

- INTERNATIONAL -

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March 18, — An International Red Relief Day

The Central Committee of the International Red Relief has resolved to use March 18th for a more intensive propaganda for the political prisoners. We approach all organizations affiliated to us, and the working men and women throughout the world, to carry out this decision, and to do their utmost to assist us in this work.

Working men and women! In all bourgeois countries, the prisons and dungeons are full to overflowing with political prisoners. Many of them have already been for years behind prison walls and are exposed to cruel tortures. Their families are in great want. All of them need Red Relief. Therefore, make up your minds to establish on March 18th Red Relief sections in all the countries of the world, and to recruit more members for the already existing organizations. Be as active as you possibly can. Collect money to enable the Red Relief to give continuous and sufficient assistance to the relatives and dependents of the prisoners. Make it a habit to put aside on every pay-day a certain amount for those who are in prison. For this purpose it will be as well to have Red Relief collecting boxes in factories and workshops, in trade union bureaus and in the shops of the workers' cooperatives. Do not let go by a single festival, gymnastics or sports display, or singing competition without on such occasions collecting for the prisoners and for Red Relief. Take advantage of March 18th to protest

in all parliaments and municipal councils against the White Terror, and move resolutions at cooperative meetings for collective affiliation to the Red Relief with a guaranteed fixed contribution. It is at such meetings that you will have a good opportunity to ask for special contributions in money, food, fuel, and clothes for our prisoners and their families.

Workingmen and Women! Make use of March 18th to render at least a small return for all we owe our prisoners and their families. Work for the Red Relief is part of the great revolutionary work of the proletariat. Those who work for the Red Relief are helping to render the incapacitated troops of the revolutionary class fit again for further struggles. The more intensive the proletariat works for Red Relief, the sooner will the world proletariat be able to engage again in new struggles. All workers and peasants, the women and the youth, and the great army of those who sympathize with us, must help us to accomplish our Red Relief work.

Give Red Relief to the Political Prisoners!

Demand their Liberation!

Protest on March 18th against

White Terror and World Reaction!

The Executive Committee
of the Communist International.

POLITICS

The Abolition of the Khalifat.

By M. N. Roy.

The news of the abolition of the Khalifat by the Turkish National Assembly has burst upon the world as a bomb-shell. Ample space has been devoted to this topic in the bourgeois press of Europe. Although the opinion as to the wisdom and result of this momentous step is not unanimous, its gravity is commonly recognized. Countries like Great Britain and France with large stakes in Turkey, are naturally very much concerned with the possible outcome of this event. The *Times*, for example, laments over "the abolition of an institution so closely interwoven with the bygone greatness of Turkey". It forgets that a nation may not always remain content with the memory of bygone greatness, and a glorious past may not be a guarantee against a brighter future. The *Temps*, on the other hand, cannot very well disapprove of the measure without turning traitor to the traditions of France which, it claims, have inspired the Turks in this historic action of theirs. But it rebukes the French Government by pointing out that when Turkey is following the foot-prints of France, "French moral influence and material interests are on the decline in the Near East". Every imperialist country is weighing the event in the scale of its own interest. All are visibly disturbed, because it looks as if the days when they all considered Turkey as legitimate prey, are over. Nationalist Turkey has plunged herself into a Revolution which will transform her so as to make European Imperialism, which never gave up the hope of keeping her under perpetual domination, very uncomfortable.

It need not be said that the resolution of the Turkish National Assembly is a great revolutionary step. It becomes more so, in view of the fact that it is so precipitated. Besides, it is extremely radical. The boldness of the step becomes evident when it is remembered that the position of Turkey has been morally fortified by the fact that 240 millions of Moslems in the surrounding countries owed her allegiance as the custodian of the Holy See. She has been looked upon as the leader of the Moslem world because of this fact. Her latest struggle for national liberation was interpreted by the Moslems in other lands as the struggle for the defence of the Faith. Turkey was supposed to be defending the Khalifat. So, it can be easily imagined what a tremendous shock the news that the Turks have abolished the Khalifat, will be to the Moslem world. Not only the present Khalif, who was divested of temporal power only a few months ago, is deposed, but the time-honoured institution itself is abolished. It is going farther than any other people has gone before. Neither the Papacy of the Roman Church, nor the Patriarchate of the Greek Church was ever abolished by any bourgeois Revolution. They were only deprived of all influence over the State. Turkey passed through this stage of revolution only a few months ago, when the Khalif was divested of the Sultanate, whose authority was invested in the people represented in the National Assembly. Consequently the Theo-monarchist State was replaced by a Republic. Even this proved to be rather too drastic a measure for a considerable section of the orthodox, both inside and outside Turkey. Troubles began to brew on all sides, and the revolutionary "Tribunal of Independence" was created to cope with the situation. The tribunal wielded its powers drastically, though the guillotine did not appear as yet.

At least superficially, the Moslem world reconciled itself to Republican Turkey. The Khalifat was still in existence, and the National Assembly declared its determination to defend its integrity. So Turkey still continued to be the defender of Islam. Some complications arose about the personality of the Khalif; suggestions were made that a delegation from other Moslem lands should be invited to decide the question of the election of future Khalifs; but the Turks would not countenance any such suggestion. It was declared authoritatively that no intervention in the matter would be tolerated. Then two alternatives loomed up: the Khalifat to be vested either in the National Assembly or in the President of the Republic. Of course, had not the eventual removal of Abdul Mujid generally been taken for granted, these various suggestions and alternatives would not at all admit themselves. But the possibility of the abolition of the institution itself was hardly conceived of, outside the circle

which is guiding the destinies of Turkey. Then all on a sudden the Angora Government came out with the momentous decision, which not only surprised the Western countries, but is sure to have incalculable effects upon the Moslem world. At first it looks as if the Turkish Government has acted rashly, — as if its action has been ill-advised. Will not the repudiation of the Khalifat alienate the moral sympathy of the Moslem world from Turkey?

But looked at closely, a different picture is revealed. The Angora Government has not acted thus by choice. The situation was forced upon it. It had to take a bold stand or run the risk of being swallowed up by the intrigues of reaction which was rearing its portentous head all around, — not only in Turkey, but in the surrounding Moslem lands also. If the abolition of the Khalifat threatens to create difficulties for Turkey, its retention was no less dangerous, if not more so. Firstly, a large body of Moslems still adhere to theocratic principles, and as such, were hostile to the separation of the State from the Church. Inside Turkey, these reactionary elements could be suppressed; but the adjoining Moslem countries provided a fertile field for the growth of a movement against Republican Turkey. The reactionary elements of the Moslem world were fast crystallizing into a dangerous form, under the patronage of British Imperialism. The movement for the creation of a new Khalifat with one of the British protégés at its head was becoming ripe. From some quarters even, the cry was raised that the Turks have usurped the Khalifat. So, the Turkish Nationalists saw that if their struggle against Imperialism would be based upon the slogan of the Khalifat, they must eventually accept the supremacy of the counter-revolutionary court-clique and the reactionary clergy, behind whom stood the foreign powers. A crystallization of the reactionary opinion abroad would strengthen the enemies of revolution at home, and the victories of the last five years would be forfeited. It would be a stupid policy to subordinate one's actions to opinion which cannot be controlled. It would be more advisable to take up the challenge of reaction, both national and international, and face the Moslem world with an accomplished fact. So far, the Moslem opinion behind Nationalist Turkey has been of an ambiguous character. It was not always dependable. For example, an army of moral force, which included such divergent elements as the Indian Ali Brothers, on the one hand, and the pillars of British Imperialism, the Aga Khan and Ameer Ali, on the other, is hardly dependable. The Nationalist leaders of Turkey have never counted much upon this extra-territorial army. Now they propose to put this army to an acid test of Revolution. In addition to its great significance at home, the action of the Angora Assembly will clarify the entire anti-British movement in other Moslem countries, particularly of the Indian Moslems. It will split the entire Moslem world into two parts. The sheep will be separated from the goats.

Turkey today sends a new message to the Moslems of other countries. Her message is, that the struggle for national liberation cannot be fought within the bounds of theocratic tradition and the social institutions that accompany it: that Nationalism cannot be circumvented by religion. The revolutionary significance of this message is incalculable. This message has been given a graphic form in these words of Ismet Pasha: "If Constantinople is today in our hand, it is because we have fought to the death the Greeks and the Khalif. If other Moslems have shown sympathy for us, this was not because we had the Khalif, but because we have been strong". The implication of these words is clear. Turkey now bids for the leadership of the Moslem world, not on the ground of a religious mission, but as a secularized State which has not only warded off foreign attack, but has successfully grappled with reaction at home. She faces the Islamic world, not in the supposed role of the defender of the Khalifat, but as the grave-digger of that antiquated institution which for a long time has become the instrument of foreign Imperialism.

As a matter of fact, the so-called Khalifat Movement, which has been more evident in India than in any other country, becomes an anomaly in consequence of the action of Nationalist Turkey. Although they somehow managed to reconcile themselves with a Republican Turkey liberated from theocratic control, the Indian Khalifatists will find it hard to swallow the wholesome words of Ismet Pasha. How can a movement, whose expressed purpose is the vindication of the Khalifat, owe allegiance to a power which frankly admits that its object was

the destruction of the Khalifat and that it has now realized its object? A deputation of Indian Moslems is expected to visit Turkey soon, with the object of assisting in the discussion concerning the future of the Khalifat. Will not the deputation find itself in a queer position? Therefore, the revolutionary action of the Turkish Nationalists is sure to rebound upon the Indian political horizon. There must be much searching of hearts among the Indian Moslems. There too, the days of religious nationalism and extra-territorial patriotism must come to an end.

