

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 4 No. 9

7th February 1924

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

C O N T E N T S

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>A. Thalheimer: Lenin</p> <p>Politics</p> <p>Albert Treint: Anarchists, Fascism and Bourgeois Blocks</p> <p>Karl Kreibich: The Treaty between France and Czechoslovakia</p> <p>J. Jacquemotte: Letter from Belgium</p> <p>Economics</p> <p>Rolf: The Transformation of the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate</p> | <p>The Labour Movement</p> <p>Zuercher: The Economic Situation in Switzerland and the Tasks of the Working Class</p> <p>In the International</p> <p>I. Amter: The First Communist Daily in the English Language</p> <p>Red Relief</p> <p>Ehrenfried Wagner: One Year of Red Relief</p> <p>Fascism</p> <p>L. Domski: Fascism in Poland</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Lenin.

Some Remarks concerning Lenin as a Theoretician.

By A. Thalheimer.

I.

The following remarks, sketched in all haste, will not and cannot be more than a few preliminary observations. The work of Lenin is of such an extent, of such profoundness and richness that it requires much solid and painstaking work to measure it adequately. The work of Karl Marx at the present time, 41 years after his death, is by no means exhausted. It is closely connected, as Rosa Luxemburg once pointed out, with the requirements of the different stages of the proletarian class struggle. The fighting working class borrows from theory only that, which is immediately needed for the class-struggle. The working class cannot afford to have a theory solely for theory's sake. The Marxist theory, however, prepares the way for the practice of the class struggle, and the farther it proceeds the more profound and logical it is. The arsenal of the revolutionary theory is only brought into use piece by piece. The relation of both is, of course, not one-sided but reciprocal and dialectical. The practice of the class-struggle, fertilized by theory, becomes in its turn the origin of new theoretical insight.

This relation may be compared to that of the so-called „pure“ sciences, to the applied sciences, to technics etc. For example: the mathematical genius of a Gauss, a Riemann etc., had long since developed those mathematical methods, which were used later on in the physical theory of relativity. The vast theoretical arsenal of Karl Marx afforded the means, first for the political independence of the working class, by separating it from the revolutionary bourgeoisie, i. e., constituting it as an independent class, then for conducting the proletarian class war in the long periods of parliamentary and industrial struggles and the broad political and economic organization of the proletariat, then for the period of the revolutionary final struggle —

here however only in the baldest outlines — and finally, for the setting up of the Socialist Society.

It is a proof of the incomparable genius of Marx, that he understood how to sketch in the main outlines of the last proletarian class fight and the construction of socialism at a period of vast prosperity of the capitalist economy and of middle class power, at a time of uncertain beginnings of the proletarian class struggle and on the verge of the bourgeois and proletarian revolution. He penetrated far in advance of his time, not in a mere speculative way, but through the profound realistic analysis of the real capitalist economy and policy, and the phenomena of the struggles of the proletarian masses.

Nearly all of Marx's successors in theory have, in the period of parliamentarism and Trade Unionism, rendered Marx' teachings shallow and perverted them. They took from him what seemed useful for that period and entirely lost sight of what Marx had said on the proletarian revolution and its concrete manifestations. Marx's revolutionary theory became a clue in their hands for the historical explanation of the past, but not for the revolutionary activity of to-day.

It is here that the work of Lenin begins, and not by chance. From the mother-soil of the advancing Russian Revolution, he requickered the long-forgotten theory of the Proletarian Revolution and enriched it with the mass experiences of the proletarian class struggle of his time. The idea of the proletarian dictatorship, „forgotten“ as it was by the Kautskys, was, so to speak, newly discovered by him. In the theoretical struggles, extending over decades, Lenin defended Marx against the reformists and anarchists, who tried to falsify Marx and render his teaching superficial. His greatest act, however, lies in his giving a concrete and distinct form to the dictatorship of the proletariat,

as a result of the mass experiences and of the new creative deeds of the Russian proletariat, in revealing the role of the Soviets, of the councils and, connected with it, the concrete criticism and victory over bourgeois democracy.

In this direction, Lenin was truly a pioneer and a genius. And in this connection Lenin's significance is universal and decisive for all countries in which the proletarian revolution is a real issue.

The second great work performed by Lenin is the working out of the revolutionary organization under the conditions of Soviet-Russia.

The third and final service was the working out of the principles of policy of the first state of the proletarian Dictatorship, of Soviet-Russia.

Even here there are elements of a universal and general importance for the proletarian class-struggle. But here begins the task for posterity, of separating critically that which is of general application and that which is embedded in the conditions peculiar to Russia. Nobody has pointed out this necessity more emphatically than Lenin himself. To translate Lenin out of the Russian language into the Western European, is not merely a linguistic task, nor the task of a single person. It is the true task of the proletarian revolution under the conditions of Western Europe and America. In addition comes the task of its application to Asia and Africa. It is now a matter of further developing the heritage of Lenin under the conditions of the proletarian revolution and of the experiences in Western-Europe, and of defining them more concretely. This is a task for a whole generation. It demands not only that we make the teachings of Lenin our own, that is a pre-requisite, but also that we develop them further.

II.

As in the case of Marx, so also with Lenin, the revolutionary man of practice cannot be separated from the theorist. Not only to interpret the world, but also to change it was Marx's life-motto, and it was also Lenin's. Born out of the revolutionary will and the dialectical analysis of the social reality, Marx's theory became the greatest practical power yet known in history. „Theory becomes power, so soon at it seizes the masses.“ In this Marx was a real disciple of Hegel, the last and greatest of the German philosophers. Hegel the idealist, was by no means a visionary losing himself in the clouds, as is often supposed. His idealistic philosophy had practical aims. In the hands of Marx, dialectic materialism became an important revolutionary weapon. It could take hold of the masses because it was born out of the life of the masses. Lenin's incomparable power, on what was it based? Upon the power of the revolutionary theory. The mind of the bourgeois was and is filled with the most phantastic imaginings as to the exterior means of power which were at the disposal of Lenin. The mystery of Lenin's personal power consists in that, like Marx, he was fully engrossed in the idea of the proletarian revolution. The exterior means of power which were at the personal disposal of Lenin were smaller than that of any bourgeois ruler.

III.

