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Appeal to the French and German Proletariat.

Workers and Comrades!

The London Conference of the Entente governments, the 13th of a long series of futile conferences, ended in complete failure. The world bourgeoisie has proved itself absolutely incapable of solving the acute economic and political crisis, into which it plunged the world through its murderous imperialist war, and through its imperialist "peace" treaty.

The result of the London Conference, far from effecting a solution of the crisis, intensified it and brought the working classes of France and Germany into new and imminent dangers.

In view of the total incapacity of the capitalist classes, of the "victorious" as well as the vanquished countries, to meet the threatening catastrophe and to prevent new wars and the complete ruin of the world economy, it is clearly the historical task of the working class, particularly of the French and the German proletariat, together to seize the initiative and to open a common fight against their capitalist classes and governments in order to meet the dangers that threaten the working classes of these two countries, and to effect a final solution of the catastrophic situation.

The dangers of the present situation are appaarent. Under the pressure of the war burdens and the permanent economic insecurity, the economic ruin of Germany was rapidly accelerated. The German mark has fallen with unprecedented speed, and its value has already reached $\frac{1}{1000}$ of its pre-war value.

To the broad masses of the German population, to the workers, employees, and lower-officials, the consequent rise in prices means a frightful and unbearable burden which is directed against their very existence. The present real wage of a skilled German worker amounts to less than one fourth of the pre-war wage. The wage of the worker no longer suffices to provide him with the necessary food. Meat, and fresh vegetables have

almost disappeared from the German worker's table. The children are undernourished from lack of milk and other nutritious foods.

The entire misery of the German proletariat and the whole criminal policy of the bourgeoisie of both countries are embodied in the one frightful fact: that *to day, in an industrial nation of over sixty million people, which has the capacity to provide half the world with its products, scurvy, the disease of hunger and malnutrition, and tuberculosis, rage throughout the country and register a terrifying number of victims.*

Responsible for this catastrophe, is the German bourgeoisie and her so-called democratic government, no less than the bourgeoisie of the allied countries. A handful of German industrialists, bankers, wholesale dealers and junkers take advantage of the depreciation of the mark and suck the last drop of blood from the German working class. The government, whose main support are the Social Democrats and Independents, oppresses the working class with an unberable burden of direct and indirect taxes, at the same time giving its bourgeoisie a thousand and one opportunities to evade taxation. Although it is clear that the only solution can be brought about through decisive revolutionary steps towards Socialism, the German bourgeoisie, with the aid of its reform-socialists, even did away with the scanty state economic control which was instituted during the war, thus clearing the way for the oppressive regime of a handful of capitalist monopolists, like Stinnes, Thyssen, etc. The same reform-socialists who relinquished their Socialism in order to ally themselves with the German capitalists against the working class, have, for fear of the impending radicalization of the masses, refused to defend the wretched bourgeois republic against its deadly monarchistic enemies. Step by step, they betray it into the hands of the monarchistic bureaucrats, officers and junkers, contenting themselves with the fact that they are still permitted to sit at the table of the republic.

It is obvious that the economic ruin of Germany and the absolute pauperization of her proletariat will drag the French proletariat with it into the general abyss. With the mark, the franc too will fall. The high cost of living in Germany will create a similar situation in France. The bankruptcy of German finances will also bring the bankruptcy of French finances. And like the German bourgeoisie, so the French bourgeoisie seeks to shift the burden of economic and financial ruin upon the workers, by means of direct and indirect taxes. The French capitalists, aided by the cut-throat competition of the German industry and the wretched wages of the German worker, have now launched a great offensive against the French working class, in an attempt to reduce them to the same frightful condition.

Simultaneous with the acceleration of the economic catastrophe, the failure of the London Conference and the continuation of the imperialist robber policy, threatens the working class with immediate and acute political catastrophes.

The conflict between France and England is becoming more intense every day. Both of these countries are in perpetual contest for military domination, particularly in the aerial field, which will constitute the most frightful weapon in the next war.

But the immediate danger lies in the unfolding of a new international conflict and the approaching of a new catastrophic world war. The world is once more threatened by a clique of financiers who are extending their greedy imperialist arm after the Ruhr region.

Workers!

No one can doubt that under Socialist regulation of production, which would be under the control of truly workers' governments, the combination of the Lotharingian ores and the Ruhr coal would mean a step forward. But such a combination, if accomplished through capitalist violence, or through an understanding between the capitalists of both countries, can only be effected through counter-revolutionary means and through the increased suppression and exploitation of the working class of both countries,—a condition pregnant with new imperialist wars.

The occupation of the Ruhr would mean a conflict with England, the destruction of Germany, and the encouragement of all monarchistic restoration elements in Germany. Although Germany is not in a position to offer military resistance, the occupation of the Ruhr would so strengthen the political and industrial predominance of the French bourgeoisie, that a new world war would be rendered inevitable. A part of the German bourgeoisie desires the occupation of the Ruhr for through it, it hopes to be secured against the impending proletarian revolution. The occupation of the Ruhr would mobilize the strongest forces of the German and French bourgeoisie under the protection of the French generals, and lead them in a bitter offensive against the working classes of both countries.

Workers of France and Germany!

You must unite in order to avert the dangers of the economic catastrophe and of a new imperialist slaughter by capitalist regiments.

You must manifest your will against the bourgeoisie in simultaneous demonstrations and actions. You must put an end to the craze that drags both countries into the abyss of economic ruin

Demonstrate your will and readiness to uphold the slogan which the reform-socialists have trampled underfoot: *Revolution rather than war!*

Workers of France!

It depends mainly upon you, *whether and how long the robber Treaty of Versailles shall exist; the treaty born of hatred and revenge; the treaty that brings untold misery upon the working class. It is up to you, to halt the clique of generals*

and bankers who now seek to build up a new colony on the Rhine, and to inaugurate a new military regime in Europe. It is up to you, to shift the burdens of the last imperialist war upon the bourgeoisie.

Workers of Germany!

