

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint.

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 4 No. 4

24th January 1924

Editorial Offices: Langlegasse 26/12, Vienna VIII. — Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX.
— Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 64, Schliessfach 29, Vienna VIII.
— Telegraphic Address: Inprecorr, Vienna.

C O N T E N T S

Politics

J. Masci: Italy and Jugoslavia.
Eugen Landler: "Consolidated" Horthy Hungary
J. B.: A Letter from Spain

Economics

Ch. O.: The Situation of the Middle Class in France

Germany

Ali Ferid: Longer Working Hours in Germany

Polemics and Discussions

A. Thalheimer: Left Premises — Right Conclusions

Relief for Germany

Hertha Sturm: The Woman as Front Rank Fighter against Starvation in Germany

Red Relief

Ehrenfried Wagner: The Suffering of the Children of the German Barricade Fighters

In the Colonies

J. B.: Autocracy in Palestine.

POLITICS

Italy and Jugoslavia.

By G. Masci (Rome).

The conclusion of the agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia, which liquidates the question of Fiume and opens up a new period in the history of the relations between both countries, has its origin particularly in the following three series of facts:

1. The approaching commencement of the election campaign in Italy. The Fascist government wants to deprive the constitutional opposition of one of the most important causes of its success and of its development among the bourgeoisie: the complete failure of the Fascist foreign policy, which had isolated Italy in Europe.

2. The coming to power in Greece of the government of Venizelos. The government of Mussolini had to convince itself, that it could not do two jobs at the same time. Venizelos is the politician who, since the discussion of Versailles up to the present time, has contributed most of all to thwart and to destroy the expansionist plans of Italian imperialism. In the conflict with Yugoslavia, Italy was hampered by the treaties; in the conflict with Greece, however, the treaties are in favour of Italy, and in the agreement recently concluded, it is directly affirmed, that Italy and Yugoslavia pledge themselves to maintain the „Status quo“ established by the treaties. Closely connected with this is the policy of France towards the Little Entente, which would have become an immediate danger for Italy, if the conflict for Fiume had become intensified, as seemed probable until very recent time.

3. The new plan of foreign policy, which until 1922 had been a personal one of Mussolini's, now becomes the official government policy. With this plan are connected the agreement between Italy and Spain; the policy of approachment to the Soviet-Union; the conflict between Italy, feebly aided by Spain, on the one hand and England and France on the other, regarding the Tangier question. A prelude to all this had been the Italo-Greek conflict and the landing of Italian troops at Corfu,

a measure which was in no way warranted by the murder of General Tellini, but was probably only part of a larger concerted plan.

It has always been the personal conviction of Mussolini (and in this Mussolini approached more to the policy of the „Corriere della Sera“, of the „Stampa“ and the adherents of Nitti, than to great majority of the Fascisti, and in particular of the nationalists who had subsequently entered the Fascist party), that Italy must not remain hypnotised regarding the question of Fiume and of Dalmatia, which rendered the creation of military security in the Adriatic impossible, but that she must obtain this security by means of concessions to Yugoslavia and must acquire the liberty of movement necessary for a large-scale action in the Mediterranean, especially in its eastern part.

The question of Dalmatia was already practically liquidated from the moment, when the triumph of the reactionary parties in Yugoslavia and the suppression of the peasants' movement assured the Italian proprietors of the Dalmatian great landed estates, that their rights were not to be curtailed in favour of the Croat peasants. In Dalmatia there prevails a state of affairs similar to that in the Baltic countries and in Galicia, i. e. a difference of nationality between the landowners who inhabit the towns, and the mass of peasants who cultivate the soil. In the first King's speech delivered at Belgrade after the return of the dynasty, it was announced that the Italian owners of the great landed estates of Dalmatia were to be expropriated, that the Croat peasants were to be freed from all feudal bonds and were to be granted portions of land. The situation has since entirely changed. Already in the last year the Italian troops evacuated the occupied zones of Dalmatia, and nothing of a disastrous nature for the owners has taken place. The newspaper campaign, fostered by the agrarians, has completely ceased, and the recent treaty has settled the question once for all.

The further development of the new Italian foreign policy will furnish an answer to the questions being raised at present by a portion of the press: Is the Italian-Yugoslavian agreement directed more against France than against England? An objective examination of the situation and an acquaintance with the opinions expressed by Mussolini during his career as a

fascist journalist, justifies us in predicting that, substantially, Italian foreign policy will become more anti-English, though preserving the appearance of the character of impartiality between France and England. The fact must not be overlooked, that the Fascist Party, as a petty bourgeois nationalist mass, exerts a continual pressure on the government. The Fascisti would like to initiate a direct policy of complete independence from the hegemonic Powers which are at present contending against one another for world dominion. But it is clear that the economic weakness of Italy compels a compromise between the making of mere affirmations for the purpose of internal propaganda on the one hand and the real policy on the other. And therefore the adventurous and bluffing character of Fascist foreign policy still continues.

"Consolidated" Horthy Hungary.

The Struggle between Counter-revolution and Revolution.

By Eugen Landler

The finances of Horthy Hungary are to be made healthy by a foreign loan, after the Austrian pattern. The best indication of the situation of the finances of Horthy Hungary is, that the government during the last four and a half years, has never submitted any definite budget to parliament. In 1923 it was not able to carry a provisional budget through parliament. The debates held by the opposition during the discussions of the state finances have thrown a light on the condition of the finances, of production, of the administration of Justice and of the whole „consolidated“ public life, which must result in causing a revulsion of feeling, even in a counter-revolutionary environment. Four months ago, it was proved in parliament, that the great banks had bought over a considerable portion of the higher state officials, among others the Premier, the Minister for the Interior, the President of Police and the Solicitor-General, by gratuitously presenting them with company shares. A judicial enquiry was ordered, but the order has not been carried out up to the present. The charge has been made that not a single export or import license can be obtained without bribing the highest state-officials. Eighteen months ago, a great work was commenced, under the leadership of Horthy himself, for the relief of the starving agricultural labourers. For this purpose special contributions, amounting to many milliards were raised. A public auditing of accounts was demanded, statements were made, that all these milliards were embezzled or diverted for the use of illegal armed organisations. The Premier did not venture to refute these accusations.