The special theoretical act of Lenin for the proletarian revolution in Russia was that he bridged over the agrarian-bourgeois revolution and the proletarian-socialist revolution. This problem was solved by Lenin with the greatest accuracy conceivable. The significance of this solution reaches far beyond the bounds of Russia. It has its significance for Central and Western Europe as well as for America. Although the problem special to Russia does not appear there in the same form. For the agrarian revolution of Russia, considered separately, is solely a belated arrival of the agrarian revolution of 1789 in France, and of 1848 in the rest of Europe. The peculiarity of the Russian agrarian revolution consists, in the first place, in its connection with the proletarian Socialist Revolution in Russia, and in the second place, with the period of the world-revolution in general. This circumstance gave the revolution quite a new direction in comparison with the agrarian revolutions which were connected with the bourgeois revolution. On the other hand, this circumstance sets a historical i. e., a temporary limit to the proletarian revolution in Russia. In Western Europe, petty bourgeois property is the pre-condition for the proletarian revolution, while in Russia, it is created by the revolution. The definition of the role of the agrarian revolution in relation to the proletarian

revolution is of eminent importance for the colonial-peoples where the peasantry preponderate. The connection of the European proletarian revolution with the national revolutions of the colonial peoples is one of the most important theoretical acts of Lenin.

IV.

Lenin's greatness as a theorist consists in his combining revolutionary boldness with the greatest realism. The opportunist and eclectic loses in the current of events his leading revolutionary idea and goes over to the class enemy. The anarchist and syndicalist feels the ground trembling under his feet. The revolutionary realist, as Lenin was, carries out the revolutionary aim in the course of events. Lenin's view was not obscured by the formulas of others or by his own. Neither was he dazzled by illusions, by bourgeois phraseology. He fought inexorably against opportunism, but not less against „left“ deviations.

V.

In the same way as Lenin acknowledged himself to be an orthodox Marxist, we acknowledge ourselves to be Leninists, in the sense of active revolutionary theory, not according to the mere letter. Leninism has become a slogan and a battle-cry in our Russian brother party. The whole Communist International is marching under the banner of Leninism. May it be ever conscious that Leninism, like Marxism, is above all a living creative method, the connection of the greatest revolutionary boldness with the keenest realistic analysis.

VI.

Lenin's literary style revealed „the whole man“. It is marked by the greatest simplicity and clearness; it is full of energy, unconventional, exactly adapted to the purpose required, without exterior polish, without phrases, true, connected by firm logic and borne along with revolutionary passion. Lenin's style as an author and an orator is at first sight somewhat strange to the European. It is the style of a profound intuition, which must be brought into the mind by its pregnancy and by its repetition but often abandons the usual manner of arguing.

POLITICS

Anarchists, Fascism and Bourgeois Blocks.

By Albert Treint (Paris).

Editorial Note. The C. P. of France had organized a large meeting on Friday 11th January, in the meeting hall of the C. G. T. U. (the Unitarian General Confederation of Labour), rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, Paris. The anarchists, and with them the „syndicalist minority“ of the C. G. T. U. had the absurd presumption to forbid the communist speakers to deal with the trade union questions in their speeches. The „Libertaire“ (The Anarchist) a daily paper, published several provocative articles and appeals. Adherents of the „minority“ came to the meeting firmly determined to interrupt it. A piece of cast iron was thrown at our comrade Marthe Bigot, afterwards some twenty revolver shots were fired by the anarchist demonstrators at the tribune. Two members of the audience belonging to the working class — both of them syndicalists, one of them an anarchist and the other a sympathiser with Communism — and who were seated at the foot of the tribune, were killed. By means of a cynical campaign of lying and calumny, the „Libertaire“ has tried to impute to the communists this double assassination, the result of its own provocations and without doubt committed by irresponsible elements, who are only too numerous in anarchist circles. On the 19th January, comrade Treint was the object of another attempt at Lyons. Anarchists, who wish to surpass the Fascists in acts of terror, fired several revolver shots at the secretary of the C. P. of France, who most fortunately escaped unhurt.

If the import of the bloody tragedy of the Grange-aux-Belles were not well understood by the working class, the conception of proletarian class violence, which must be set up against the violence of the bourgeois class, would become obscured, if one could believe that class conscious workers, representing several tendencies all aiming at the interests of the proletariat, have

sought to slay one another. Who, in fact, could believe that a communist meeting had been sabotaged on the part of communists, by means of revolver shots?

The recognition of the necessity of violence between the classes would become obliterated in the proletariat, which would be split up by hates which would assume, in their appearance, the character of violence of sect against sect.

For years there have been the anarchist raids against the communists' published by the „Libertaire“ and there have been the attacks on Monmousseau, Sémard and Raynaud.

Using as a screen the brutal customs introduced by the anarchists into the workers meetings, there could be easily introduced and, before all, conveniently masked, the violence of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat: acts of violence on the part of royalists, „citizen leagues“ and police.

As a result of the incitements on the part of their leaders to murder the militants of the Party, or of the majority of the Bourges Congress, the sincere anarchists must realize, that the royalists, police, or Fascists in the service of the bourgeoisie, will gleefully and with impunity assassinate militant workers of all tendencies, while the various fractions of the proletariat will hatefully attribute responsibility for the bloody deeds to one another.

The Anarchist Party, which does not exercise any control over its members, permits the penetration into its ranks of all the royalist, police and Fascist provocateurs. Thanks to the remnant of influence which the Anarchist Party still possesses within the workers organisations, these provocateurs can attain responsible positions and there pursue their base plans. Was not a provocateur recently unmasked in the Committee for Amnesty? For one unmasked provocateur, how many succeed in concealing their identity!

Certainly, no workers organization, notwithstanding all the precautionary means adopted by it, is completely proof against penetrations of this kind. But intelligent vigilance reduces the respective risks to a minimum. The Anarchist Party is free to accept into its rank everybody who claims to be an anarchist. But the workers organizations have the imperative duty to accept in their ranks only those comrades who are proved to be above suspicion.

The sincere anarchists would be wise, on their part to meditate on this matter. It is not too late for them to abandon this policy of neglect and to forbid the sabotage of the workers movement to the advantage of the Bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party, which has emerged victorious from its crisis of the past year and which is going the way of the Communist International, has begun to permeate all the workers' organizations with a practical revolutionary spirit and to unify the scattered forces of the workers' movement.