If the Indian Moslems still persist in their notion of a religious confederation, they will surely land in the camp of reaction and all their anti-British talk will ridicule them in the face. But the real grievance of the Moslem masses of India was not concerning the Khalifat, it was not of a religious character. The grievance lies much nearer home and is essentially mundane by nature. Therefore, the only way to prevent the Indian Moslems from falling into the snares of scheming reaction, will be to abandon the treacherous ground of extra-territorial religious patriotism, in favour of a healthy nationalism more concerned with material wellbeing than the spiritual salvation of the people.

It will not be long before the Islamic world will be provided with a Khalif. Forces are already moving in that direction. Since the separation of the Sultanate from the Khalifat of Constantinople, the candidature of King Hussein of Hejaz has been advanced under British patronage. Now the matter can be expedited. A Khalifat installed at the Holy Place of Mecca will command all theological authority and will prove to be a suitable rallying ground of all the reactionary elements in the Moslem world. A new claim has come from rather unexpected quarters. It is reported that Egypt wants to receive the Khalifat back. Zaghulist organs have begun the agitation. It is demanded that the King of Egypt should be the Khalif. In the Egyptian government and clerical circles, the necessity of maintaining the Khalifat is generally recognized. So, "Independent Egypt" may be pitted against Nationalist Turkey. The scheme is to isolate the young Republic by providing a shepherd to the faithful.

This situation would have arisen anyhow. Therefore, the Turkish leaders thought it wise to take the offensive. The very drastic nature of the action proves that the situation was becoming very acute. A fatal blow has been dealt at the roots of all religious institutions. The protestations of the Nationalist leaders preclude any charge of intellectual atheism on their part. In practice, it has been found out that theological institutions and religious bodies not only constitute a passive obstacle to progress, but in critical moments become an active danger by rallying around them all the black forces of reaction. Since Turkey, as well as other Oriental countries has been held back in a social condition wherein religion predominates, the liberating movements there will be naturally more drastic; because the time lost has to be made up. The social policy adopted, together with the abolition of the Khalifat, is so revolutionary and so far-reaching, that it is hard to believe that it will be earnestly carried out. But when the circumstances which forced that policy upon the Turkish Nationalists are remembered and properly understood, it becomes clear that the policy must be resolutely put into action, if the Republic is to be saved. And the Turkish leaders have spoken in no equivocal language.

The liberation of the premier Moslem country from the age-long traditions of religion, opens up a new era in the history of the entire East as far as the Indian Archipelago; this concerns particularly the Islamic people. The fond belief of the orthodox Indian Nationalists, both Hindu and Musalman, that their country is immune from the so-called Western civilization, is going to be shattered. In the course of normal progress, the social and political institutions of every human community must be secularized. Civilization is a stage of human progress which makes for the dissipation of ignorance upon which religion is based. It does not assume a different form at different points of the compass. The epoch-making character of the event with which the Turkish National Assembly entered upon its fifth year of existence, is graphically brought home by an editorial article in the official organ "Ileri". The article, published the day after the memorable resolution was taken, was entitled, "Good bye, Orient".

The Parliamentary Elections in Italy.

Why the Communists will take part in the Elections.

By Ruggiero Grieco (Rome).

The Communist Party in Italy will take part in the Elections on April 6th. While the socialist parties, immediately after the close of the Session, discussed the possibility of the whole opposition (including the Popolari, and the other opposition groups standing on the basis of the constitution) abstaining from the elections, the Communist Party, already in the middle of December, announced its intention to participate in the elections. That may seem incomprehensible to many workers and even to comrades. It will be asked whether participation in the struggle is possible in Italy, under a regime which exposes to constant persecution not only the Communist organizations, but also — if in a milder form — the opposition which abides by the Constitution. The parties taking part in the election campaign have to comply with a whole number of legal formalities: the list of candidates must be drawn up, which is for us impossible without exposing the comrades concerned to danger; when the list is submitted it must bear a certain number of signatures, which again involves difficulty, if many comrades are not to be handed over to the vengeance of opponents. And finally, one must have the possibility of speaking to the masses. All that means being exposed to dangers and inconveniences which may cause many to think that the game is not worth the candle. This view will be continually strengthened by the daily chronicle of the legal and illegal reprisals in the shape of dismissals and violent attacks from the side of the Fascisti. The constitutional opposition which has not yet expressed its position in regard to the coming campaign, and further, the unitarian Socialists and Maximalists, who at the proper time will elude the danger of a block with the Communists, have brought up for consideration the possibility of abstention from the elections, i. e., an active abstention, accompanied by a press campaign, or by a possible (very hypothetical) participation in the Fascist meetings, in which they would oppose the speakers. The abstention was to have been justified on the ground of lack of freedom of action for the opposition parties, and the foregone conclusion that on the 6th of April, the friends of the government, and the authorities, would exercise such a terror that participation in the election by the supporters of the opposition would be practically impossible.

But there are workers and comrades who oppose our decision to take part in the election. We could answer them by referring to the statutes of the International. But among our comrades who have to be convinced, there are many workers and peasants to whom we must explain our attitude exhaustively. The Party will, in the time which lies between now and April 6th, bring all the necessary explanations to the notice of the workers, by means of its press, so far as it has control of such, or by other means.

When in December the press bureau of the Italian Communist Party made known its intention to participate in the elections (just at the time that, in the government press, a storm of indignation was let loose against the Socialists, who were discussing the possibility of abstention from voting), the "Stefani" news agency took the communiqué of the party, and published it everywhere in the home and foreign press. This fact brought up against us the socialists of both parties, who maintained that the Communists were playing into the hands of the government. We replied that one plays into someone's hands by every move; that the "Stefani" agency had already on a previous occasion rendered us the service of widely spreading our communiqués, namely, on the occasion of the "Communist conspiracy" in February 1923, when the government agents handed over to the press the manifesto of the Communist International against Fascism, a manifesto which we were not able to publish, and were not in a position to disseminate in so great a number. We declared that this new publication of the "Stefani" gave us great satisfaction, since we, who are robbed of our own press, could in this way set our decisions known to the masses. (We must admit that the "Stefani" agency does not always serve us as we wish). Perhaps this episode only strengthened the doubts of those comrades who did not agree with our attitude.

Why have we then decided to take part in the elections on April 6th? No one knows so well as ourselves the position the opposition minority in Italy finds itself in. The Communist Party

has saved the banner of Communist revolution out of the storms of the years 1920—1924, but that was not accomplished without loss, without great injuries. Whoever is not blind must admit that the enemy always concentrated its attack on the Communist citadel. That other opposition groups were often treated in the same way as we were, cannot disprove the fact that the enemy's main intent was to aim at the heart of the Communist Party. The political processes which took place in the first year of Fascist rule (or which were abandoned after the preliminary enquiry), were processes against members of the Communist Party; the special treatment of our press (the suppression of the three daily papers, and the temporary suspension of the weekly journals) was not extended to the press of the other parties; the continual hunting down of the Communist organizations, the arrest of our members indicate a special policy of the authorities against our movement. We know, of course, that also the Socialists and the constitutional opposition are persecuted by the Fascist Party, but still these persecutions cannot be compared to those which the Fascist government is accustomed to exercise against the Communist Party.

Our decision to take part in the elections therefore, has not arisen out of our ignorance of the situation in which the opposition parties find themselves. Still less out of ignorance of the position in the factories and workshops, in the docks and on the land, where raging terror forces workers, employees and peasants to silence to avoid worse persecutions than dismissals, wage-reductions, increases of working hours, etc.

But when did a bourgeois state ever allow freedom of ballot and propaganda? There is no government which adopts an impartial attitude to the elections, for every government presupposes a party from which it has come, and therefore partiality. It is only a question of to what extent a government leaves its citizens to make use of their election rights without incurring any risk in so doing. We know that the modicum of freedom which the Fascist Government will tender us on the occasion of the elections comes very near to the denial of all freedom. But the Communists have never had any illusions as to the workers having any kind of freedom whatever in a capitalist state; when they protest that the rights of the proletariat are trodden under foot, it is only to unmask the philosophic-political conception of democracy, which the dictatorial treachery of the bourgeoisie against workers and peasants tries to conceal.

If we abstained from participation in the elections, we could only justify this on the ground of the almost absolute lack of freedom of election propaganda and of the ballot; such grounds, however, take for granted the possibility that a bourgeois government can grant that freedom to the workers. If Fascism still further limits freedom of election, still it is only a question of degree. It is said that a collective abstention on the part of the whole opposition would weaken the position of the government in regard to other countries, a proof of which is the indignation with which the Fascist Press and the directors of the Fascist Party greeted the discussion of such a proposal on the part of the Socialists in December. We reply, that the position of the government is weakened without that. A Government, which by the mouth of its leader, allows it to be clearly said that it is anti-Parliamentary, that it is only arranging the elections for the sake of the spectators on the other side of the Alps, and that it is solely for this reason that it needs a plebiscite; a head of the government, who has not the courage — always from fear of the foreigner — to dissolve the "anti-national parties", but calls the Black Shirts into the arena against them (this appeal has a quite unmistakable significance in connection with the elections) such a Government is already weakened in the public opinion of other countries. But it is the duty of the proletarian parties in the election meetings, to brand this perfidy, the victim of which is the proletariat. If the election meetings of the workers are prevented by the Black Shirts, it must be shown in the press what a powerless condition the proletariat is in. If the press is also prohibited, other means must be used, in order that as many workers and peasants as possible — especially in the big centres — shall have the possibility of taking part in the elections. The proletarian party is a party of struggle and of revolutionary "education". The participation of the Communist Party in the struggle of April 6th, signifies: that the Communists use the meagre remnants of legality tendered to them by the bourgeois state to continue their activity; that the Communists are fighting the "liquidator spirit" of the Reformists, and that they wish the Party to show itself to the masses as alive and active, whatever the outcome of the struggle may be; that the Communists are doing their

best, to show by deeds, that the emancipation of the workers and the peasants is not to be brought about by the capture of Parliamentary institutions (we tried that experiment in 1919), or by absolute possession of freedom of election, but that the emancipation and victory of the proletariat is the fruit of the revolutionary preparation of the working masses outside Parliament.