Is a judicial inquiry instituted against a worker, who is suspected of a political crime (for instance of provoking a strike), then he is submitted to the most fearful torture. A member of parliament exhibited in the house the chopped off finger-tips of a worker. On the other hand, Piroška, a former first lieutenant, and one of the participators in the outrage at Csograd, where several persons were killed, was arrested. At the examination, the examining judge called him to order. Thereupon Piroška sent two seconds with a challenge to a duel to the judge, and the matter of honour was duly settled by drawing up a protocol. An exserviceman returning from Russia was arrested immediately after his arrival in Budapest (without it being possible for him to have given a minute to political propaganda in Hungary) because he had propagated communism in Russia. He was sentenced to penal servitude for life. The leaders of the „Awakening Magyars“, who signed a political treaty with Hitler to overthrow the present government, who were preparing the coup d'état and who made a list of those who were to be murdered, were set at liberty and the Solicitor General himself continually took part in meetings of the „Awakening Magyars“, at which open incitements to murder were made without any action being taken against those responsible. Whole lists of such bribes and atrocities could be enumerated without even in the slightest degree exhausting the crimes of the „consolidated“ Horthy Cess-Pool.

It is in the light of these facts that the production of Horthy-Hungary, so highly praised by the foreign press, must be estimated. The Committee of experts was obliged to declare — in spite of their thoroughly reactionary sympathies — that the agricultural, as well as the industrial production, show enormous shortcomings and faults, which must disastrously affect the state-finances. Under the influence of financial capital, technics have been introduced on to the large landed estates. The first con-

sequence of this was that wages, which were already extremely low, were depressed to a level equalled in no other country of Europe. On the other hand, a system of exploitation was introduced which rendered nearly half the agricultural labourers and poor peasants unemployed (in some districts the proportion was even yet higher), and delivered them over to starvation. The wretchedness of the land workers and small peasants is something terrible. Epidemics occur again and again and the percentage of child mortality in the country is the highest in Europe. At the same time, an agrarian extortion is practised which exceeds everything imaginable. In spite of the cheaper American corn and the Corn export from Russia, the prices of agrarian products far exceed world market prices. Whatever occurs: the sinking or the stabilization of the Hungarian crown, restriction or freedom of trade, it is all used as a pretext for driving up the prices. The harvest in Hungary is still the lowest in Central Europe, partly on account of the import tariffs on agriculture, which ensure an immense income to the great land owners without their spending anything on land improvements, partly because more than two million acres of land form entailed estates and Catholic church estates which are badly managed.

The industrial productiveness of Horthy-Hungary, which is highly praised by the corrupt foreign press, is also based upon the unlimited exploitation of labour and of the home consumers. It can doubtless be stated that, in the last year, hundreds of factories were set up and new industries introduced. At the same time it must be remembered, that exports were favoured by immense state subsidies and imports were rendered absolutely impossible. Although the wages of the Hungarian workers are the lowest in all Europe, and certain raw materials exist in the country, the products of Hungarian industry are throughout much dearer than foreign products. Thus, textiles are sold 50—100% dearer. The Eight-hour-day is a dead letter in Hungary, not to speak of workers' protection, while unemployed support does not exist. In the textile factories and also in other branches of industry, heaps of children under 10 years of age are working, while women receive 10% of the pre-war wage and even less. The lowness of the wages is illustrated by the following case. A man fainted at his night-work and fell in a cauldron of hot liquid metal. He had a wife and two children to support. The official examination established the fact, that this man worked during the day in one factory and at night in another, in order to be able to support his family. Although he worked 17 hours a day, he was killed as a result of a fainting fit caused by hunger. Misery compels many Hungarian workers under the „immensely flourishing“ condition of industry, to emigrate not only to Central and Western Europe and America, but also to Turkey. In the months of October 1923 alone 140 shopkeepers were obliged to close down their businesses in Budapest, partly because they could not obtain any goods in a fair way and partly because the consumers could not meet the high prices. On the other hand, in the year 1923 more than 3000 licenses for money changers and more than 1300 banking licenses were granted, while 37 joint stock banks were founded. The November statistics show a big decline in the export of machines, motors, iron and hardware in comparison with the previous year; in the last month, Hungary exported not only agrarian products, but also other goods at sweeping reductions in order to improve the balance of the trade which looked very wretched up to the end of the year. In November and December 1913, unemployment increased in all branches of industry. From the facts above mentioned it can be seen, that there is at the present time in Hungary a boom in swindling speculation, but there is not the least sign of any „tendencies towards consolidation“.

Thus, when one comes to examine the economic and political situation in Horthy-Hungary a little more closely, then all the swindling boasting of the bought press is seen to collapse miserably. Such an analysis, as we have outlined, shows clearly that after all in Hungary also, the victorious counter-revolution is struggling with the defeated revolution. If the revolutionary forces are increasing but slowly in spite of the revolutionary traditions, it should be remembered that Hungary is a country, which served as model for the white terror and where the atrocities exceed those of the Parisian Bourgeoisie in the year 1871, and where the treachery of the Social Democrats vies with the brutalities of the white terror. The social democratic leaders were members of the first Horthy government and calmly murdered their own comrades. A day after the assassination of the editor of their central organ Somogyi, in a open letter they offered their hands to the murderous bandit Horthy. Before the

parliamentary elections they concluded a pact with this murderer, in which they pledged themselves to deny the white terror to their foreign comrades, and to abstain from any agitation among the agricultural labourers. It must be remembered that the Hungarian social democrats never had a real political organisation. Every worker organized in the trade unions becomes automatically a member of the Social democratic Party. Although the party has 24 members of parliament, this anomaly is allowed to continue, because they are afraid of a separate political organization. They hope to deceive the workers with the slogan „ideal unity of the party and trade unions“ and to better rule over the trade unions. Under these conditions, the development of the revolutionary forces is naturally harder, but it will develop the more intensely as not only the experiences and traditions of real dictatorship of the proletariat work in an active manner, but also the white terror and the shameful treachery of the social-democratic leaders liberate the workers from their democratic illusions. In spite of the probable treason of trade union bureaucracy and Social democratic leaders, the dreadful economic situation will in a short time compel the proletariat to great spontaneous movements. The textile workers opened the battle in defense of the Eight-hour-day. The coming struggle will doubtless bring results which will be regarded as a great success for the international revolutionary movement.

A letter from Spain.

By J. B. (Barcelona).