It was seeking to set up against the Bourgeois Blocks, the Workers' and Peasants' Block, not only in the electoral field, but everywhere where it was possible to challenge our class enemies. In the South, we had succeeded in inducing the peasants to support several strikes in the neighbouring villages.

As a result of the Ruhr policy, there was a great fall of the Franc, and the increased cost of living provoked a rising wave of labour demands.

Not only was the National Block threatened with destruction, but the bourgeoisie also could no longer, with the certitude of winning, play the card of the Block of the Left, which latter, compelled by the class needs, has proclaimed by the voice of M. Herriot that it cannot do otherwise than identify itself with the Ruhr policy.

Now we see the emergence of a number of facts which must claim the attention of the proletariat:

Anarchist incitement against Communism, against the Party and against the Leadership of the C. G. T. U.

The bloody drama of the Rue Grange-aux-Belles.

Threats of sabotage of the Communist meetings on the part of the anarchists.

Appeal of the „Libertaire“ to create a schism in the C. G. T. U.

Bourgeois attempt to have a rush election at the moment when — a remarkable coincidence — the anarchists speak of shutting the communists' mouths.

And further, the „Temps“ of the 15th January opens a campaign for the elections being dominated by the spirit of „ex-service men“.

And more openly, on the same day, the „Liberté“, through the pen of Binet-Valmer, the man who once pretended that the Renault tanks would always remain the masters of the street, makes an open appeal to Fascism. Against the violences between proletarians, Binet-Valmer proposes a union based on national ideas, which is to save the middle classes from the increasing misery.

Let us quote his own words:

„I tell you that the boys who served in the trenches are going to arm themselves, and it is indeed necessary that we are not hindered in doing this, by such peace-loving, war-tormented curs, as Marty, Malvy and Caillaux.“

Similar effusions were made by Mussolini, before he came to power and occupied Corfu.

All these facts, taken together, show us the development of a large-scale plan of politicians and policemen.

The papers of the Block of the Left are too premature in their jubilations. They are over-joyed at the anarchists who, they hope, will render the communists hors de combat in favour of the Herriot-Blum combination.

The situation, however, will not develop itself so simply. The diverting of the workers' movement, the deadly fight engaged by the anarchists against the Communist Party, might very well, if they were realised, open up the way to Fascism rather more than to the Block of the Left.

French great industry and its man Poincaré, is hoping to be strong enough to retain Fascism in its hands and to dominate it sufficiently so as to compel it to serve the interest of the Comité des Forges (Committee of the heavy metallurgical industry), of the Union des Interêts Economiques and of the Rue de la Madrid.

Will the elections be hurried through or not? This depends upon circumstances. In any case, it is desired to conduct them under a reign of terror. Unless such a regime of intimidation might not serve to suppress the elections and thereby prolong the Chamber of the National Block or to dissolve it, without replacing it.

Great industry will not hesitate at any means, provided it conserves its power and retains its hold over the coal of the Ruhr, in order to realize its hegemony over Europe.

To what extent will the police drama of the Rue Grange-aux-Belles be made use of? To what extent will the schemes of politicians and police regarding this drama, promoted with a view to its further political exploitation, be carried out? This is of minor importance.

Here lies the danger:

Under the mask of anarchism, the provocateurs open up the way for Fascism and for the stronger dictatorship of heavy industry.

Whether the provocateurs are acting directly or are exploiting the excitement of militant anarchists who are all too ingenuous, the result is all the same.

In the face of this danger, the sincere anarchist must become conscious of the interests of the working class.

In spite of all the threatenings (before which, for the rest, it intends in no way to surrender), the Communist Party appeals to all proletarians to unite themselves in the C. G. T. U. and thereupon to help restore the unity of the trade unions, in order to conduct the pitiless class struggle against the threatening bourgeoisie.

In France, as elsewhere, experience will show that such a struggle can be victorious only if it is animated by the Communist spirit and only if the entire revolutionary vanguard learns to discipline itself strictly and intelligently in a genuine Communist Party.

The Treaty between France and Czecho-Slovakia.

M. Benesh on the Sloping Path.

By Karl Kreibich (Prague).

„The need for decision is urgent, the moment is approaching when France will no longer be able to allow her Czecho-Slovakian ally to waver and to have special privileges.“ We wrote this in August of last year in a lengthy article on the foreign policy of Czecho-Slovakia.

The moment came very quickly, in fact with France's victory on the Ruhr and the decay of the Entente. The treaty which Benesh signed on the 25th January in Paris, is the beginning of the end of the policy which Masaryk and Benesh have pursued for five years. It is clear that the extravagant magnificent and imposing reception of Masaryk in Paris was a first class funeral.

M. Benesh announced through the press, that the treaty which he concluded with Poincaré, was nothing at all new, that it was merely a matter of course, a ratification and agreed settlement of a condition of long standing. This representation becomes shaky when one only asks why such a natural condition had to be settled by contract at all, and, if this Settlement is presented as something natural and necessary, why it has come about only at this time, and precisely at this time, when the imperialistic nature of French foreign policy has become so obvious to the whole world, and the Entente is generally said to be dead. The French-Czecho-Slovakian treaty is also in our eyes something of a matter of course and natural, but in this sense, that it is the natural result of the policy of M. Benesh. Benesh could follow his policy of trimming between the decisive powers and the preservation of a certain independence, only so long as France suffered it, because she was not strong enough to prevent it. Now the „trimming“ stops, now France needs Czecho-Slovakia to uphold her hegemony on the Continent and she now also has the power to put Benesh on the curb.

The semi-official Press, and that of the government coalition, tries to present the matter, as if it concerned nothing more than a treaty such as was long ago concluded with Italy. But the wording of the treaty contradicts this. According to the text, both countries are pledged, in all questions of foreign policy, to proceed in unison. There are no important questions of foreign policy to which this obligation to unison would not apply. Of course this obligation is mutual, but as in a treaty of a giant with a dwarf, it is only natural that it amounts in practice to the subordination of the smaller to the greater.