The problem in Italy never stood forth in all its starkness as at this moment. Even the constitutional opposition must be convinced that it is not possible to overthrow the government by capturing the majority in Parliament, but that to this end it is necessary to arm a militia which can be set up against the Fascist militia. From every platform which in this critical hour stands at our disposal, it is our duty to say this to the masses. And we should be mad not to use this opportunity, which the State offers by arranging new elections, to develop a keen activity among the proletariat.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

After the Strike of the German Seamen in the British Ports.

By Vendelin Thomas.

The recent strike of the German seamen forms in itself a chapter in the history of the Workers' Movement. Seamen were always considered to belong to one of the worst-paid categories of workers. Thus, for example, a sailor on a German ship, according to German Regulations, has a monthly income of 58 marks along with a twelve hour day. This wage may well be an exception among all seafaring nations. When one at the same time considers that the freights on German ships are in no way less than on ships of other nations, even for the most part, not inconsiderably higher and that therefore the objection: "cheap freights mean cheap wages", cannot be made, then one can measure how high the German shipowners value the rights of existence of the seamen. It is obvious that in face of such "respect" for the rights of existence of the seamen, favourable negotiations with the shipowners on the question of better conditions for the seamen was from the outset impossible. The seamen therefore determined to use the right of strike, constitutionally guaranteed them, to enforce better living and working conditions.

The special political conditions in Germany, and in particular the Military Dictatorship and the Special Powers Act, render it almost impossible to strike at all, because, on the basis of the Special Powers Act, and the famous Article 48 of the Constitution, strikes in the vital industries are forbidden. The seamen determined, for several reasons, upon a strike in England.

The first crews came out on strike already in the middle of December, but it was only in January that the strike reached its high point. The organization of the strike devolved upon the British seamen's union, — an Amsterdam organization (National Seamen and Firemen's Union). The strike was inaugurated with all the means for a successful issue. The bases for this are interesting enough to be set forth. The president of the N. S. F. U. Havelock Wilson, declared at a meeting of representatives of all the organizations concerned, that the aim of the strike was to fight for an adequate wage for the German Seamen, and to eliminate the possibility of the German shipowners undercutting the English. It was therefore not to be wondered at, that the German seamen's strike found sympathy also outside the ranks of the English workers, and that the English Government immediately stopped the single attempt of the English Police, instigated by the German captains, to intervene against the striking seamen. In spite of this the strike was lost. This was inevitable, since, in the first place, the solidarity of the capitalists among themselves is still greater and stronger than the solidarity of the international proletariat, and secondly, because the seamen put faith in the promises of the German shipowners — an apparently incurable failing of the proletariat generally. After the strike had lasted a few weeks, the English "Labour Government" turned round, and expelled the German seamen from the country, on the grounds of a war-time law, whereby no German may land in England. This law had hitherto been very loosely applied; it has now only formal, no practical value. MacDonald's government has first brought it into use again: and this against proletarians.

It was intimated to the seamen from the German embassy that they need not expect any legal difficulties for their refusal to work after their return to the home-ports. With this promise on the one side, and (by reason of the application of the above-mentioned law) forced to return, the seamen abandoned the strike, and returned, mostly en masse, to Germany. The German ships concerned in the strike, had for the most part, that is, in so far as they were on the return journey, left England. With the greatest trouble and difficulty they procured a few English strikebreakers, in some cases they returned to Germany with only steer'smen and engine-men.

The treatment of the seamen on strike after their return to Germany, defies description, that is, it was in accordance with the treatment of the proletariat in the Ebert-Stinnes-Noske Republic. Brought off the steamers by a mass of police-spies and security police, they were, by summary proceedings, severely sentenced for infringement of §§ 101—105 of the Seamen's Regulation (Insubordination), where penalties up to 100 goldmarks and up to two months imprisonment were inflicted. But the punishment of the seamen of the freest Republic of the world does not stop there. In addition to the general penal law, the seamen is subject to Seamen's Regulations, which permit a further penal punishment, and on the ground of which the shipowners, damaged by the strike, claim the right to take out civil summonses. In practice, this fact has had the effect on the seamen, that the wages earned up till their arrival in England, that is, up to the strike, have been withheld; and moreover on many ships the equipment has been confiscated and to this day has not been returned; the shipowners are even seriously endeavouring by means of civil suits, to render the seamen responsible for the economic losses. Apparently acting according to the phrase in the constitution (which sounds so fine) "Property brings responsibility", the Hamburg-America Line has first instituted a civil action against a part of the seamen who were in service with them, and demand from each of the defendants 500 goldmarks as damages.

It is natural in the German democratic republic, with its labour exchange boards on which workers and employers are equally represented, that the seamen who have taken part in the strike were refused jobs by all the seamen's employment bureaus. To black-list those who took part in the strike is a very easy matter for the shipowners, for the state authorities; who came into question in the paying off of the crews, true to their historical role of playing lackey to the shipowners, entered in the seamen's pay books the remarks (which it is absolutely illegal to do): "On strike in England", "deserted in England", etc.

The attitude of the shipowners gives the German proletariat further opportunity to realize, what the gratitude of the Fatherland is like. More than four years ago now, milliards were thrown into the jaws of the German shipowners for the building up of the German merchant fleet. The capital given to the shipowners came from the pence squeezed out of the workers by taxation. The shipowners after having by means of this gift, again secured their economic position in the world's shipping trade, now proceed to return thanks to those by means of whose pence they have been restored to their position.

The Trades Unions again played in this strike a particular role. It has been mentioned above that the N. S. F. U. put all its strength into the organization and carrying out of the strike. The German Schifffahrtsbund supported the strike with all its means. Its fighting power was and remains today crippled, because the German Regent, Seeckt, forbade and dissolved it. The German Transport Union, as always, took up a doubtful attitude. Its representative, who with a representative of the D. S. B. (Deutscher Schifffahrtsbund) went to England, could not do otherwise than declare himself for the strike, under the impression he got there. Not so his colleagues in Germany. These had already in June 1923, undermined the strike called for by the Schifffahrtsbund, in that they openly incited to strike-breaking. In the present case they could not manoeuvre so openly. They did not, however, allow the necessary measures for supporting the strike in England to be taken, nor to transfer the strike to the German ports. Their chief objection was, that a strike in Germany would be useless, although all the conditions indicated the contrary. Here the question might have been seriously put to the test: whether the D. S. B., in spite of its illegality, should not have called for the strike also in the German harbours. There is little doubt that the seamen would have responded to such a call in a much greater measure than in June of last year, and that the eventual strike-breaking order of the D. V. B. (German Transport Union)

would have taken away the last prestige which the latter body has among the seamen.

May the seamen draw the necessary lesson from the attitude of the German shipowners and of the German Transport Union. Only in common struggle, not in negotiations, which always presuppose the defeat of the economically weaker, will the seaman gain better conditions of living, and only in struggle will he be able to achieve his principal object, the removal of the mediaeval seamen's regulations.

Aid the German Seamen!

By George Hardy.

The recent strike of German seamen in the British Isles was a new attempt at striking. Its importance was its international aspect. But the end was a tragedy. The determination of the strikers was the only bright spot in the strike itself. And after the ships had got away with skeleton crews we received the announcement of 600 strikers being shipped to home ports, only to be arrested and severe sentences inflicted upon many of them.

We search for the causes of defeat, which are many. The treachery of the Deutsche Verkehrsbund (German Transport Union) was unsurpassed. Its members formed about two fifths of the organized strikers. The other three fifths belong to the Deutsche Schifffahrtsbund (German Seamen's Union) affiliated to the R. I. L. U. Many were unorganized. The D. S. B. showed a willingness to fight on and would have co-operated wholeheartedly, but the Executive of the D. V. B. refused to endorse the strike and as usual did what Social Democrats have been doing the world over, and particularly in Germany.

It mattered not that the struggle had a partial backing in Britain, that the strike must be won in order to save the seamen from prison under the Nautical Law in Germany and that the strikers chose Britain in order to escape the bullets of "comrade" Hense, the social democratic Chief of Police at Hamburg, and his colleagues at other German ports; the Executive of the D. V. B. refused to do anything in order to secure victory. It only discouraged and divided.

Notwithstanding the support of the Transport Workers at the Surrey and Commercial Docks, London, the strikers were sent home defeated, largely because the dockers discharged, loaded and bunkered ships, thus allowing the skippers to ship scabs and get away. It is said there was an arrangement, that upon the call for assistance from Havelock Wilson, the Transport Workers Union Officials would take strike action against the ships involved. Did Wilson call for help, or was he more actuated by ulterior motives, both of aiding British shipping and making international publicity for himself with a view to resurrecting the defunct "International Seafarers Federation"? He certainly did not encourage any outside help, nor was the necessary international publicity given, which was calculated to win the strike by extending it to other countries.