For many months General Primo de Rivera has been ruling Spain as an absolute monarch. The other monarch, the hereditary and by the grace of God, King Alphonso XIII. goes reverently behind the man whom he names with familiar respect „my Mussolini“, and utters his superfluous declarations of approval. Alphonso XIII, who can do nothing and who dares nothing against the military, favoured the coup d'état before its completion. He has answered the ablest politicians of the Spanish bourgeoisie who reminded him of his oath of fidelity to the constitution, with decrees of banishment. One can now read every day in the Madrid papers the nonchalant statements of General Primo de Rivera concerning the decrees which, as a mere matter of form, he intends to submit for signature to the perjured king who retains merely the shadow of royal power.

For more than six months it has rained decrees. One has become quite accustomed to them and they no longer cause any excitement. What has the Directory done to purify the atmosphere of the country and „to lead the nation on the path to recovery“? It must be acknowledged that it has dealt the civil bureaucracy severe blows, but the military bureaucracy has not been even touched. It has suppressed trial by jury, dissolved the parliament, postponed the elections indefinitely, lengthened the duration of its carte blanche by its own free will, and offered the most prominent members of the liberal bourgeois numerous public insults.

Military politics serve the interests of certain industrial and agrarian groups and besides this flatter the class spirit of the middle classes and especially that of the officers. These efforts sometimes form a clever imitation of Italian Fascism, but what is the net result? Owing to the fact that in Spain there are no great bourgeois parties which are lead by capable men, that a deep-rooted corruption infected the whole of the democratic bourgeoisie before it became really strong, and that the labouring class are not only split up but, moreover, are too steeped in the old socialist and anarchist ideas to be able to create a great movement of resistance to and attack upon the dictatorship, the latter will continue in its present form, that is without creating anything or solving any question. The financial situation remains deplorable. The „Impartial“ announced at the end of December that the public debt was about four milliard pesetas, that the Spanish rate of exchange is threatened and that Spain is on the eve of a crisis in production and trade. The country is buying much more abroad than it exports. The National Treasure is going abroad. The protectionist measures of the Directory, intended to protect the backward and inefficient native industry, merely suffice to maintain the present level of poverty. There is no thorough solution in sight. What is being done to improve communication services? Nothing. What is being done to remedy the permanent Morocco crisis? Nothing.

It is here that the complete impotency of the government of Marquis de Estella becomes apparent. The Directory was going to bring about an honourable end to the Morocco campaign. Has that been done? Judging from present appearances, it never will be. Troops have been recalled. Steps are being taken to cast the blame for the catastrophe which took place earlier, upon Generals Berenger and Navarro, and they may be condemned to death, but Morocco is by no means pacified. No military victory has regilded the Spanish laurels. After Primo de Rivera, as it appears, began cautious negotiations in London for the exchange of Ceuta for Gibraltar, his cool reception by Poincaré forced him to beat a retreat. In the Tangier question, which was finally settled after two months of negotiations in Paris about December 20th, the fake Mussolini of King Alphonso suffered a humiliating discomfiture. It is France who emerges victorious out of this conference and it is France whose interests retain the first place in Tangier.

The only important success of the foreign policy of the Directory is the understanding with Italy, which, however, had been prepared by the previous government. But is this anything more than a success for English policy? For whose advantage will Italy and Spain increase their fleets in the Mediterranean? And against whom? If the Spanish-Italian alliance is made an actual fact, that means that in the next war conflagration, Spain will not again be spared and that she has already been made one of the pawns which will be moved by the warring groups in the coming world war.

In home affairs during the past weeks the Directory has concerned itself very much with the Catalonian Separatists. It has had a great many of them arrested and has not shrunk from putting a number of members of Catalonian municipal councils behind prison bars. It has been forbidden to use the Catalonian language as the language of instruction in the schools. On the other hand one must notice the cry that was recently raised concerning an alleged Communist conspiracy which was followed by dozens of arrests in Seville, Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, and Valencia and which after a few days ended in smoke. One does not quite understand the motives of these absurd police chicaneries. The Catalonians form no serious danger and the Communist Party of Spain which is still in the first stage of its formation is not thinking of carrying out a revolution „over-night“. Moreover the majority of the arrested Catalonians have either been released or soon will be without even being further prosecuted. They usually escape with some weeks in arrest and some idiotic interrogation. In this way the Directory strengthens its authority, proves its watchfulness and even its good will towards the enemies of the state. In its suppression of the labour movement it shows itself naturally much more severe than towards the Catalonian Separatists. Of the state prisoners who were arrested by administrative order, partly before and partly after the coup d'état, the most active of the labour leaders are still under arrest. The proletarian press which is placed under preventive censure shows traces of this every day. Those who were unjustly condemned to death in the Dato murder trial, Mateu and Nicolau have just received the confirmation of their sentences. The only remaining way to save them is by a request for the royal clemency. Considering the present state of affairs a commutation is just as possible as their execution, which would be a consummate crime. It is possible that the Directory is minded to display its firmness by an infamous act. It might possibly be interested in provoking the revolutionary workers by this bloody challenge in order thereupon to suppress the demonstrations of indignation and in this way regain the favour of even the small employers of Catalonia. But Senor Dato was one of the rather suspected members of the old parties, who at present are doing everything possible to undermine the military dictatorship and the latter, which is completely unpopular with the mass of the workers, may possibly prefer not to irritate them any more*).

Our Syndicalist comrades adhering to the R. I. L. U. and the Communists of Catalonia have recently issued a large daily paper

* Since the above was written, comrades Mateu and Nicolau have, as a result of the united protest of the international proletariat, had their death sentences commuted. Ed.

in Barcelona called „La Lucha Obrera“ (The Labour Struggle). However at the General Meeting at Granollers on December 30th. the Catalonian Labour Federation continued its anarchistic orientation. In this way the enlightenment of the minds among the Syndicalist elements of Barcelona which is so important for the Spanish revolutionary movement has been hampered. Under the present circumstances, Anarchistic orientation means the dictatorship of a small group of Anarchist leaders within the organization and the prevalence of such a confused ideology and of such empty phrases, that it is difficult to submit it to an earnest criticism. To give only one example: In the „Solidaridad Obrera“ (Labour Solidarity) of January 5th, after the General Meeting of Granollers, Pestana wrote an article on it, which was one and a half columns long, beginning with the words: „As Alexander, the conqueror of the Greeks set off on his campaign against Asia,“ and deals with Asia, Persia, Egypt, Christopher Columbus, Magellan, Gallileo, Newton, Luther, the Reformation, and Spinoza, all of which in order to say that the Spanish trade union movement must not be discouraged. That is our opinion also, but in our view there is nothing that does so much to cause discouragement as this kind of rhetoric. This paper, which is the only Syndicalist daily in Spain, deserves our attention in other matters. It devoted about ten times the amount of space to the trial of Germaine Berton as it did to the present revolutionary situation in Germany. It publishes reports about Russia for its working class readers, which would be quite worthy of a bourgeois paper, with such headings as „Panic in Moscow“, „Thousands of Communists Arrested“, „Pravda under Censorship“, „Resignation of Trotzky“. That is nothing short of systematically poisoning the minds of the workers.