After the first intimation of the approaching conclusion of a Franco-Czecho-Slovakian treaty, the rumour that a military convention was also concluded between the two countries was denied with special zeal. In order to make the denial more credible, it was asserted, that the General staffs, the chief commands of the two armies would work closely together. Is not that then a military convention? But such a convention is not at all necessary. The chief of the General staff of the Czecho-Slovakian army is, and has been since its creation, a French General, and the munitions industry of Czecho-Slovakia is in the hands of French capital. One need not be a military expert to know that an army, whose General staff and supplies of war material are in the hands of a foreign power, can form no basis for a policy independent of that power. M. Benesh is unable to follow any policy independent of France, because he has a French army standing in Czecho-Slovakia. But that the treaty of M. Benesh with Poincaré is concerned with nothing else than power politics and military bases, and has nothing whatever to do with economic considerations is self-evident, in view of the ridiculously insignificant trade relations between France and Czecho-Slovakia. On the same day on which the treaty was signed in Paris, the provisional returns as to the export of goods for the year 1923 were published in Prague: from which it is seen that out of a total export to the value of 12½ milliard crowns, in all 302 million was exported to France while goods for about 5 milliards went to Austria and Germany. And even this ridiculously low figure was only reached at a price, i. e. that in virtue of a wretched business treaty with France we are obliged to import a high quota of French wines, spirits, perfumes and luxury soaps. In the whole history of agreements between states, there never was a case where there was such a contradiction between the insignificance of the economic relations between two countries and the closeness of their political alliance, as is the case between France and Czecho-Slovakia.

It is not by mere chance that the conclusion and signing of the treaty between Prague and Paris comes at the same time that Poincaré, in spite of the failure of the separatist movement in the whole of the Rhineland, is making such mighty efforts, and even risking a conflict with England, to uphold a separatist Government in the Bavarian Palatinate. From the head of the Rhine to Mainz is the shortest way, the line of the Main, from French territory (French in the military-political sense) to Czecho-Slovakia.

As it was important to make the treaty with Poincaré palatable, M. Benesh had secret stories spread by his agents, that behind this treaty, there lay his intention of bringing about a

reconciliation of France and Russia. Now it is all quiet again and one neither hears nor reads a word about Russia. Instead, the monarchist Russian „students“ sustained by Benesh in Prague made the death of Lenin an occasion for a rabble, and news came from Belgrade that Wrangel's „General staff“ had moved from Yugo-Slavia to Paris. That is already a political weather-rule endorsed by experience: When Benesh speaks of his good intentions towards the Soviet Republic, a new action against it is surely at hand.

With the capitulation of the Czecho-Slovakian foreign policy to France, the importance of the little Entente also sinks. It only has meaning when it embodies the effort for a certain independence and a spontaneous policy. Only so long as Benesh commanded a certain measure of independence could he be the leader of the Little Entente. The Paris treaty made an end of that, and therefore the Belgrade Conference, announced with so great a noise, proved quite an empty affair. The news of M. Benesh's dancing accomplishments at the court ball constitutes the sole success of the Czecho-Slovakian Minister for foreign affairs and was the only positive announcement. The whole conference fell into the background in view of the intimation of the coming treaty between Italy and Yugo-Slavia. So M. Benesh only brought from Belgrade a cuckoo's egg, which he had then to label as of his own laving to conceal his own disgrace. The rejection of the French military credit by Roumania which followed, completed the picture.

That policy which had floated before the guiders of the state of Czecho-Slovakia proved itself Utopian. One could play with it so long as the new grouping of the powers in Europe was not serious. Now the playing stops and the good honest visionaries Masaryk and Benesh may no longer continue as bad musicians. Either they must leave the Orchestra of the European political powers, or they must abandon the last remains of their better natures, in order to appear before the conductor Poincaré as good players. Until the Proletariat gives the whole crowd its marching orders.

Letter from Belgium.

By J. Jacquemotte (Brussels).

The Railway Disorders.

For weeks, if not for months, the bourgeois press has been conducting a raging campaign of protest against the bad service on the Belgian railways. Every day entire columns of scathing articles denounce the impotence of the state to administer the railroads and to satisfy the requirements of traffic.

It would be only very simple people who would believe that this is a campaign in order to protect the interests of the mass of the population, who are indeed troubled with an undeniable disorganization of the railway transport.

This campaign has one sole object: to prepare public opinion for an offensive of Belgian capital aiming at the surrender of the administration of the Belgian state railways to private capital.

A small financial newspaper, the „Quotidien Financier“ (The Financial daily), in order to serve the interests of a certain group of capitalists, has recently let the cat out of the bag. On the 10th January in an article entitled: „The Peace of the Gods“, it announced that the two powerful opposing groups: The Société Générale and the Banque de Bruxelles, thanks to the diplomacy of the bank magnate Empain, had become completely reconciled. It indicates the reason for this reconciliation:

„It is not for mere trifles, that the gods have made peace: nay, it is with the view to achieving a huge bargain: a trust, having at its head the Générale, the Banque de Bruxelles, the Empain-Bank and the Financière du Transport, was to take over the exploitation of the railroads of the Belgian state. The conditions were already fixed, the agreement almost concluded. The state had to receive a portion of the income, which is still to be determined. In addition it was to receive a certain advance. It was to be freed from all risks, from all trouble and, moreover, to lose no more money, but even obtain some etc.“

Numerous government newspapers, both of the Right and of the Left, give moreover new indications, which are becoming continually clearer, regarding the aim pursued. A clerical deputy,

in the „XXme Siècle“ (The XXth Century) a paper subsidized by the Banker Löwenstein, after having pointed out the necessity of diminishing the state budget without taking into account the German debt „which has become dubious“ proposes his „remedies“:

„The railways cause a deficit of 700 Millions, let us relinquish them. Before 1914 they had a value of 2 Milliards; we can assume their present value to be at least 6 Milliards; this would represent three hundred Millions interest; (5% interest on the estimated capital value of 6 Milliards). 300 millions more income; 700 millions less expenditure, this makes one Milliard etc...“

A liberal paper „L'Union Libérale“ of Verviers, of the same tendency as that of the present railway-minister Neujean writes:

„It is in the public interest to entrust to a third party i. e. to a private company, the administration of this national property, which would yield us an annual revenue commensurate with the capital engaged, and under carefully established reservations in order to avoid abuses in fixing the transport tariffs.“

Will this be reached?