Together with the French workers you must open the fight against the capitalists of your country; you must subject them to your control, in order to open the way to an effective reconstruction through Socialist measures not only of Germany, but also of France and of the whole of Europe; you must disarm the bourgeoisie and rut out the monarchistic counter-revolution.

Workers of France and Germany!

In this struggle for your economic existence and for world peace, you are opposed by the bourgeois republic, the old French and the new German money republics. Your common war-cry should be *the creation of a truly proletarian regiment, of a republic supported by armed workers and proletarian class organs.*

We call upon the proletarians of both countries to take up the struggle with the following slogans:

Cancel the Peace Treaty of Versailles!

Joint Proletarian Reconstruction at the Expense of the Bourgeoisie!

No Occupation of the Ruhr!

Evacuation of the Occupied Territories!

The closest economic and political alliance between Germany, France and Soviet Russia!

No High Prices; No Tax Robbery!

Cologne, August 26, 1922.

Central Executive of the Communist Party of France.
Central Executive of the Communist Party of Germany.

POLITICS

The European Crisis and Soviet Russia

By Karl Radek (Moscow).

What is now happening in Europe may be characterized as the death-agonies of the Treaty of Versailles. Economic necessity is the cause of the Treaty's breakdown. The victors had decided to treat the wounds which the war inflicted upon western capitalism at the expense of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Russia. This attempt could not be realized, not only because of the frightful havoc caused to Central and Eastern Europe as a result of this policy, but also for another reason which the leaders of the victorious capitalist nations do not seem to have understood, in spite of all the economic sermons they have been so good to deliver to us, to the effect that the world forms a single economic unit. Germany was one of the greatest export markets of England and the United States, which are now compelled to look on how a plundered Germany can no longer buy their products. Lloyd George realized this even before the Treaty of Versailles was signed. In a memorandum which ex-Prime Minister Nitti, has published in his book *Peaceless Europe*, he warned the Allies of the baleful results which would follow the burdening of Germany with an absurdly enormous debt.

But in spite of the fact that he realized that the Treaty of Versailles would plunge capitalism into chaos, he nevertheless signed the treaty and has not yet found the courage to demand its revision. His defense of Germany has always been within the limits of the treaty. This proves not only imbecility on his part, but also that the conflicts within the Entente have blinded him to the ABC of capitalism, namely that a ruined man is a bad customer.

Lloyd George has been fighting France for many years already. Were we to adopt the tone in which the English official press comments on the French policy, we would bring down upon ourselves severe notes of protest. And this fight has gone beyond mere word-conflicts; the canon's voice is also heard. *The so-called Turko-Greek war is nothing else than an Anglo-French*

war. The English government is openly furnishing the Greeks with arms and money, and accuses France of doing the same with the Angora Republic. But England cannot afford an open break with France, even if the break should not bring about an immediate war on a world scale. America's position towards France and England is not yet clearly defined. America supports on the one hand, England's policy towards Germany and on the other hand, France's policy towards Russia. The simple fact that in Washington, America did not support England's declaration against the use of submarines in warfare, proves that *America has not definitely given up its anti-English policy, and is willing to play up France against England.* An old English publicist wrote recently in the *Fortnightly Review* that Napoleon had never brought about such a military hegemony on the Continent as did the Bloc National. Against Napoleon, England found allies in *Russia and Germany.* The simple German believed he was fighting for the liberation of his fatherland, when he was actually playing the game of English imperialism against French imperialism. Today, England herself has destroyed Germany's military power and could not use it as a weapon against France, even if it should now be needed. Imprisoned in the iron circle of French, Polish and Czecho-Slovakian armies, Germany, even if she be allowed to make open preparations for war, could never fight France, *except with the support of Russia.* But England, hopelessly entangled in the contradiction of her European and her Asiatic policies, thought it in her interest to keep Russia a weak power. She feared that she might meet in a strong Russia an enemy to her robber policy against the interests and the life of the Mahammedan people. England's plans were not fully successful, for Russia was not so naive as to believe, like the Germans, that no other motive than the reestablishment of peace activated England, and was unwilling to become the tool of England. Russia's attitude towards the world crisis is that of an independent great power, concerned primarily with its own interests, which are also the interests of the international working class.

The dissolution of the Entente places England, France, and Germany before this question: what next? France may proceed with the occupation of the Ruhr without the support of England. Germany, disappointed in its expectation of English support, may sell out to France and save herself from dismemberment, by agreeing to combine the Ruhr coal with the Alsacian and French ores. This idea is not so new among the German industrialists. They expect in this way to save their mining industry, and hope that their talent for organization may give them a decisive influence on French industries. In any case, the possession of the Ruhr valley would give to France an unparalleled industrial position among the victorious countries of Europe.

The ripening changes in the European politics have a deep, practical interest for Soviet Russia. France's advance upon the Ruhr, and the participation of Poland in an attack upon Germany would bring a change in the European situation equally important to that resulting from a Franco-German agreement. France would become the greatest economic power in Europe, and constitute an even greater danger to its imperialistic enemies than it does to day; it would then become *a power disposing of immense economic resources.*

The coming events in Central Europe require from Russia a clear and calm estimate of the possible consequences, and combinations of power that may follow. We must remain on our guard on the military field. We have proposed to our neighbours a restriction of armaments, only to receive from Poland the ridiculous answer that this was a task for the League of Nations. The Baltic nations are protracting the negotiations under various excuses. The agreement reached before Genoa for a temporary armistice is coming to an end. We have no idea of the intentions of our neighbors. Citizen Marshall Pilsudski invited Comrade Litvinov to a friendly talk, but this meeting was a pure sham to calm Polish public opinion. But even if we accept the friendly tendencies of our western neighbors, we must not forget,—first that *they are dependent upon London and Paris;* secondly that *Soviet Russia is an Asiatic as well as a European power.* Asia is affected by the decision on the Rhein question. Our army must remain war-ready whether partially demobilized or not. And not only the army, but all Russia must be prepared for all events. The question of crops and industrial work is not only one of stomach, but also a question of the maintenance of the Republic and its international position. *It is possible that madness may again take hold of Europe. Woe to him who falls unprepared into the hands of the mad ones!* We must call the attention of the masses to the international situation so that we may be ready politically for any eventuality.