The Communist Party of Spain publishes „La Antorcha“ (The Torch) and „La Bandera Roja“ (The Red Flag). Syndicalist sympathisers with the R. I. L. U. in Barcelona issue „La Batalla“ (The Battle).

ECONOMICS

The Situation of the Middle Class in France.

By C. h. O. (Paris).

In the approaching French elections the attitude of the middle class will be of great importance, this fact has been clearly perceived by the French political parties. The middle class will form the most important basis for the Left Block that is to be formed. The Nationalists around Poincaré have, however, already taken up the struggle with the Left parties for the winning or retaining of the middle classes, and the „Union of Economic Interests“ which adheres to Poincaré, and which is financially very strong, has adopted planks in its platform which are intended before all to satisfy the material needs of the middle classes. It is significant that in this competition for the middle class vote, it is not nationalist and imperialist demands which are given prominence, but purely economic demands which aim at easing the severe burden of taxation and the restoring the value of the currency. This proves that also in France the middle class is most severely threatened and injured in its economic interests, and that all its interests are moving it to better its material situation.

The economic situation of the French middle class has been clearly described in an article by Comrade Marcel Fourrier from whose account we take a number of characteristic facts. Since the article was written, the further rapid fall of the French franc has made the situation of the French middle class still worse, so that it is now decidedly acute. The same symptoms which are present in all countries with a falling rate of exchange and which are bound to be present where the rate of exchange falls are present in France.

The ruin of the French middle class began already with the beginning of the war, and the conclusion of peace has in no way put an end to it. If the war quite perceptibly affected the annuities of the small French bourgeois, they have practically shrunk to nothing in the years since the „restoration of peace“. Instead of his fatherland having ensured him his three per cent annuity for his nationalist attitude, during and since the war, it loses in value from day to day, whereas the

investments of the huge private firms have doubled their value upon the Stock Exchange since 1914. The small bourgeoisie, of the towns, the small annuitants, small business people, artisans who are in business for themselves and officials, are most severely hit and are therefore revolting. (One must however make an exception of the small and middle landowners in the country whose situation is somewhat different.)

Before 1914 the most important source of income for the middle bourgeoisie of the cities was generally on the one hand their holdings in annuities, state mortgages on land, gilt-edge securities, such as municipal or private annuities on land, and on the other hand, real estate, before all houses, which yielded a moderate return. The income of the large bourgeoisie was derived chiefly from the great concerns, joint stock companies and speculative enterprises. Their holdings in real estate consisted chiefly in factories, warehouses and large apartment houses which yielded a very good return. Thus if the difference between mobile and immobile capital has altered very little between the years 1914 and 1923 one cannot say the same regarding the incomes derived from the same.

The annuities and gilt edge investments of the middle and small bourgeoisie have depreciated in a much greater measure than the holdings in shares of the big bourgeoisie. One has only to compare the figures in the following typical examples and the difference strikes the eye at once:

A. Investments of the middle bourgeoisie		1914	1923
3%	Perpetual Annuities	88	54
3%	Redeemable Annuities	75	66
3%	Russians 1896	74	17
5%	Russians 1906	104	28
6%	Consolidated Turkish	87	55
5%	Turkish 1914	93	33
2%	City of Paris 1899	367	236
2½%	City of Paris 1905	360	330
3%	Ground Rents 1903	460	300
3%	Ground Rents 1909	225	160
3%	Municipal Loan 1906	420	290

B. The Big Bourgeoisie		1914	1923
	General Electric Company	1050	1330
	Rio Tinto	1870	2550
	Credit Lyonnais	1300	1650
	Central Mining	175	840
	Lautaro	250	675
	Marine Iron and Steel Works	1500	800
	Lille Fives	1000	2710
	Say Refineries	420	3300
	Baku Petroleum	1500	2645
	Royal Dutch	400	28,700
	Carmaux Mines	2400	1555
	Lens Mines	1250	430

One must remark to the above that the scripts mentioned above represented a capital in gold francs in the year 1914, but in 1923 they are only worth paper francs, thus having a value three times less, and now almost four times less. As the above table shows, the middle bourgeoisie is hit the hardest because its losses amount to between 75% and 90% whereas the depreciation in the shares which are in the possession of the big bourgeoisie fluctuates between merely 10% and 35%.

Also in regard to real estate, it becomes apparent that the income mostly threatened is that obtained from house rents. To the extent that members of the small and middle bourgeoisie are not house owners they will be severely affected materially as tenants by the recent decree of the Senate which permits an increase of rent of 100%, and they are not in the position to compensate themselves in any way for this new burden. One can venture the general assertion that the average depreciation in the value of capital since the beginning of the war amounts to 70% in the case of the middle bourgeoisie and to not more than 30% in the case of the big bourgeoisie.

Small trade and industry find themselves in a specially severe crisis, before all owing to the fact that the great burden of taxation bears most heavily upon them. If the turnover in the business of a small merchant in the current year amounts to between 100,000 and 120,000 francs, he must pay between 2,500 and 3,000 francs in taxes. Besides this he is subjected to a veritable fiscal inquisition. Of course it is true

in general that taxes, duties, and so on can usually be passed on to the consumer, but in regard to the tax on the total business the wholesaler is able to calculate this tax in the prices that he fixes, whereas the retailer in nine cases out of ten if forced to sell his goods in relation to the price of the wholesaler, if he does not wish to decrease the sale of his goods. When one remembers that of the 1,720,000 merchants and manufacturers who are affected by the tax on sales, no fewer than 1,515,000 had a turnover of less than 120,000 francs, one recognises what a large number of middle and small bourgeois are affected thereby.

