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POLITICS

The Last Prophet of the Bourgeoisie.

By Karl Radek.

The news of the death of Wilson has left everybody quite unmoved. Wilson died politically on that day when the Versailles Peace was signed. Now, America buries with great pomp that which had remained living after that death of Wilson which had taken place at Paris in 1919.

But with the name of Wilson, there is connected the last Utopia of the bourgeoisie, a Utopia which during the war years inspired the minds of millions of people, a Utopia which was the last great idea of the capitalist world. From the moment of the failure of this Utopia, the capitalist world will live only so long as the working class will allow it.

Wilson's career represents in itself a model of those peculiarly American phenomena which we Europeans are not able to understand: in America there arrive at the leading posts, statesmen who, as a rule, do not distinguish themselves either by intelligence or by character, regarding whom one is at a loss to know why they became presidents instead of being relegated to the position of oldest coadjutors of the youngest secretary in any of the bureaucratic institutions. Since the death of Lincoln, America has not had one president who was in any way an eminent statesman. It seems as if the past of Wilson should have preserved him from the possibility of becoming president. The man acquired all the qualifications necessary to become a lawyer, but he showed that he justly estimated his capacities, when he dedicated himself to the teaching of young girls. Afterwards, he resolved to dedicate himself to a scientific career and began

to write books such as could be hatched out every year by any professor without exercising any other portion of his anatomy than that required for a sitting posture. His book on the History of the State might have been employed in the American prisons as a means of torture for the inmates. His principal work, "History of America" is the most tedious pragmatic textbook by a mediocre bourgeois historian. The only affair in which Wilson shewed something of temperament and thought was his journalist essay dealing with Edmund Burke, the great English conservative writer of the end of the 18th century, who vilified the French Revolution. Wilson eulogises Burke for the fact that this talented, though characterless writer, fought against the penetration of the ideas of the French Revolution into England, and he asks himself fearfully, what would have come about if the ideas of the French Revolution had been victorious in England.

In 1910 Wilson, having resigned his position as Rector of the University of Princeton, where his reformatory school ideas had suffered a complete defeat, became a candidate for the position of a governor of the State of New Jersey. This state which is bordering on New York, had applied the laws regarding the control of trusts even more delicately than this was done in New York. The democratic clique, which at that time was ruling New Jersey, was very much compromised and required the promotion of a candidate "with a clean sheet". The learned professor, who had not been bribed and was even praised for having, during his rectorship at the University, fought against the intervention of financial men in the conduct of University affairs, appeared to be the most suitable person for concealing the old corruption. The biographer of Wilson, Daniel Halevy, explains in his book, intended to praise Wilson in a very unequivocal manner, why the old rats of the democratic corruption had recourse to Wilson for help. "One of the manoeuvres of the American 'politicians'", he writes, "consists in their screening

themselves behind a candidate who appears not to be a professional politician. They promote a person who is capable of pleasing, who bids fair to achieve success, thanks to his name being a new one, or thanks to a certain halo acquired in other spheres: at the University or the Law Court, — briefly, a man like Wilson, who can be bought with a high position. The politicians who promote such a candidate speculate upon the lack of experience of the newcomer, and upon their skillfulness to lead him firmly from the very day following the elections and thereby to secure themselves the possibility of ruling also in the future without any hindrances". Thanks to these methods of the ill-reputed American democracy, our professor became a governor.

While occupying this post, Wilson, without modifying anything in the administration of the state, served up speeches against the domination of the trusts. Whoever reads these speeches, which are collected in a book entitled: "The New Freedom", would think that at length a just man had arisen in order to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. Wilson demanded an open administration of affairs on the part of the trusts, he literally promulgated the Bolshevik slogan of 1917, calling for the abolition of commercial secrets, he demanded the subjection of the large trusts to the control of society. This obtained for him the credit of being a genuine democrat and prepared the soil for his being elected President of the United States of America in 1912.

The outbreak of the war found Wilson at this post. Adapting himself to the anti-war mood of the majority of the population of the United States, Wilson delivers one anti-war speech after the other, just as if in him the spirit of pacifist prophets had taken up its abode. He speaks against secret diplomacy, against secret treaties, of the common interests of all nations, the necessity to unite them. He speaks so well, that not only all bourgeois pacifists are enchanted with him, but that in the ranks of the Social Democratic parties also, as soon as war-weariness begins to be felt, there literally begins a Wilson-cult. The old man Kautsky even writes an essay on the historical roots of Wilson's pacifism. All this time, financial capital of the United States is working under the leadership of Morgan for the equipment of the Allied armies. Some explain this by the ties of blood and nationality between the leading English and American financial circles. But this is nonsense. Bankers of a pure German or of Jewish-German origin, as Baruch, Schwab and Kahn are working for the Entente no less eagerly than Morgan is doing. The cause for this is simple. England has command of the seas, supplies for Germany would provoke a conflict with English imperialism, but supplies to the Allies cannot be hampered by Germany, because the fleet of the latter is closely shut in the North Sea.

From August 1914 up to February 1917, the American trusts were supplying the Entente with ammunition and foodstuffs to the tune of 10,5 milliard dollars. The preponderance of the American export over the import amounted to 5,5 milliard dollars. The Entente is paying with gold, with American securities, which are in the hands of the Entente capitalists. "Within two years of the War, Morgan the younger has gained more than the old Morgan during his whole life time", writes John Kenneth Turner in his grandiose book on the participation of America in the War; a book which gives the most striking picture, founded on facts, of the dictatorship of financial capital in the democratic United States in the war. Any rumours regarding the possibility of peace negotiations lead to a fall of the shares in the American trusts, and nothing is feared more than peace.

Three quarters of the American press are working for Morgan and for his consorts who are raking in the loot. They do everything possible to prepare public opinion for the War. Hand in hand, there works along with them the American bureaucracy, which at that time, while Wilson in his speeches stands for the defence of freedom and democracy, imprisons thousands of people who are fighting against the war danger. In 1916 the Presidential elections take place, and Wilson figures as the president candidate who saved America from war by his having been a president of neutrality and peace. The trusts who are holding in their grip the whole practical power, are rubbing their dirty paws with pleasure. Wilson emerges victorious. The preparation for entering the War is going on at full speed.

The Entente is suffering increasing difficulties in the payment for new orders in America. It threatens that it will be compelled to content itself with the production of munitions at home, if America will not enter the War. In the Spring of 1917, Wilson makes all preparations for the rupture with Germany and accomplishes this rupture.

The entrance of America into the war took place against the will of the great majority of the American nation. This, in the first place, was revealed by the insignificant number of volunteers who declared their readiness to enter the ranks of the Army. The wave of reprisals, not only against Socialists, but also against every kind of opponent of the War, which in America assumed an extent which even Tsarist Russia had not known, confirms the unwillingness of the Nation to conduct the War. Financial capital has won, now it is able to make such profits as were never seen before in the history of mankind, and, moreover, at the expense of the American masses. Wilson surrenders the entire administration of the War industry, the distribution of orders, the control of prices, to the interested capitalist organizations. He for his part begins his sermon on the conditions of eternal peace which will be obtained after the crushing of the Hohenzollern tyranny.

This sermon reinvigorates the tired armies of the Entente. Wilson's speeches create the belief in the French, Belgian and English soldier that, if he is to perish, at least the War will kill him will be the last War. These speeches begin to destroy the morale of the soldiers of Germany and Austria more than the underground propaganda of international Socialism. Wilsonism becomes the faith of suffering mankind on the battlefields, of the petty-bourgeois masses of the whole world. Annulment of the War alliances, of the secret treaties, right of self-determination of the nations, abolition of militarism — thousands of newspapers are repeating day by day these slogans of the President of the United States, of the chief of the most powerful State of the world.

There came the day when the German front wavered. The German Government, having perceived the abyss at its feet, clutches as at a straw at Wilson's 14 points which have to save German capitalism from its being shattered by the victorious Entente. Germany calls upon the American President as the arbiter of peace to pronounce the conditions for an armistice. For a whole month Wilson refrains from announcing these conditions and delicately hints to Germany that she will not be able to obtain peace, unless she gives up the Kaiser. By means of this he literally organized the insurrection in Germany. The insurrection actually breaks out, the German ruling classes capitulate in the Compiègne Forest. The conditions of the armistice are monstrous ones; they involve the complete impotency of Germany at the peace negotiations. But even if anybody in Germany had thought of opposing these, he would have been torn to pieces by the popular mass which profoundly believes that Wilson will stand up for it at the peace negotiations. The Social Democratic Government, fearful of the revolution, encourages these hopes in Wilson. Only Soviet Russia, from the tribune of the Soviet Congress and in the note sent to Wilson, makes plain to the international proletariat that all the promises of Wilson are but one great fraud.

There commences the tragic-comedy of Versailles. We now have a very clear picture of what was going on behind the walls of that room, in which the fate of mankind was decided by four men: Clémenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson and Orlando. The book written by Wilson's Secretary, Baker, the book by Tardieu, one of the most eminent leaders of the French delegation, of Keynes, the English expert for financial affairs, have preserved these pictures for mankind. On the one hand, the old man Clémenceau, the man of the iron will, knowing that the hour has come to revenge the crushing of France in 71, the man who had been waiting for 50 years for this moment of revenge, the personification of hate; Lloyd George, the representative of the powerful English bourgeoisie, taking care not to afford Germany the possibility of re-establishing her powerful fleet, not to allow France to become a dangerous opponent, to prevent America obtaining the hegemony of the world — all this on the one hand. And on the other, the professor, without any concrete grasp of European affairs, weak, over-occupied, arriving at the sittings accompanied by elegant French ladies by means of whom French diplomacy surrounded this American Puritan. But even if he had not proved himself to be a weak-charactered fool among wolves, if he had been a man of steel, even then not one of his promises would have been fulfilled.