It is also possible that a compromise may again be reached, but this compromise will be rotten to the core, and will not endure. A new storm menaces Europe. It is quite possible that

it is not preachers' sermons and diplomatic notes only that will play a role in the attempt to kill the Treaty of Versailles. *A whole period of diplomatic attempts to settle the question of the Treaty is behind us. All these attempts, Washington and Genoa as well as the Hague, have proved to be fiascos of bourgeois pacifism.* It is quite possible that the capitalist rulers of Europe may look to cavalry, infantry and artillery rather than to Adam Smith for a solution of the problem. We must make sure that we can answer this sort of argumentation too.

The Reparations Problem and the French Proletariat

By Marcell Ollivier (Paris).

The fiasco of the London Conference has again drawn the attention of the world to the dangerous consequences of the Versailles Treaty and the reparations policy based upon it. All conscientious observers see in it the principal cause of the present economic crisis.

Effects on Germany.

In Germany, the reparations policy has caused the present formidable fall of the mark. The depreciation is due to many interlocking and aggravating causes the chief of which are the payments in gold and in goods by Germany to the Entente. The other causes, — the flight of German capital into foreign countries to protect itself against the oscillations of the German market and to forestall a possible seizure by the government or the workers; the continuous issue of paper money necessary to meet the costs of running the government and to balance the budget; the considerable increase of the public debt; — all these follow necessarily from the first. *We may safely say that the German crisis is due to the reparations policy of the Allies.*

The fall of the mark is followed by a fantastic rise in the price of commodities in the country; which rise falls particularly heavy upon the improvised working masses. Wages rise comparatively little in comparison with the prices, and therefore the real wage of the worker shrinks daily, and his misery increases. In Germany, during the past two months, wages have gone up only 30 to 50 %, as compared to an increase of 150 % in the cost of living. Each day renders the condition of the German worker more unbearable, for he can no longer buy the barest necessities.

But the fall of the mark is a God-send to the German manufacturer. It lowers the cost of production at the expense of the worker's wages, increases German exports and nets enormous profits to German industry.

Effects on England.

In England, the reparations policy is bringing just as catastrophic results as in Germany. English industry can no longer compete with German industry. The result is the present continued unemployment, whose cost to state and industry is incalculable. At the present time there are about two million unemployed workers in England. The factories which are operating cut their workers' wages considerably in order to be able to compete with Germany, France, and the United States. The decreases in wages have brought about a great number of strikes which have further disturbed the economic equilibrium of an already sick country. Politically the results have been a movement towards the left in the English working class (see the success of the Labor Party at the last elections), and a demand by various bourgeois groups for a resumption of trade relations with Russia, and for modifications in the Treaty of Versailles in favor of Germany.

Effects on France.

In France the reparations policy has brought about a crisis, which if not very serious yet, will present a serious menace to French industry in the near future. As a result of the war France has become an industrial nation of the first rank. The acquisitions of the Lotharingian and German mines has placed it foremost among the iron-producing countries. The possession of the coal mines of the Saar, and the delivery of huge quantities of Ruhr and Saar coal for the reparations account, have strengthened France's industrial position.

On the other hand the social structure of France has protected it from the crisis raging in countries with high currency such as England, Japan, and the United States. France produces the greater part of the food consumed by its population, hence a restriction of imports. Moreover the French peasantry provides a large home market for the products of French industry which has thereby escaped the crisis.

But France has not totally escaped it. The German coal imported as reparations, menaces to cause serious trouble to the French coal industry. Up to now the coal mines of the North have reached only 50 % of their pre-war production. The strike of the American miners, by opening a market to English coal, lessened its menace to the French coal industry. But when the American strike ends, and the mines of the North reach their pre-war production, great difficulties will loom up in the French coal industry. The same applies to the other industries. The competition of the German goods delivered on the reparations account creates a serious menace. This is the reason why French industrialists oppose the Wiesbaden agreement.

To meet the coming crisis, French capitalism has begun a violent campaign to reduce wages and to abolish the eight-hour day. Those measures would reduce the cost of production and permit France to compete advantageously with the other countries on the world market. They are insufficient however to meet the competition of German, English and American goods for these countries will not lag behind in adopting the same measures. Hence, French capitalism had to adopt other, more thorough means.

The New French Imperialism.

The program which Poincaré developed in London is nothing but the expression of the new French imperialism, born of war. This imperialism is seeking to use its "right to reparations", and abuse its political position in Europe to obtain such an economic position as will permit it to crush all competition. Such is the meaning of M. Poincaré's propositions.

Mr. Lloyd George energetically opposes the policy of Poincaré. Not that Mr. Lloyd George wastes any sympathy on Germany, but simply because he realizes the serious danger to England with which Poincaré's policy is pregnant. To endorse it would mean a death-blow to English capitalism. The consequent fall of the mark would make it impossible for England to meet German competition, and would increase unemployment out of bounds. On the other hand France's economic position would be fortified, and French industry enabled to compete successfully with England, even on those fields where heretofore England reigned supreme. And England would disappear as an economic power in the world. This explains Lloyd George's opposition to such a policy. The beautiful phrases on humanity and conciliation should not fool anybody. What is happening is, that French and English imperialism have come into open conflict. The differences were so sharp that we heard rumors of a rupture between the former allies. Such a rupture, if it takes place (and the possibilities are in favor of it), will bring a war between the two countries, sooner or later.

Today, it is a demonstrated fact, that the policy of reparations is one of the principal causes of the present economic crisis and the attendant manifestations, — general decrease of wages, prolongation of working hours, unemployment, strikes, lock-outs, misery of the proletariat, increases in military expenditures, menaces of war, etc. The money which Germany pays goes into the pockets of the capitalists; and nothing is left for the reparation of the devastated regions.

The Duty of the French Proletariat.