The situation of small industry is also in no way favorable. The number of bankruptcies has increased since 1922. The small business people, merchants and artisans, can hardly obtain credit from the banks. When they want to pledge their securities they always meet with the greatest difficulties and many of them are compelled to close down their businesses.

Thus the economic situation of the middle class has greatly changed compared with former times. This class is in the grip of a continually progressive impoverishment. Shaken up by this it is beginning to revise its political views but the idea of its restoration belongs to the realm of small bourgeois illusions.

GERMANY

Longer Working Hours in Germany.

by Ali Ferid.

Let us pick out a few facts from the events of the last few days in Germany. On December 28th, 1923, the ten and twelve hour day was introduced for the first time for the day shifts. It is alleged that on this day no workers were absent and that no one left work before the conclusion of the shift. The fact however, that strikes have taken place in various districts shows that the victory of the employers over the workers is not proceeding so easily as one had originally assumed.

In the Ruhr coal mines the hours of labour, as is well known, were already lengthened some time ago. The following statistics of the production in the Gelsenkirchen district have been issued. From December 10th—16th 1923, 85,200 tons. From December 17th—23rd 1923, 109,000 tons. In the same period the number of workers rose from 25,000 to almost 27,000. Similar reports have been issued from the coal districts of Central Germany and Upper Silesia.

The significance of such facts for the shifting of the balance of forces between capital and the proletariat will not be expounded here. We are dealing with the question as to what this tendency as presented in the events mentioned, signifies for the capitalist standpoint. In the first place it is clear that this development represents, outwardly, a step in the direction of the maintenance of capitalism in Germany, in view of the fact that through increased production with lower costs of production the surplus value is increased, and the political power of capital is for the time being consolidated.

On the other hand, this development signifies a retrograde movement in respect to the organization of capital. In the pre-war days the more that capitalist production developed the more the composition of capital changed against the variable element and in favor of the constant elements. The labour of the workers became continually more profitable. This development was interrupted at the beginning of the war, and after the end of the war, when the accumulation of new capital became continually more rare, it began in some industries a retrograde movement. This occurred before all in the industries producing raw materials — in the manufacture of finished articles it was somewhat better — and the number of workers employed was from 50% to 60% higher than in the pre-war period, while the production was about 20% less than the pre-war period and the productivity about 50% less as compared with 1913.

This shifting in the composition of capital is furthered still more by the increase in the hours of labour. The capitalists must also regard this development as retrograde.

The gradual shortening of the hours of labour in the decades before the war, took place not only to the advantage of the workers, but also in the first place in favor of the capitalists, who had an interest in the more intensive exploitation

of labour power during shorter hours by means of piece work, Taylor system, Gedinge Process, Psycho-technology etc. Ford, for example, knows perfectly well that his workers, with whom the Taylor system is carried out to its very extreme, only remain fit for work with an eight-hour day, and that in this time they are not only more productive, but also produce more than workers in the same industry in other firms where ten and twelve hours are still worked. Before the war, Stinnes in Germany was a declared supporter of the eight hour day. If the development indicated signifies retrogression in the organic composition of capital, it is very doubtful whether the German workers, in view of this over-straining coupled with insufficient wages, are at all capable of having their labour power exploited more intensively.

The answer to this question is not to be found in the technical or economic field, for it is a political question. For the capitalists it is a question of mastering the working class for a transition period lasting several years, in such a manner that by increased production and reduced costs of production — concentration serves this purpose — the basis of a further development of capitalist production, and with it the basis for a greater organization of capital, can be created.

We do not need to emphasize that so far as a shortening of the hours of labour, or as in the case of Ford the introduction of the eight hour day takes place, this does not lie in the interests of the working class. The rate of exploitation was increased before the war when there was a tendency to shorten the hours of labour, and to-day, in the case of Ford, this is proceeding on an increasing scale. In this way an increased rate of profits is ensured for certain groups of capital which creates worse conditions and unemployment in other industrial groups. In spite of the victory over the proletariat in Germany, one can assume that the intentions of capital, if they are to be realized at all, will only be so after severe internal struggles.

RELIEF FOR GERMANY

The Woman as Front Rank Fighter against Starvation in Germany.

By Hertha Sturm.

The year 1924 will be one of decisive significance for the German, — for the World Revolution. Following the Fascist victory of October last, Capital strides purposefully and ruthlessly forwards to the full exploitation of its power.

The accomplishment of its programme of exploitation would fatally cripple the fighting strength of the German proletariat and delay the victory of the proletarian Revolution in Germany as well as in the whole world for many years. More than ever does the struggling proletariat of Germany need the conscious, active and steadfast solidarity of its class-conscious brothers and sisters in the whole world.

With the full realization of the significance of the struggle in Germany, the International Workers Relief, towards the close of the last year, set itself to the task of German relief. The commencing point for the relief work was the terrible hunger, the bitter need. It was necessary at the same time as our suffering brothers and sisters were supplied with food, to strengthen in them the belief in the unconquerability of the proletarian cause, to arouse in them courage for the vanquishment of misery through their own strength, to increase their confidence in the international army of the working class. The proletarian revolutionary women, headed by the communist women, can and must take a prominent part in the relief work. From their childhood onwards they have been acquainted with trouble, poverty and misery. Daily they are confronted with misery, in the poverty stricken home, in the wearying drudgery of the house, in the body and soul consuming work of rearing children and tending the old and sick. They will have the most deep understanding of the sufferings of the German workers and before all of their women-folk, who, in spite of stout resistance, are drawn ever closer to the vortex of starvation, who witness their old, their sick and above all, their children languishing and dying.

What must be done to combat this?

First and foremost it is necessary that our women comrades, and the class-conscious women of all countries, carry the knowledge of the needs of the German working class everywhere into all places where class-solidarity has its roots in the hearts

of men, yes, wherever compassion is to be found or awakened. The boundless misery of the great mass of the German people must be brought forth from the dark holes into which it has crept, and be set in the light of the widest publicity, as a disgrace to mankind and a call to duty to the international proletariat. All the terrible facts and figures which the „Hunger Bulletin“ of the International Workers Relief published on the need in Germany, which even the bourgeois newspapers cannot longer ignore, pale before the terrible reality. The threatening destruction of the German proletariat must permit no peace to the workers in other lands who are still living in comparative comfort. It is up to the women to speak of it in the house, in the market places and in the street. They must put this question on the agenda of every proletarian gathering. In shop councils and trades-unions, co-operative societies, and tenant gatherings, in the organizations of war-victims and even among the unemployed; also in big political demonstrations of proletarian men and women, assistance, must be won for the German proletariat. In written and in spoken words, the campaign for Germany must be carried on.