„We learn that the government has already received suggestions from a certain railway company and that the essential conditions for taking these proposals into consideration is: absolute freedom regarding the existing personnel, and the right to dismiss 80.000 railwaymen!“

As to the existing disorganization, the „Quotidien Financier“ wrote:

„The chaos is too perfect, the disorder too methodically organized, in order not to justify the belief that, either the great chief of our railway has been appointed to this post not for party reasons, but solely and exclusively on account of his absolute and total incapacity and his notorious lack of energy, or that he particularly wishes to increase the exasperation of public opinion, in order to prepare a good reception for any sort of new regime.“

It is evident that Belgian High Finance is preparing the surrender of the state railways into the hands of a transport trust, and that negotiations are already being conducted.

They will not meet with success, if the hungry sharks who are swimming around the prey dispute among themselves without arriving at an agreement. But the alliance between the Société Générale de Belgique and the mighty Banque de Bruxelles, permits one to presume that the wolves of finance will not eat one another. Far from it!

Since the conclusion of peace, the reformist leaders have made a great noise about a scheme of industrialization of the railways destined to rid their management of political influences; a scheme, the realization of which, according to their statements, had to mark a new victory of „democracy“. The Cabinet is occupying itself with the industrialization of the railways, but this will be the first step towards surrendering the management to private capital.

Unless the proletariat takes action and smashes this new reactionary offensive!

The Eight Hour Day in Danger.

Will the Belgian working class, stupefied by the reformist chloroform, be able to act? This question assumes the more importance, as the activities of the reaction are being multiplied and extended every day.

The ex-Minister for War in the cabinet of the civil peace, Devèze, has laid down a code of law by which, though denying the intention of an attempt against the „great principle of social progress“, the eight hour day, he practically destroys the eight hour day in order to substitute for it the nine hour, even the ten hour minimum day.

The news that this scheme has been laid down provoked excitement among the crowded industrial proletariat of Belgium.

The metallurgical workers of the central districts have adopted a resolution deciding to organize a general protest strike of twenty four hours on the day of the commencement of the discussions regarding the Devèze scheme in the Chamber.

This resolution, taken up as a slogan on the part of the Communist Party, is proposed by the same to the working masses. Numerous workers' meetings have already voted iden-

tical resolutions, providing moreover, that in the event of the reactionary majority of the Chamber adopting this scheme, the general strike must be carried out to the utmost.

The reformist leaders are opposing these action-slogans. Declaring their determination to fight for the maintenance of the eight hour day, they direct all their efforts towards inducing the workers to place all their confidence and all their hope in the parliamentary action of the Social Democracy. In the Charleroi Basin, where ten thousand miners, metallurgical workers, glassworkers etc. are working, Lombard, a leader of the miners' central, when opposing the proposal to organize a general strike of twenty four hours declared: „Let us not speak of a general strike at all! Let us always think of it, but never speak of it!“

And the Social Democratic Deputy Louis Bertrand, minister of the state, contributor to the greatest bourgeois daily paper „Le Soir“ (The Evening) proposed to the bourgeoisie to organize an investigation into the production in Belgium. From the reasons which he adduces to justify his proposal, we shall quote the following:

„Before M. Devèze and his consorts laid down their proposal, there was a press campaign, obviously provoked and sustained by the Industrial Central Committee. The entire bourgeois press, almost without exception criticizes the Belgian law which regulates the working time. It stands for the claim of the industrialists who claim that the law on the eight hour day is burdening the industrial production of our country to such an extent, that it cannot fight successfully against foreign competition.“

If this were so, this would certainly justify reflections, and the leaders of our trade unions are not fanatics who obstinately cling to the eight hour day. They are conscious of their role, of their mission. They know that if our industry is endangered by lack of orders, if more or less protracted strikes occur, it is the workers, their brethren, who will be the first to suffer from it. They know perfectly well that between workers and employers of one and the same country, a certain solidarity of interests must exist, all the more in this period of economic history when the protectionist reaction is developing nearly everywhere.“

Numerous social reformist deputies, leaders of trade union centrals, have already shown their agreement with this conception! If the Belgian working class wants to be able to defend the eight hour day, which it acquired by its direct effort at the end of the war, it must ruthlessly and completely free itself from the influence of the reformist conceptions and prepare itself to take up an energetic struggle against the employers.

The Action of the Communist Party.

In this preparation, the Communist Party of Belgium will be entirely with the working class. The militant communists are making every effort to rouse the workers from a passivity, which is particularly dangerous at the present moment.

Its efforts are facilitated by the fact that, beginning with the 1st January 1924, the Party has been able to transform its weekly organ, „Le Drapeau Rouge“ (The Red flag) into a daily paper. The necessary foundation capital, fixed at one hundred thousand francs, has been collected in less than three months as a result of an appeal directed to the members of the Party, to the sympathisers, to the subscribers and to readers of the weekly „Drapeau Rouge“.

The appearance of the communist daily paper and the approach of the general elections, which take place in 1925, have induced the reformist leaders to multiply their attacks against the revolutionary workers, and menaces of expulsion are constantly held out.

But the realization of these menaces still meets with great difficulties owing to the powerful sentiment of unity among the masses. The reformist leaders attempt to overcome these difficulties by means of individual expulsions, which are decided by the central committees without consulting the organized workers.

The Communist Party, which emerged strengthened from the last struggle it had to conduct against the government, which had concocted the charge of the „great conspiracy against the security of the state“, in order to smash the communist propaganda, will be able to continue unweariedly and unfeebled its action among the workers for the defense of their class interests.

ECONOMICS

The Transformation of the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal-Syndicate.

By Rolf.

After long negotiations, the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal-Syndicate, the complete dissolution of which seemed to be an accomplished fact, has been newly founded as the „Association for sale and distribution of Ruhr-Coal Ltd.“. The transformation of this syndicate into this new joint stock company is characteristic for the struggle at present being fought out in the mining concerns. The great concerns are proceeding deliberately and with all severity against the smaller works, especially against the „pure“ collieries, the existence of which as independent enterprises is rendered impossible by the transformation of the Coal-Syndicate. The „Association for the sale and distribution of Ruhr-Coal Ltd.“ is composed of three groups, to whom has been granted the greatest independence inside the Association, so that the „pure“ collieries and the smaller works have no choice but to affiliate to one of these groups.