The French proletariat, in conjunction with the English and the German proletariat, must begin an energetic campaign against the reparations policy, the principal cause of its sufferings. It is the duty of the Communist Party to lead the campaign for concrete results. Enemy of the Versailles Treaty, it must fight against all consequences of the treaty. It will deny any right to reparations which the victorious French bourgeoisie has put into the treaty. It will insist that the bourgeoisie of the world, responsible for the war, must pay the costs of it.

The French Communist Party will take the lead, and form the united front of the French proletariat, with the following slogans:

1. Abolition of the wage tax;
2. Reduction of indirect taxes;
3. Reduction of military expenditures;
4. A tax on capital;
5. Increased income tax;
6. Reestablishment of the tax on war profits;
7. Maintenance of the eight-hour day.

The new French imperialism menaces the peace of the world and the existence of the international proletariat. It is the task of the French proletariat and the French Communist Party to remove that danger.

The Failure of the London Conference

By Paul Louis (Paris).

What occurred in London this 14th of August, the rupture of the Conference, which is also in a way a rupture of the Franco-English alliance, was not unexpected. For some months past already, French and English capitalism, the Bloc National and the coalition, were opposed to each other. Their interests may have coincided during the war against German capitalism, and during the peace negotiations, but they have diverged since then, and now openly oppose one another.

English capitalism, represented by Mr. Lloyd George, and French capitalism represented by Clemenceau, were in full agreement when it came to the clauses which forced upon Germany the payment of an indefinite number of billions. Against the terms of the armistice, not only indemnity to civilians, but military pensions were included in the bill; it is even said, that M. Lloyd George insisted upon this. Commercial England took the German Navy and the best share of the German colonies as its share. The coalition showed itself as rapacious as the Bloc National. One imperialism is worth another.

England had received part payment. Chauvinistic France rejoiced to see its soldiers parade on the Rhine, and awaited the billions, which did not come rapidly enough to satisfy it. The German bourgeoisie was willing to squeeze its proletariat dry, to pay the reparations, but it had no intention of bearing the costs of the war.

London was the thirteenth vain attempt to solve the reparations question. For a year, England has been insisting upon a revision of the treaty. It has gotten its share of the booty, and the fall of the mark and the general economic crisis menace its existence.

Mr. Lloyd George insisted upon a moratorium for Germany not because he felt any pity towards the German worker. The moving cause was that the continuation of the present situation was ruining the English bourgeoisie by shutting it off from the German market and rendering it incapable of competition with German industry. Let the mark fall some more and Britain is ruined. German competition has never constituted so great a danger to Britain as since the day when a disastrous peace was forced upon it.

Mr. Lloyd George therefore was only serving the interests of the British plutocracy, when he demanded a moratorium for Germany.

But such were not the interests of the French plutocracy. Its chief interest is to get its billions, its share of the 132 billion gold marks. If it does not get this money, it is bankrupt; it cannot pay its enormous debt to England and to the United States. The prestige of the Bloc National is menaced. This is why Mr. Poincaré insists upon securities.

These securities, which resemble sanctions, are a veritable infringement upon German sovereignty. And it was not only that Mr. Lloyd George feared new conflicts within Germany, which would further depreciate the mark, endanger England's export trade and increase unemployment in its industrial sections. The whole tradition of English diplomacy was against it. Mr. Poincaré acted like Louis XIV, or Napoleon towards Germany. He intervened brutally in the Reich's affairs.

These are the causes of the rupture. The disagreement between French and English capitalism are pregnant with disastrous consequences for the future. They mark the end of a period, and a break in the capitalist society.

Austria's Collapse

By V. Stern (Vienna).

Monsignor Dr. Seipel, by the grace of God (as he himself has it) Chancellor of Austria, is sojourning in Prague, Berlin and Rome, peddling the news that Austria is "up against it", thus, in a manner of speaking, holding the threat of her committing suicide over the neighboring states which have a political interest in her continued existence. Before arriving at such weighty decisions, the government neither referred the matter to the people nor summoned its representatives, which is the natural course in a "democratic" state. Nor is anything known of its plans or intentions, for which, the fact that the government is

itself rather at a loss as to what to do, might serve as a reasonable explanation.

However, the fact remains that the government, which on entering office three months ago, promised to "save" Austria and denounced as a traitor everybody refusing to believe in this deliverance, is today compelled to admit the complete failure of its policy. The Austrian bourgeoisie and its faithful servant, the Social Democracy, have reached the end of their tether; they are trying in vain to avert the debacle of their policy.

The Austrian proletariat has never raised the banner of revolution. Even when Soviet Hungary's fate and the outcome of the central European revolution depended upon its attitude, it lent a willing ear to the harrowing tales of the Social Democrats on "Russian conditions". Meanwhile, the depreciation of currency and the corresponding soar of prices have attained a break-neck pace which even Russia in her gloomiest months, has never experienced. According to the doctored official statistics, the cost of living rose by 124 per cent during the period from July 15th to August 15th, although 170 per cent would be nearer the truth. And the speed is still increasing. The price for a loaf of bread is already well over 4,000 kronen and for an egg 750 kronen (two days ago it was 500).

The financial collapse is assuming unprecedented proportions. The government had announced that beginning with the middle of August, it would discontinue the issue of paper money. So certain was the government of itself that it passed a bill (to become law simultaneously with the foundation of the new Issue Bank) forbidding further activity of the bank note press. And today 100 billions of new money are being issued weekly, compared with 10 billions at the beginning of June, when the present government took over the administration. The total bank note circulation, then 366 billions, has now well nigh reached the thousand mark. The depreciation of the krone was no less catastrophic. At the beginning of June it was .05 in Zurich; today it is .005. The Czecho-Slovakian krone rose from 219 to 2100 during the same period, the dollar from 11,100 to 75,000.

All this entails terrible hardships for the Austrian proletariat. So far juggling with the index figure was used to rob the workers without them becoming quite aware of it. Apparently wages were increased every month *nearly* in proportion to the increase of the cost of living during the *preceding month*. Even if after two weeks the wages had again fallen far below the new increases and the workers began to perceive the truth, the new index figure was published and the "*increase in wages*" to come, acted as oil on troubled waters.