What else remains to be done? — Collect and give!

The men and women workers of Russia, Holland, France, America and Czecho-Slovakia and of many other countries hastened to help at the first call. But in view of the immeasurable need, still more sources must be tapped. What signifies a few hungry German children, who are to enjoy the hospitality of working class families in Holland and Czecho-Slovakia, compared with the masses of hungry and starving children who still remain: — in one single school in Berlin hundreds get no warm meal during the day. Thousands, tens of thousands, should and ought to find mothers and fathers in other countries, if the propaganda were only taken up with burning zeal. All such difficulties as Poincaré's prohibition of immigration of starving German children, which was issued from fear of a German-French fraternisation, would be swept away by storm, if the masses of the workers pressed the matter.

Then as to the relief in Germany itself. Food, and above all money must regularly and in increasing amounts be found. To-day the metal-workers of Berlin are on strike — to-morrow perhaps it will be the printers — the chemical workers. In the next few weeks in the Reich and in the various states, about a million civil servants will be thrown on to the street. On the grounds of the Special Powers Act, the regulations for the welfare of the young, care of invalids and protection of mothers and children are all set aside and unemployed benefit has been abolished. Ever widening circles are handed over to death by starvation or thrust into the struggle, which offers three possibilities: capitulation — defeat (both equally signifying slow death by starvation) — or holding out to the winning of a partial victory. Successful social struggles are, however, the best means against German starvation, which is the starvation of under payment and enforced idleness. But if social struggles are to have any hope of success, then it is a case of forward with the mass kitchens for the strikers and their families, with money and food from other countries!

Do not forget the families of political prisoners. The bourgeois state refuses to support them. They also need energetic help: The International Workers Relief takes in all those in need, so far as its means and resources allow.

Big collections, above all of money, will take place principally in workshops, trade unions and co-operative societies. Big demonstrations and artistic performances will bring in means. But the special collecting activity of the women will be from house to house and among shopkeepers. Every smallest contribution can be given without the least hesitation, and also imperishable food and new and second hand clothing and shoes.

Many a mickle makes a muckle! Nothing is so small, that it may not for one moment make a mother, or a child in Germany happy and be of use to them. The collection of clothing, as it was formerly organized in many lands for Russia, must be set up again by the women. How much baby clothing, clothes outgrown in the meantime, how many other discarded things can be collected, made up and sent to Germany. And with the re-opening of sewing rooms of the IWR., how many opportunities it gives, for all friendly helpers who wish to help and who themselves have little, to set themselves at the service of the great cause! How much camaraderie and hearty sisterly solidarity can be cultivated, when the industriously working women in the sewing room are told of the starving

and struggling German proletariat. When they hear: the German proletariat fights not for itself alone — no, for us all, for the international proletariat. When they exchange greetings with the unknown, distant, but so closely connected friends in Germany!

The International Women's day is approaching. May the revolutionary women of all lands realize, that it is not enough to demonstrate one week for international class solidarity. It means act and fight to-day, to-morrow, and every day!

The active participation of women in the International Workers Relief, the initiative, inventiveness, endurance and energy which they develop, will be the test of the ripeness of their class-consciousness and of their revolutionary thinking and doing.

POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

“Left” Premises — “Right” Conclusions.

The Cardinal Mistake of the Theses of the Centre Majority in the German C.P. and its Tactical Results.

By A. Thalheimer.

In reading through the theses of the present Central majority over the tactics of the October retreat and the next tasks of the Communist Party of Germany, in accordance with a Marxist habit, we sought for an analysis of the objective situation during the October days. To our great astonishment there is not a word on this question in the whole theses. In the introduction it is stated that before and during the October struggle, the objective situation was highly revolutionary. That is all. The October events themselves, that is, the Fascist victory over the November republic and the retreat of the workers before Fascism had, according to the theses, absolutely no objective grounds. They state:

„The retreat of the Party in the October struggles is to be explained not only by organisatory, military or technical defects, nor by the unfavorable general proportion of forces, which was far more unfavorable when the Party adopted its measures for struggle than in the decisive month, but before all by the mistakes in regard to the tactical and strategical attitude of the party in the struggle for winning over the majority of the proletariat, which was the first premise for success. These mistakes were the result of a false valuation of the Party's role in these struggles!“

In this sentence is contained the essence of the tactical conception of these theses. It is true that the tactical and strategical mistakes are regarded before all as being the cause of the retreat, but as there is no mention made of any other factor than the Party in the theses dealing with the October retreat, the causes of the retreat, according to the theses, are to be attributed not only partially, but completely to mistakes of the Party. Here on the one hand an objective revolutionary situation, and there on the other the Communist Party, which as a result of false strategy did not make use of the situation. These are the fundamental contents of the theses so far as they deal with the October retreat. Apart from the objective revolutionary situation of the Communist Party no other factors come into play. The Social Democratic Party and the trade unions led by it do not exist for these theses. The same remark applies to the organisations of the bourgeoisie. To put it quite clearly, the Party betrayed the revolution out of stupidity. („These mistakes were the result of a false conception of the nature of civil war and armed rising, and of a false estimation of the role of the Party in this struggle“). The real Left has at least the courage to say it openly and to draw the logical conclusions therefrom. The semi-Left or, as it calls itself, the centre, differs from the Left before all in that it has not the courage to declare plainly that which follows from its assumptions. If the situation in October was revolutionary and only the mistaken strategy and tactics of the Party made the victory of Fascism possible, then, according to the usual rules of logic, it follows that with correct strategy the Party could have defeated Fascism in October. But what do the theses of the Centre say? They criticise the retreat of the Party both during and after the Conference in Chemnitz, but they should also have declared that the decisive struggle

ought not to have been avoided. They criticize the unresisting retreat, but not the retreat itself. It is true that they see the causes of the retreat not in mistakes which immediately precede October, but which go back much further; but if these mistakes had been avoided, then victory would have been certain. This is the unavoidable conclusion, but it is not given by the Centre. The real Left says that, as the mistakes had already been made (in which both the Left and semi-Left were involved) one should have taken up the decisive struggle even at the risk of a defeat. That is a definite standpoint even, though it be false. The Centre says that one should at least have carried out the retreat with local struggles. That is no standpoint at all.