American financial capital came out of the War as the strongest one. But had it been possible to create an actual League of Nations, to the decisions of which America also had been obliged to subordinate herself, then the combination of other states within the frame of this League might have proved to be stronger than America. To American capital it was of more

advantage to stand opposed to torn, balkanized Europe and to exercise its hegemony over a dozen isolated, weak, countries having need of America's help. All the ideas of Wilson regarding the creation of an effective League of Nations, opening up the way for the uniting of the whole capitalist world for the re-establishment of its economy, would have been disadvantageous to American capital. The League of Nations, however, in that form in which it was created after the capitulation of Wilson, could find no support among the American masses.

American financial capital, which had plundered half the world, including the American population, had to take into account the mood of the American petty bourgeois class, which was suffering from the raging high costs of living, the mood of a mass which had grown utterly tired of the War. Away with European affairs — this was the attitude of this mass.

The disappointed pacifists were enemies of the Versailles Treaty, because it was a glaring contradiction to all the previous sermons of Wilson, and the mass of the American population was against him, because he imposed on America the duty of securing the Versailles Peace and pushed her automatically into the coming war. Thus, Wilson returned to America a political corpse.

There are those who attribute the failure of Wilson to his weakness, others declare that this last prophet of the international bourgeoisie was a great hypocrite and charlatan. This question can be quietly entrusted to the lovers of biographies of the great men of declining capitalism. Even if Wilson had been a man of crystal purity, a man of heroic character, even then his ideas were bound to suffer shipwreck. The capitalist world is a world based on competition. Against one organization of robbers, which tries to organize the plundering of nations, there arise other organizations seeking new methods for obtaining surplus-profit; with the interests of the bourgeoisie, there are connected the interests of the dynasties, of the military cliques, and all of them are aiming at rendering competition, armaments, wars and national conflicts eternal.

The idea of an organized mankind will cease to be an instrument of deception or a Utopia, only from the moment when it is taken up by the class whose interest it is to abolish the exploitation of one part of the world by the other part, by the class which can finally be victorious only by its international fighting organization and which is obliged, after its victory, to substitute this exploitation with the international organization of economy. Lenin was the personification of this great real idea of organized mankind.

Decades will pass before this idea will be realized. But there is nothing at all Utopian in it: it is the aim for which the international proletariat will strive, because this aim stands before it, like a guiding star. In 1918 it was still possible to say that the next decades would decide the question: who will be victorious. — Lenin or Wilson. Now one can say without any exaggeration — History has given answer to this question: **Victory of Lenin or victory of the beast of the new world war, a thousand times more bloody, more cruel, and more senseless than the war of 1914—18.**

France expels Indian Nationalist Refugees.

The following telegram has been received from a well-known Nationalist in Madras.

Madras, India, Feb. 10. 1924.

Acting under British pressure, French authorities have expelled from Pondicherry, Indian nationalists who sought refuge as political exiles on French soil. Thus the right of political asylum, traditionally respected in France, is violated by her colonial officials. During twenty years, Indian nationalists have found protection from British persecution in the French settlements of Pondicherry and Chandernagore, even during the war. No reason has been given for this expulsion. Since the victims cannot go to any other country without crossing British territory, expulsion means practically their extradition, which is a direct contravention of all codes and usages of International Law. The expelled refugees will try to reach France, there to claim the right of refuge which belongs to them.

Lenin and the Marxist Method.

A Few Suggestions.

By Julius (Vienna).

Widely as our opponents differ in the judgment of Lenin they must all acknowledge one thing; he belongs to the few really Great Ones who have been produced in the course of human history. He is unanimously characterized as a man of an era, as one of those whom the world only sees in the course of a century or so. As a revolutionary, he ranks alongside of Cromwell and Robespierre, that is of men who had to take the helm when the waves of the revolutionary storm ran their highest.

They then seek in every way to detract from this admiration for the mighty revolutionary. They declare that his experiment has failed and has only proved that the teachings of Marx are not capable of being put into practice. They even go further. In their effort to make capital out of everything, they do not hesitate to claim that the work of this greatest of the followers of Marx is itself really the strongest refutation of Marxism, which claims that history is not made by individuals. The greatest phenomenon of world history, Bolshevism, is not that the personal work of Lenin, which, without him, would have been unthinkable?

We will not use the occasion to debate with our opponents over the materialistic conception of history and to show them the difference between Marxism, as they understand it, and as it is in reality. In the same way we will refrain from pointing out in what way the acts of Lenin can be explained by the materialistic conception of history. At the present time an investigation would appear as if one were defending Lenin against the materialist conception of history or the materialist conception of history against Lenin. If we now speak of Marxism in connection with Lenin, we do so merely to point out cursorily what Lenin owes positively to Marx in the carrying out of his work.

It was an absolute characteristic of earlier revolutionary epochs, that the active leaders rose suddenly and that up to that time they were scarcely known. Mignet, the ingenious historian of the French Revolution characterized the sudden rise from obscurity as an absolutely indispensable preliminary condition for the successful revolutionary. Why? Obviously, because the conditions in a time of revolution are changing so quickly, new situations are continually arising, and therefore persons who have been prominent in other times and are accordingly too severely burdened with the past, are, as a rule, not the bearers of absolutely new ideas and cannot be the exutors of quite new measures which are diametrically opposed to the old.

As is well known, Lenin completely contradicts this idea. He was no new-comer in the Russian revolutionary movement. It is true that his name first came into the mouth of everyone in the summer of 1917, but he was already very well known throughout the Second International and particularly well known in the Russian revolutionary movement, where he had the general reputation of being an important leader. His past was thus no handicap for his later important work. And why was this? Because he had just happened to have that small advantage over all other revolutionaries: the knowledge and complete understanding of Marxist methods for the exploration of the evolutionary tendencies of history.

Towards the end of the eighties in the last century, Plekhanoff, who was still an orthodox Marxist, and who was the friend and first master of Lenin, declared: "The Russian revolution will either be victorious as a proletarian or it will not be victorious at all". The experiences of the revolution of 1848 show, that the bourgeoisie, because of its fear of the proletariat, is incapable of even carrying out a bourgeois revolution. This was generally recognised as applicable to the West in general, and it is the merit of the Russian Marxists, that through an exact knowledge of Russian conditions they drew these conclusions for their own land also. As soon as Lenin recognised this, as a fighter he accepted the inexorable consequences. For him it was no longer a matter of "either this or that". "The Russian revolution will be victorious as a proletarian revolution," was Lenin's slogan. It was in this direction that he worked, and the Russian revolution won, won under his leadership as a proletarian revolution.

There is something more. It was regarded as a law in the development of every revolution, that it is driven far beyond it:

original aims, but there inevitably comes a rebound wave. If one wishes to straighten a bent cane, it must be bent in the opposite direction. A Thermidor — the French revolutionary name for the month in which Robespierre was overthrown — was unavoidable. Thus not only the bourgeoisie, but also the Social Democrats never ceased to prophesy a Thermidor for the rule of Bolshevism. It doubtless would have come, if the Russian revolutionaries had not been Marxists and if Lenin, the leader of the Russian revolution, had not been a superb Marxist. He knew quite well that there are certain things that one cannot break over one's knee, even with revolutionary methods, and that it is often necessary to act differently to what one had planned. He said that clearly in his speech about gold in the XIth congress of the Russian Communist Party. He stated:

"For every genuine revolutionist there exists the greatest danger, perhaps the only danger, that in his revolutionary spirit he overshoots the mark and forgets the limits and the conditions for a suitable and successful application of revolutionary methods. Genuine revolutionaries have very often come to grief through writing "Revolution" in capital letters, making revolution almost an idol, losing their heads and becoming incapable of considering soberly and calmly and of deducing and testing, at what moment, in what circumstances and in what field of action one must act as a revolutionary, and under what circumstances one must act as a reformist."

His clear grasp of the situation, with the aid of Marxism, and the consequences arising therefrom, made Lenin capable of striking out on the path of the New Economic Policy and thus saving the Russian revolution from its Thermidor.

It is therefore absurd to compare Lenin with any bourgeois revolutionary. They all lacked that which was Lenins strength, the sovereign knowledge of the moving forces of society.

The influence of Lenin, in the preparation of the revolution as well as in the maintenance of its gains, represents the greatest triumph of Marxism.

ECONOMICS

Industry and Agriculture in Germany.

By Ali Ferid.

If we cast a glance at the relation between the prices of industrial and agricultural products in Germany, the picture presented in the year 1914 appears to be repeated. At that time state control was introduced which fixed the price for agricultural products and limited the possibilities of the peasants enriching themselves during the war; while, on the other hand, the workers managed to carry on by means of the low prices of their means of sustenance, and the industrial employers were able to raise their profits to a high level, thanks to relatively low wages and low costs of production. Today, also, the prices for wheat, rye, oats, barley and meat in Germany are, on the average, not above pre-war prices, that is, they are under world-market prices. On the other hand, the prices for industrial products are between 50 and 100% of the pre-war level.

