The members of the Working Union have been forced by the strike to show their true colors and have been unmasked before all German seamen as wretched scab organizers, as despicable accomplices of the employers. Their obvious betrayal has greatly damaged their prestige among the seamen. The fight cannot be declared as finished by the breaking off of the strike; it is rather, as was emphasized by the meetings of the seafarers union, postponed but not concluded.

Editor's Note. The strike of the German seamen was for a wage of £4 per month. This demand was apparently too high for the civil peace loving Transport Workers Union, otherwise it would not have called for the breaking off of the strike. It is thus of interest to note that, after the breakdown of the seamen's strike, the seamen in Kiel, who are members of the Transport Workers Union, unanimously demanded a wage of £6 monthly, and this in the presence of the leader of the Transport Workers Union, if not with his agreement. The action of the Transport Workers Union on the occasion of the seamen's strike will redound to the everlasting discredit of the leaders of this organization.

## The Second Congress of the Austrian Trade Unions

By Johannes Wertheim (Vienna).

When the representatives of the free trade unions of the Republic of Austria assembled for the first time in December 1919, the membership numbered 772,146, three times as many as before the war. At the II. Congress held in Vienna from 25th-29th June of this year 1,049,949 members were represented. This signifies that a sixth of the whole population, that is, nine tenths of the workers and employers of Austria, are organized in the free trade unions.

The Congress was held in the midst of the severe crisis through which the Austrian republic is passing, in the midst of Seipel's attempts at placing economics on a sound basis founded on the compact of Geneva, that is, in other words, a surrender of Austria to the financial capital of the Entente; the visible effects of this are 150,000 unemployed receiving benefit, and an equal number receiving nothing, besides this a quarter of a million on short time, reduction of wages, mass discharges among the federal employees, and curtailment of social expenditure.

The fact that the carrying out of the Geneva treaty could be embarked upon without arousing resistance among these millions of workers and employees organized in trade unions, is in itself sufficient to show that the trade unions have been almost exclusively under the influence of social-democratic policy. The course taken by the Congress, and its results, confirm this.

The central point of the conference was Dr. Renner's address on the economic-political situation of Austria. He pointed out that: The currency is being stabilized at the expense of production and consumption, that is, the currency and state economics are to be placed on a second basis at the expense of the masses of the working people, brain and manual workers alike. He shewed that Seipel's party, the Christian Socialist Party, has become the betrayer of the strata it represents, of the peasantry, of the small industrialists and craftsmen, and is delivering them over into the hands of financial capital. He appealed to the Christian Socialists to restore the old conditions, under which the joint government of the Christian Socialists and Social-Democrats would restore the old watchword of "all classes shall make sacrifices", and the labor constitution would come into force again, by which the workers in organizations shall be on a level footing with the employers both within and without the factories and workshops. According to Renner, it is thus desirable to strive for the restoration of the joint government of the "working class and the representatives of industry, agriculture, and petty commerce". Renner himself of course did not utter the saving word: Enter into coalition with the bourgeoisie! He prefers to arrive at this by a variety of devious paths. Demands are formulated, but no word said as to the means by which they are to be met, though they obviously await certain measures to be adopted by the existing government. The demand that social democrats enter the bourgeois government is expressed by a number of representatives who regretfully recall the time between autumn 1918 and autumn 1920, when the state office for social administration was actually an organ of the trade unions, when the ministry of transport was in the hands of the trade unions, and all these social political laws were created which are now, one after the other, to be demolished.

How truly this is the case was shown by the great debate, participated in by representatives of almost every branch of industry, and plainly confirming the intention of setting aside the eight hour day, of abolishing the factory councils law, of reducing the workers' legal holidays, etc. The resolution which was passed, and which enumerates the social political requirements to be fulfilled, does not give the least indications as to the weapons to be used for compelling the granting of the demands.