The question of the decisive struggle was not one that could be chosen like a hot or cold dish. The question was: either we accepted battle and the enemy forced the decision (for the Centre, this enemy has absolutely no existence), when we would have been disastrously defeated (the real Left accepts this as part of the bargain), or we refused battle. Outside of these two possibilities there was no third way. What is the kernel of this idea? It is the old well-known offensive theory that requires only two elements for victory: the revolutionary will of the revolutionary party and sheer bluff. Given the correct strategy and tactics of the civil war and one is victorious, be the objective situation what it may.

Wherein consists the fundamental strategic mistake and the false methods of the civil war? According to the theses it consists in not leading up to the decisive struggle by local struggles. As soon as this correct method is adopted success is certain (assuming that the enemy also desires a decisive struggle at that particular moment, and also that one is already so far advanced with the local struggles and has the majority of the proletariat at one's back for the deciding struggle). For our part we consider this to be pure childishness.

The tactical consequences of such a conception are obvious. They consist in the Party operating without objectively considering the relative strength and the subjective preparedness of the workers. That means either purely revolutionary propaganda, „Putschism“, or shilly shallying between the two.

These are the tactical conclusions which would result from reasoning these theses out to their end. We say *would* result, for as it happens these theses carefully avoid drawing these conclusions for the practical tasks of the Party. Conclusions are only drawn in relation to the revolutionary perspective which means in short „It will break out again tomorrow“.

The so-called analysis which supports the prospective, enumerates, in part correctly and partly incorrectly, a number of revolutionary symptoms in the international situation as well as in the internal situation of Germany. A careful conscientious analysis will only yield one result, and that is, that neither in Germany nor in the international situation does the situation permit any solution except a revolutionary one.

As to the rate of the revolution these symptoms, taken by themselves, say nothing. For this purpose one must examine with the same thoroughness the means which are internationally at the disposal of the counter-revolution. In the whole theses there is not a single word over this question. It is however clear, that the speed of the actual revolutionary and counter-revolutionary development are always only the resultants of two factors, of that which encourages revolution and that which hinders it. The theses, however, state in a cheerful non-chalant manner:

„The rise of the revolutionary wave in Central Europe is therefore immediately imminent.“

And at the end of the so-called prospective:

„For all these reasons a tremendous tension and huge proletarian mass struggles are to be expected in Germany in the next months.“

Such a thing is not out of the question, but it is not proved in the theses, it is simply asserted.

It is no sign of strength, on the contrary, it is a sign of lack of revolutionary self-confidence when one has to conjure up short-termed revolutionary prospectives out of mere nothing in order to be able to work. In a situation where the data renders it impossible to express an opinion over the speed of the next revolutionary developments and where the situation, as it exists at present, forces the workers on to the defensive, — in such a situation, the proper conception demands the proper adaptation of the Party, that is, that it be prepared both

for a speedier as well as a slower development and to attack the problem where it can be attacked, that is to organize the defence of working class and to set the further aims in accordance with the changes in the concrete situation as they occur, both in the objective situation as well as in the subjective factors in the working class. In our opinion, that is the only possible basis alongside of the general revolutionary prospective which will not result in beating the air.

So much for the prospectives. „The next tasks of the Party“, as one would think, should be logically connected and contain conclusions developed from what goes before. But there is no indication of that. It is a collection of isolated demands and tasks without connection or system, which is not surprising in view of the lack of a real analysis of the objective and subjective factors of the struggle. These „next tasks of the Party“ are perfectly on a par with the tactical fundamental conception. For example, propaganda for the dictatorship of the proletariat figures alongside of local struggles as well as a remedial program (socialization) and a demand for the destruction of the Social Democratic Party. All this hangs completely in the air, because the previous paragraph contains not a single word concerning what an enormous role the Social Democrats played in the October retreat (indeed only the mistakes of the German Communist Party were to blame!); nor is there one word said as to the defeat of the November republic and the transition solutions which were to be developed out of bourgeois democracy having no longer any actual basis.

The theses of the Centre are a contradictory compromise between the assumptions of the Left and the conclusions of the Right.

Such a compromise can only increase the existing confusion and make it permanent in the Party. A sure leadership of the party is impossible on this basis. The comrades who have not yet taken up their stand on this ground but are hesitating, will soon be compelled by the actual tasks of the Party to decide whether they wish to retain their Left assumptions or their Right conclusions. Both together — that will not do at all.

So much for the theses as a whole. Much more could be said over details.

RED RELIEF

The Suffering of the Children of the German Barricade Fighters.

By Ehrenfried Wagner.

In the month of November there were in Germany twelve hundred women and two thousand four hundred children of revolutionary fighters to be supported. Of the children, four hundred were from Hamburg alone. That means no light task for the Red Relief. One must not forget that a great famine already prevails in Germany. Thus the children of political prisoners and of fighters slain on the barricades find themselves in particularly bad circumstances.

Of the 2,400 children who are awaiting Red Relief 800 are without shirts and only 350 possess shirts and clothes. Only 10 per cent have decent shoes, all the rest having such dilapidated ones that they cannot go out in wet winter weather. They cannot even go to school and are forced to remain in bed. Only three per cent of the children dwell in warm rooms. Only those children can get food whose mothers are working and thereby receiving half of a tolerable wage. These children constitute a disappearing minority. Those women whose husbands took part in the „disorders“ or „acts of violence“ are thereby placed outside of the laws of the bourgeois Order, and naturally have no claim, whatever for support by the State. They are thrown upon their own resources. From whence shall they obtain work when there are already millions of unemployed in Germany? The widow of a Saxon worker, who fell in a street fight, was offered a weekly payment of one gold mark (equal to twenty-five cents) under the condition that she performed six hours work daily. This work, or better call it hard labour, consisted in the cleaning of lavatories and spittoons in school buildings. For her whole week's wages she would have been just able to buy one pound of horse flesh.