The rapid depreciation, however, magnified the juggling process, so that even the blindest could see it. In the middle of June the index figure had been set at 41; when, however, the corresponding wages were paid at the end of the month, the figure had meanwhile jumped up considerably. At the beginning of August the situation had become so unbearable that the employers, without being obliged to do so under the award, granted an extraordinary increase of 25 per cent in order to prevent despair from gaining the upper hand. In the middle of June the index figure was set at 124 per cent, which, though far from being correct, shows how the workers were robbed in spite of that 25 extra per cent. A nearly stable wage with the cost of living doubled and even trebled, — that is the "security of the real wage" by means of the index figure, so highly praised by the Social Democrats. On the very day of the publication of the last index figure, the *Arbeiterzeitung* dared to say that the index figure secured the working masses against the high prices. To this must be added that not all trades received the 25 per cent; some were given only 20 while others had to go without anything. And although the cost of living had, on August 14th, risen by 124 per cent, most workers will receive the "correspondingly increased wages" only on or after August 24th. Until then they have to get along on their former rates whose purchasing power has decreased by two thirds and is still falling rapidly.

Small wonder, then, if the indignation of the masses grows apace. Here and there the smouldering fire is breaking into flames. Social Democratic officials relate at their conferences how increasingly difficult it is becoming to keep the workers in the shops and factories. But the Social Democracy still stops at nothing to prevent a united and organized struggle; it keeps on harping on "Russian conditions" and cites Italy and Hungary as warning examples; it circulates incredible stories and rumors to intimidate the workers while trying to retain their hold on them by carrying on a fierce campaign of phrases, in the attempt to blind them with illusions about unity with Germany, etc. Yet, the influence of the Communist Party is growing day by day.

We have come to a point where the worker is no longer receiving a real wage, but only a number of bank notes of unde-

termined value. Nobody knows what he can purchase with his "money" a few days hence or even tomorrow. The employers do not dream of covering the 124 per cent increase out of their profits, but add them to the prices. Nor do they think of realizing their foreign securities and bills in order to pay wages; they go to the banknote press. And the government has not the least intention of confiscating property; it too covers its expenses, which naturally run into astronomical figures, by means of the banknote press. Custom duty and tariff increases merely add to the evil, because higher prices and increased government expenditures follow in their wake. The avalanche is gaining both in volume and speed; everybody senses its imminent descent. Everybody feels that things cannot continue in this way much longer. Austria's approaching collapse should receive attention far beyond the borders of the pigmy state. Her collapse not only threatens the central European capitalist balance of power; it also foreshadows the way of Germany's development, the importance of which in the world-wide struggle between Capitalism and Communism is evident. With the Austrian debacle, the collapse of world capitalism enters upon a new phase. Dr. Seipel's pilgrimage will have no results that can prevent the debacle.

The intentions of the Austrian government are still shrouded in mystery. Perhaps, it is seriously considering Austria's dissolution, perhaps it only wants to bring strong pressure to bear in two directions. First on the neighboring states to compel them under the threat of suicide to grant credits and trading facilities, and secondly on the workers to intimidate them and force the Social Democrats into open coalition. The latter will on the one hand, be all the more eager to participate in the government, if that course would tend to keep the workers quiet for a little longer, while on the other hand, the road will grow more difficult to travel, the more acute the situation becomes. But it is not altogether impossible that before becoming a party to the threatened bankruptcy of the government, it would prefer to see Austria dissolved. It goes without saying that the Social Democracy never devoted a moment's thought to the only way out, which could save the proletariat, — seizure of power by the proletariat, and expropriation of the propertied classes. It merely exhorts the bourgeoisie to be "sensible" and not to forget that the general collapse will affect them also. This, of course, does not move the possessors of deposits in banks abroad to open their purses; nor will it ever induce a member of the propertied classes to renounce anything.

In this situation the Communist Party is increasing its efforts to bring about the united proletarian front to take up the struggle; in the midst of confusion and despair it points to the proletariat the only way out, showing the present situation to be a consequence of the greed of the bourgeoisie and the apathy of the Social Democrats. The Party tells the Austrian workers that if they don't want to go under, they must use their strength and make the bourgeoisie give up some of the surplus extracted from labor.

Apart from this, however, the Party is quite prepared for unforeseen events which will confront the Communist International with the necessity for far-reaching decisions.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Living Church

By R. A. (Moscow).

The lively movement of inner regeneration that immediately followed the counter-revolutionary campaign launched on the occasion of the confiscation of church treasures for the benefit of famine sufferers in Soviet Russia, is already known. It is also known, that the most progressive, the so-called "red" elements among the lower clergy, compelled the Patriarch *Titchu* to abdicate.

This young movement centers about the group and the periodical, *The Living Church*, which held its first Congress on the 6th of August, in Moscow. In it took part six Arch-Bishops, bearing the old Byzantine names, among them *Antonin*, *Eudoxus*, and *Johannidus*, as well the representatives of the Constantinople Patriarchs and of the *Free Russian Church in America*. There were altogether 150 delegates, all of them of the clergy, and 40 other representatives with advisory votes.

Krasnitzky, a head-priest and one of the founders of this new church movement, delivered his opening speech on "the revolutionary movement within the church". "Our main task".

he said, "is to hear the voice of the lower clergy, to bring the church nearer to the working world, and to take a decisive stand on the side of the exploited and against the exploiters. In order to carry out this program, it is absolutely necessary to effect a fundamental reform within the church."

The Living Church is determined to carry out this reform thoroughly, and it manifests this determination in its approval of the fight against the oldest, blackest and most dangerous of all theocratic traditions, namely, against *monachism*. It demands the abolition of all monasteries, and their transformation into workers' cooperatives, old people's homes and hospitals. *The Living Church* condemns all monastery laws regarding forced celibacy and the violation of all hygienic laws and demands the immediate liberation of all men and women, who are still kept in the cells of serfdom, ignorance and uncleanness by the monastery.