Failure to set up a joint strike Committee composed of representatives of the two German Unions involved, the Seamen's Union of Britain, and the Transport Workers Union, together with full co-operation of the Seamen's section of the Revolutionary Transport Workers of the R. I. L. U. and the seamen's section of the International Transport Workers Federation, led to defeat. The money of the N. S. and F. U. was not enough. The whole weight of the British Unions should have been behind the strike. A call for International action issued with the signatures of the R. I. L. U. and the I. T. F. attached, would have proved that the word "International" had a real meaning and was no empty phrase. It would have stirred all port labour and seafarers unions to declare themselves, and a victory might have been the result instead of a defeat.

Now we must prepare. The German Seamen will continue to strike in other countries. The enormous amount of seamen unorganized and unemployed adds to the difficulties of seamen striking successfully at home. Besides the ruthless suppression of a dictator, the D. S. B. is an illegal organization by the decree of Von Seeckt. These features make it very hard for the German Seamen to win at home.

If German Seamen's wages are not to remain an influence to depress wages in British ships, then we must be up and doing. There is no question of the German Seamen repudiating the officials who really betrayed them, and determining their own

policy. Already last week at Barrow-in-Furness another crew struck. But the N. S. & F. U. refused aid.

As there is no common understanding as to what we will do if such strikes continue, we propose to all trade unionists, and transports workers in particular, both ashore and afloat, that we discuss means for helping the German Seamen and declare an International Boycott against all German ships which do not pay the full demands. The German wage of £ 2,18,0 per month is slavery and threatens every seaman's home with starvation. Compared with world prices, German prices are as high as any, and the shipowners can well afford to pay the rates obtaining in other countries.

If the German Seamen can get the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Transport Union of Britain to agree to support them financially, and declare a Boycott against German ships, then they will make a definitely organized fight.

Between the two Internationals, over 3 million transport workers could be effectively used to support the strikers; and by creating machinery, as indicated above, we could show for once what real international action means to the workers.

The following telegram was received from the German Seamen's Union by the Secretary of the International Seamen's Section of the Red International Transport Workers:

"Wire at once Australian Union to hold German ships until all claims granted by owners. Severe punishments inflicted on German Seamen owing to strike in England. Wire answer whether this received."

We appeal to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress to take this matter up, and in conjunction with the Transport Workers, and in accordance with resolutions passed at the I. T. F. Congresses, make a fight for international wage standards and conditions aboard ships.

To send money to maintain the German Trade Union Bureaucracy is futile. Support the German Seamen who are struggling for existence.

Let us have International Action!

The Crisis in the Canadian Farmers' Movement.

By Maurice Spector (Toronto).

The stock-taking at the Farmers' Conventions of the three middle Western Provinces, proves that the Canadian Farmers movement in its present shape has reached a crisis. The membership of the United Farmers of Manitoba has fallen from 16,000 to 6,000. The Alberta Farmers Organization has declined from the 39,000 figure of a three or four years ago to 14,000. The decline in Saskatchewan has been from 19,171 to 15,661. There has been a corresponding decline all along the line, in the number of local councils and womens' organizations. But politically also no less than in the matter of organization, does the Farmers' movement show signs of disintegration. In the Maritime Provinces, the Farmers as an independent political force are practically non-existent. Where, at the end of the War, the Ontario Farmers' Movement was strong enough to bring about a Farmer-Labour Coalition Government, — there were returned at the last elections only nineteen agrarians — The Farmers still control two provincial legislatures in the West and constitute the second strongest group in the Federal House of Commons — but inanition rather than activity characterizes these "farmer" Parliamentarians.

Chiefly responsible for this decline is a leadership which has systematically undermined the farmers movement from within, by combatting its class-character and desire for political action. In Ontario for instance, Drury who was the Premier of the Farmer-"Labour" Coalition, spent all his propagandist energy on trying to establish a so-called Progressive Party, in which the United Farmers would lose their political identity. Drury was above all anxious to secure the support of the city bourgeoisie by showing how perfectly respectable and "responsible" he was. His defeatist policy, so far as the farmers were concerned, resulted in a resounding defeat at the polls. Men like Crera, formerly Parliamentary leader of the agrarian group in the House of Commons, and Dunning, "Farmer" Premier of Alberta, are at heart Liberals, and are waiting for a convenient chance to become members of a Liberal Cabinet. H. W. Wood of Alberta and J. J. Morrison, the Secretary of the Farmers

organization in Ontario, represent a "Left Wing" that insists on maintaining the political organization of the Farmers and on political action as the condition of successful agricultural co-operation.

In 1890 the Ontario Farmers started a movement called the Patrons of Industry. In 1895, there were already sixteen Patron members in the Ontario Legislature and one in the House of Commons. By 1900, this promising movement had completely vanished from the scene. Is the present Farmers Movement condemned to repeat history? It will — unless it breaks with its disguised Liberal leadership and moves towards the left. If the pool which the 30,000 Alberta farmers have gone into for the joint and better marketing of their grain, fails, — the present tendency towards disintegration and pessimism may be given a fillip. It is the task of the Workers Party in such an event to explain the political as well as the economic responsibility of Capitalism for the economic oppression of the farmer, and that salvation lies in an alliance with revolutionary Labour against the common enemy.

RED RELIEF

The World-Wide Significance of the International Red Relief.

By I. Amter.

White reaction holds the working masses of the world in its bloody grip. In Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy, Roumania, Lettland, Esthonia and Finland, in Java, India, China and Japan, in Spain and France, in the United States, Canada and South America — tens of thousands of the best workers are languishing in prison. They have been sent to these hell-holes for daring to fight in the front ranks of the workers against the brutal exploiters. In the interests of the workers they have defied the authority of the capitalist State, and today are paying the penalty of their heroism.

The World War filled the international bourgeoisie with great pride. They had won the war; they were well armed, the working class was split into warring camps. Despite the fact that they had accumulated billions of debts; that created values running into more billions had been shot to pieces; and despite the fact that the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia had taken from them one of the most fertile lands for exploitation, they felt strong. Many capitalist governments were on the verge of ruin and collapse; many shuddered before the menace of the working class. The international bourgeoisie felt safe; they would not allow the proletariat of another country to seize power. Together they would drown the workers in blood.

In Hungary, the workers might attempt to establish their Soviet power; in Finland they might declare parliament their own; in Italy they might seize the factories and fight for State control; in Germany they might overthrow the Kaiser and proclaim the country a republic — the bourgeoisie did not fear. The war taught them the necessity of standing together. However much they may fight among themselves for the spoils of war and for the right of exploitation — against the working class and the militant peasants they are a unit.

Hence the workers of Hungary, Italy, Finland and Roumania did not fight against their bourgeoisie alone. Behind the bourgeoisie of these countries stood the mighty capitalist governments of France and England, aiding them with guns and ammunition, with millions of gold. Just as they had tried to throttle the Soviet Government with guns and aeroplanes from England, France and the United States; just as they sent American, English and French boys to shoot down Russian workers and peasants who threw the bourgeoisie out of their land for ever — so, too, they aid the bourgeoisie of every other country in beating down and crushing the working class.

The capitalist system of production is truly anarchic. But the capitalist mind is clear. The capitalists very well understand their mutual interests and they are organized to protect their interests. Armies are not created by one capitalist government only to beat another capitalist government in the race for profits, for sources of raw material and fields for investment. Armies are created in order to shoot down rebellious workmen and militant peasants. They are to help other capitalist governments in subduing their workers. We have returned to "peace", yet

the standing armies of the world are larger than before the war. The capitalist world is preparing not only for another world war, but also to curb the Revolution.

The capitalists have operated well to befuddle the minds of the workers regarding the meaning of Revolution. They have held up to them the "blessings of democracy", the "splendours of civilisation". They have calumniated the Revolutionists, the "Reds", the Communists. They have pictured them as bloodthirsty ruffians bent upon destroying the world. Under the pressure of the press, the school and the church, the workers have yielded to the influence. But the spirit of revolt cannot be curbed in this manner. Capitalist exploitation and capitalist government — upon which the power of the bourgeoisie rests — are teaching the workers a better lesson. The struggle for existence against the pillage of the capitalist class and the brutality of all capitalist governments are pounding into the head of even the most stupid worker the fact that as long as there is a capitalist class there will be a capitalist government, and its function is to crush the working class and keep it in subjection.

The shrewd-minded capitalists have succeeded in keeping the workers apart. They are well organised, but in every country they have carried on vicious campaigns to destroy the organisations of the working class. Trade unions, cooperatives, peasants organisations — all of them have suffered under the blighting hands of the capitalists and the capitalist governments. In Italy, Mussolini, the idol of the international bourgeoisie, whose methods they are copying in all capitalist countries, has obliterated the unions and cooperatives and has turned them into organisations against the workers and peasants. In Germany, Stinnes, Thyssen and Wolff have carried on one vicious campaign after the other with the aim of destroying the unions. In France, Spain, Norway and Sweden, in England, the United States, Canada and Argentine, in Japan, India and Australia, — in all the countries of the globe, the capitalists, organised in their associations and leagues, have left no means unused in their campaigns to exterminate the last remnants of labour organisation.