This forming of groups inside the Association corresponds to the grouping of the German heavy industry and shows the main outlines between which the struggle for the supremacy in the Rine and Ruhr territory and for the special settlements with the French industry is continually going on. These three groups are first: The Stinnes-Ring, with whom the greater part of the remaining Rhenish industry goes hand in hand, as the Hanel-Klößner-Funke Group etc., after having set up close business connections with each other; secondly the Wolff group, which unites the collieries of the Wolff concern like Rhenish Steel Collieries, Arnberg Collieries, Phönix Collieries and Krupp Collieries, and thirdly appears the Thyssen group, which stands apart from the others.

Vast privileges have been granted to the collieries as compared to the old coal-syndicate. Thus the Dutch and overseas market is left completely to the individual groups, so that export is allowed for each group without being restricted as to quantity or prices on any agreement of the syndicate abroad, as well as to the German coasts where the most important works of the unoccupied territory are situated. For inland sales, certain trade companies are formed by these groups, while the question of shipping companies is not fully decided. Probably this most important question will likewise be decided in favour of the different groups, as they decide over the control of the transport.

It is remarkable how very rapidly, and seemingly without any hindrance, the concentration in the Rhenish works was carried out. The co-operation of 85% of the Rhenish coal production, i. e. the collaboration of the greater part of the Rhenish heavy industry with Stinnes, not only means the formation of a wing of the syndicate, but also demands much more, a close co-operation of the different works, which are represented in this group. This will certainly lead sooner or later to the formation of an economic-political block.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The First Communist Daily in the English Language.

By I. A m t e r.

An event of great significance has taken place in the Communist world. The Workers Party of America has launched an English daily, which is the First English Communist daily in the world.

By itself, it would not be of such importance, since the Workers Party has other dailies. But the very fact that at last the Party has succeeded in collecting a fund of \$ 100,000 with which to start the paper, indicates the growing strength of the Party and the sympathy and interest it has awakened among the American masses.

The Daily Worker will appear in Chicago. When it was announced that the Workers Party intended to establish a paper in that city, the bankers and manufacturers of the city

started a campaign of intimidation. For the Daily Workers is the official organ of the Party and will be the direct means whereby the Central Executive Committee will reach the American workers. The capitalists of Chicago recognized this fact, and did everything in their power to stop the appearance of the paper.

The Party has eleven other dailies, i. e. three Finnish and one each of the following: Jewish, German, Russian, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, and Czechoslovakian, besides a number of weeklies. These papers have a combined daily circulation of 155,000. This is a commendable achievement for a party of 22,000 members. As in all countries, each copy is read by a number of workers. Hence it may be assumed that the Communist daily press reaches 1,000,000 readers in the United States.

In view of the strength of the foreign-language press, the starting of an English daily was a serious undertaking. It became all the more serious in view of the fact that an English daily must be of a different nature from the foreign-language papers. Although a Communist daily must not attempt to compete with the capitalist press, nevertheless it will have to furnish some of the features of the capitalist press that have become indispensable to the American reader. It must have a first class news service, it must furnish first-hand write-ups of important events, such as strikes, labour troubles, labour conventions, as well as conferences of bankers, manufacturers etc. It must keep directly in touch with the activities of the United States Congress. In other words, the Daily Worker, without endeavouring to compete with the capitalist press, must to a great extent replace the capitalist daily in the minds of the workers — and farmers.

Comrade Zinoviev, in his article for the first edition of the Daily Worker, laid great stress on the farmer movement in the United States. A Revolution without the farmers is a total impossibility in the United States. The situation today is such that in many respects the farmers are more rebellious — even more class-conscious — than the majority of the workers. This may be attributed not merely to the relatively poorer economic state of the farmers, but to the absolute impossibility of the vast majority of the small working farmers continuing at work. In the past year more than 300,000 mortgages were foreclosed on the farmers. The farmers, who formerly represented 5 to 8 per cent of the bankrupts, formed 15 per cent of the failures in 1923.

Hence the Daily Worker must also reach the small farmer, in the common language of the country. This multiplies the duties and expenses of the paper.

What this means for a party of 22,000 members, of whom no more than 3,000 are English-speaking, and the majority of whom are supporting dailies and weeklies in other languages, is clear. It demonstrates that, despite the 19 languages comprised in the Workers Party of America, the comrades as a whole have not only recognized the necessity of an English daily, but have made the greatest sacrifices in order to attain their goal.

And the prospects of the new daily? On November 12, the New York Leader, formerly the New York Call, ceased circulation. The rechristening of the alleged socialist sheet did not save it from destruction. As a Socialist paper, the Call, in its early days during the war, served as the organ of all revolutionary and radical sentiment. The capitalist intimidation after the war — and particularly the disintegration of the Socialist Party after the secession of the Communists, which caused the political and organizational bankruptcy of the Socialist Party — forced the Party into more opportunistic channels, which gave the stamp to its paper. The New York Call got into financial difficulties. A reorganization took place: the New York Call became the New York Leader, a liberal bourgeois organ with no appeal, to the workers. The workers refused to support the sheet. This is one of the favourable developments in the past two years as a result of the effective Communist propaganda. Half measures no longer satisfy the American workers. They are not yet ready for the Revolution: but they do not want any playing with it. This is what the Socialists cannot understand — and as a consequence, they are constantly losing ground in the United States.

The Daily Worker comes into the field with the greatest promises; it enters the arena with great responsibilities and duties. The activity of the Workers Party is a warrant that it will fulfil them.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Situation in Switzerland and the Tasks of the Working Class.

By Zuercher.

The economic situation in Switzerland shows symptoms of a renewed sharpening of the crisis. Although there was a certain alleviation in the crisis during the summer of 1923, brought about by the effects of export in a few industries, and above all by intenser building activity, we are once more approaching a time of the rapid breakdown of the national economy. Through the complete dissolution of the German economy and the collapse of the Reich, Switzerland is robbed at one stroke of its greatest market. England, the second largest market for Swiss industrial products, is endeavouring by the closing of its own economic areas to the outside world, to put an end to the huge unemployment which has been caused by a chronic crisis, and this will hit the export industry of Switzerland most severely. France, who comes out of the Ruhr conflict as victor, and is becoming more and more the arbiter of Central Europe, is not even in the position to bring her own state finances into order. A further fall in the French franc is unavoidable, and here against a further obstacle will be raised against Swiss export. Added to this, America is turning more and more away from Europe and the tendency to put up a barrier between herself and the European Continent is gaining ground. Thus the fate of the Swiss export industry seems to be sealed, if not through a sudden collapse, at least by a succession of relapses following a downward tendency.