The cause of this relation between the prices lies, however, before all in an actual situation. The harvest of 1923 exceeded that of 1922 in every way, as can be seen in the following figures.

	In millions of tons.			
	Wheat	Rye	Oats	Barley
1913	4.06	10.22	8.72	3.05
1919	2.17	6.10	4.41	1.67
1922	2.03	5.32	4.13	1.59
1923	2.99	7.18	5.98	2.16

As the figures for 1913 are only for the reduced area of Germany, it is at the same time clear that the excess of imports for the year 1923 must be greater than before the war. As a result of the decrease in the area under cultivation and the yield per acre, the agricultural production, according to these official figures, was almost one third less than before the war. Even if one can doubt the accuracy of these official statistics — and it is probable that, by reason of the taxes and enforced deliveries which still existed at the beginning of 1923, false returns were furnished by the agrarian capitalists, a thing which is less likely to occur with the small peasants, — the fact remains that in agriculture the extensive method has become predominant.

A parallel phenomenon appears also in cattle breeding. The results of the harvest of 1923 therefore do not sufficiently explain the low level of the prices of agricultural products. To this is to be added the important fact that in the last months of the circulation of the paper mark, neither the agrarian capitalist nor the peasant brought products to the market in large quantities, because there was very little probability that the paper marks that were received in return could be used for the purchase of the necessary farming stock. Now that the mark has been stabilized, both the agrarian capitalist and the small peasant have the greatest interest in obtaining supplies for the coming Spring, and they are therefore unloading their stored up products upon the market. Further, there is the fact that in these very weeks there has been a large increase in the imports of Russian grain. The surplus imports were as follows:

	Wheat	Oats	Barley
1913 (whole year)	1.99	0.06	2.92
1922 (June to September)	0.93	0.04	0.16
1923 (June to September)	0.42	0.03	9.18

Even assuming that the imports for September and October 1923 were relatively large, and especially from Soviet Russia, and if it is taken into account that instead of an excess of exports of 530,000 tons of rye for the period of January till September 1923 an excess of imports of 770,000 tons took place, that does not alter the fact that the supply of grain in Germany available for consumption is actually insufficient; and that if production in Germany is to be made cheaper, industrial capital must have an interest in the increasing and intensifying of agricultural production.

Does the present relation of prices signify an extensifying of agriculture by industrial capital? The attitude of industrial, commercial and bank capital in this question is divided. It is certain that the tendency towards the subjugation of the country by the town, and the subordination of the less organized agrarian capital to the more highly organized industrial capital must continue, but the method of this development has not been decided. Numerous industrial circles, before all big industry, are displaying an active interest in the development of agricultural conditions. Both the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" and the "Bergwerk Zeitung") have a definite agricultural program in view, in which the increasing of arable land is to be also assisted by the clearing of existing wastes. It is a matter of creating a new class of peasant, such as is necessary for the increasing of industrial accumulations. To what extent the interests of industrial capital and agrarian capital go hand in hand, is seen in the composition of the boards of directors of the banks, where 50% of the representation has been granted to agrarian capital. It is also shown by the support given by Stinnes and Hugenberg for the appointment of Helfferich as president of the Reichsbank and their struggle against Hjalmar Schacht²⁾.

If a great portion of industrial capital has made itself the champion of the political interests of the agrarians, this is not merely because certain political and social interests bind them together, but also because industrial capital has already succeeded in subordinating an important portion of agrarian capital. Stinnes is characteristic for this fact. He has, to quote only one or two examples, large immediate agricultural interests through his possession of the Bavarian Mortgage and Exchange Bank, by his control of the whole East Prussian market for agricultural machinery, by his possession of numerous forests in East Prussia and in Austria, by his ownership of a large number of estates in East Prussia and Silesia and by extending his business activities into the production of margarine and sugar. It is a matter of course that in a co-operation between agrarian and big industrial capital, the power will not lie in the hands of the former. On the other hand, it is obvious that a large section of finance, finishing industry and commercial capital, in so far as they are not associated with agricultural interests, wish to carry out the development of the progressive subordination of the land to the town, not by means of co-operation and gradual absorption, but through struggle. It is probable that in this struggle heavy industrial capital will emerge as victor, even if it suffers temporary reverses.

¹⁾ German General News' and Mining News', both owned and controlled by Stinnes. Ed.

²⁾ Helfferich represents the agrarian conservative wing, while Schacht the finishing industry and commercial liberal wing.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The British Dock Workers' Strike.

By George Hardy.

When the 76 delegates of the Transport and General Workers Union met and decided to Strike on Feb. 16th. if the demands for 2/- and weekly maintenance were not forthcoming, they reported all ports ready to fight. In no uncertain terms many delegates made it known that any compromise would be regarded as an act of disloyalty to the rank and file, and in view of the unofficial strike action last year many officials have come to realise they must press for full demands. The employers have already indicated they are willing to concede one shilling and consider maintenance as a justifiable demand. This is a complete reversal of their attitude when they gave a definite "No". They had Lord Devonport, Chairman of the Port of London Authority, act as chairman at the first conference the dockers had with the National Council of Port Labour Employers. The employers heard the demands put by the Union, but refused to allow discussion. Now Devonport, who said in 1912, he would "make the dockers lick the dust" has left for South Africa.

In view of their strong devotion to the cause of the workers in the past, the unemployed must be considered in this coming struggle. As in the Engineers and Canal Workers disputes, the organised unemployed have already resolved to help the dockers. The services rendered in the form of mass picketing and holding of meetings showed that even though all were hungry their loyalty to their class was a first consideration. There are over 24% unemployed in the waterside industry. By increasing wages and especially overtime rates there is a tendency to reduce overtime work. This would benefit the unemployed and make easier the struggle of the employed.

The Transport workers are opposed to any agreements such as those existing since the first Shaw Award in 1920 was issued. The original award gave 16 shilling a day. The shipping employers had managed to take 4 shilling away up to the time the 1922 agreement was signed. This agreement was based on an absolutely wrong principle. It not only took away another shilling a day, but worst of all it conceded another shilling reduction in the event of the cost of living sinking 10 points by July 1923. The government (employers) figures had the cost of living 10 points below by July 1st. These figures were challenged from many sources. The Union accepted them but the men did not. Hence the unofficial strike. All trade unionists who wanted to stop the retreat of labour declared: "The officials had no right to sign away the wages of the workers a year ahead. Even if the cost of living had gone down 10 points, the men should have the right to fight to maintain, or even raise their wages and gain a higher standard." Many will remember that the R. I. L. U. issued a statement criticizing the agreement in 1922.

Another reason the R. I. L. U. Transport Workers Section asks for joint committees is because there are separate agreements for N. U. R. members who are doing dock work. The N. U. R. agreements provide for much smaller overtime rates than the Shaw agreement signed by the Docks group of the T. and G. W. U. There are many other concessions granted the dockers which members of the N. U. R. do not share in. Such as, payment for two hours for one if meal hours are worked. The N. U. R. men only get pay for the actual hours worked, but the T. and G. W. U. dockers if they work after 10 p. m. receive pay at the regular rates reckoned up all 7 a. m. no matter how short the time is the men work. If the Shaw Award were applied to N. U. R. dockers working the same boats, their pay would be from 50% to 100% greater than at present.

Having regard to these anomalous separate agreements which conflict with each other, the only logical thing is one national union for all transport workers. However, it should be clear to everybody that the N. U. R. must be party to a national agreement with one national scale of wages and conditions. There ought really to be only one union for dock workers instead of all the different unions as at present. The logical centre is the Transport Workers Union. And one thing must be kept in mind: that federation is no substitute for a united industrial union, with a fighting membership and led by militants.

It is only when the rank and file of the transport workers realize that all commercial transport is affected immediately a stoppage takes place, that they will realise how necessary it is to fight for one union for the whole transport industry. It not only jeopardises the chances of gaining our full demands if several

unions exists, but it engenders grievances and fosters various antagonisms that could hardly exist otherwise. Too long the shipowners have reigned supreme lords of international commerce owing to divisions in our ranks.

Let there be no mistake. This is not only a fight of transport workers. It is a fight against the Federation of British Industries. There are 24 members in parliament representing 51 companies connected with shipping, and anything they can do against the dockers will be energetically pushed. They will raise questions on the floor of parliament, because they regard it, when labour reigns, as a public rostrum to preach their sophistry to those who still do not see that Capitalism is responsible for all the unnecessary starvation, misery, disease and death. This fight must be won however. It can be if the General Council of the Trade Union Congress will mobilize the necessary support. All the forces of British Capitalism are against the dockers. These must be confronted with all the forces of labour, and with an uncompromising leadership we will win.

We must win this strike and then perfect our unions for the revolutionary control of industry and abolition of imperialistic domination.

The Muddles of the Railway Unions.

By W. C. Loeber.

The outcome of the differences that prevail between the three principal unions which attempt to cater for the British Railway Workers, has yet to be seen. The three unions concerned are the National Union of Railwaymen, the Railway Clerks' Association, and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Of the three the N. U. R. has the largest membership. It came into being by the fusion of the Associated Society of Railway Servants, the General Railway Workers' Union and the United Pointsmen and Signalmen's Society, and proclaims itself to be an industrial union catering for all grades of Railway-Workers, having signed agreements with the Companies for all services employed on the Railways. The R. C. A. and A. S. L. E. and F. are, as their names imply, purely sectional. The events which culminated in the recent strike of the A. S. L. E. and F. have a long history. Personal jealousies amongst officialism exist, and are intensified by two important factors, viz. the struggle to justify the existence of the Loco'men's Union, the reformist policy in the garb, of industrial unionism of the N. U. R. The R. C. A. itself carries very little weight and presumably does not desire to utilize its forces, if any.

The struggle for membership thus lies behind the antagonism of these unions, as the review of the past five years will show. The year 1919 found each union attempting to better the working conditions and rates of pay of its membership. The Railway Companies played off one section against the other and terminated an agreement with the A. S. L. E. and F. for Drivers, Firemen and Cleaners, at the same time breaking off negotiations with the N. U. R. This compelled the N. U. R. to issue an ultimatum to the Companies threatening to call out its membership. Here was an acute problem to be faced by the A. S. L. E. and F. If the N. U. R. membership ceased work and was successful in causing a complete stoppage of the railway transport, then it would have been obvious that there was not the slightest necessity for the A. S. L. E. and F. to remain in existence and they would have been forced, owing to their impossible position to have amalgamated their forces with the All Grades Union. There is not the slightest doubt that the N. U. R. could have successfully closed down the Railways. It controlled the manipulation grades and a fair percentage of Locomotive members, therefore the leaders of the A. S. L. E. and F. joined issue to camouflage its real position. The outcome of this show of solidarity was the 1920 agreement, to which all three unions were parties. From this time on, the struggle has become intensified.

The year 1921 found the Companies pressing for a modification of the terms of the 1920 Agreement as applied to the Scottish Railways, and although that agreement was applicable to all three organizations, the A. S. L. E. and F. negotiated on its own and accepted an immediate reduction in pay, and agreed to work overtime. The N. U. R. challenged this breach of agreement and was able to score the first point; it claimed the right to be consulted, the Railway Companies acceded to pressure, and the result was that although modifications were accepted, they were not of the drastic nature that the A. S. L. E. and F. had been forced to accept as a section.

This inter-union dispute of the two unions also contributed to the famous Black Friday episode. The Triple Alliance, com-

posed as it was of the M. F. G. B. (Miners), N. U. R., and T. W. F. (Transport workers) thought fit and proper to consult the A. S. L. E. and F. as to its attitude; the latter in full sympathy with the Miners agreed to join issue, but only on condition that it had a representative on the Central Executive of the Triple Alliance. This it insisted upon. Bromley was not willing to permit his organization to be controlled by representatives of the N. U. R. This attitude had the effect of encouraging other unions than the original three in demanding representation on the Central Controlling body. This helped to intensify the confusion and chaos.

This duel was carried to extremes. During the reign of the Black and Tan terrorism in Ireland, notwithstanding the fact that both the N. U. R. and the A. S. L. E. and F. had the membership of the Irish Railworkers between them, neither body had the courage to utilize its power to assist in forcing the government to withdraw the auxiliary forces (Black and Tan); both were guilty of assisting in the transport of men and munitions from various munition factories and barracks in England to the quayside for trans-shipment to Ireland, and neither body had issued instructions to its Irish membership. They were left to their own initiative as to their actions: Neither union recognized financial responsibilities to those of its members who were dismissed for refusing to transport the armed forces about Ireland. Yet when in a shooting affray at Mallow, some of the Locomotive staff were killed, both jumped in for propaganda and membership recruiting purposes, both claiming the best right to force an enquiry into the whole of the shooting affray. The enquiry was held, the widow of the Captain in the Army was recompensed, the Terrorism continued and the controversy as to which organization really forced the enquiry also continued.

The N. U. R. has made repeated approach to the A. S. L. E. and F. for an amalgamation, failing that, a joint working agreement. These were finally disposed of, so far as the latter organization was concerned, by resolving that the Loco staff was and would be better catered for by the existing order of things, that is by the A. S. L. E. and F. To make this conclusion it signed an agreed understanding with the amalgamated Engineering Union for assistance in time of industrial disputes. The A. E. U., also a bitter opponent of the N. U. R. in defence of craft unionism, thus helped to intensify the conflict. Local branches of the A. S. L. E. and F. shield themselves behind the official decree when approached by the Local N. U. R. Branches to form a joint committee.

The 1924 strike of the A. S. L. E. and F. section was a continuation of this inter-union struggle. When the Loco men decided to strike, Thomas, upon his own initiative, issued his manifesto denouncing it and afterwards co-opted Cramp's name to it. Thomas could plainly see that if Bromley were successful, he would not only justify the union in the eyes of its members at the expense of the N. U. R., but would deliver a blow against his policy of developing the negotiating machinery into arbitration machinery. The result is confusion and no permanent improvement gained.

The present Dockers strike in which the larger section of the Transport Industry is involved will prove at least an interesting experience.

The A. S. L. E. and F. is affiliated to the T. W. F. and therefore owes allegiance to that body. Further, seeing that the A. S. L. E. and F. has recently recognized the necessity of using direct action to combat wage reductions and worsening of conditions, it rests with it to prove its consistency and to align itself with the Dockers who are in a similar plight, but fighting against starvation conditions.

The National Executive Committee of the N. U. R. and the T. and G. W. U. signed, as recently as March 1923, an agreement wherein they advised the whole of their respective branches immediately to get in contact with each other locally, and set up joint committees for the purpose of making arrangements and drawing up working schemes for the purpose of challenging workers who entered Railway Goods Sidings and Docks as to their membership of a Trade Union. The principle behind this agreement is to try and eliminate the non-unionists and to secure common action. If this conveys anything at all, it is that the N. U. R. is also under an obligation to act with the T. and G. W. U. to prevent blacklegging or handling of black goods of any description, and to try their hand at direct action.

Feb. 16 may thus prove not only an interesting day for dockers but an exceedingly important day for all transport-workers that will determine their fate for long days to come.

The Workers (Communist) Party of Canada and the Canadian Situation.

By Maurice Spector (Toronto).

I. The Nova Scotia Struggle.

The most important class struggle of 1923, was the strike of the Nova Scotia mine workers against the intervention of the military in the industrial dispute which arose between the Halifax Steel Workers and the British Empire Steel Corporation. These troops were called in by the Federal and Provincial Governments, ostensibly "to protect property", in reality to terrorize the workers and to protect strike breakers. In their own past strikes against the intolerable labour conditions of the British Empire Steel Corporation, the miners had been confronted with the same military intervention, and they determined to demand the withdrawal of the troops. There is no doubt that in this action the miners had the sympathy of nearly the whole of Canadian labour. The reactionary Executive of the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress had been compelled to protest against the same thing in 1922. Even the conservative railwaymen's organizations, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, for instance, took a stand in favour of the miners. But the reactionary President of the United Mine-workers, Lewis, and the Canadian Congress President, Moore, placed themselves on the side of the Corporation, condemning the strike in the U.S. because, as an "American patriot", he "could not fight against the American Government", assumed the same attitude with respect to the Canadian Government. When the miners refused to obey his ukas to return to work on the ground that his intervention was a violation of their district autonomy in a political action against the Canadian authorities, Lewis deposed the constitutionally elected progressive district executive, headed by Jim Mc Lachlan and Dan Livingstone, appointing a set of his own reactionary tools to rule the district. Mc Lachlan was arrested on the charge of spreading seditious information and sentenced to two years. Confronted by the alternatives of expulsion with the re-organization of the district under Lewis' auspices, or giving up the struggle for the time being, the miners decided to go back and prevent a split.

The defeat the miners of Nova Scotia suffered, has an important bearing in the issues it raises on the immediate development of the Canadian Labour Movement. In retrospect it must be admitted that there were short-comings and strategical mistakes in the leadership of this strike on the part of the radicals. Lewis had been waiting all along for a chance to crush the radical Mc Lachlan regime on account of its endorsement of the Profintern program at the Truro Convention. Lewis' intervention in the strike, as well as the treachery of Moore, were therefore to have been as logically awaited as the intervention of the troops in the steel workers' strike. The Canadian workers as a whole are against the intervention of the military. Labour public opinion should therefore have been mobilized as much as possible in connection with the action of the miners. But the strike of the miners was called too hastily, without sufficient preparation of the public opinion and sympathy of the rest of Canadian Labour, which therefore lent a passive and not an active support to the miners throughout the conflict. In the next place, when it became clear that the miners were more or less isolated in their struggle, particularly after the refusal of the officials of District 18 in Alberta to call a sympathy strike, the leadership of the Nova Scotia strike prolonged it somewhat inflexibly till after the ultimatum of Lewis. In other words, the retreat was not carried out under the best circumstances. A fight with Lewis is inevitable. The question is how to conduct it under the most favourable circumstances for our side.

It must also be admitted that the Workers' Party was caught somewhat unprepared for the struggle, in spite of the fact that trouble had been brewing between the steel workers and the Corporation for some time. The Party Executive played little part both in the question of calling the strike and its breaking off, in spite of the fact that the strike leaders were Party members. Nor, it must be admitted did the Party, on account of its unpreparedness, develop a sufficient campaign on the political and industrial issues which the Nova Scotia miners had raised for the whole of Canadian Labour.

II. The Canadian Autonomy and the Trades Congress.

An issue that has cropped up as a result of the strike, is that of Canadian autonomy for the Trade Union movement. The behaviour of Lewis in attempting to throttle a political action of specific concern to Canadian workers, makes it necessary to enlarge the right of Canadian trade unionism to use industrial action for political purposes and against the Canadian authorities, without being interfered with from the United States trade union bureaucracy. Another consideration in connection with raising the slogan of national trade union autonomy, is to stem certain nationalist influences at work, both in the Nova Scotia district and elsewhere, in favour of splitting away "at the border" or seceding from the A. F. of L. The slogan was hastily raised in view of the shortly impending Trades Congress Convention. There was scarcely any time to conduct a widespread propaganda and agitation for this autonomy. The Toronto Trades Council endorsed it, and it was brought before the Trades Congress, to be rejected by a two-thirds majority as an attempt on the part of the radicals to split the Internationals. In spite of the defeat of the autonomy issue at the Congress, it is being more widely agitated for by the progressive forces now as a necessary measure for Canadian Labour to develop its class struggle, not only in the form of strikes against the employers, but also to enable it to carry out mass actions in favour of political objectives.

At the Congress the left wing regularly pulled a third of the votes for the progressive issues — amalgamation, autonomy, and so on. It has become quite clear, with all the shortcomings of the Party, that the Workers Party nevertheless is the strongest element in the left wing, and perhaps without the Party there would be no left wing at the Trades Congress or in the organized trade union movement.

III. The Canadian Labour Party and the W. P. C.

The Workers Party has continued to apply the united front tactics in Canada in the form of lending its support to and developing the movement for the dominion-wide Canadian Labour Party. The Labour Party movement continues to grow even though it has not yet taken on the character of a real mass movement. The Workers Party is everywhere affiliated with the C. L. P. Some recent extensions of the Labour Party have been the organization of a section in British Columbia and in the maritime provinces. The Labour Party has now sections in every province. The Winnipeg I. L. P. is considering the question of affiliation and the Quebec section of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Carmen is negotiating for the affiliation of their entire membership. In Edmonton, the Labour Party has some election successes to record in the municipal contests. The movement is strongest in Ontario and Alberta. In the latter province it is assuming the character of a mass movement owing to the affiliation of the miners. An interesting development in connection with the Labour Party movement is the question of an alliance with the Farmers that has arisen in Nova Scotia, where the question of a Labour-Farmer Party has been placed on the order of discussion. It is a question that should be thrown open for discussion in the Workers Party, the Labour Party and the farmers' organizations, whether a united front in the form of a Canadian Labour-Farmer-Party does not meet the requirements of Canadian conditions more than a strik Labour Party, modelled after the British example. The Farmers' Movement in Canada is politically in a state of flux and even of disintegration. After their great victories in the Ontario provincial elections after the war, where they became the governing party, as well as in the Alberta provincial elections and federal elections, the farmers' political movement is experiencing a relapse. It suffered a defeat in the last elections in Ontario. The farmer rank and file is dissatisfied with the record of the Alberta Farmer Government. Inside the movement as a whole, there are two conflicting points of view, one of which would harness the farmers' movement to the Liberals, or at least form a so-called progressive party; the other would like to retain the class organization and consciousness of the farmers' movement. In this state of flux and dissatisfaction inside the farmers' movement, it is possible to bring about an alliance between workers and farmers, with advantages to the Labour movement. In these manoeuvres it goes without saying there is a danger that the Workers Party might be swallowed up. It must therefore be pointed out, as before in relation to the Nova Scotia struggle, that the Party must develop greater initiative and directing force than it has hitherto. It must increase its industrial membership, strengthen the organization all round and discuss the political and industrial questions of the order of the day more thro-

roughly and more widely than it has hitherto. The level of education among the Party membership must be raised, and the leading role of the Workers Party as a Communist Party must be continually kept in view.

The British Labour College Movement.

By J. F. Horrabin.

There is no need to remind students of social history that the most significant social factors are not always those most widely advertised. And what is true of society in general is true also of the working-class movement itself. It is all too easy — often, indeed, it is almost inevitable — to judge of the character and strength of any particular section of that movement from its platform orators, its leader-writers, its Trade Union negotiators, and all those other figures (or "figure-heads") who, by superficial observers, are accepted not only as representing, but as actually typifying, the personnel of the movement at large. Generalisations based on such slender evidence are unsafe guides — either for action or for criticism.

One of the most significant facts in the "inside" history of the British Labour Movement during recent years has been the striking growth of the demand, by the rank and file of the movement, for Education in the Social Sciences; for a grounding, that is, in the broad facts of History and Education, studied from the working-class point of view. Yet the Labour College Movement which has grown up as a result of that demand is by no means as yet widely known — and that despite the fact that the Times and the Morning Post have recently done what they could in the way of greater publicity!

From quite small beginnings, 15 years ago, the Labour College movement in England, Scotland and Wales has developed into a widespread national organization, with (this year) upwards of 17,000 students enrolled in its various classes. Most significantly, the whole movement — the original demand, and the machinery by which that demand has been met, has been, in the main, an entirely "rank and file" affair. Until quite recently none of the more prominent working-class leaders, political or industrial, have been identified with it. It had its origin in a quite spontaneous expression of "rank and file" opinion — a strike of Trade Union students undergoing training at Ruskin College, Oxford, an educational institution carried on with more or less "liberal" aims and standing definitely for the idea of "social solidarity" so far as education was concerned. The Trade Unionists who supported this institution perceived no contradiction between this attitude and their own independent working-class action in political and industrial affairs. But the students who revolted (in the spring of 1909) realized the contradiction very clearly; and they were able to persuade a sufficient number of the members of their Trade Unions (chiefly railway-men and South Wales miners) to make possible the establishment of a resident college based on a recognition of "the antagonism of interests between Capital and Labour" and on the fact that this antagonism expressed itself, so far as educational matters were concerned, precisely in those subjects of most interest and importance to the workers: i. e., in all those subjects dealing directly or indirectly, with the structure of society and with "social problems".

For the first four or five years the greater part the energies of those interested in the movement were directed towards keeping the Labour College in existence — and a very precarious existence it was at times! But during his same period, evening classes began to be established in various industrial centres — in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and South Wales, especially; while the Socialist Labour Party group, centred in Glasgow, were laying the foundations of a similar educational movement in Scotland. During all this time, the propagandist organisation established by the pioneers of the movement — the Plebs League — and its monthly organ, the Plebs Magazine, served as links between the different centres and gained fresh converts to the cause of Independent Working Class Education.

In 1914 the resident Labour College in London was definitely taken over by the two Unions — the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners Federation — sections of whose members had from the first been its most active supporters; and from this year onwards, accordingly, the mass of the movement was able to concentrate on what, after all, was its most important aim — the establishment

and development of the evening classes for workers up and down the country.

During the war years, despite the absence of many active workers in the army or in prison, this class-work increased by leaps and bounds. The existence of a rival organization in the field, the Workers Educational Association — which stood for the same ideas of "social solidarity" as Ruskin College had done, and which aimed at making ruling-class culture more accessible to the workers — made it possible for the whole of the Plebs propaganda to be conducted on a definitely class basis; and fought out — in Trades Councils and local Trade Union branches — as a definite class issue. It was the very essence of the movements' slogan, Independence in Working Class Education, to force this question of working-class independence — i. e. of class — "consciousness all round" — into the forefront. The discussions which went on everywhere between the advocates of the two opposing points of view, had accordingly far more significance than a mere debate on educational problems pure and simple. On the one hand, the men of the Plebs Labour College group took their stand on the Marxian view of history, on Marxian economics, and on the need for the workers, starting from these bases, to develop their own "fighting culture" as a weapon in the class-struggle; on the other, the University-trained champions of the Workers' Educational Association proclaimed that education was "above the battle", that it was concerned chiefly with the "humanities", based on eternal verities and unaffected by ephemeral things, like class distinctions, and that, even apart from the humanities, it was possible (and desirable) to teach quite impartially the fundamental truths about society and existing social systems, without any bias on the side either of capitalists or proletarians. It was impossible to conduct such an argument without raising basic questions about the very foundations and aims of the whole working-class movement. Labour College propaganda, accordingly, cannot be regarded as confined to a specialised field and as having, therefore, but minor reactions on the workers' movement generally.

By 1921, the various class-centres had increased both in numbers and activities to such an extent that some more definite form of national organization was generally felt to be desirable; and in the autumn of that year a conference of representatives, convened by the Plebs League, decided on the formation of the National Council of Labour Colleges, now the central organization of the movement. It is composed of the Labour College, London (the only residential institution in the movement); the Scottish Labour College, co-ordinating the various districts in Scotland; over 70 local Labour Colleges, i. e. evening-class centres in different towns; the Plebs League, which enrolls individual enthusiasts, and which serves as the publishing department of the movement; and of such national Trade Unions as inaugurate educational schemes for their members and make financial grants to the N. C. L. C. for this purpose. (The two most important of these are those established by the Building Trade Workers (A. U. B. T. W.) and the Distributive Workers (N. U. D. A. W.)) Very many Trades Councils; local Labour Parties, and Trade Union branches are affiliated to the local Colleges.

Last year, 1922—23, the number of students attending classes was just under 12,000. This year, as has already been stated above, that number promises to exceed 17,000. The great majority of the tutors are voluntary workers. But the support of the national Trade Unions has made it possible to establish whole-time organizers in the principal centres, and these men invariably act as tutors also.

Not only has the actual class movement been thus organized, but the equally important task of providing textbooks and other literature has been tackled. The Plebs League, which — in addition to its monthly magazine — had previously issued short economic and historical text-books by W. W. Craik, Noah Ablett and Mark Starr, has during the last two years issued four volumes in a uniform textbook series. An Outline of Psychology (fourth edition now printing), An Outline of Imperialism, An Outline of Economics, and An Outline of Economic Geography (first edition of 5000 copies already nearly sold out within three months of publication). Each of these books was originally drafted by one hand, then discussed and revised by an editorial committee. In addition to them, several smaller books and pamphlets — including What to Read: A Guide to Books for Workers Students — have been issued by the League; as well as cheap "students'

editions" of such books as Philip Prices' Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution, and R. W. Postgate's Revolution, from 1789 to 1906. In the Plebs Magazine itself, of course, numerous short studies on economic, historical and geographical subjects are published.

The main problem which the Labour College movement is setting itself to solve — both as regards actual teaching and publications — is that of so simplifying and condensing the essential facts of History, Economics, and Social Theory, as to make practicable the provision of at least an elementary training in these subjects for the whole rank and file of the workers' movement. This, under existing circumstances, is a more pressing problem than the carrying on of further research work, or the development of theory — though of course the two sides of the educational movement cannot be kept entirely separate. But the very weakness of the workers' press in Britain, as compared with certain other countries, makes all the more necessary this "popularization" of the fundamental facts about society, from the working-class point of view, by means of educational machinery. The dangers of over-simplification, of "short cuts" to knowledge, must be faced and overcome. The need for a more widespread understanding, by proletarians, of the "whys and wherefores" of the proletarian position is obvious. It is that need which the British Labour College movement is trying to meet.

GERMANY

Collect for the Struggling German Proletariat!

Comrades! The blackest reaction is reigning in Germany today. Supported by the military dictatorship which has been set up by the big capitalists, the German bourgeoisie has passed over to a sharp offensive against the social rights of the working class. A sharp struggle has begun over the eight hour day, the unemployed maintenance, the rates of wages, and the rights of the Factory Councils. The employing class has passed over to the offensive along the whole line. Thousands are already sitting in prison.

In this situation it is an event of great historical significance that the German proletariat, in spite of huge unemployment and the most brutal military dictatorship, is engaged today in great mass struggles for the eight hour day and to repel the general offensive of the employers. In the Rhineland and Westphalia, over half a million workers have for over a week been engaged in a struggle for the defense of the eight hour day. One sees the same picture in Silesia in the case of the mining workers, the iron and also the textile workers. In Berlin, the metal workers have conducted a great struggle against the reduction of wages. In Central Germany, the metal workers are carrying on a persistent struggle for the maintenance of the eight hour day and against reductions of wages. In Mannheim, Bremen, and many other cities, fresh masses of workers come daily into the desperate self-sacrificing struggle of defence against the offensive of the employers. Throughout the whole of Germany the unemployed are carrying on a great struggle against compulsory labour, which is imposed upon them without remuneration by order of the authorities, and by means of which they are used for strike-breaking and the depression of wages.

Comrades! We do not need to tell you how important from an international point of view is the success of the defensive struggle of the German proletariat against the abolition of the eight hour day, and against the capitalist offensive. You know from your own experience how important this defensive struggle is for your own struggle for the eight hour day. There is not the least doubt that the abolition of the eight hour day in Germany will have as a result, a sharpened campaign on the part of the bourgeoisie in all capitalist lands for the extension of the hours of labour.

The German working class is fighting against the abolition of the eight hour day and a reduction of wages as an outpost for the whole international proletariat. By means of a huge reduction of the proletarian standard of living, German capital wishes to make itself more efficient in the competitive struggle on the world markets. By desperate struggles the German proletariat is defending itself against its degradation to the position of an international scabber of wages.

Comrades! In your own interest and in the interest of the international class struggle, it is necessary that you not only follow the struggle in Germany with great attention, but also that you support it with all your strength. Material support of the struggling German workers is first of all necessary because the struggle is being carried on under the most difficult conditions, and those struggling and the victims of the struggle are in the greatest distress. The Executive of the Allgemeine Deutsche Gewerkschaft-Bund (the General Federation of German Trade Unions) and all the organizations of the reformist trade unions, are sabotaging the struggle with every possible means. Even where these trade unions, under the pressure of the masses, have approved of the struggle they are doing nothing for its practical and material support. The monies which the international proletariat gave to the central executive of the A. D. G. B. for the struggling German workers were only used by them for the payment of the trade union officials. If the international proletariat desires that the money which is collected by it shall be really used only for the support of the proletarian class struggle in Germany, no money must be placed into the hands of the central executive of the A. D. G. B.

All the struggles for the eight hour day are being carried on by the revolutionary shop stewards and councils of unemployed, who have no funds at their disposal for the support of the victims of the struggle. That which is got together by the sorely tried German workers by collections does not nearly suffice for the alleviation of the greatest distress.

We call upon you therefore, to begin collections everywhere for the struggling German workers and for the international struggle for the eight hour day. All money collected is to be sent to:

Bureau confédéral de la Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire (C. G. T. U.),

33 Rue de la Grange aux-Belles, Paris.

The C. G. T. U. will forward the collected funds on to Germany.

With proletarian greetings,

The National Committee of the German
Factory Councils

The Committee of Twelve of the Oppositional
Local Committees of the A. D. G. B.

E. C. C. I.

To the British and International Proletariat.

A Labour Government is in power in Great Britain. This is not the result of a victorious struggle of the working class against the capitalists. As before, the bourgeoisie reigns in Great Britain. Factories, mines, railways and banks are in its hands, large colonies, as well as the army and the navy are at its service. The Labour Party has come into power, because the consequences of the criminal war, instigated by the ruling classes of the whole world, have proved too serious even for the British bourgeoisie to cope with. Having split into two hostile camps, it was compelled to let the Labour Party assume power. But even the Labour Party, which during the war supported the British bourgeoisie, and after the war was unable to organise the working class for the defence of its own interests, receives this power from the hands of the bourgeoisie, and as a government, depends on the support of the Liberals. And this is not all, for the Labour Government has in its ranks, not only those who during the war recruited for the army, and showed after the war their incapacity to conduct a decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie, but also people who even to-day adopt a bourgeois attitude and openly defend the interests of the exploiting classes. All this does not augur well either for the British working class, or for the toiling masses of the British colonies, which expect that the Labour Government will better their intolerable conditions and will carry on a bold fight for the realization of the tenets of Socialism.

Comrades, the Communist Party has never concealed the fact that it does not believe in the real betterment of the position of the working class, or in the possibility of even a gradual realisation of Socialism until and unless the working masses deprive the capitalists of all political rights and power, and establish a government resting on the support of and controlled entirely by workers' organisations. The Communist Party has never concealed its great distrust of the leaders of the Labour

Party, as well as of the entire Second International to which they belong.

But the Communist Party can distinguish between workers who honestly believe in the promises of the Labour Party, and the leaders who are ready to break these promises as soon as they have served their purpose of deluding the workers. We know that the unemployed who voted for the Labour Party, want the Labour Government to carry on the struggle for the prevention of the starvation of the unemployed victims of capitalism. We know that the working class is intent on shifting the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the workers to those of the capitalists. We know that the entire working class wishes to have close economic relations with Soviet Russia in the hope of assisting the Russian workers in their economic construction, and thus providing work for the unemployed in Britain. We know that the workers behind the Labour Party are enemies of the oppressive colonial regime in India and Egypt and are opposed to the whole capitalist policy of armaments which mean new wars. Therefore we appeal to the workers who support the Labour Party and welcome the Labour Government, and we say to them:

The British Communist Party will support the Labour Government in all its efforts to improve the position of the working class and to lessen the peril of armament and war.

But at the same time we tell you quite openly: The Labour Government, to retain liberal support, will recede step by step from its promises, unless you bring pressure to bear on it and unless you make it understand that every concession to the liberals means rupture with you. Therefore we call upon you to organise joint demonstrations for the old demands of the Labour Party and to establish joint committees which will force the Labour Government to fight for:

1. Full maintenance for unemployed workers at trade union rates.
2. Nationalization of mines and railways with workers' control over production.
3. Full freedom for Ireland, India and Egypt. Revocation of the policy of armaments. Credit for Soviet Russia, scrapping of the shameful peace treaty of Versailles.

Workers of Great Britain, no government, even with the best intentions, will be able to better your position and to break your chains if you yourselves do not bring pressure to bear on the bourgeoisie and compel it to realise your growing power. We call upon you to close the ranks of the working class, to establish a united front of labour and struggle. Only thus may the Labour Government not become another disappointment and another failure, but may open a new vista in the struggle of the British working class for emancipation.

The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.

The Executive Committee of the
British Communist Party.

Practical Measures for the Observance of the Celebration of the 5th Anniversary of the Comintern.

The E. C. C. I. hands over everything connected with the observance of this anniversary to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the various countries, and limits itself to general suggestions concerning the nature of the propaganda and the form of celebrations.

I. In connection with the celebrations on March 5, it is proposed to pay attention to the following phases in the revolutionary movement:

1. The meaning of the Paris Commune as the first attempt to establish proletarian dictatorship.

2. The merits of Lenin and of Bolshevism as the left wing of the Second International. The Zimmerwald left as the precursor of the Communist International. Lenin's slogan of converting the imperialist war into civil war.