In this brutal onslaught, they have been aided by the reactionary trade union leaders and the reformist politicians. These "labour leaders" and "representatives of the working class" — Ebert, Leipart, Turati, Modigliani, Jouhaux, Macdonald, Thomas, Gompers, Lewis — stand for "social peace", which means working class surrender. It means the acceptance of hunger and starvation, of wages that will not keep body and soul together, of prostitution and child labour, of hours and conditions of labour that crush the very life of the worker. And all for the sake of profits! This is the meaning of the "social peace" which is preached and practised by the reactionary, reformistic "leaders" of the working class.

The militant workers revolt against such conditions. In every country of the capitalist world, the workers are rebelling. For five years in Germany they have fought against the combined attack of the German bourgeoisie and French imperialism, which are aided by the upholders of social peace. Poincaré, Ebert and Stinnes — these form the bloody triumvirate which has strewn Germany with the corpses of German workers and filled the prisons with ten thousand workers who have dared to rebel. In Bulgaria, five thousand workers and peasants have been slaughtered, five thousand more languish in prison, five thousand have been sent into exile for fighting against the fascist government. In Italy and Poland, thousands of the bravest workers and peasants are rotting in the dungeons of capitalist prisons. In Spain, France, Holland, Finland, America, Canada, Japan, China, Java and Korea, the best fighters for the working class are tortured in the prisons; many are driven to madness and suicide, others are murdered. The largest number of the workers who were massacred and imprisoned are Communists. The masses of India have been told by the Labour Government of Great Britain that if they dare to fight for their freedom, the full force of the British Government will crush them. But the masses fight on, although their leaders and their best comrades are in prison.

Tens of thousands of the world's most courageous fighters will die in capitalist prisons. Tens of thousands more must face capitalist courts, to be sent to decay in the pest-holes of prison, others to be shot. Tens, yes, hundreds of thousands of women and children are doomed to hunger and death by the savage hand of capitalist "justice".

The international bourgeoisie could not succeed in its diabolical plans were the working class not disorganised and disunited. The capitalist class will succeed still further if the workers of the world do not unite in defending their fighters. The capitalists do not ask about colour and complexion. They are indifferent to race or faith; they do not ask about political affiliation. Militant workers are a menace and must be removed; prison torture and death are their reward.

President Wilson first heard of Tom Mooney when the workers of Petrograd demanded his release. Mateu and Nicolau were safed from capital punishment in Spain, after the workers of France had demonstrated. International solidarity is the strongest weapon of the working class in the fight against the bourgeoisie. The working class must learn to stand together as the internationalists capitalists stick together. With this weapon, the workers will free themselves from capitalist tyranny. They must stand solidly behind the militant revolutionary workers in prison. They must aid their families. They must help the imprisoned peasants who are paying the penalty for their heroism.

International Red Relief is the Demand of the Hour!

The White Terror in Europe and Asia demands that the workers of the whole world unite in defence of the imprisoned comrades and their families. It demands that the workers of countries, where the hand of reaction does not yet press so heavily, form their Red Relief organisations at once, before the guns of capitalist soldiery and gendarmerie mow down the best fighters of the working class. Self Help and International Solidarity must be our Slogans!

The barbarous torture of the White Terror caused the formation of the International Red Relief one year ago. The need of it is apparent. In this short period, the International Red Relief has sent tens of thousands of dollars to aid the fighting working class prisoners in Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy, Spain, Hungary, France, Esthonia, Lettland, Finland, Lithuania, Roumania, Java, China, Palestine.

Where has this money come from? Chiefly from the Russian workers and peasants. The Russian workers and peasants cannot forget the solidarity that the workers of the whole world manifested toward them when they fought against international reaction in defence of their Soviet Government. They cannot forget the aid that the workers and peasants gave them when famine threatened their land. They cannot forget how, in the times of the Tzars, their political refugees were aided by foreign workers. Russian workers have given of their earnings. They pledge themselves to aid their fighting comrades abroad, and their starving families. They know that the capitalist governments hate most of all the political prisoners, because they are their bitterest enemies in the cause of the working class. Russian peasants give of their grain; their last trinkets they contribute. Fighting workers and their families, no matter where, must be supported. There is no more glowing testimony of International Solidarity than that of the Russian workers and peasants!

Four hundred thousand Russian workers and peasants are in the organisations of the International Red Relief. Their slogan is one million members by May 1. The workers and peasants of other countries should take an example from these workers.

There is no more task than that of the International Red Relief. It is a powerful weapon against the White Reaction. March 18, the day of the abortive revolution, is the banner day of the International Red Relief. March 18 and the month of March should be the signal for intensified work in the name of the fighting workers against capitalism and world imperialism, of International Solidarity and of the Proletarian Revolution.

The Tasks of the International Red Relief.

By Ehrenfried Wagner (Moscow).

For many years on the 18th March, workers in tense and earnest ranks have proceeded to the graves of the victims fallen in masses. On this day they think of all the heroic dead who have sacrificed their lives in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. These revolutionary victims have enormously increased in number since the world war. In all the countries of the world, thousands of valiant workers have perished in struggle. Thousands of others have been languishing in prisons for many years. The world proletariat remembers all these victims on the 18th of March. We think of them in order to celebrate their faith and their courage. On this occasion we shall give account to ourselves

as to whether we, who are living in freedom, have done everything possible to give expression to the thanks we owe to the comrades in prison and to their families for their great sacrifices.

It is a long and grievous procession which is passing before our eyes. The bare figures in themselves are incapable of expressing the huge sum of needs, tortures, tears, of hunger and of all the griefs contained in the sacrifices which our valiant comrades in all countries of the world have to endure in the course of the class struggle. Who for the rest, could help the proletariat, this suppressed class, to compile exact statistics indicating the number of the comrades languishing in the prisons?

If we say that there are 6,000 political prisoners in Italy, 3,000 in Hungary, 1,200 in Finland, 1,500 in Poland, 20,000 in India, 3,000 in Spain, 5,000 in Bulgaria, and 7,000 in Germany, this refers only to those who could be reached by the "Red Relief" and are supported by it. To this number there must be added a three times greater number representing the families of the imprisoned (wives and children); and these numbers are increasing from day to day, since struggles between reaction and the vanguard of the Proletariat are taking place daily.

In Bulgaria, white terror assumed forms hitherto unknown. Entire towns and villages were burned and the inhabitants were massacred and slaughtered in the most cruel mass assassinations. The prisoners are crowded in barracks or in barges anchored in the Danube. Hundreds of Bulgarian emigrants are living in several countries.

In Germany, the majority of the victims have fallen in the course of numerous hunger demonstrations, and fresh victims are falling every day. In all districts of Germany there were created Special Military Courts, which are working zealously and which doubled their zeal at the very moment when there was the talk of an imminent abolition of the state of siege. Thousands of political prisoners in the various prisons and concentration camps, and waiting there for weeks and months to be sentenced, will be sentenced in the most severe manner as long as the Military or civil state of siege in Germany still continues. In all these sentences, the political tendency is revealed quite clearly. In Germany a particularly cruel misery exists amongst the families of the arrested, since hunger is prevailing in the whole country. These families are not receiving any support, either from the state, or from the numerous philanthropical associations collecting money for starving Germany. It is true, comrades who are still in freedom and still have a job are making efforts to support their friends. But such casual help which is rendered by a small circle of near friends does not suffice. Permanent and systematic aid must be afforded.

On the 18th March, the workers of the whole world must remember the necessity of such a methodical support. Now, and beginning from now, we have an international relief for all imprisoned, for all arrested for political reasons and for their families. This is the "International Red Relief". It has its sections already in the most important countries. It supplies books and cigarettes to the arrested ones; it procures clothes and work for refugees; it permanently supports their families by means of money, food and warm clothing. During the short period of its existence, the International Red Relief had already spent for the political prisoners in all countries 105,565 Dollars, collected from all parts of the world. The existence of the Red Relief is in itself a moral support for the fighting proletariat. The fighters who are in prison know that they are in no way forgotten, and that their friends living in freedom, are at least partially, repaying their debt to them and to their families.

On the 18th. March, however, the workers must commence a still greater work than has been achieved up to now. The International Red Relief which we already have, must still be increased to an important degree. In all countries it must become a troop destined to fulfil a special task in the proletarian class struggle. All fighting proletarians, the most active and most sacrificing friends of the revolution, must be members of this organization. By means of permanent contributions they must enable the Red Relief to achieve its entire task. In spite of the huge sums distributed up to now, the Red Relief has not yet reached the necessary level. For the moment it does nothing more than afford to the prisoners and to their families, just the absolutely necessary. If the working class in all countries succeeds to build up firmly the apparatus of the Red Relief everywhere, and if it brings into it thousands of members, then the Red Relief will very soon be in a position to fulfil its obligations fully and thoroughly. This organization, the Red Relief, is not a "philanthropic" organization, but it has to form a part of the fighting formations in the class struggle, with the special aim of ren-

dering the troops of the proletariat rendered unable to fight, again fit for the fray. We therefore, on this 18th March, must declare ourselves ready to support the work and the campaigns of the Red Relief in the most intensive way, it is up to us to make propaganda for it with the greatest zeal, to collect subscriptions for the comrades languishing in the prisons and to win new members.

Every revolutionary who desires that the revolutionary battle which at present has come to a standstill in Europe shall be renewed very soon, must during the period of the interruption of the revolution, place all his forces at the service of the Red Relief. To support the Red Relief at present is the most important role of every revolutionary. We shall not be able to set the fighting troops of the proletariat in motion again if we have not previously healed the old wounds. It was with good reason that Comrade Zinoviev said at the last Congress of the Russian Section of the Red Relief:

"A well constructed International Red Relief will be the finest and most dignified monument which we can erect in commemoration of our departed Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin."