The Congress further declared that monachism, even of the learned kind, "represents a source of decay in the organism of the Russian Church". The Congress also decided to proceed most energetically against the reactionary activities of certain clergymen, and to rut them out mercilessly. On this point, however, the congress was of the opinion that a difference be made between the effects of ignorance and consciously counter-revolutionary activity.

A sharp vote of censure was adopted against the Patriarch *Titchu*.

For those who know what enormous services the orthodox church has rendered to the overthrown system and to Czarism, and what a mighty rampart of ignorance and reaction the clergy constituted (as it still does in every other country), these occurrences are highly significant. *The Living Church* is seriously determined to conquer the Russian Church. Such a movement towards the revolutionary regeneration of a Church, a movement which has for its basis, not new religious doctrines, but the adaptation to a new social order, deserves to be followed with the greatest attention.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Struggle for the United Front in Sweden

(A Significant Act of the Communist Youth.)

By Arvid F. Vrelling.

Since the slogan of the *united front* was announced, the Swedish Communist Party has carried on an intensive struggle for it among the workers. They approached the Social Democratic and Left Socialist parties and the syndicalist leaders, in order to establish common ground for a united struggle against the reduction of wages and unemployment. These bodies, however, *refused, on various pretexts, to take part in such a struggle*. Among the workers themselves, this demand became stronger and stronger, and they showed, through the mass deputations which were formed by the Communist Party, that they thoroughly agreed with this line of action.

When the Young Communist International sent out its call for a world congress of young workers and for the united front, the Swedish Young Communist League took up the task. An open letter was addressed to the Social Democratic League of Youth, inviting them to take part in the struggle for the most important demands of the Swedish proletarian youth. After the grave situation of the young workers, and of the whole working class had been described, and the consequent necessity for the united front pointed out, the following definite, concrete demands were stated:

1.—Will the Swedish Social Democratic League of Youth support the realization of the Young Communists' proposal for a world congress of proletarian youth, to concern itself with the special immediate interests of the young workers?

2.—Will the Swedish Social Democratic League of Youth ask the assistance of the Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party for the formation of an international proletarian united front, and for the calling of a world congress of workers?

3.—Will the Swedish Social Democratic League of Youth demand that the Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party aid in the formation of the united front on the grounds of the program formulated by the mass deputations and presented by them to Parliament and to the government?

4.—Will the Swedish Social Democratic League of Youth join with the Swedish Young Communist League in the struggle for the special interests of the young workers, placing in the forefront of their program the following demands:

a) To demand from the government that the law for the support of the unemployed be made retroactive immediately, and that unemployment benefit be paid for the whole period, and that the amount of assistance be increased, so that the youth shall not suffer this undeserved misery.

b) To fight for the demands mentioned in the economic manifesto issued by the Young Communist League to the working youth of Sweden, wherever there is the opportunity of realizing them.

These demands express the main interests of the Swedish young workers. The Young Communist League had already shown its willingness to defend the interests of the young workers in its economic manifesto, which demanded the six-hour day and a month's summer vacation for the proletarian youth. In the matter of unemployment, the Communist Youth represented the demands of the young workers by deputations and petitions to the government demanding increased state aid, especially for unemployed young workers under sixteen years. They also demanded the retention of state aid for bachelors, women and casual workers, which was withdrawn on June 1st.

The Social Democratic League of Youth took no action in this matter, any more than they had previously done in the anti-militarist campaign. Instead, the Social Democratic government, with Branting at its head, has manifested its incapacity to meet the most necessary demands of the workers; yet it is still supported by the Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic youth.

Through this approach by the Communists to the other organizations, the Swedish workers have been shown that the disrupters of the working class movement are not to be found among the Communists.

In the youth supplement of the paper *Social-Demokraten* appeared an article, emanating from the leaders of the Young Social Democrats, which was an answer to the open letter of the Young Communists. In this article, all the old, well known anti Communist arguments were retailed. The answer is, in the real sense of the word, no answer. It makes no attempt to deal with the demands of the open letter, but merely states that the Social Democratic League of Youth, in agreement with the Social Democratic Party, has already noted those demands which have any value for the young workers. Unfortunately, this "agreement" and this "noting" have had no perceptible result whatever. The only thing which one can definitely state is that under the Social Democratic government, the condition of the workers, and particularly of the young workers, has become worse. The capitalist offensive has been carried out in all details, and the state power has supported the cause of the employers. In the so-called answer it is stated that the only possibility of securing unity among the workers is by "isolating and destroying the Communists". A pious thought! It is further stated that the Swedish League of Social Democratic Youth will strenuously support that International of young workers which will bar the Young Communist International from the unity movement!

Here they forget a most important fact: that the Young Communist International, and its national section, the Swedish Young Communist League, embrace respectively, internationally and nationally, the majority of the organized young workers. They also forget that it is the working class youth itself which should answer the open letter. The young workers will understand the compelling necessity of forming a proletarian united front, despite the opposition of their leaders.

"The Communists must be isolated and destroyed!" The same thought that the bourgeoisie has, but which they seek to realize with more powerful means. (In several cases these more powerful means, such as imprisonment, have been used against the Communists with the support of the Social Democrats.) The sound, thoughtful young workers, who today are suffering under the capitalist offensive, will, despite all lies and all attempts at isolation, rally to the call of the Communists for a proletarian united front in the struggle against hunger and misery.

Through its answer, the Swedish Social Democratic League of Youth has once more revealed, and more clearly than ever, its true character. The young workers will now reply; over the heads of the Social Democratic leaders, the young proletarians will unite in the common battle for their real interests.

The leaders, who do not acknowledge the necessity of a united struggle for the most necessary immediate demands, will be known as traitors to the working class youth and their interests. They are the disrupters; they are the obedient lackeys and tools of predatory capital.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

A Year of Foreign Government Relief for the Russian Famine

By *Jussó* (Overschie).