3. The establishment of the Communist International in the first country to adopt proletarian dictatorship, at a time of the most virulent offensive of world capitalism and of the Russian counter-revolution against the Soviet Power. Rally of the revolutionary elements of socialist parties and trade unions under the banner of Communism.

4. The putting into shape, ideologically and organizationally, of the Communist International at the Second Congress. The

21 demands as a fundamental guarantee against the permeation of the Communist International by opportunist organisations.

Lenin's theses on the colonial and national question, this being the first attempt to proclaim the solidarity of the world proletariat with the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries of the East.

5. The growth of Communist Parties. The revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, which in West European and American capitalism has an even stronger enemy to contend against than the Russian workers in 1917.

6. The tactics of the Communist International as the fighting vanguard of the world revolution. The slogan "To the masses", which was the fundamental slogan in the period intervening between the Second and the Third Congress and which was subsequently merged into the slogan of the united front and of the workers' and peasants' government.

7. Application of the united front slogan, not only among the working class, but also for the union between the town proletariat and the toiling peasantry. The meaning of the International Peasant Conference held in Moscow 1923, as the first attempt at unification of the exploited peasant masses.

8. A sketch of the period supervening the Fourth Congress. International Fascism and its offensive. The process of the disintegration of socialist parties — relics of the Second International. Strengthening of the Soviet Republics. Reaction in Germany-Bulgaria etc.

9. Victims of world reaction. Aid to revolutionary fighters and their families. The International Red Relief (Mopr), established by the Comintern, strengthens international working class solidarity by alleviating the suffering of revolutionary fighters, and is the best guarantee for the ultimate victory of Communism.

II. 1. Press propaganda.

a) The Central organs of all Parties on March 5th, all Party periodicals to devote one number to the 5th anniversary of the Comintern.

b) Parties of countries where technical and political conditions allow of the publication of special pamphlets dealing with the 5th anniversary of the Comintern, should produce such pamphlets in time for March 5th.

2. Wherever local conditions permit, the Parties must organize on the day of the 5th anniversary of the Comintern, special meetings, demonstrations, pilgrimages to the graves of revolutionary fighters etc.

3. Suitable cinema performances, cards, etc.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Recognition of the Soviet Union by England.

The Second Soviet Congress of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics takes cognizance of the announcement of the full recognition de jure on the part of Great Britain, and of the complete resumption of normal diplomatic relations between the two states and notes with pleasure that this historical step is one of the first official acts of the first government of England which has risen from the working class. The worker and peasant government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which has risen out of the great revolution, has set the struggle for peace as one of its chief tasks and during the whole period of its existence has been at pains to restore normal relations with all countries. Unfortunately none of the previous English governments responded to the efforts of the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Not content with that, in May of last year the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics received an ultimatum from the English diplomats, which contained in it the danger of the breaking off of the business relations that had begun and a direct jeopardizing of European peace.

During the whole of this time the working class of England was a true ally of the working masses of the Soviet Union in their struggle for peace. The peoples of the Soviet Union will never forget the efforts of the working masses of England and the progressive section of the English nation in the interest of the raising of the blockade and the boycott, and the discontinuance of the armed intervention. They are quite clear that the recognition that has taken place is the result of the firm will of the English people, who have unanimously taken up a stand for the political recognition of the Soviet government as an essential

preliminary condition for the establishment of world peace, the restoration of the economic system of the world which has been destroyed by the imperialist war and especially for the successful struggle against the industrial stagnation and unemployment in England. The efforts of the pacific policy of the Soviet government under the leadership of Lenin, and the firm will of the English people, has finally led to the restoration of normal relations between both countries, in a form that is worthy of the great peoples of both lands and which has laid the foundation for their friendly co-operation.

In the tense atmosphere of present day international relations which bear in themselves the dangers of new world conflicts, and which keep the working people of all lands in justifiable nervousness, this step of the English Labour government wins a specially important significance. The Second Soviet Congress of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declares that the cooperation of the people of Great Britain and the Soviet Union will remain one of the chief cares of the government of the Soviet Union which will devote its full strength, in accordance with its hitherto prevailing policy of peace, to the solution of all disputes and misunderstandings, and for the strengthening and development of those economic relations which are so indispensable for the economic and political development of the peoples of both lands and of the whole world. The Second Soviet Congress of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stretches out the hand of brotherhood and friendship to the English people, and authorises the Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics to undertake all necessary steps towards the English government arising out of the fact of the recognition of the Soviet government.

M. Kalinin,
Chairman of the Second Soviet
Congress of the S. S. S. R.

A. Enukidse,
Secretary of the Second Soviet
Congress of the S. S. S. R.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The English Labour Government and the Communist Party of England.

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The entry into office of the English Labour Party represents an event of great significance. It announces the awakening of growing masses of workers to class consciousness, and to the knowledge that both bourgeois parties are only representatives of the class interests of the possessing and exploiting minority. At the same time, the policy of the Labour government in England is the touchstone for the masses of workers of the whole world, as well as the oriental races, whether the principles of the Second International concerning the way to Socialism are correct. Therefore, the attitude of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of England to the policy of the Labour government has the deepest significance for the development of the Communist movement. This attitude will be decided by the following fundamental facts:

1. The Labour government is the result of the economic and political disintegration of England resulting from the severe burdens and violent shocks of the world war. The fact that the Labour Party combined four million votes in the elections is not the result of its obstinate, energetic and consistent work for the liberation of the proletariat from the influence of the bourgeoisie. The very fact that the Labour Party possesses only one press organ for the whole of the English proletariat speaks against that. It proves how little this party has succeeded in awakening in the mass of the workers the capacity to make sacrifices for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The Labour Party could not and would not set the interests of the working class clearly, irreconcilably and energetically against the class interests of the bourgeoisie. A large part of the working class still follows the Liberals and the Conservatives, and the Labour Party itself, in its leading elements, represents a kind of bourgeois fraction rather than a party of the proletarian class struggle. It has taken over the government as a party of the minority of the population, partly with the consent of the bourgeois parties, and partly thanks to the lack of unity in the ranks of the bourgeoisie and its inability to overcome this lack of unity in the face of the

terrific tasks and difficulties which have been left over by the war.

2. The whole of the Communist International knows that the working class cannot free itself from its economic slavery and political yoke without conquering the bourgeoisie in a revolutionary struggle, without destroying the apparatus of the bourgeois state and creating its own state-form which is supported by the mass organizations of the proletariat. Therefore the English Communist Party cannot hope that the liberation of the English working class will be the result of an election victory, or the parliamentary tactics of the Labour Party. But the majority of the English working class still possess such democratic illusions, which are especially propagated among the masses by the leaders of the Labour Party. The regime of the Labour government now opens the way to experience for the English working class in order to test the value of bourgeois democracy.

The Labour government is not a government of a proletarian class struggle, but on the contrary, it endeavours to strengthen the bourgeois state system by reforms and — as a substitute for the class struggle — by the class peace. Nevertheless it finds itself to a certain extent dependent upon the proletariat and its class interests. If, contrary to our expectations, proletarian class movements are successful in driving the Labour government into a struggle with capital, this will sharpen the domestic crisis in England to a very high degree. If however, as is to be expected, the Labour government betrays the interests of the proletariat, it will in that way give the proletariat the very best object lesson for its liberation from the illusions of capitalist democracy, and will in this way greatly accelerate the revolutionizing of the working class.

Already the composition of the Labour cabinet, which is a block of Right Labour parliamentarians and trade union officials, with radical intellectuals, and even pseudo-radical representatives of the old civil service, permits of no hope that the Labour Party will pursue the way of struggle. On the contrary, it is to be feared that it will go the way of compromise with the enemies of the working class, with Lloyd George and Asquith, that its principles will consist in pleasing these leaders of capital and forming with them a block against the working class.

In view of this danger it is the task of the Communist Party to do all that is possible in order to achieve the following:

a) The broadest masses of the English proletariat are to be mobilised in order to exert pressure upon the Labour government, so that it earnestly follows the path of conflict with the capitalist class.

b) The majority of the working class must be supported in this so that they convince themselves by their own experience of the complete futility of the leaders of the Labour Party, of their petty bourgeois and treacherous nature, and of the inevitability of their bankruptcy.

For this purpose the English Communist Party must carry out the following immediate tasks:

1. The Communist Party must at once open a big campaign for the carrying out of the promises of the leaders of the Labour Party as well as for other actual solutions which are suited to mobilize the class conscious part of the mass of the workers for common action. These solutions which must contain demands which are simple and clear and which lie close to the hearts of the revolutionary workers, are to be laid down in a program of action of the Communist Party of England.

On the basis of this program, the English Communist Party must win the mass of the workers, to demand a decisive courageous policy from the government. This policy must serve the interests, not only of the working people of England, but also of the peoples who are under the yoke of English imperialism, including the Irish. It must be specially demanded, even if the government is overthrown by the combined parliamentary blocks of the capitalist fractions, the Liberals and Conservatives, that the Labour government shall decide in favour of the following demands:

a) For the purpose of combatting unemployment, the government must take effective measures for the taxation of the capitalists as well as for the carrying out of the control by the state and the workers over the productive industries that have been closed down by the capitalists.

b) The government must take the initiative in the nationalization of the railways and mines which are to be administered with the assistance of the labour organizations.

c) The government must undertake energetic measures for the liberation of the workers and peasants of Ireland, India and Egypt from the yoke of English imperialism.

d) The government must take the lead in the struggle against the war peril in Europe and in the conclusion of an alliance with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

e) The Labour Party must make use of these measures of its government in order to awaken new groups of the English proletariat, as well as workers and peasants of the colonies, to rise up to struggle against the English bourgeoisie.