And when, on the 18th March, the proletarians of all countries, in their manifestations call to mind the victims of the class struggle, all their vows to be ready for the fight, must be united in the declaration:

"To be ready to contribute to the enlargement of the International Red Relief, this living monument to Lenin."

IN THE R. I. L. U.

To the Working Men and Women of all Countries!

The Central Committee of the International Red Relief has decided to utilize the 18th of March — the anniversary-day of the proclamation of the Paris Commune — for extensive propaganda for relief for the political prisoners. We therefore appeal to all our affiliated organizations, to all workers, to all the revolutionary trade unions, calling upon them to give effect to this decision and take a most vigorous part in the promotion of this cause of proletarian solidarity and mutual aid.

Working men and women!

The jails and penitentiaries of the world are overcrowded today with political prisoners. Many of them have been languishing in these dungeons for years, and are subjected to most inhuman treatment. Their wives and children suffer cruel misery. It is not only the political struggle which has occasioned all these victims; their number has been increased to a much greater extent by the innumerable conflicts between labour and capital developing on economic and industrial grounds. The crisis of social relations through which nearly all countries of the world are passing, has caused great strikes. In order to suppress the strikes, the capitalist governments have resorted to armed police forces. In Italy, Poland, Germany, etc. thousands upon thousands of workers have been thrown into jail, solely because they refused to sell their labour for miserable pay, solely because, as holders of positions in trade union and other labour bodies they became the exponents of the wishes of their comrades.

In appealing on March 18th to the workers and members of the revolutionary organizations, we wish to draw their attention to their comrades incarcerated in prison cells, suffering this bitter fate for the only crime of being true to their duty as trade unionists.

Fellow workers and friends! Do not forget your imprisoned comrades. Let it now become your practice on pay day, to set aside a certain portion of your earnings for your brethren languishing in prison. Organize special groups in your factories and works, in the trade unions and workers' co-operatives, for the collection of contributions for the Red Relief. Do not let pass a single trade union day, a single union or industrial meeting, without your remembering the imprisoned comrades and making a collection on their behalf and on behalf of their needy families. Join the International Red Relief through the entire factories and organizations. Propose at your general meetings the collective affiliation of your union by the setting up of local or district branches with established permanent membership dues. Get your union to pledge regular and definite

contributions to the Red Relief. These funds will go to the relief of all the political prisoners and their families.

Convene trade union and factory meetings on March 18th in order to propagate Relief for the political prisoners.

Render them Red Relief!

Demand the Release of all the Political Prisoners!

Protest against the White Terror and World Reaction!

Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

OUR PROBLEMS

Lenin and Leninism.

By E. Pavlovsky (Moscow).

Lenin is dead, but Leninism lives. The teachings of Lenin, the further development of Marxism, the rendering concrete of the struggle of the working class for power, live in the minds of his scholar — and we all presume to the honour of calling ourselves his scholars — and lie before us in his works, which form an inexhaustible source of instruction for every revolutionary fighter.

We shall attempt the difficult task of giving a brief synopsis of the essential teachings of Lenin on the strategy of the proletarian revolution.

The struggle for power, the defeat of the bourgeoisie, and the dictatorship of the proletariat — all this is no longer something lying in a vague future, as the Social Democrats of all shades believe, but is a concrete task to be solved by the present generation. It is the duty of every sincere revolutionist to place the fight for power in the foreground of his thought and action. The present stage of development of economics and society is ripe for the realization of Socialism. It is merely a question of finding the right fighting methods for the accomplishment of our aims.

The struggle for power does not signify that pseudo-struggle by means of the ballot paper, by means of parliamentary wangling, or by the occupation of "positions of power" in the bourgeois state. The struggle for power can only be an inexorable and bloody civil war between proletariat and bourgeoisie. For this we must be prepared...

Lenin saw the first step in the preparations for this struggle in the formation of a revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat: a communist party. The communist party is to be purely proletarian in character, is to be held together by severest discipline, and is to act in accordance with one united will. The apparently quite insignificant organizational question which Lenin permitted to form the cause of the split in Russian social democracy lays bare the fundamental schism in the labour movement of today: Is the labour party to be an organ for a concrete struggle for power, or is to be a formless conglomeration of dissatisfied elements from various classes, possessing vague aims which they dimly hope to realise within the confines of Capitalism, or by means of a distant, gradual, peaceful transition to Socialism? The members of the CP. are to be revolutionists through and through, with a purely Marxist world-outlook. On this point Lenin tolerates no compromises, whether of religion or of any non-Marxian philosophy. Nothing short of unconditional adherence to Marxism guarantees the logically resultant revolutionary activity.

The victory over the bourgeoisie cannot be won by the forces of the communist party alone. The majority of the proletariat, the section of the proletariat "decisive in battle" must join in the fight. But the proletariat has been organizationally and mentally under the spell of the opportunists, of the pseudo-revolutionary Social Democrats, these "agents of the bourgeoisie", who have led the proletariat into the fratricidal war for the sake of their bourgeoisies. It is for this reason that Lenin's first fighting action is directed against opportunism in the labour movement. The proletariat must first be freed from the influence of opportunism, before the final struggle against the bourgeoisie can be begun. That wonderful collection of articles: "Against the stream!", is chiefly devoted to this struggle.

The struggle against opportunism and against Social Democracy must not only be carried on by means of propaganda. The communists must not become a mere sect of propagandists, but

must penetrate everywhere, where large numbers of workers congregate for any reason: in the workshop and factories, in the trade unions, in the barracks, the co-operatives, even the sick clubs. The communists must play a part everywhere as spokesmen of the working class, must seize upon the leadership of every movement directed against the ruling classes, must prepare the masses for the final struggle. The communist party must not stand as an isolated sect in the midst of the rest of the workers, but must permeate the whole nervous tissue of the proletariat, that it may be able to lead this proletariat into battle when the hour comes. The communist party must not be a party of the workers' aristocracy of "organized" workers, but the party of all workers, even of the "lower" unorganized strata. An invaluable contribution to the struggle against the threatened degeneration of the communist parties into self-satisfied word-revolutionary sects is given by Lenin's wonderful fighting pamphlet: "Radicalism, the Infantile Sickness of Communism", published at the time of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

If a successful fight is to put up against a mighty adversary, it is important to obtain a clear idea of his forces. There are two works of Lenin especially adapted to this purpose. "Imperialism, the last Phase of Capitalism" examines into the general bases of the power of the bourgeoisie of today, and into the internal contradictions of imperialism. The conclusion is reached, so important for the subsequent strategy of the world revolution, that the suppression and exploitation of the colonial peoples is one of the stoutest pillars supporting the bourgeoisie of today.

"State and Revolution" renews the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels on the role played by the bourgeois state — teachings which had been distorted by the opportunists. In this work, Lenin demonstrates with unsurpassed clearness that there can be no compromise between the proletariat and the bourgeois state apparatus, that this apparatus cannot be "won over", but must be destroyed and replaced by the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, the councils (Soviets).

The bourgeoisie, in possession of the apparatus of state power, and aided by the alliance with the Social Democrats within the proletariat, is a mighty opponent, difficult to crush. Wherever possible, allies should be found for the common fight. Modern society contains one great class whose interests are opposed to those of the bourgeoisie, above all to those of the large land owners — but whose interests coincide to a wide extent with those of the proletariat: the working peasantry! The working peasant is no exploiter, no capitalist. His land serves solely as a natural basis for the utilization of his own labour power. He is exploited by the big land owner, by the capitalist, by the capitalist state. He is the natural ally of the proletariat in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary Leninism and opportunist Social Democracy diverge in the most decided manner on this point. Social democracy wants nothing to do with the peasantry. Lenin sees allies in the working peasants. The experiences won during the Russian revolution have confirmed the correctness of his views.

Lenin always regarded the nationalities and colonial peoples suppressed by the bourgeoisie as further possible allies. This exploitation renders it possible for the bourgeoisie to allow a somewhat higher standard of living to a small section of the labour aristocracy, and thus to convert these into pillars of bourgeois society. The emancipation of the colonial peoples signifies the collapse of class rule in the mother countries.

These appear to us to be the most important tenets of revolutionary class warfare, of Leninism, in so far as this deals with the international revolutionary movement. The other part of Leninism, referring to the policy of the working class after the seizure of power, would require to be treated by itself. We shall only observe that this policy is identical in principle with the policy to be pursued before the seizure of power. But it is impossible to give a proper exposition of Leninism. The essential core is lacking: Lenin's personality. For Lenin was not merely a theoretician, not merely the Commander-in-Chief of the international struggle of the proletariat, he was at the same time the active general, the tactician directing the fight. No one knew the international labour movement as he knew it. No one could solve the most difficult questions as he could. It was often said of him that he possessed a sixth sense, an intuition for politics. When none of us could see the right course, then we said: Lenin will soon guess it. But it was no intuition, no guess: decades of constant and intense mental adaptation to the problems of the revolu-

tionary labour movement had developed in him the capacity of seeing the right course at a glance, where others needed a detailed analysis of the situation before they could find a solution . . .