Much time was naturally devoted to dealing with the unemployment question. Demonstrating unemployed had succeeded in being represented at the Congress. These representatives accused the trade unions of inactivity, and pointed out that masses of unemployed are leaving the trade unions and joining the "hooked cross" organizations. Instead of resolving to combat a government which is to blame for this by its brutal abolition of unemployment benefit, and which takes no steps towards providing for the unemployed, the Congress utilized the opportunity for taking up an attitude of opposition to the Communists and the revolutionary trade union blocs.

The revolutionary blocs brought in motions at the Congress, in which they demanded that a struggle be entered into for adequate rises in wages for every class of worker, for

the maintenance of the eight hour day, and for the support of the unemployed and part-timers as laid down by the general factory councils congress; in which they demanded that none of their members be discharged for their activity as revolutionary trade unionists; and in which they protested against the delegates to the Congress having been appointed by the trade union federations, instead of by the plenary meetings of the trade unions. The Congress replied to these motions by a resolution stating that it is in agreement with the decisions of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and is resolved to hold allegiance to it. The resolution goes on to say: "The Congress stigmatizes, before the eyes of the proletariat of the whole world, the proceedings taken by the so-called opposition revolutionary bloc, whose program is essentially foreign to the trade unions, and whose organization is an attack on the unity of the proletariat. The Congress calls upon all members not to permit themselves to be led astray by the questionable radicalism of the so-called revolutionists, but to remain true to the trade unions." This resolution was immediately put into execution for as soon as the division had been made the reporter from the Rote Fahne was forcibly removed from the Congress hall by the delegates of the Congress.

The sole positive result of the congress was the expression of a desire to have industrial unions founded in Austria, and to combat the attempts being made to organize technical emergency aid (strike breaking corps).

The remaining decisions which were arrived at will not do the government or the employers much damage. They are all similar to the resolution demanding properly regulated commercial relations with Soviet Russia. When putting this demand, Dr. Renner stated that the Rapallo treaty had only been concluded for the sake of example, and that industry should follow this example, though of course not on account of any sympathy with the inner government of Russia, a sympathy which "no one in trade union circles will suspect us of".

This lack of any results from the Conference, which has brought forth nothing better than hopes and expectations, is largely to be attributed to the fact that two thirds of the 357 delegates were trade union secretaries and editors. If the Austrian trade unions continue to increase their membership, and the trade union bureaucrats continue their inactivity at the same time, then the Government and the employers will presently attack the working class more violently than ever. But when this moment arrives, the Austrian working masses will thrust aside their union leaders, and will join hands with the revolutionary workers to fight for their own interests.

## The Labor Movement in Palestine

(R.I.L.U.) The work of an international revolutionary organization is rendered extremely difficult in Palestine by the general conditions: In the first place the native working masses, the Arabians, who compose 90% of the total population, represent a most inaccessible material, for they have as yet scarcely been touched by the capitalist development of recent years. In the second place, the Jewish emigrant workers—about 20,000 in all are permeated by a thoroughly petty-bourgeois spirit, and are for the most part still greatly under the influence of the nationalist organizations, which—as for instance the General Jewish Labor Organization (Histadruth Haklalith-H.H.)—not only hold their members by nationalist phrases, but also by the immediate advantages offered by their co-operatives. The Communist Party of Palestine, on the other hand, has to work quite illegally. Its last appeal, for example, a May Day proclamation in the English and Arabian languages, an English copy of which printed in an illegal printing works lies before us, fell into the hands of the police before it could be distributed, the whole edition being confiscated.

The permanent crisis under which agriculture has been suffering in Palestine for some time past was aggravated in the winter of 1922/23 by an acute crisis in industry. 3-4000 unemployed were counted in Palestine this winter, that is, about one quarter of the whole working population. The unemployed were put off with ridiculous doles, these amounting to about three days wages! The repeatedly promised emergency work was never taken in hand. To all this must be added the severe depression of wages. The H.H. helped the workers according to its lights: it sent one delegation after another to the Zionist Committee, and these returned with promises.