Without giving any further description of their necessitous conditions one can easily imagine how hard it is for the wives of political prisoners to protect themselves and their children against hunger. As a result of the prohibitive prices of gas and fuel, only 15% of the children of political prisoners get a warm midday meal at home. The remainder must content themselves with a weak luke-warm coffee substitute, and a slice of bread made out of potatoes and thin glutinous flour. All children are undernourished, not one having the weight of a normal child of the same age. Children can only get milk with a doctor's prescription and then only 50 grammes daily. Added to this the milk is always well diluted. However, as the dependents of „plunderers“ and „traitors“ have no right to demand help from the Poor Relief, the children of political prisoners are not even able to obtain this modest ration. Even in case of sickness many petitions and visits to different offices are necessary before medical assistance is sent. The health conditions are exceedingly bad and such as to cause anxiety. Among these badly underfed children tuberculosis is widespread. Per centages almost as high are shown for scurvy, scrofula and rickets. Without any exaggeration one can say that if general energetic relief is not brought to these children of the political prisoners one must calculate on their dying wholesale.

It is true that the Red Relief has recently taken up the work of giving the dependents of the political prisoners a warm midday meal, but in view of the severe distress, that is only a drop in the bucket. One can in no way speak of this distress being partially reduced in spite of the immense sums that have been sent to Germany recently by the International Red Relief. Within the last few days the Central Committee of the International Red Relief received the following urgent telegram from Germany:

„Send money at once. We have nothing for the payment of the money grants. Red Relief. Germany.“

The Central Committee of course transmitted a large sum at once. One must, however, take into consideration that today, the purchasing power of the dollar in Germany has greatly decreased. At the present time the dollar just about suffices to buy a pound of meat. Assuming only 3,600 absolutely necessitous cases (which would only be the number of the dependents of the political prisoners), one can see for oneself that with a sum of five thousand dollars a month very little can be done.

Added to this is the fact that these figures of the dependents relate to the period before the party became illegal, and that in the meantime the number of victims has grown and is growing daily. At the same time the prices of food in Germany are continually becoming higher than world prices, that means that the buying power of a dollar becomes continually less in Germany. Owing to the increase of the number of prisoners, survivors, and fugitives, a monthly support of thirty thousand dollars is necessary. The International Red Relief cannot give more than ten thousand dollars, a month from its funds. The remaining twenty thousand will have to be raised by immediate and speedy collections amongst the international proletariat.

We are all responsible for seeing to it that the children and wives of those revolutionaries who are behind prison bars do not perish in misery. Warm clothes must be got ready and money collected, on the one hand for the financial support of the victims of the class struggle, and on the other hand for the maintenance of children's homes for the orphans of the German revolution. All workers and sympathisers with the revolutionary struggle must assist, for in no circumstances must the children of these courageous class champions be left in the lurch.

IN THE COLONIES

Autocracy in Palestine.

by T. B.

As the only one of the colonial regions in the Near East captured during the world war, Palestine has now a purely, mediaeval autocratic form of government. While England, with the help of Emir Feisal, had to content herself with setting an English „adviser“ by the side of an Arabian government formed according their wish, in Mesopotamia — while Syria has its Constituent Assembly, which it is true, being formed by the French is not welcomed by the population, but nevertheless keeps up the appearance of a democratic government, Palestine has assumed the administrative form of an English Crown Colony. A High Commissioner appointed from London,

rules the country, who, on his part, forms the Governing Council from among the administrators of the different departments and the governors of the most important districts, which thus consists entirely of English officials. The whole legislative and executive power lies in the hands of the High Commissioner and his Council.

The people has nothing to say in the matter, all the less so in that, in contrast even to the former reactionary Turkish constitution, the mayors of the more important towns are not chosen by free election, but are appointed by the government. The imperialist power found an excuse for this open breach of the fixed ordinances of the League of Nations, in the fact that the people of Palestine, — which in spite of threats and cajoleries will not give cognisance to the English supremacy — unanimously boycotted the elections, writes for which were issued by the English government (unanimously — with the exception of a little group of Jews under the influence of Zionism, who considered it better, in their chauvinistic fanaticism, to go with the imperialistic government against the native population, but who both in numbers and in view of their political weight are absolutely insignificant). Even the group of the Arabian Effendis (large estate holders) refused the English offer, to form a screen for the imperialistic designs against the people, in the form of an „Arabian Agency“. Then, as a punishment, the purely English government was formed.

The government so formed allows itself the liberty of monstrous encroachments. The Turkish system, famed for its insatiability, especially with regard to land taxes, is far outdone by the English taxation extortions. The great mass of the Fellahs (poor small-holders) as well as the group of the poor immigrant colonists, are absolutely ruined by this system. The farmers delegations which again and again hand in requests for alleviations, moratoria etc., are dismissed with cynical „Advice“ by the government.

The prices of grain are again and again forced down by the import of cheap Australian flour. The impoverishment of the country, which has hardly 700,000 inhabitants, will be best illustrated by the figures of the trade balance, which during the last four years has remained passive at about 2 million pounds. The development of industry is checked by a cunning import policy. For the holding down of the population rebelling against foreign domination, 300,000 pounds — a third of the years budget, is devoted to police, prisons etc. Public works are given by preference to foreign contractors, who then make use of workers specially brought from foreign lands (Egypt, Sudan), who work 14—16 hours a day at incredibly low wages. Meanwhile, especially among the immigrant workers, fearful lack of work prevails in the country, which involves 20—30% of all the workers. There exists no workers insurance of any kind. If a wage struggle takes on a more serious form, then the police, with knouts and warrants of arrest, arrive on the scene to protect strike-breakers and contractors and proceed against the struggling workers.

The desperate state of the country leads to great emigration, which is principally to North — but also to South-America and France.

It is significant that while in the Arabian camp all classes of the people are in the fight against Imperialism which prevents the development of the country, the „socialist“ party, Ahduth Haavodah, which is affiliated to the Hamburg International and is a special protégé of the English Labour Party, believes it can only realize its national, Jewish ideals with the assistance of English bayonets.

With phantastic plans for a „constructive socialism“ (among which Guild ideas play the principal part) they paralyse every class-war activity of the workers, be it in the struggle to better conditions of life, or in the fight for political freedom.

The Communist Party of Palestine (PCP.), the only one in the workers camp which propagates and leads the struggle, is exposed to continual persecution on the part of the government; a special paragraph of the so-called Palestine Constitution empowers the government to banish anyone who is considered undesirable to the country, and the paragraph is naturally brought to bear above all on our comrades. Nevertheless, the fighting slogans against the brutal autocracy become more and more popular. The English government may take the utmost pains to avoid direct conflict with the population, wherever possible, still the permanent crisis in Palestine is assuming forms which make an outbreak appear not far distant.