The economic policy of the Bourgeoisie is to adapt itself to this development. Whereas, earlier, the Bundesrat in Berne believed that a policy of bounties for the export industry would help it to tide over difficult times, today a clearly defined turning-point in economic policy has been arrived at. The policy of national isolation, of causing Switzerland to revert into a self-supporting country, has been raised to a principle. That means nothing less than the destruction of Swiss industry, which is equivalent to rendering about half a million persons in Switzerland permanently unemployed. But that is not all. Swiss agriculture, which today embraces about one quarter of the population, is most closely bound up with the export industry. A decay of industry means at the same time a crisis in agriculture, which thus approaches its ultimate ruin. Thus the existence of the working people is very much threatened by the economic policy of the ruling class.

The present economic policy of the Bundesrat, which is the policy of the ruling class, the big peasants and bank capital, works in the first place against the labouring class. Reduction of wages, abolition of unemployed benefit and abolition of the eight hour day, are all consequences of this policy. And the Swiss bourgeoisie is prepared to go to the last extremes in this reactionary policy, and in the struggle for its own existence will not shrink from using armed force.

The task of the working class is to take up and organise the defensive struggle against the reactionary efforts of the Swiss bourgeoisie. In this it must be strongly emphasised that the workers can only successfully meet the starvation policy of the bourgeoisie when they conduct this struggle as a class struggle. In the present period of the decay of the capitalist social order, the policy of the individual trade union struggle must in most cases end in failure for the workers. On their side the bourgeoisie endeavours to provoke such isolated struggles, in order more easily to defeat one category or group of the working class after the other, and to carry out its full program. The conducting of a real class struggle consists in the working class not permitting the bourgeoisie to let the national economy fall more and more into decay and even to encourage this decay by a blind reactionary economic policy.

The working class must oppose its own proletarian revolutionary economic program to the reactionary capitalist economic program which is hostile to the people, a program for the future of the whole working population. Prevention

of the export of Swiss capital, publication of bank secrets, transformation of Swiss industry for the production of mass articles of every day use, with the extensive exploitation of Swiss water power and the resumption of commercial relations with Soviet Russia are the immediate demands which must be contained in this program. If the working class conducts its struggle upon the basis of such a program, it will gain more and more allies among the middle classes, the clerical workers and the small peasants. In the winning or the neutralizing of these strata, in their separation from the leadership of the great capitalists, and their assembly under the flag of the class struggle, the victory of the Swiss working class over the capitalist "system" is assured.

RED RELIEF

One Year of "Red Relief".

By Ehrenfried Wagner.

The Central Committee of the International Red Relief, devoted its chief activity during the past year to the task of so increasing the capability of the Red Relief Organization, as to render it capable of undertaking heavier responsibilities. The funds which were at its disposal were spent with the utmost economy possible. As the political development in Western Europe towards the end of the past year indicated the approach of a stormy period, and severe struggles on the part of the proletariat, involving many sacrifices, were to be reckoned with, the Central Committee of the International Red Relief considered it to be right and necessary to gather together a great reserve fund while there was yet time. In order, however, that the different countries should not be deprived of the current support for their political prisoners, the Central Committee instructed the various national committees to conduct a most intensive collection campaign. In addition to this, steps were taken for the setting up of fresh national committees. In the course of the past year, such new committees were formed in Denmark, Mexico, Switzerland, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and recently a commencement was made with setting up similar committees in China and Finland. As a result of this far-reaching policy, the Central Committee was not only able to fulfil its current obligations, but also succeeded in building up a great reserve fund.

It was as well that the Central Committee, in connection with the great offensive of the Western proletariat, at the same time thought of the very true words of Lenin regarding the necessity of a retreat. The struggles in Bulgaria, in Poland and in Germany did not bring to the proletariat the desired results. They ended everywhere with severe and heavy losses to the proletariat. The greatest demands were made upon the Red Relief. Beside the current relief supplied, extraordinary expenses were added. In Bulgaria and Germany, for the first time, a great number of victims were added who had fallen in open battles. Thousands of widows and orphans had to be supported. The Central Committee therefore saw itself faced with a widened circle of tasks. Whilst, hitherto, only a relatively small number of political prisoners and their dependents had to be supported with current payments, a new kind of relief work had now to be carried out to meet the demands of the new situation. This consisted in providing for the orphans of the revolution, for those children whose fathers or mothers had fallen in the street fighting. How quickly the newly-formed committees not only grasped, but showed themselves capable of dealing with their tasks is proved by the child relief provided by the committees in Austria and in Switzerland. Austria was the first country to realize the idea of supporting the orphans of the revolution, and in a very short time Switzerland succeeded in providing for 100 children. In the last-named country, in addition to providing for the German children, homes are being set up for the children of Italian and Bulgarian victims. In Germany itself, the Red Relief possesses two children homes, while plans are being made for the establishment of a third. Besides the carrying out of this new and very important task of supporting children, the other task of providing support for the prisoners themselves remained equally pressing as before. In Bulgaria and in Germany the number of prisoners had increased to 10,000. Although the number of prisoners in Bulgaria was reduced at the end of the year, the number increased in Germany and is daily increasing. These prisoners come from all parties: Anarchists,

communists, as well as socialists and revolutionary bourgeois. Hence, now, as heretofore, in making collections the greatest stress is laid on the fact that the Red Relief supports all proletarian victims of the class struggle regardless of party. The various labour parties, trade unions, co-operatives, as well as choral societies and sport clubs are therefore affiliating to the national committees of the Red Relief. The choral societies and sports clubs in particular have rendered good service by arranging concerts and sporting displays, the net proceeds of which have been devoted to the Red Relief.