His will was mighty, tenacious, suggestive. No one who came in contact with him could fail to feel his influence. And this mighty will only knew one aim: The struggle for the maintenance of the power of the Russian proletariat, the struggle for the power of the world proletariat! He placed the will to fight of the workers above everything else. After the March action, at the III. Congress of the Communist International, he severely criticised the inadequate preparation and leadership of the struggle. But still he pointed out, with pride and joy: The German proletarians have fought, hundreds and thousands of workers joined the fight; this is a great success, despite the defeat . . .

He stood before us as leader and fighter. He appeared to be nothing else than a fighter. But in the depths of his heart he concealed a great love for humanity: he loved the workers, he loved the Russian peasants, above all he loved the children. And thus it is that the great Russian people, and the proletariat of the whole world, not only honoured him, but loved him too. The masses felt that he fought for their welfare, that he sacrificed his life for them . . .

Lenin the great leader is dead. His teachings and his memory are left to us. We must exert our utmost endeavors, steel our will, redouble our energies, if we are to replace the power of the revolutionary will radiated by Lenin. Leninism, rightly comprehended, demands from us not despondent mourning, but determined revolutionary will to fight.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Six Years of the Red Army.

By L. Trotsky.

The six years of the existence of the Red Army are divided into two almost equal periods. The first three years were years of chaotic growth of the army, where the solution of each new task called for the creation of new regiments and divisions out of nothing. Those were three years of continuous struggles. The chain of small wars became a great civil war, and in the course of this war the Revolution ensured its existence. The army was built up by the progressive worker who had mobilised and educated the peasant. Thus arose the infantry, and in the same way the artillery was created. The creation of the revolutionary cavalry was the most difficult task of all, because the homes of the old cavalry were the steppes which were inhabited by the richest of the peasants and Cossacks. The raising of the cavalry was the greatest achievement of the first period.

The war against Poland struck the balance of the first three years and revealed both the strong and the weak sides of the Red Army of that time. There were revealed, revolutionary courage, unexampled enthusiasm and great capabilities for endurance, but at the same time insufficient preparation, weaknesses of organization and insufficient powers of resistance. The army advanced irresistibly but when it came to the retreat, there was also no stopping it. The first three years left us a legacy of material disintegration and exhaustion, a great experience in war, and many thousands of new commanders and military commissaries who had sprung up out of the earth during the civil war and who brought courage, initiative and moral and political authority with them into the army. The result of the Polish war dealt the army and especially the class of young commanders and commissaries a severe blow. This severe pang, however, soon passed over into a striving after knowledge.

The second three-year period began with the reduction and reorganization of the army. The task was to adapt the army to the material resources of the country, but at the same time to the international situation. But the international situation has changed and the material resources are difficult to estimate. That was the reason for the frequent reductions and reorganizations, and each one of these forms a large and difficult chapter in the inner life of the army. Alongside of a consistent reorganization, the army was reduced by one fifth. At the same time the military schools have brought up and educated the young generation, and the military academies make it possible for the veteran commanders of the civil war to think over the experience that has been gathered and to compile it systemati-

cally. Like its younger brother organization, the Red Navy, the Red Army was always the reflection of the inner force and the methods of the revolution in its composition, its organization, in its tasks and difficulties and in its spirit. The army was and remains the armed alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of tried Communist fighters.

The first three-year period was that of the so-called war Communism. We were compelled to defend the interests of the Republic, to lay hands upon all the material resources of town and country, to use all the old stocks of the country and to expose the mass of the workers to severe deprivations. The second three-year period coincides with the New Economic Policy. The material means of the land are being gradually restored. City and country are once more coming into economic life, but at the same time the Kulak (the rich peasant) is appearing in the country and the bourgeois in the city. Today the army must more than ever remain the armed alliance of the worker and peasant, with which neither the Kulak nor the bourgeois have anything to do. The state of the workers and peasants tolerates them in the realm of business, but allows them no political rights and, still less, no weapons in their hands. That is the most important command that we take with us into the third period.

The international situation in which we meet the sixth year of the Red Army has altered to our advantage. One bourgeois state after another is recognizing us de jure or is preparing to do so, that is, to recognize that our existence is based upon a legal foundation. The Red Army takes cognisance of this. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Red Army learned a long time ago that revolution is the most legal basis of a workers' state. But the fact alone that the bourgeois governments, and only a part of them at that, have required six years to "recognize" our existence, is the best proof of the hostility which surrounds us, the first worker and peasant state of the world. The Red Army and the Red Navy thus enter the third period with the deep conviction that the Socialist Fatherland needs them as heretofore for its independence and evolution.

The chief task of the period upon which we are now entering, is the raising of the level of the general and special education of the army and navy. This general task falls into a number of partial tasks beginning with the most primitive demands of cleanliness and the giving up of coarse language and swearing, right up to education in the spirit of international solidarity.

If the most difficult task of the first three-year period was the creation of a revolutionary cavalry, we now find that the questions of aviation and chemistry form the central point of military development. The second period placed these questions in the foreground, and the third period must bring their solution. The creation of the cavalry demanded from us that the workers should leave the factory and take to the saddle. The creation of an air fleet and the perfection of war chemistry demand that the worker shall remain at his bench and push forward the development of war and other industries. Upon that is dependent the fate of all arms and all branches of land, naval and aerial warfare. The weapons of defence will be perfected by industry.

Also now, as in the whole of the past period, the needs and interests of the Red Army will always be brought into harmony with the necessities and tasks of the Soviet nation. During the past years, the land has finally taken the form of a Union of National Socialist Republics. The Red Army consists of the peoples of different nationalities, and is called upon to defend the frontiers within which neighbouring peoples, for the first time in the history of humanity, live together without hostility and without having any grudge against each other, and have bound themselves together into an indestructible alliance of nationalities. Already in the first months of the Soviet power, the Teacher and intellectual creator of the revolution and of its child the Red Army, used to cite as an example, that a Finnish greybeard had related that since the revolution he no longer feared armed men. Let this example remain for the future the command of Ilyitch to the army and the navy. Workers, and oppressed and enslaved peoples, no matter of what nation, in West or East need never fear the Red Army. Its weapons are directed only against the exploiter and the oppressor.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

To All Communist Youth Federations!

The E. C. of the C. Y. I. has resolved to convene the Fourth Congress of the C. Y. I. for the Tenth International Youth Day (7th September). The agenda will be published later.

Further, the E. C. has decided to convene the Session of the International Bureau (Enlarged Executive) for the 1st. of May in Moscow. The Agenda of the Session of the Bureau has been fixed as follows:

1. The Political Situation and the Tasks of the C. Y. I.
2. Report of the E. C. for the Period since the Fourth Session of the Bureau.
3. Reports of the Federations of Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Bulgaria.
4. The Next Tasks for the Support of the Revolutionary Struggle of the German Proletariat.
5. Continuance of the Reorganization of the Communist Youth Federations on the Basis of Shop Nuclei.

The E. C. invites all Federations to discuss the items of the Agenda and to send their proposals to the E. C.
Moscow, 22nd February, 1924.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

The Youth and the Red Relief.

By Ehrenfried Wagner.

Recent developments have brought about severe conflicts between Revolution and Reaction. In Poland, Bulgaria and Germany, the proletariat proceeded to the attack. The outcome of these struggles did not bring to the proletariat the desired result. In Bulgaria, the Workers' and Peasants' revolt ended in the most bloody manner. But in Germany also the struggles involved the revolutionary proletariat in heavy sacrifices. In Poland, mass arrests took place. But in all countries where there were revolts of the proletariat, the revolutionary Youth participated most actively. Particularly in the long and protracted fights which are at present being carried on in Germany, the young communists are taking a most prominent part. Also in the other countries where the proletariat entered into the fight against Reaction, the revolutionary Youth always stood in the vanguard of the fighters.

After the defeat of the peasants' rising in Bulgaria, which was suppressed in a most bloody fashion, and when in Germany also the Reaction was able to consolidate its victory, the need among the proletariat grew immensely. The prisons are over-crowded. The families of the fighters are suffering great distress, and especially in Germany, where at the same time starvation and misery prevail among the proletariat. The wives of political prisoners receive no support whatever from the state, or from the authorities, because they are the wives of men "guilty of high treason" and "plunder". The position of the children of the prisoners is a particularly deplorable one. Among them sickness and consumption is raging. They are delivered over helpless to terrible misery. The state of the prisoners themselves is very bad. In Germany they are herded in concentration camps. They are insufficiently fed and lack everything for their spiritual and cultural needs. They are entirely without reading matter. In these circumstances it is the numerous prisoners belonging to the Youth who are the greatest sufferers. In spite of the strictest measures, there are possibilities enough for providing the prisoners with books and to keep up communications between them and the struggling outside world. Besides all these sacrifices, the recent struggles have also involved much bloodshed. This is particularly the case in Bulgaria, where the number of murdered victims runs into thousands. The surviving widows and orphans of the slain barricade fighters have of course met with a horrible fate.

If the wounds of the proletariat are to be quickly healed, so that every section of the world proletariat will be able to participate in the continuation of the fight, the whole international proletariat must take advantage of the present breathing pause in the revolution in order to heal the wounds. That is to say, the workers of all countries have no more important revolutionary duty to perform than to support the actions of the International Red Relief.

And just as the revolutionary Youth has hitherto marched at the head in all revolutionary struggles, it must now also come

first when it is a question of rendering the revolutionary troops capable of battle again. Even today, the revolutionary Youth of Spain and the communist Youth of Czechoslovakia are participating most energetically in the actions of the Red Relief.