Under these conditions, the H.H. convened the Second Conference of their organization. The preparations for the same, involving much blatant advertising, were accompanied by such a brutal terror against our Communist comrades, working in

the movement as "the international labor group", that these finally found themselves forced to withdraw from the whole affair, and to issue the slogan that the H. H. be boycotted.

There is nothing positive to be reported about the conference. The question as to whether the H.H. stands for the class struggle or not was answered in the negative; the slogan of the class struggle is substituted by the formula of the "struggle of defence and emancipation". A resolution was carried to affiliate with Amsterdam. A productive co-operative is to be founded, which is to realize for every worker the ideal of the prophet "each man under his own vine and each man under his own fig-tree". These are the resolutions which are to bring the working people of Palestine nearer to their emancipation from the capitalist yoke!

The outcome of the 2. Conference of the "Histadruth" was an excellent preparation of the soil for our activity within this organization. Resolutions to this effect have also been actually passed at the national conference of the Communist Party of Palestine. From the very beginning, its work encountered much difficulty, for our Palestine comrades within the Histadruth had to reach a clear and definite understanding with the Poale Zionists. While our comrades have been striving for co-operation in the interests of the H.H. and with the aim of revolutionizing it, the Poale Zionists declined to co-operate from petty party motives, until their own followers taught them better. At the present time our comrades have formed "proletarian fractions" within the H.H., and these are carrying on energetic propaganda among the members, by word of mouth and by writing, by means of magazines published at irregular intervals in the Hebrew and Yiddish languages, appeals, etc. In these publications there have appeared, for instance, the theses on the Eastern Question accepted at the Third Congress of the R.I.L.U., and a platform for the forth-coming elections to the "Workers' Councils".

The leaders of the H.H. reply to this activity of our comrades by attempting to expel them from the movement. They have been supported in this endeavour by the Poale Zionists ("labor fraction"). But our friends are not alarmed by this. The work of gathering together and training the class-conscious elements within the reformist labor organizations themselves is making steady progress.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The New Labor Code in Russia in its Relation to Women

By M. Chasin (Moscow).

(The new code of labor laws was confirmed at the fourth conference of the All-Russian Central Executive, held in October, 1922.)

A special chapter of the new code of labor laws is devoted to the subject of women's and children's work. The importance of these two subjects of labor protection is accentuated by this, for they have always occupied an important position in the activity of the trade unions and of the state organs for the protection of labor.

The new code contains a number of important alterations and supplements to the old code with respect to women's work. These supplements and alterations mirror the whole experience of legal codification and labor protection which has been gathered in the course of the five years of the Soviet Republic's existence—an experience which has made it possible to codify all the most important regulations relating to women's work, to cancel all superfluous matter, and to add a large number of new and extremely important items to the legislation dealing with women's work.

The very first chapter, "On Women's Work" begins by prohibiting female labor in industries especially injurious to health or involving especially hard work. The lists given state the limit of work permitted, as fixed by the People's Commissariat for Labor in conjunction with the All-Russian Central Trade Union, and particularly emphasize that the employment of women for subterranean work is absolutely forbidden, as this is the very hardest physical labor, and involves physical exertion beyond the strength of the female organism.

The new code differs favorably from the former one, chiefly in taking into consideration the whole of the objective conditions of our economic life on the one hand, and, on the other

hand, in permitting of no essential worsening of labor conditions. Taken all in all, it thus represents that real minimum of demands presented by a proletarian state to its political economists, and especially to the owners of private enterprises, in order to protect wage labor. Neither state nor private industry may overstep this minimum. Its further expansion will be possible in proportion to the improvement of our economic conditions. To some extent, this is already taking place in the case of some separate undertakings and groups of undertakings, by way of collective agreements.