For the purpose of mobilizing further resources and gaining more intense influence among the masses, the Central Committee at the end of the year conducted an energetic press campaign. To this end a regular press-service was instituted, which provided the whole international press with reports and propaganda material. It thereby succeeded in keeping the workers' press currently informed regarding the activity of the Red Relief, and in conducting propaganda among the masses by means of appeals, and by this means to render effective support to the work of the organizations. Although this press-service is only in its very tentative beginnings and is working with a very indifferent apparatus, the Red Relief succeeded in spreading its propaganda in the most important countries abroad.

The demands which were made upon the International Red Relief in the last year can be seen to a certain extent by the financial work accomplished during that period. From March 1923 to January 1924, the Central Committee of the International Red Relief disbursed a total sum of 95,655 dollars and 3,000 francs for the support of the political prisoners. The sums for the different countries were as follows: Germany — 650 dollars and 3,000 francs, Austria — 650 dollars, Italy — 8,000 dollars, Poland — 900 dollars, Litavia — 1,450 dollars, Lettland — 540 dollars, Esthonia — 625 dollars, Rumania — 2,250 dollars, Finland — 1,000 dollars, Yugoslavia — 750 dollars, Turkey — 250 dollars, China — 1,250 dollars, Japan — 5,000 dollars and Bulgaria — 23,500 dollars. Great as these sums may appear, they are but very small compared with the real need of the prisoners and their relatives. The sums granted to each are just sufficient to save the prisoners from starvation and their relatives from being thrown on the streets. But in order even to continue with this small help and to be able to help on a larger scale, the most earnest endeavours of the International proletariat are necessary. The Central Committee will have to complete the organization of the sections, and to rope in all countries of the world for the purpose of the organization of the Red Relief. To this end, and in order to review the present forces, the Central Committee intends in the immediate future to summon an International Red Relief Congress. Strengthened by the experience of the past year, the International Red Relief will continue in the same way in the new year of work and stand firm at its post in its struggle against world-reaction.

FASCISM

Fascism in Poland.

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

Poland presents at the present moment a queer picture, which reminds one of the Hitler Putsch in Munich. In the night of the 13th of January, a number of Fascists, who carried on their mischief in a semi-illegal fashion under the name of the „Union of Polish Patriots“ (P. P. P.) were arrested. The police who had arrested these hirelings were very little pleased with their own heroic deed. The connections of the Polish Black-Hundreds extend so far and, above all, so high, that the state attorney was obliged to institute proceedings against a number of newspapers on account of their „reports on pending proceedings against the P. P. P.“ During the proceedings against the Communists the authorities were much less punctilious.

The P. P. P. is not the only Fascist organization in Poland. There are several others. We have the National People's Guard, the Fascist Order, the Order of Knights of Law, the Technical Emergency Supply (S. S. S.), the Legion for protection of the Constitution etc. The P. P. P., however, is the most important of all the illegal Fascist organizations. It apes the well-known American organization, the Ku Klux Klan, interweaving its admission of members, its sittings and divine service (!) with

mysterious ceremonies. The meetings and the swearing in of new members took place in the crypt of a Warsaw church., Clergymen who took a great part in the activity of the organization administered the oath (well-known names are to be found among them like Oraczewski, Godlewski etc.)

There is no ambiguity about the programme of this organization. It contemplates the abolition of the general franchise. Only educated people, it seems, should have the right to vote. In addition to this, strikes must be fought and all communists, socialists and Jews shall be rendered incapable of doing any harm. Jews are to be deprived of their votes.

The organization was illegal and very conspiratory. The members were only known by their nicknames. They intended, after the formation of the Witos-government with the participation of the right wing of the national-democratic party, to legalize themselves.

The fascists are of course closely connected with the governing gentry of the heavy industry and the great land-owners. They negotiated with the Minister of War, Szeptycki and the Minister for Education Glombinski: But they wished to keep their organic independence. Like Hitler in Germany, they find the great bourgeois parties too opportunistic for them. Things should be done in quite a different fashion. All „left people“ should be driven out of the state offices and a thorough clearance made of Pilsudski, of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) and the national minorities.

It is only natural that also in Poland, the Kahrs and Hitlers do not live on the best terms with each other. The National Democratic Party tried even once to denounce the P. P. P. as a dangerous left-wing organization, which was in close contact with Pilsudski. They were obliged subsequently to withdraw these „calumnies“ and to acknowledge the national probity of the P. P. P. After the arresting of these Ku Klux Klan crowd, the National Democrats whispered: „We always said so“. But they do not proclaim it aloud, as the fascists have too strong connections.

The inquiry has shown the existence of a complete plan for an armed counter-revolutionary Putsch. The conspirators had the best information regarding the organization of the police and the authorities, as well as about the secrets of the army organization. They had among them such well-informed persons as Gostynski, a commissioner of police, and General Wroczynski etc. They had a vast number of police spies. In the event of their seizing power, they possessed prepared lists of candidates for all the important offices in the capital as well as in the provinces.

The arrest of the „Polish Patriots“ has shown that the struggles of the parties in parliament in no wise constitute the main contents of political life. As everywhere, so here, out-parliamentary and anti-parliamentary forces are at work. On the one hand, the illegal communists, on the other hand the illegal Fascists. Also the „Left“ have their fighting organizations as the rifle-corps and the organization for the Freedom of Poland, in which the followers of Pilsudski meet. This organization, however, has been very much penetrated by communists, as the right bourgeois press states repeatedly. The political ground in Poland, as in Germany is undermined by civil war. It is clear that it will not be the „Left“ which will give the signal for civil war. They have already had many other occasions and opportunities without venturing to use them. During the time of the Pilsudski government, the „Left“ had extensive opportunities, but they were rendered impotent by parliamentary cretinism. The dismissal of Pilsudski, the assassination of Narutowicz failed to incite the left wing people to fight. During the Cracow events in November, which showed that the memory of Pilsudski and the sympathies of the left are very strong in the army, the only thing the socialists knew was, how to meditate and to pacify. At the last Congress of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party) the leaders of the party warned their comrades against allying themselves with Pilsudski. „He is not our man“, they explained to the astonished crowd; only because they feared to be drawn into an uncertain adventure with possible revolutionary complications.

It is out of the question that the Right will sacrifice their Fascists: the Fascists will come out of it with whole skins. In the present circumstances, when a new wave of mass-strikes is unavoidable in Poland, the bourgeoisie will not dispense with their services. And perhaps the servant will then not miss the opportunity of making himself master.