We appeal to the entire revolutionary Youth of the world, to participate with all its might in all the actions of the Red Relief of its respective countries. Red Relief work has nothing to do with philanthropy. Activity for the Red Relief is the highest revolutionary activity, it is a part of the revolutionary class struggle itself. In a speech which comrade Zinoviev delivered at the last congress of the Red Relief of Russia, he pointed out with all earnestness the necessity for the extension of the International Red Relief and said:

"A well-organized International Red Relief will be the best and most worthy memorial which we can erect to the memory of our late comrade Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin."
Young Comrade! Help to build up this memorial! Bring all your strength into the service of the

"International Red Relief"!

THE WHITE TERROR

Polish Authorities murder Political Prisoner!

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

The Communist members of the Polish Sejm, comrades Krolkowski and Lanzutski, brought forward a question concerning the brutal murder of Olga Levicka-Bessaraba, a political prisoner in Lemberg.

Olga Bessaraba, widow of a soldier who fell on the Italian front during the world war, was arrested at her home by the Lemberg police on February the 9th. As the police maintains in the bourgeois press, Olga Bessaraba was a Communist, and was suspected of having done spy service for a neighbour staff. Five days later she was found hanged in her prison cell. Suicide! — maintains the police. But it was noticeable that the name of the "suicide" was given wrongly in the newspapers (it was announced that Julia Baraska had hanged herself) and that for several days the food sent in for her by the members of her family was still taken. Obviously it was desired to prevent her relatives from getting news of her death too soon, and from desiring to be present at the post-mortem examination of the body.

But at the post-mortem examination it became evident that the "suicide" had been cruelly tortured before her death. Her whole body was covered with blue-red stripes, there were also violet abscesses on it, which the Professor making the examination, cut from the body to show to his audience as a "rare and typical compound". Then the body was buried in an unknown spot.

When the cruel murder became known, the bourgeois press found nothing better, to do than to gloss it over. It explained that the dead woman had committed the crime of belonging to a secret Ukraine Student Organization, and that a strongly inculcating mass of espionage material had been found among her things. The Lemberg organ of the PPS. (Socialist Party of Poland) responded to the revolting fact with indignant abuse over the ill-treatment of prisoners in Soviet Russia. So a conspiracy of silence was formed over this horrible crime by the government authorities.

Fortunately, there exists in Lemberg the organ of the Union of Town and Country proletariat — the "Trybuna Robotnicza". This paper, which is continually subjected to persecution and confiscation, began a courageous campaign against the official murderers. The working class of Lemberg became very excited over this brutal crime. The Lemberg prisons have for long been notorious as torture chambers for political prisoners. The "suicide" of Olga Bessaraba is not the first death of this kind in Lemberg. And in general all the prisons of the Polish province (in the capital they exercise a little more caution) are no better than the Lemberg torturer's cell.

Our comrades in Poland will do everything to make the bloody misdeed of Polish reaction known to the whole working class of Poland, and to call forth the mighty protest of the proletariat. But the workers of the whole world must join in the protest against the horrible crime of the servants of the "independent, free, democratic Republic" of the Polish bourgeoisie.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Out of the Witches' Cauldron of the Second International.

By Alois Neurath (Prague).

A short time ago a mixed company of political castaways, renegades, nationalist fanatics, chauvinists, war managers and political jugglers assembled in Luxembourg as the Executive of the Socialist Labour International in order to take up their position in regard to the world-political situation. Beside Crispien the Communist gobbler, sits Adolph Braun, the apostle of reconciliation, there are also present Vandervelde, the young hopeful Belgian bourgeoisie, Dan and Abramovich. The Russian renegades and forerunners of the counter-revolution, Diamand, the Polish chauvinist, Nemetz, the Czech government Socialist, Dr. Czech, the German Nationalist Social Democrat, Feidl, the minister of the first Hungarian government of murderers of workers and similar "class fighters".

Vandervelde had the glorious task of chaffing the international class conscious proletariat in the form of a so-called political report, and especially of deriding the workers of Germany, Belgium and France unmercifully. Just listen to what this signatory of the peace treaty of Versailles, His Majesty's minister, and the greatest living national chauvinist had to say:

"Since the end of the war, through all phases of the reparations crisis which will soon have lasted five years, the International has repeatedly declared that the problem of reparations cannot be solved by forces, but only by mutual understanding."

How far the French and Belgian governments have gone in **crewing** for an understanding, and before all with the support of the Belgian Social Democrats calls for no comment. According to the report of the *Arbeiterzeitung* the central organ of the Hamburg International, the report of Vandervelde was supplemented by the French and Belgian delegates who were able to declare:

"Finally, even in the ranks of the French and Belgian bourgeoisie, who have so far placed their hopes upon the methods of force, ultimatum, and threats, and finally upon the occupation of the Ruhr, the conviction is gaining ground that nothing is to be achieved by force, and that only peaceful understanding can lead to a solution of the reparations problem."

One can really not deny that this faultless argumentation of these Socialists gentry will have its effects on the mass of the workers. Just think: the Capitalists who have occupied the Ruhr and actually united it with the iron ore district of Alsace Lorraine, who have abolished the eight hour day in the mining districts of Northern France and Belgium, as well as in the German Ruhr district, these gentlemen who by force have made themselves masters of the situation, these plunderers now recognise, as the senile "labour leaders" of the Hamburg tendency proclaim, that it is no longer expedient to make use of the methods of brute force. After the bookish scholars of the Labour International had arrived at this profound conclusion, they united themselves on a so-called resolution. And the pacifists of the Hamburg International now appear as ethicists, or to be more exact, as revolutionary ethicists:

"From the very beginning, the International has called upon the moral force of humanity as the foundation of that new order of society which the working class wishes to set up In the present situation the Executive of the International does not consider it necessary to repeat once again the declaration that it has so often made over the preliminary conditions for a policy of peace and reconciliations, after this world war to which that old capitalist and anti-democratic system of rule has led."

Macdonald may have grinned pleasantly as this passage of the resolution was read and presented for debate. "Don't worry Ramsay" would come the comforting whisper from Fritz Adler, "we'll fix that up. We in Vienna will scold like sparrows against armaments and war preparations, and on the other hand you will have to pursue the path of practical politics in England." And naturally Macdonald understood quite well. So he went to London after the conference and introduced the well-known peace

bill which had nothing more than the construction of five cruisers and two destroyers as its contents. The Hamburgers tackled the problem of reparations with the some thoroughness.

"If the solution (i. e. of the reparations problem) imposes burdens upon the German working class which can only be born by lengthening the hours of labour in Germany over the eight hour day, and by a perceptible reduction in the real wages of the German worker, the mechanism of capitalist competition will also exercise pressure upon other countries for the lengthening of the hours of labour and the reduction of wages. In this way the reparations would not be paid by the capitalist class of Germany which has enriched itself through the war for which it is responsible but actually by the workers of all countries."

At this point Mr. Crispien most probably gave a broad grin as it was his party which laid the special Powers act in the lap of the German bourgeoisie and made it possible for the German army to march into Saxony and Thuringia, and still more. But Mac Donald no doubt soothed him with to words, "Don't be anxious, old pal. We'll smooth that over in London. We will adopt a pretty resolution in favour of the ratification of the Washington Convention and you must make a great shout about the Second International being on the point of saving the eight hour day on a world wide scale." And naturally Crispien lets himself be reassured. Now the Hamburg ethicists became really rabid.

"We insist upon the demand that in the difficult question of reparations, which at the present moment occupies the first place in the whole world, not only purely financial and economic considerations shall be taken into account, but social considerations as well. We insist equally upon the necessity of finally breaking with the obsolete methods and of replacing them with that policy of frankness and confidence which has always inspired the international relations of the labour parties to each other."

So, if the bourgeoisie does not hurry up and act in accordance with the categorical demands of these Hamburg warriors one can not foresee what may happen. But, say the Hamburgers, the bourgeoisie wants to like us and it can like us. However, in order to bring the love with which they pursue them clearly to expression the Hamburgers move a resolution — who would have thought it — against Soviet Russia! First of all they tell the Italian and English bourgeoisies that they are in agreement with their act of recognition regarding Soviet Russia and that they grant their approval subsequent to the act. They have always, so they say, been in favour, of the recognition of Soviet Russia. Thus for example the German Social Democrats, who, as is well known, raised such a hysterical cry against the Russo-German Rapallo Treaty.

It is quite natural that the Hamburg society does not include a single word about the events in Germany in its resolution and has not one single remark about the attitude of the German section. To make up for that, the division of labour in their ranks has become somewhat finer. The "*Arbeiter Zeitung*" the central organ of the Hamburgers writes:

"As according to the statutes of the International, members of governments may not be members of the Executive during the period in which they are in the government, and in the same way can not belong to the commissions of the International, five new elections were necessary as a result of the entry of some of the members into the English government."

Verily that is wonderful. The Executive cannot express itself more clearly. And moreover this division of labour is quite natural when one knows what this international is. So long as Messrs. Mac Donald, Ebert, Hampel etc. combat their workers in common with their own bourgeoisie, so long must they not be directly members of this so-called labour International. Messrs. Otto Bauer, Fritz Adler and others undertake the revolutionary tasks and the formulating of categorical demands addressed to the international bourgeoisie of all countries. Messrs. Mac Donald, Ebert and Tusar look after the important, or to be quite exact, the positive side of the work. This International looks after the business of the bourgeoisie. And this pitiful society finds the courage to adopt resolutions against Soviet Russia and to issue instructions to the international working class. Gradually the workers of the world will get rid of this International, with this centre of support for the international counter-revolution.