Over a year has passed since the Soviet Government and some of the most famous men of Europe, such as Gorky, Romain Rolland, Anatole France, etc. sounded their appeal to the "public opinion" of the world, and more especially to the governments: "Help! The catastrophe which has hit the Volga and the whole South East of Russia is too great. We can not overcome the famine with our own resources."

It was perhaps the first time in the history of the world that a government (conscious of its duty to its working masses) rose above all prejudices and the old ideas of diplomatic prestige to make such an appeal to the other countries.

It will pay us today to look back upon a year of "relief" by foreign governments. What the Soviet Government itself has done through the Central Famine Relief Commission, the Agricultural and Food Commissariats, and other state organs is too well known. The relief work accomplished by Russia (in terms of tons of seeds and food) is more than four times that of all the foreign relief organizations, American Relief Administration, and all other private relief committees included.

To promise and to keep a promise . . .

When the first news of the famine catastrophe reached Europe, it seemed as if not only "public opinion" (i. e. the capitalist press) but also the various governments were willing to respond to our appeal. Most of them were activated by the hope that the hunger, and their aid, would enable them to conquer Russia peacefully, and eventually to overthrow the Soviets. At any rate Germany was not alone when it announced unofficially through Gerhardt Hauptmann, that "it would do all in its power" . . . Other governments too, as England for instance, under pressure from the working class, made magnanimous promises of help. What followed? We remind you here of Nansen's appeal before the Geneva Conference, the Refusal of the League of Nations, and the cynical declaration of the Serbian representative *Spalaikovitich*, that "he preferred to see hundreds of thousands, millions of Russians die, rather than strengthen in any way the rule of the Soviets by any famine relief". Nansen continued his appeals and his pleading calls for help. What was accomplished? Little in comparison to the energy he expended.

What did the various governments promise, and what did they do?

England.

Promises:

Lloyd George, during August to October 1921: "A question of common humanity . . . we will do all in our power . . . a matter of pity and humanity . . ."

Performances:

The first help came in December 1921, (under pressure of the Left and the Labor Party), £100,000, not in cash, but in old war materials, mostly dental instruments, dentists' chairs, medicines, etc. . . .

France.

Promises:

In October 1921, the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution voting 6 million francs for Russian relief.

Performances:

Until May 1922, practically nothing had been done. Until March no one had even entered into negotiations with any relief organization. In the meanwhile the French Red Cross has sent to Russia a small relief expedition to take care of children on ; the relief consisted primarily of old French war materials, canned goods, etc. . . . most of which still lies in France.

Italy.

(October 1921.)

Promises:

Deputy Beviene reports in the *Epoca* on the negotiations between Nansen and the Italian Government, to organize help for Russia. "The first shipment of foodstuffs will leave Italy for Russia in a few days. The Italian Government will furnish free transportation (railroad and steamer). Besides this, the Italian Government will enter into relations with the other governments which, at the Paris or the Brussels Conference, have expressed their willingness to help Russia."

Performances:

6 million lira, which were spent during the winter of 1921-22 in the kitchens of the Italian Red Cross in Russia. No further money aid, no tools, not a single government ship. Since the Spring of 1922, hindrance and actual suppression by the Fascisti, of voluntary collections on the part of Socialist and Communist Workers' Relief Committees, without any interference against these by the government.

Bulgaria.

"*Bulgarian Relief for the Famine Sufferers.*"

(Official press report of October 1921.)

Promises:

The Bulgarian Government has reached the following decisions in favor of the starving Russians:—

1. All grain for the relief of the famine will pass the Bulgarian frontier free from all tax or transport fee.
2. All charitable institutions are permitted to make collections of money, grain, and clothing for the famine sufferers.
3. The local officials are directed to lend all possible aid to these charitable organizations as well as to any representative of the Red Cross.
4. The Bulgarian government is ready and willing to take care within its boundaries of 20,000 Russian childrens.

Performances:

No grain whatever sent to Russia by the government or any bourgeois organization! Confiscation of money and grain collected by the Worker's Committee (Communist) and occasional distribution to Russian white guard (Wrangel) refugees living in Bulgaria.

We do not wish to tire our readers with any longer list. We simply wish to remember together with those governments which for political or economic reasons have done comparatively much for Russia, as for instance Sweden, Holland, Queensland (workers' government), also those governments which have promised nothing and done nothing, (or very little), — Belgium, Finland, Spain, The South-American countries, Australia (outside of Queensland), Portugal.

We wish to pillory before history those governments which not only have done nothing to relieve the famine, but have actually suppressed all voluntary collections and measures of relief (especially, of course, those of workers' organizations) and have confiscated the collections, — Poland, Hungary and Japan take first place; Jugo Slavia seems to have relented in its antagonistic attitude only a short time ago. But in "democratic" Germany too, have police and government organs competed in paralyzing the relief action, preventing and confiscating collections. We need only mention Lübeck, Pommern, and the decisions of magistrates against relief permissions, as in Frankfort and in the Rhineland.

The United States occupies a special place in this story. Mr. Hoover, the famous food minister of Europe, organized the American Relief Administration, to which Congress voted first 15 million dollars, and later, in December 1921, 20 million dollars. What gigantic sums! says the uninitiated. But how miserably small when compared with what America could do! And how late granted! And even that sum has not yet all been used. M. Hoover holds the bread basket out of the reach of the Russian peasant, and distributes insufficient rations, about 1/4 of the required amount. For many months none but children were fed.

But the history of the A.R.A. demands special treatment. It is an interesting document which shows how capitalism attempts to help and not to help at the same time, to give the appearance of actual relief to large masses of the population,

and at the same time to undermine the power of the proletarian government. Indeed, the A.R.A. is already restricting its activities, and this at a time when, even in case of a good crop, hundreds of thousands are in danger, and incapable of work as a result of past sufferings. They do not propose to continue even the children's relief beyond the end of 1922.