This tendency is expressed with special clearness in the solution which the new code provides for female night work. Is it possible, under present circumstances, completely to do away with night work for women (as declared in the code issued in the year 1918)? Naturally it is not. In the first place, such a prohibition would create utter confusion in whole branches of our economic and social life (telephone, telegraph, hospitals, etc.); and, in the second place, many thousands of female workers would be deprived of their means of livelihood, and would go to swell the already considerable number of unemployed. Favorable conditions would thus be created for the development of prostitution, and for this reason the new code, while it lays down the principle that night work is not permissible for women, at the same time empowers the People's Commissariat for Labor, together with the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council, to permit night work to be done by adult women, in individual cases, in those branches of production where special necessity demands it. Night work is, however, definitely prohibited for pregnant women and nursing mothers.

The general tendency of the new code has already been shown in the practical activity of the organs for labor protection and of the trade unions. This aims at forbidding night work "in those undertakings where it is not demanded by any special necessity, and is particularly injurious to the health of the workers". (§ 144.) The general lines thus laid down will doubtless contribute to gradually removing those injurious factors attendant on night work for working men and working women alike.

The new code adopts a similar attitude with regard to overtime; it contains regulations combatting the wide-spread practice of overtime for both working men and working women; a complete prohibition of overtime for expectant and nursing mothers; and clearly defined limits for overtime (not more than 120 hours annually) in exceptional cases. Here again adult male and female workers only are permitted to work overtime.

A categorical prohibition of overtime for women, as contained in the old code, but never actually put into practice, would only contribute to exclude women completely from production.

The new code retains the lengths of time specified by the old during which women are to be exempt from work during pregnancy and confinement: eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement in the case of women performing physical work; six weeks before and after confinement for women engaged in office and brain work. The People's Commissariat for Labor is authorized to compile lists of those professions involving office and brain work, which, on account of some peculiarity, require as long leave of absence for motherhood as that granted to women engaged in physical work.

Beyond this, the code of labor laws contains a large number of new provisions with respect to the protection of motherhood. These include the following: 1. It is prohibited to order women from their customary place of work, against their will, from the fifth month of pregnancy onwards; 2. Situations are to be kept open for pregnant and confined women in those institutions and undertakings where they have hitherto been employed, should they take ill within six months of the first day of their leave of absence as expectant mothers; 3. Pregnant and confined women, receive an allowance, during the whole of their leave of absence, of an amount stipulated by the tariff and corresponding to the undertaking in question; the allowance must in no case be less than the actual earnings of the woman at the commencement of her leave; 4. Besides this, the layette of the new-born child is provided for by a lump sum equal to the average monthly wage in the locality in question; and a further continuous benefit, to the amount of a quarter of the average monthly wage of the locality, is paid for the maintenance of the child during the term of nine months from the day of its birth. 5. Half-hourly intervals are provided for, enabling the mothers to nurse their children, these intervals to be counted as working hours.—This was not specially emphasized in the code of 1918, and frequently led to misunderstandings, and even to the dismissal of women claiming this right, as various undertakings did not pay for these intervals, justifying themselves by saying that "the code says nothing about it".

This interval is not fixed for every three hours, as in the old code, but for every three and a half hours.—This has the object of permitting the mother to combine the interval for nursing the child with her dinner hour, especially in cases when the distance between her home and her place of work prevents the half-hour's interval from being adequately utilized.

The new code has greatly clarified our legislation relating to women's work and the protection of motherhood. It remains to work out more thoroughly those questions which are, generally, only touched upon by the code, but not yet elaborated in detail.

*Editor's note:* In order properly to comprehend the labor laws of Soviet Russia, it must be borne in mind that many of their imperfections are the result of the difficult conditions obtaining in an economy still undeveloped, and shaken by war, civil war, and blockade. Any attempt to justify overtime or night work for women in Western Europe by pointing to Russia must fail, because in capitalist countries overwork among women merely serves the purpose of increasing the employers' profits, whereas in the Workers' and Peasants' Republic it helps to build up the economic system in the direction of communism, and thus directly serves the interests of the workers and peasants.

## FASCISM

### Fascism in Argentina.

By *Andrés Nin* (Moscow).

Even in Argentina, which has only a weak workers' movement, but which is all the more impulsive, there are signs that Fascism is increasing there. Already in the year 1919, the year of the memorable "bloody week", the Argentine bourgeoisie began to organize, and created a national union of industry for the purpose of defense against the revolutionary danger.

Under threat of boycott, the employers great and small, landed proprietors and merchants were forced to join this union. Each member had to pay a high entrance fee besides the monthly contribution. From these resources there was created a resistance fund, which was to provide the bourgeoisie with means of defending itself against the attacks of the working class. At the same time the employers were compelled not to sign any separate contracts with the workers or to settle any agreement without its having been ratified by the managing committee of the union. This union was powerfully supported by the clergy. The bourgeois youth were drilling in the church yards from morning till night and thus preparing to shoot down the workers. The Government was a pliable instrument in the hands of the union.

On the initiative of the national union there was also founded in 1919, the "League of Patriots" a decided white guard organization, having its divisions in every town of Argentina. In all the greater industrial centers every fourth man belongs to his special brigade of this league, which are systematically organizing police spy service within the workers' organizations, and providing scabs in cases of strikes who proceed with violence against the workers' leaders. The league pays special attention to training scabs and possesses also a school for propagandists. All members of the league possess permits to carry weapons. The Government grants full liberty to the rapacious actions of this league and guarantees it legal and financial support.

The "League of Patriots" has already left behind many bloody traces of its action. Many a workers' champion has fallen into the hands of the members of this Fascist organization. Even arson is often committed by these robbers. In January of this year, a group of members of the league seized the premises of the papermakers' union at Buenos Aires and wounded a representative of the union.

In general the situation in Argentina is similar to that in Spain. If the proletarians who are eager for fight were well organized and well disciplined, the Fascist movement in

Argentina would not have the least hope of success. We, however, do not believe in the possibility of a great Fascist movement for the seizure power. The success of the Fascist movement in Argentina depends, in the first place, upon the success of Fascism in Europe, because Argentina is always immediately affected by events in Europe.

## THE UNITED FRONT

### The Central Council of the R.I.L.U. against the Destruction of the International United Front of the Transport Workers

The attempt to sabotage the decisions of the International Conference of the Transport Workers, made by the heads of the German Railwaymen's Union and of the German Transport Workers Union, which goes hand in hand with the efforts of the leaders of the reformist Railwaymen's Union in France and of the Bureau of the Amsterdam International, has caused the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions, in an appeal to all workers, to take up an attitude to this unheard of attempt at disruption. In this, of course, criticism is also directed against the ambiguous resolutions (published after a long silence) of the General Council of the International Transport Workers Federation regarding this question which is so full of importance for the International Proletariat. The resolutions, in which it is not even mentioned whether the General Council agrees upon the setting up of an International Committee of Action, contain the following demand, characteristic of the spirit of the Amsterdamers: "that the R.I.L.U. and its organizations abandon, along the whole line, the fight against national and international reformism". It is further demanded that the Russian Unions shall proclaim their willingness to carry on the fight in Soviet Russia, with the same means as the workers in the other countries, against the Danger of War, Reaction and Fascism. The appeal rightly asks the meaning of this sentence and points out, that in Russia, thanks to the activity of the trade unions, every possibility of Fascism arising would be nipped in the bud and that the Soviet government, working hand in hand with the Russian Trade Unions, has repeatedly given evidence of its desire for peace.

As to the "abandonment of the fight against international reformism along the whole line", the Central Council of the R.I.L.U. categorically declares: The fight against cooperation with the employers, against coalition with the bourgeoisie, against nationalism among the working masses, against the conversion of the workers' organizations into an appendage of the imperialist governments will be carried on right to the end and will only cease when common actions against the bourgeoisie are prepared and carried out. But not before!

The appeal closes with the following words:

"The Central Council of the R.I.L.U., in the name of the revolutionary unions of all countries, protests against the senseless proceedings of the Executive Committee of the International Transport Workers Federation, which has torn up the concluded agreement as a mere scrap of paper.

Transport Workers! Workers in all branches of industry! Demand from your leaders an explanation as to why they undermine the united action of the workers of all tendencies against the Danger of War and Fascist Reaction, demand from them an explanation as to what is actually objectionable in the decisions of the Transport Workers Conference.

*Hold fast to the United Front, in spite of its open and secret enemies!*

*Down with all those who sabotage the United Front!*  
*Long live the United Front of the Proletariat against War Danger, against Fascism and against the capitalist offensive!*"

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 51 [30]

19th July 1923

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

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## The Moscow Insurrection of 1905

By *N. Lenin.*

We here reprint the interesting observations made by Comrade Lenin in the Moscow *Proletarij* (of August 29, 1906) on the lessons of the Moscow Rising of December 1905. (Ed.)

The December rising in Moscow mainly took the form of a peaceful strike with demonstrations. The overwhelming majority of the working masses only took active part in this form of struggle. But the December action in Moscow proved with the greatest clearness that the general strike, as an independent and leading form of struggle, has been rendered obsolete by events, and that the movement overflows these narrow confines and creates a higher form of struggle, the insurrection.

All revolutionary parties, and all trade unions in Moscow, felt, from the beginning of the strike, that it must inevitably turn into a rising. On the 6th of December the council of labor deputies passed a resolution that they would "endeavour to convert the strike into an armed rising". As a matter of fact, however, all the organizations were not prepared for this; even the Central Committee of the fighting troops spoke (on the 6th of December) of an uprising as of some remote possibility, and the street fighting undoubtedly took place without the agreement and participation of this body. The organizations lagged behind the movement both in extent and driving force.

The strike developed into an uprising under the pressure of the objective conditions arising after October. The Government could no longer be taken by surprise by a general strike, for it had already organized a counter-revolution prepared for military action. The general course taken by the Russian revolution after October, as well as the logical consequence of the events in Moscow in December, confirmed with surprising accuracy one of Marx's profoundest theses: Revolution advances by means of creating a determined and firm counter-revolution, that is, by forcing the enemy to resort to more and more rigorous means of defence, and thus evoking means of attack of ever-increasing powerfulness.

The events pursued the following course: On the 7th and 8th of October: peaceful strike, peaceful demonstrations by the

masses. On the evening of the 8th: siege of the Aquarium; on the 9th during the day: attack by the dragoons on the crowd in the Strastnoy Square; in the evening: destruction of Fiedler's House. The atmosphere became charged with excitement. The unorganized crowds in the streets began to erect the first barricades, quite spontaneously and without plan.

On the 10th: Commencement of the artillery bombardment against the barricades and the crowds in the streets. The construction of barricades now took a more purposeful form, no longer scattered, but now possessing an undoubtedly mass character. The whole population was in the streets; the whole town was intersected by a network of barricades at its most important points. For some days there was severe skirmishing between the fighting groups and the soldiery, a struggle so exhausting for the military forces that Dubasoff begged for reinforcements. It was not until December 5. that the preponderance of the government troops became apparent, and on the 17th the Semyonoff regiment mastered the Pressya district—the last support of the rising.

From strike and demonstrations to separate barricades. From separate barricades to mass barricade construction and to street fighting against the troops. The proletarian mass struggle proceeded, over the heads of the organizations, from strike to rising. Here lies the gigantic historical success attained by the Russian Revolution in December 1905—a success entailing many sacrifices, as earlier ones have also done. The movement beginning with the general political strike, rose to the highest point of development. It forced reaction to resort to the most ruthless measures of resistance, and thus enormously accelerated the moment at which the revolution too grasped the uttermost weapons of attack. Reaction can go no further than bombarding the barricades, houses, and crowds in the streets with its artillery. But revolution can go much further than the formation of Moscow fighting troops, it possesses many possibilities of expanding and deepening its action. And since December the revolution has greatly developed. The basis of the revolutionary crisis has become inevitably broader,—the edge of the sword must now be sharpened.