Further, it must be demanded that if the bourgeois cliques in parliament unite in order to overthrow the parliamentary labour party government, the Labour Party must enter the election campaign as the defender and leader of the working class, in order to awaken the slumbering strength of the English proletariat and in this way prepare for its future victory.

2. The Communist Party must preserve its ideological, tactical and organic independence and carry on an active propaganda for its historically justified conviction that the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are the only guarantees for the emancipation of the working class.

The Communist Party must turn with its propositions to every group and organization of the working class which demands that the Labour government shall carry on a determined struggle with the bourgeoisie. It must propose to them the summoning of joint meetings, the holding of joint demonstrations, and the sending of joint delegations and so on. For these joint actions the Party must endeavour to make agreements also with the "Left" political organizations of the Labour Party.

The Communist Party of England must be conscious that the objective preliminary conditions are now arising for its expansion into an influential revolutionary mass party. Therefore it must make every effort to implant its organization everywhere, deep in the mass of the revolutionary workers and above all in the centres of production.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

To the Central Committees of all Communist Parties.

Dear Comrades.

As you know the International Communist Women's Day will be observed as usual on March 8th.

The Presidium draws your attention to the fact that, in accordance with the decision of our World Congresses, this Day is in all countries the affair of the Communist Party and not merely a "Women's affair". The Presidium expects you to honour this decision and to do your utmost to ensure the successful observance of this day by collaborating in the preparations for it with the leading women comrades in the National Women's Committee and in the Party organs engaged in communist work among women.

The general offensive of the world bourgeoisie against the proletariat (which is as strong as ever), and against the destitute and poor sections of the population, the rule of military dictatorship, fascism and white terror in many countries, the necessity to establish a united front of the exploited and oppressed, — all this taken together adds to the significance of the International Communist Women's Day as a tried and excellent means to awaken wide masses of women and to make them active fighters in the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. The proletarian united front, of which the Communist Party is the leader, can only be complete if women workers are also drawn into the work of the establishment and organization of this front.

The Presidium is well aware of the great difficulties confronting the International Communist Women's Day in the countries where Communist Parties have been suppressed and have thus been reduced to an illegal or semi-legal existence. However, communists never shied at difficulties, on the contrary, the greater the difficulties the greater their efforts and activities. It is just in these countries where the Communist Party is proscribed and persecuted with or without martial law, that it must make special efforts for the preparation and observance of the International Communist Women's Day. This Day must be an overwhelming proof that the Party is alive and active in spite of all prohibitions and persecutions, that it maintains its stand in the midst of the enslaved and impoverished masses, suffering

with them and defending their right to live, as only a true leader of the masses towards their emancipation can do.

Communist Parties, men and women comrades of all countries, recruit self-sacrificing female forces for the next great phase of the proletariat liberation struggle, for the overthrow of class domination, of bourgeois dictatorship, through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Do your duty, and do it joyfully! All of you who believe in Communism, from the foremost leaders of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard in every country, down to the ordinary and unknown men and women, close up your ranks! Organize the International Communist Women's Day! Prepare yourselves for it! Do your utmost to ensure its success!

Dear Comrades, the Presidium is convinced that you will make this our appeal your own, and that you will do your utmost to ensure its success.

Long live the International Communist Women's Day!

Long live the struggle against the class domination of the bourgeoisie, of the propertied classes! Long live the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Communist International!

With communist greetings,

The Presidium of the Executive of the Communist International.

APPEALS

To the Workers of all Countries!

Class Comrades!

The workers of Germany are engaged in the bitterest fight for the eight hour day. In November 1918, the bourgeoisie concluded the class collaboration compact with the Amsterdam Trades Union leaders, and swallowed the eight hour day in order to save the capitalist system from the social revolution. With the help of the reformist Trades Union bureaucracy and the Social Democracy, the economic and political power of Capitalism was continually strengthened. The bourgeoisie laid the gigantic burden of war debts, taxes and costs of the Ruhr war on the shoulders of the proletariat. By catastrophic falls in the Mark, by frantic increases of prices, and unheard-of exploitation, the working masses were driven pitilessly into cruel starvation.

Since the occupation of the Ruhr, the economic crisis has taken a catastrophic form. Unemployment has assumed gigantic proportions. The number of those out of work and on short-time exceeds seven millions. The capitalist class is taking advantage of this crisis, and is conducting, with every brutality, the sharpest offensive against the basic rights of the proletariat, against the right of combination and of strike, against the recognition of the Factory Councils, and above all, against the eight hour day. The heavy industrials wish to squeeze the reparations payments and the obligations of the Micum agreement out of the starved wage slaves by means of a working day of ten or more hours.

Beside setting aside the legal restrictions by means of the Special Powers Act, the capitalists, with Stinnes at their head, have prepared the ground for the ten to twelve hour day by sabotage in production and by mass dismissals. Today they are carrying out with the most unscrupulous methods of coercion, the robbery of the eight-hour day. All the coercive powers of the Fascist military dictatorship of General Seeckt stand at the disposal of the industrial powers.

On the other hand, the workers have lost one position after the other through the unheard-of and traitorous policy of the Amsterdam Trade Union bureaucracy and the Social Democracy. Although Leipart and Grassmann have often asserted, to quieten the masses, that the eight hour day law must not be interfered with, they have never earnestly opposed the power of the Trade Unions against the attacks of the capitalists. They have, in the interests of the bourgeois state and of the capitalist system, even favoured and directly facilitated the attack of the capitalists on the eight hour day.

The Amsterdam Trade Union International has completely abdicated. The beautiful phrases about the fight for the eight hour day and the social rights of the workers, to which the Amsterdam leaders gave expression at the International Congress, do not help the German workers at all, when deeds are lacking.

Comrades! The power of resistance of the German proletariat was weakened with the help of Amsterdam and Social Democratic betrayers of labour, by the state of siege, by Fascist military dictatorship and colossal unemployment. Nevertheless, the German workers are straining all their forces to defend the eight hour day.

In the Ruhr, the working day for the miners was increased from 7 to 8½ hours daily with the consent of the Amsterdam Trade Union Bureaucracy. The foundry and metal workers refused to work longer than 8 hours daily and resisted the 10 to 12 hours day. In nearly all the great towns in Rhenish Westphalia, the miners and metal workers are on strike. In the Central German brown-coal district, a hundred thousand workers are on strike, and are defending themselves against the introduction of pre-war working hours. In the other economic centres the workers are fighting equally stubbornly against the increase of working hours. Still greater struggles are to come.

These struggles of the German proletariat must be carried on under most difficult conditions and with tenacious self-sacrifice. They mean that in Germany the fight is being waged not only over the defence of the eight hour day, but for power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The struggle for the eight hour day is at the same time a struggle against the Fascist military dictatorship, and against the unlimited rule of the magnates of heavy industry. The defensive struggle against the prolongation of working hours is decisive for the fate of the German and the international proletariat.

Working men and women!

You must also clearly realize that the struggle of the German proletariat is your struggle. If it is possible to force the German workers to slave-work of 10 or more hours, it signifies the greatest danger for the workers of Europe. In response to the competition of the German capitalists, the manufacturers of other countries will, using the low wages and the 10 hour working day in Germany as a pretext, dictate wage cuts and longer working hours to their workers. The setting aside of the eight hour day in Germany will result in a sharpening of the capitalist offensive in France, England, Belgium and other countries, and bring a colossal increase in unemployment.

In view of these dangers, the workers in all countries must follow the struggles of the German proletariat with the greatest attention and render practical help. Our comrades, and the revolutionary workers of all lands must immediately give expression to their active brotherly solidarity with the German class comrades, by means of meetings, proclamations and demonstrations.

Class Comrades! Demand everywhere, in workshop and trade union meetings, from the Amsterdam Trade Unions and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, that they transform into deeds their promises and the resolutions of the international Congress for the eight hour day. If the reformist leaders are not prepared to take up this struggle, the masses must do it themselves.

In order to bring our German brothers immediate practical help, the R. I. L. U. directs an appeal to the proletariat of all countries, to perform an international act of solidarity, to collect money for the material support of the strikers and locked-out workers in Germany. When the reformist Unions in England, France, and Czecho-Slovakia and other lands give money to the German Trades Unions, they do it not to support the revolutionary struggle, but to strengthen the power of the Trade Union bureaucracy, which is hostile to the workers. Gompers expressed that quite openly when he declared that one must financially support the German Unions, because they have proved "the best bulwark against Bolshevism".

The Red Trade Union International, on the other hand, summons the workers of all lands, to make sacrifices and collect money for our German fellow workers and the proletarian masses, in order that they may be able to bring the severe struggles, against the capitalist offensive to a victorious issue.

Class comrades! Get to work at once! Act quickly! He gives twice who gives quickly! Start at once in all countries with an international act of solidarity for the struggle of the German workers, for the victory of the German proletariat is the victory of the international proletariat.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.