Will the workers of the world also act in this fashion? Will they leave their Russian brothers in the lurch, after they have helped them for a year through the *International Worker's Relief* and through the Amsterdam Trade Union Relief, after they have roused hopes of salvation in the breasts of the Russian workers, and built bridges of solidarity with Russia? Never! To the duplicity of capitalists they will give their strong proletarian answer: "The workers of the world will help Soviet Russia, the first Workers' and Peasants' Government!"

THE WHITE TERROR

The White Terror Begins in Czecho-Slovakia

By Eugen Paul (Prague).

The latest events prove that the contention of the Communists that a sharpening of class differences leads to the white terror holds true also for Czecho-Slovakia. Here too we are confronted with the historical question: *white terror or red terror!* And in Czecho-Slovakia too, we must confess that the bourgeoisie, the counter-revolution, realized the condition quicker and better than the proletariat. The bourgeoisie has taken advantage of the vacillation of the Social Democratic leaders and replaced the illusion of "democracy" in which it itself no longer believes, by the only rule possible under the present circumstances, — the dictatorship, — naturally, their *white dictatorship*.

The Czecho-Slovakian white terror had dared to show its true face only in Slovakia and in the Carpathian section, where the military have behaved in a fashion which reminds one of the Belgian imperialistic regime in the Congo. Protected by the most corrupted bureaucracy in the world, a bureaucracy taken from the old regime and supplemented by Czechish and international thieves, adventurers and professional spies, a "regime of salvation" has been instituted there, which has brought untold misery. Martial law still prevails in Slovakia and the Carpathian region, in spite of the fact that it had been formally repealed some months ago. What has really happened is that the old law has been repealed and a new law passed by the Prague Parliament which, based upon several centuries of Hungarian decrees, made absolutely no difference so far as Slovakia and the Carpathian region were concerned. Cases where workers are beaten and shot down by the police and the soldiery are quite common here. Freedom of assembly, freedom of the press and other constitutional guarantees exist — on paper only. The workers are treated no better than some indigenous inhabitants of a somewhat civilized colony.

But this Czecho-Slovakian colonial policy has been exceeded during the past few days. In Kashau, the second largest industrial city of Czecho-Slovakia, and the center of the Hungarian labor movement in the country, a sport carnival took place and a parade through the city streets was started. The dangers of this parade to the government are clearly realized when we bear in mind that a great number of women and children took part in it. The police of Kashau, headed by a notorious Hungarian spy named Klima, took advantage of this occasion to display their courage. They attacked the peaceful parade from the rear and beat up cruelly, without distinction, men, women and children. Young girls could still show, eight days later, traces of the wounds inflicted by these uniformed brutes. A number of the paraders were arrested, and treated in a true Horthy fashion on the way to jail. The police also took advantage of this to turn over to Horthy-Hungary a number of Hungarian fugitives who were residing in the city with the permission of the police, although they had in no way taken part in the demonstration.

The new policy will be more clearly understood from a second case which occurred in Zemplin County, and which rivals anything that ever took place in Hungary. The court ordered the dissolution of all Communist organizations in Michalovce. The order was based on the existence of a "secret" school, maintained by the Communist Youth. In the "secret" school were held lectures on the alcohol question and other such

matters, highly dangerous to the State. The Communist deputies interfered in the matter, and were assured that the order would be revoked. Nevertheless a decision was handed down by the Zemplin District, disbanding the Communist Youth, the District Committee, the Federation of Agricultural and Forestry workers, and the Communist branch organization in Michalovce, shutting down all halls and buildings used by the organizations, and confiscating the keys thereto. The police executed the order, and an action was started against the organizers of the "secret" school on the grounds of § 16/22, article 38 of the year 1868 (!) and § 45, article 40, of the year 1897...

The white terror never begins with the murder of workers and their leaders. This comes later. The first step is always to outlaw the most revolutionary, and hence, the most dangerous section of the proletariat. And that is what is now happening in Czecho-Slovakia. In Reichenberg they refused passports to all Communists. A Communist secretary was told openly, that such dangerous people as the Communists could obtain no passports.

The Social Democrats who see in the murder of workers in capitalist countries only a sign of the imperfection of a democracy, will say that these are isolated cases of incroachments on the part of some official or youth. But the proletariat must not forget that it is only because of insufficient resistance that the reaction assumed such a violent form in Italy and Germany. The events in Kashau, in Michalovce, in Reichenberg, interpreted in the light of the present situation in the country represent the first acts of a coming white terror. Woe to the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat if it does not understand this and does not mobilize its forces against the reaction.

NOTICES

To All Sections of the Comintern

The Agrarian Commission of the Communist International asks all those sections which have not yet answered the questionnaires of the Commission, to forward the answers without delay. The translation of the material we receive, into several languages, and its preparation requires so much time that the Agrarian Commission will be able to make no use at the conference of any material that reaches it too late.

In case the statistical part of the questionnaire is not yet ready, we ask the various sections to answer at least Group VII, Paragraph 1 (Survey of Agricultural Development) *at once*.

Moscow, August 22, 1922.

Agrarian Commission of the Communist International.

Death's Toll

The International Worker's Relief has to register a great loss.

On the 3rd of August, 1922, two of its best workers were carried to their graves. These were Comrades *Roth* and *Winkler*.

Comrade *Roth* found himself in Russia in 1915 as a war prisoner. He took an active part in the Revolution of 1917, fighting on the side of the Russian proletariat and against the reaction.

In the service of the International Worker's Relief (as guard of food transports on the way to the famine regions) he fell a victim to typhus, succumbing after a short fight with death.

Comrade *Winkler*, active rebel in the ranks of the Swiss proletarian youth movement, came to Russia in 1921 to dedicate his life to the first Workers' and Peasants' Government. Since Spring of this year, he occupied a very important post in the International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia. He was suddenly snatched from life by an accident, while bathing in the Moskva.

Both of these comrades fell in the front ranks of the proletarian world front. We express our deepest sympathy to their friends and relatives.

On this earth there is but one flag worth fighting and dying for, the Red Flag of the Communist International. And both of these Comrades fought and died for it. Honor to their memory!

International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia.