

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 4 No. 23

3rd April 1924

Editorial Offices: Langegasse 26/12, Vienna VIII. — Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX.
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The V. World Congress of the Communist International.

(Telegram to the Inprecorr.)

The Executive Committee of the Communist International decided at its Session held on the 21st March last to convene the **V. World Congress of the Comintern for the 5th June 1924 in Moscow.**

Before the Congress a **Session of the Enlarged Executive** will be held which will begin on the 25th May.

The **Agenda** of the Congress has not yet been finally settled, but this will be communicated to the press within the course of the next few days.

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Labour Government in Deep Waters.

By J. T. Murphy.

London, March 22, 1924.

Mr. Tom Shaw the Second International leader and Minister of Labour in His Britanic Majesty's Government is having bad luck. It seems to be of no avail that our labour leaders don't want strikes. The workers have apparently made up their minds that whether their leaders like it or not they are going to get a bit of their own back. Ever since 1921 they have had reduction after reduction in wages and have been exceedingly patient about them. They have been told that things are on the mend, and it is true that there are less unemployed than there were a few months ago. So now for getting back some of the goods that have been stolen from them. When the Loco' men challenged reductions with a strike and then the Dockers forced the pace and won concessions, a real tonic was administered to the whole movement and a wages offensive is in full swing. This time the workers are taking the initiative.

On Friday midnight the 21st March 40,000 tram and bus men struck work. That is a terrific blow in London where trans-

port is a key industry. The first effects of the strike even at this time of night were exciting. Hundreds of hotel workers and market workers had to walk from the centre of the city away into the suburbs. Crowds of people who had counted on a last minute settlement were stranded, and rushed for the tubes. Here the congestion was so great that the police had to be called upon to regulate the traffic. If the tubes join in the strike then London is in a fix with a vengeance. As per usual the officials are trying to confine action to simply a section, but whether the tube workers can stand the extra traffic which will inevitably be thrust upon them, and blackleg traffic at that, remains to be seen. They are not in the Transport and General Workers Union which is conducting the strike under the leadership of Bevin, but are partly in the National Union of Railwaymen and partly in the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. There is a working agreement between the latter union and the Transport Unions and it only requires the word from the officials and the strike can become general throughout London transport.

The Electrical Trades Union also threatened that any attempt to introduce blackleg labour will be met by the cutting off of electric power throughout London.

The strike arises from the demand of the union for an increase of 8/- per week for Tram Drivers and Conductors, made as far back as six months ago. The demands of the men have never been rejected on their merits. They have always met with postponement and equivocation. Only when the men decide to strike the employers call for arbitration and forget their own refusal to put into operation the findings of a previous court of Inquiry in 1921. All the governments from that date have been warned as to what situation was developing, but none took any action until faced with the strike. There are of course quite a number of authorities involved, viz: The London County Council, a number of Local Councils and private Companies. The private companies have refused to concede anything. The London County Council is willing to concede 5/- and some of the other Councils 2/-. The Councils are asking for Arbitration, but the companies refuse it and the Unions don't want it. The Government is in a dilemma. It has utterly failed before the strike, to achieve anything which would avert a strike, and it certainly doesn't like the idea of the sympathetic strike extending. The Bus drivers and Conductors are striking with the trammens in sympathetic action as members of the same union and it doesn't take much in the way of incitement to extend that kind of thing once it has begun.

Mr Shaw knows these things quite well, and has plunged for the Court of Inquiry. The fact that some of the authorities have expressed the willingness to make some concession points the way to the settlement. Shaw will aim to get the other bodies to accept the compromise and then persuade the union to accept less than it set out for.

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The position of the Engineering and shipbuilding workers is more difficult. On February 19th a thousand engineers in Southampton struck work, against official orders, for an advance of wages. Their rate was 47s./6d. per week, one of the lowest rates amongst engineering workers in any of the leading towns. Their rate before the war was 40/6. If the cost of living determined the wages, they should be receiving to-day 72/6. On February 25th they were joined by the Shipyard workers, raising the number on strike to 6,000. At the same time the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation of Unions has a demand for a 10s/- increase before the employers. The employers are trying to use the Southampton strike to stop negotiations on the national 10/- demand. The Unions appear to protest, but all the leaders in turn have been down to Southampton to persuade the men to return to work and not to "spoil the National negotiations". The men regard the threat of a national lock-out as bluff and refuse to return to work. And so far they have proved quite correct. The employers should have carried out their threat yesterday, but again deferred action. The men want an additional 7s/6d on to the national demand and are intent on getting it from the local employers. And again there is likelihood of the Minister of Labour stepping in with a Court of Inquiry.

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But the Government's difficulties are still greater with the miners. The decision of the miners to reject the offer of the mineowners and call on the government to proceed with the Miners Minimum wage Bill placed them in a tight situation. The miners had met in conference on the morning after the defeat of the Labour Government on parliamentary procedure. Ostensibly this defeat was on the question of appropriating time for the clearance of Government work. Actually it was the manoeuvring of the mineowners to prevent the introduction of the private members Bill on the question of the Miners' Wages. This Bill demanded a minimum wage on the 1914 basis plus extra, equal to the rise in the cost of living. By appropriating private members time the Bill would be defeated. The Miners conference recognised this and turned down the mineowners offer with a view to forcing the Government into a straight fight on the miners question, with the Government adopting the private members Bill as their own.

The Labour Government does not want to face this issue. It is argued that the miners question is a sectional question and not one which appeals to even all the workers, and therefore it would be fatal for the Labour Government to face certain defeat and have to appeal to the country. The Minister of Mines, Mr. Shinwell, one of the slippiest opportunists in the

Government, is accordingly striving for all he is worth to secure a settlement of the dispute by direct negotiation between the miners and the mineowners with the Minister of Labour as mediator. In this policy he is supported by the "New Leader" and Mr. F. Hodges who, now he is employed at the Admiralty, feels himself somewhat free to give his advice as an onlooker and appear as a bold partisan on behalf of the miner. It is interesting to find him a sudden convert to settlement outside parliament. It is not so many months ago, when the miners looked like taking to direct action by striking, that he told them to look to parliament. Now they have turned to Parliament they have to look to direct negotiation. It is awkward but difficult to resist the idea that he opposes action of any kind which would involve him and his colleagues in any struggle.

There are big dangers ahead for the miners as well as the Labour Government. If the latter fails to get concessions, refuses to bring in a Bill and fight on it, and brings about a situation where the Miners Federation is divided and landed into making local settlements, its fate is sealed. Already some of the miners leaders, Varley for example of Nottingham, of the better paid districts, are in favour of accepting any concession however small it may be. The poorly paid districts of course are opposed to such a policy. And the question is whether the miners are going to be led into the trap of local settlement.

Again the government is proposing an inquiry. But if there is an industry wherein there is no need for any inquiry, wherein everything there is to know about it is known publicly, it is certainly the mining industry. The facts briefly are: 1) the miners are badly paid and everybody agrees they ought to have an increase. 2) The coalfields vary in their yielding capacity and in some coalfields the present terms have ceased to be an economic proposition. 3) Only national unification of the mining industry can overcome these difficulties. 4) The mineowners cannot do this voluntarily. To expect the mineowners who are prosperous to come to the rescue of those who are not making big profits and voluntarily hand over the spoils is too utopian. 5) Only Nationalisation or some form of compulsory state unification can overcome these difficulties. 6) The employers have not a case, considered from a national point of view, the production for the last twelve months having been near record breaking and the profits totalling £26,000,000, that is more than double pre-war profit.

But the issue of nationalisation is being avoided both by the government who don't want to make it a question upon which they would have to face a general election and by the miners who feel that they were misled when this was a burning question in 1921. This is even reflected in the Miners Minority movement which has been thriving on the crisis. Even this omits the question of nationalising the mines. It demands: 1) That the governing principle of the New Agreement shall be the cost of living. 2) An immediate advance in wages equal to the increase in the cost of living as compared to 1914 (i. e. at present 79%). 3) All increases or reductions in future shall be by the addition or reduction of the flat rate. 4) Six days work or six day's pay, i. e. a guaranteed week for all. 5) All workers on night and afternoon shifts shall in future be paid 20% above ordinary day wages for each shift. 6) Membership of the Federation to be a condition of employment in or about the collieries. 7) An instruction to all District Conciliation Boards, to arrange a regrading of the workmen with a view to reducing the present number of varying standard rates to a maximum of three scales of payment. 8) This agreement to operate for one year, to be afterwards terminated by 14 days notice on either side.

Upon this programme the miners minorities are developing throughout the coalfields and it may be that the salvation of the Miners Federation of Great Britain depends upon the development of this movement. At the moment its nominee A. J. Cook stands an excellent chance of securing the post as Secretary in succession to Frank Hodges. But it is impossible to tell yet whether this effort has struck deeper roots than the discontent arising out of the Wages Agreement. But it was through the actions of its leaders that the first offers of the employers were rejected and the Government was challenged to proceed with the Wages Bill. And now it is a struggle between the politicians of the Labour Government and these leaders as to whether the miners crisis will land them into a first class political crisis.

But housing is the one question upon which the Government is scheming and hopes to make the big thing of its existence. It is in fact calculated by many that upon this question they

will ultimately go to the country with Wheatley and Macdonald united in a campaign of indignation and rousing propaganda. But there is a gap between now and the time when they hope to challenge the parties. This they hope to fill with international negotiations as their contribution to the solution of the unemployed problem and the raising of "British prestige in the Councils of the Nations". But evictions are developing on a big scale and making things urgent. Hence facilities have been given for the pushing of the Rents Amendment Bill which has now gone before a committee. This is a private Bill to which Wheatley gave his blessing but which the government did not adopt as its own Bill for fear of defeat. This proposed not only the reduction of rent but the continuation of control until 1928, with the provision that anyone wanting their house back or wishing to turn out a tenant must provide alternative accommodation. The Liberals and Tories have combined to defeat this measure in the committee stage of the Bill. But the matter is urgent and there are already the threats of Maxton and others to challenge the evictions with mass action. So one more item is going to be watered out of the situation. The government will be compelled to introduce a measure within the next few days to stop evictions, but in order to get it through quickly the question of rent reductions will be sacrificed.

The government is getting into rough waters as well as deep. While the plans for house building are being prepared and negotiations between the unions and the employers are going on, the building workers are pushing in demands for 2d per hour increase in wages. There is a deadlock on this issue already and the building workers are threatening a national strike if something tangible is not forthcoming during next week. They have already had six months of negotiation on the matter and patience doesn't last forever. Then the price of bricks is going up at the prospect of big contracts. In the last few weeks they have risen 5/- per thousand. The fifteen to twenty years building programme with guaranteed employment for three years on end to the building workers and 9/- per week houses is looking a bit sick under these conditions. But then, they will persist in chasing this will of the wisp of "gradualism" and refuse to face the fact that a workers government can never hope to carry out its programmes of reconstruction so long as they leave the boss in possession of the instruments for carrying them out.

It is a rough passage they have entered, and meanwhile it is interesting to observe that the Communist Party has begun to grow and the circulation of its weekly paper has risen from 45,000 to 50,000 during the last six weeks.

POLITICS

The Vienna Conference between the Soviet Union and Roumania.

By U. Timescu (Bukharest).

As was more or less anticipated, the Vienna Conference, which was being held during the last few days, has been wrecked owing to the obstinate refusal of the Roumanian delegation to agree to a plebiscite in Bessarabia. Ed.

After a long delay the negotiations for the solution of the disputes pending between the Soviet Union and Roumania are taking place in Vienna. In the foreground stands the question of Bessarabia.

At the beginning of 1918, the troops of the Roumanian Boyars occupied Bessarabia under the patronage of the Entente powers, and since then this territory — which was a part of Russia, and in which the workers and peasants began their revolutionary self-determination at the same time as their Russian class comrades, — has been held under the most cruel of military dictatorships. Only in the last few months did the Boyar Government relieve General *Popovichi*, the military commandant of Bessarabia, and ordered the substitution of a civil administration for the military dictatorship. Just how far this order was seriously intended can be best judged by the fact, that the occupation troops not only continued to persecute the native population, but that they do not wish to recognize any kind of civil power. The annexation of Bessarabia was only possible by a military coup d'etat, and this independent military power does not permit any bargaining with it.

The germinating social revolution in Bessarabia was stamped down by the Boyar hordes in the year 1918, the great mass of the Bessarabian peasants were held down by force of arms by the Boyars in their revolutionary efforts to divide the land, the industrial workers were cruelly suppressed, and the intellectuals thrust back to a low level of cultural life. All classes see the only possible salvation in the Russian Revolution and in the growth of the Soviet Power.

The Boyars may appeal to their alleged historical rights, or to the recognition of the annexation by the Great Powers, but they are not in the position to get rid of the public opinion of their own masses, which maintains itself in spite of the most bloody of white terrors. Even Roumanian opposition political leaders had to acknowledge that if it came to a plebiscite in Bessarabia, 99% of the population would vote for the separation from Roumania, that is for the social and national liberation.

That the Roumanian Government had to decide to take part in this Conference, that it had to negotiate with the maligned and hated Soviet Government, is strengthening the hope in Bessarabia that the vital forces will once more spring up. Not that one awaits any positive results from the Conference! Roumanian imperialism will not, under any conditions, renounce the great opportunities of exploitation in Bessarabia, the more so since things are beginning to crack in all the territories which it has obtained by force of arms, — Transsylvania, the Banat and the Bukovina. It is on this point that the Bessarabian question meets all the other burning questions of Greater Roumania. The Ukrainian question, not only in Bessarabia, but also in the Bukovina, the Magyar question in Transsylvania, the German in the Banat and in the Bukovina, the colonisation of the newly conquered territories and the forcing back of better developed methods of production into a feudal mediaeval condition — all these suppressed social forces of the country threaten to explode.

At the moment when a terrible economic crisis prevails, when a state of siege has been proclaimed in Transsylvania, when the fraud of the agrarian reform is rendering the peasants more and more excited, when a bitter party struggle is being conducted against the opposition for autocracy and unlimited opportunities of corruption, Bratianu, the most eager servant of the French policy of intervention in Soviet Russia, could not bar out an attempt at an understanding with the hated Soviets. The Vienna Conference is a confession of the inner weakness of the Bratianu Government and can only be regarded as a proof of the impossibility of maintaining the arbitrary military rule in Roumania. It is not merely a case of Bessarabia, it is now a question of the social liberation of the whole of Greater Roumania.

M. Bratianu can only point to the French and possibly the Japanese ratification of the annexation of Bessarabia and can make play with the demonstrations in Kishinev which were arranged by the police for the "union with the Roumanian motherland". In Parliament he can even obtain the support of the peasant leader Lupu.

The Balkan Social-Democratic Conference in Bukharest, where the Bessarabian question — an acute and permanent danger threatening the peace of the Balkans — was past over in silence and where the upholders of the present bloody regime in Roumania, the Social Democratic leader without a following, Fluera, and even the solitary Social Democratic member of Parliament, Dr. Pistiner, spoke of the "integrity of Roumania" — all this may be of some advantage to the Boyars, but all these remedies are of very little use in the end to their tottering power.

Bessarabia does not only place its hope upon the fraternal help of the Soviet Governments: for the Bessarabian question, the deciding factor is the whole Roumanian labour movement which is becoming continually more radical¹⁾, the fermenting mass of the peasants who are demanding land more and more energetically, and the oppressed national minorities of Greater Roumania who are striving with longing for a similar national self-determination. The only positive result of the Vienna Conference will be to strengthen the confidence of the workers and peasants who are so bloodily oppressed, and to hasten the process of dissolution of that anachronism, the feudal regime of the Boyars in Roumania.

¹⁾ As evidence of this is the fact that the Party paper "Socialismus", which since 1922 owing to persecution was only able to appear as a weekly organ and was distributed to its readers by means of an illegal Party service has, within the last few days been reconverted into a daily.

Corruption, Communist Persecution and Struggle for Power in Czecho-Slovakia.

By Karl Kreibich (Prague).

The last wish of the Czech patriots is now fulfilled and they can be quite happy. Their sole grief, after the fulfillment of all their wishes by the founding and "consolidating" of the state, might be expressed in the sob "The world does not know us yet". Letters still came from England, France and other countries with the address "Prague, Austria", and Czechs on their travels were still plagued by Parisian ladies with the question, whether life on the "Pusta" was really so romantic. That has now ceased and every patriot can now repeat the words, — which formed the title of a variety Revue which made a great hit in Prague, — "The World speaks of us": In spite of the centenary of Smetana, the world speaks now much more of Czech spirits than of Czech music.

But the spirit affair is already a symbol. There is a whole mass of corruption affairs, and their enumeration would look like the statistics of some big business, grouped according to various articles. The spirit affair has only become a symbol of the whole cesspool of corruption, because it was the first big affair to be discovered, and because it is of an expressly political character. The associations of agricultural and industrial spirit producers of Czecho-Slovakia have received a monopoly from the government, and use this to rake in huge profits. To make sure of this source of gold, the association has founded its own corruption fund, to buy over the leading politicians of the Government coalition, with huge bribes of millions for the retention of their monopoly. It was ascertained that Prasek, an agrarian, President of the Senate of the national assembly, administered such a fund to the amount of 30 million Czech crowns, by means of which he corrupted the socialist coalition parties. So far three millions have been traced, which the Czech national socialists have received, and on account of which the Postal Minister, Tucky, a national socialist, had to resign. But also Prasek, for the rest an old scamp, who drew a special salary from the privy purse of the Austrian Emperor, had to resign from his presidential seat, it is true not until Masaryk had snubbed him at the New Year's reception. One could not do more to him, for he threatened he would then tell everything. The agrarians revenged themselves upon Masaryk for his treatment of their Prasek: they chose their partisan Donat, whom our central organ exposed as the founder of the spirit corruption fund, as President of the first chamber and forced Masaryk on his birthday to receive this honourable man as the bearer of congratulations. So now the government coalition have taught their beloved Masaryk, that one cannot be a humanist, one cannot be a paciist, one cannot even allow oneself the luxury of an exaggerated moral sense of purity, if one wishes to remain President of a bourgeois Republic.

When one passes in review the whole series of corruption affairs, and judges matters by the standard of capitalistic conditions and civic morality, one has to confess, that the whole rascally business in no way exceeds what is usual in the decaying period of Capitalism. It would be quite a mistake to suppose that corruption in Czecho-Slovakia is worse than in the rest of the capitalistic world. Only it bears the stamp of haste, precipitancy and clumsiness and therefore collapses more easily. It must be borne in mind, that the Czech bourgeoisie only emerged very late in the decaying period of capitalism, that is with a long unappeased voracious appetite to the state feeding trough, and therefore the over-eagerness to steal exceeds the dexterity needed therefore. But if the sensation, which the Czech corruption affairs make in other countries, is greater than the (for capitalist conditions) normal extent of the corruption would warrant, it is only because the excitement over the corruption at home, among the Czech people is greater than elsewhere. The Czechs are, in their overwhelming majority, a nation of workers, small farmers and petty bourgeois, who since the beginning of the bourgeois era, that is since 1848, have fought against the State and against Capitalism, because both bore a character inimical to the nation. In all these decades, the national, political and social awakening of these classes was accomplished in a struggle against the State and capitalism. From this time there has remained with the great mass of the Czech proletariat, small farmers and citizens, a very strong antipathy towards Capitalism generally and its control of the State.

And the greater the enthusiasm of these classes was for the establishment of their own state, so much the more fearful is their disappointment, when they have to see, how the old story is now repeated in this state, and that Capitalism not only controls it, but also robs and corrupts it. The weekly paper "Cas" (now the daily "Cesko-slovenska Samostatnost") which represents the opinions of the national petty bourgeois strata but who are not favourable to the present government coalition, as well as the intellectuals and legionaries who are related to them, wrote already in December with bitterness: "Formerly Austria corrupted us, now we see to it ourselves". In these classes there still lives much healthy opposition to Capitalism, and when recently, even the central organ of the Czech national socialists brought out articles against the threatened growth of Czechish big capital, it gives expression not only to the touching naivety of the economic "babies" who wonder at the growth of capital in a capitalist society, but also to the anti-capitalist spirit of the petty bourgeois and petty bourgeois minded strata. In these classes also, the horror of the corruption, the stormy indignation against a system in which such things are possible, has become so loud, that a public scandal has grown out of it, which makes the campaign of the Communists, above all of our Central organ, the "Rude Pravo", against the corruption of the ruling parties seem so dangerous.

In this situation, the government coalition has done the stupidest thing it possibly could: instead of introducing at least a Parliamentary inquiry into the political corruption, after the English and French pattern, it has decided to undertake a counter-attack against the Communists as exposers of the corruption, and to proceed by means of an exceptional law against the press. For nothing else can be the meaning of the announced alteration in the law regarding slander in the press, for which until now trial by jury was competent. The whole campaign, as one foresees already, after a very eventful week, is doomed to fail. The severe reprimand by the Prime Minister Svehla against the Communists making the exposures was without effect, because the only possible ground for it was lacking: the announcement of an inquiry into the corruption scandal exposed by the Communists. The word given by Svehla: "Nothing further may be said on these matters!", has still further shaken the moral credit of the government coalition, and the journalists' organisations have already taken up their position against the threatening fresh worsening of the press law. Also the Moravian wing of the national democrats is attacking the government because of this campaign. The attempt undertaken by the central organ of the social democrats with a publication marked by much meanness and mendacity, to accuse the communists of corruption, has failed miserably. It appears, however, that the agrarian Minister for National Defense has stirred up a stench far surpassing all others hitherto, in that he has ruthlessly exposed the Benzine affair as et only one of the corruption affairs, and has had those guilty prosecuted. Here it is a question of enormous corruption of officials of the ministry, to get the supplying of benzine for the army into the hands of one firm. The legal prosecutions already cover such a wide circle that it is becoming uncomfortable for those who have to deal with the matter; but it is just because of the colossal extent of the affair, that it is impossible to check it. One must let it run its course and the result will be shattering for the whole present day system of government.

We can be very well satisfied with the little bit, that the central organ of the national socialists, the "Ceske Slovo" has done. It came quite suddenly with a general attack on Comrade Smeral, accusing him of having followed during the world war, not only an opportunist, pro-Austrian policy, — a matter which has long since been closed — but also of having been a spy of the Austrian parties. This sensation which was also nothing new, an old long exploded lie dug up again, lasted only a few days. Comrade Smeral, who till now has confined himself to the open confession of his war-policy and the taking upon himself the full responsibility for his share in the policy of the Czech Social Democrats and the Czech bourgeois parties, and had refused, in spite of all the incidental mean attacks, to disclose the events of those years, has now decided, to come out with his memoirs and documents. The lie of his having been "in the confidence of the Austrian government" has been so dispelled by two articles from him, that all his opponents have clearly withdrawn it. But the masks have been torn from a few patriots, who would very much like to pose as heroes in the fight against Austria — Social demo-

crats, Agrarians, and National Democrats, — so that they have been seized with general panic. Thus the attack upon Smeral has had the result that, in addition to the exposure of the present moral depravity of the present day system of government, there comes the unmasking of the pasts of its representatives.

But it would be a mistake, only to see this moral depravity of the government coalition, and the struggle of the Communists against it. Of course, our Party alone carries on this struggle earnestly and inexorably and with the definite object of opening the eyes of the working people to the moral character of the bourgeois-social-patriotic coalition. But the first exposures, which caused a general stir, came from the ranks of the coalition itself, and the exposures following from them would have been impossible without the active help of now one, now another of the governing parties or governing cliques. The political interest of the whole corruption campaign lies in this, that hidden behind it is a fierce, implacable struggle for power within the government coalition. Financial capital and Industrial Capital, Agrarian Capital and Banking Concerns are fighting one another, and each of these powers has its exponents in the coalition. The petty bourgeoisie and the sections of the proletariat which wish to avoid a decisive struggle with Capital, have turned to the Benes-Masaryk ideology, and desire something like a reformed, approved Capitalism without the "excrescences of big capital", with harmless "reasonable" Socialism, and of course with democracy and freedom. It becomes continually more difficult to hold this motley society together. The struggle for power in these groups is carried on behind the scenes, as a struggle over the question of Masaryk's successor, a question which according to the laws of nature and of human life will become acute at no very remote time. Who shall become President after Masaryk? That is the form of the question of future relationships of power. The representatives of the possessing classes, the National Democrats and Agrarians, are, of course, already tired of the whole business — Humanity, Pacifism, Socialism and the rest of the Masaryk Ideology and Tradition; they do not want it any longer even as an outer decoration, and consider themselves already strong enough to hold the masses in leash without all this already pretty rotten hocus pocus. The only thing is they are not yet agreed on Kramar or Svehla, a ruthless dictatorship of Financial Capital, or an industrial-capitalist-agrarian regime. Both of the two groups hope by means of concessions to win the clericals. The leaders of the petty bourgeoisie and the sections of the proletariat filled with petty bourgeois ideas do not wish to part with the old illusions. Benes hopes, perhaps, on the grounds of a Masaryk testament, and supported by the tradition of national revolution, by the Intellectuals and by the Legionaries, who form the backbone of those petty bourgeois classes, to be able to step into the shoes of his master. The Social Democrats would have to work with them, since they are not in a position to set up any policy of their own.

These fights behind the scenes render it clear, that the National Democrats first broached the spirit affairs, in order to hit the agrarians and the Social patriots of both camps; it is equally clear that the Social Democrats eagerly helped in the exposures, so long as it looked as if only the National Socialists had "taken". In confidential circles, it is said that the Benzine swindle in the War Office has been known a long time, — the "Tribuna" months ago, gave hints of it, — but that the Minister for Defence, who is an Agrarian, first lanced this boil, when the government Socialists and Benes came down too heavily on corrupt agrarians. The firm which insured itself the military supplies by means of wholesale corruption, the "Naphta Company", is a concern of the "Legiobanka" (Bank of the Czecho-Slovakian Legions) and several functionaries of this Legionary concern were already arrested. So those circles are affected which stand close to M. Benes and which are looked upon as the representatives of the pure Ideas of the Czecho-Slovakian national revolution. The National Democrats, as a matter of course, pounce upon this fat morsel, for the "Legiobanka" is a thorn in the flesh of the "Zivnostenska Banka". But also the surprising and mean attack of the "Ceske Slovo", the organ of the National Socialists, that is of Minister Benes' party, upon Comrade Smeral may be connected with these inner struggles of the coalition. M. Benes is said to have the ardent desire, that Smeral should expose the followers of an Austrian policy in the camp of the bourgeois parties. But whether the things which Comrade Smeral has related and still has to relate will help M. Benes, is rather doubtful. In any case,

however, just as the exposures over corruption, it will help to dissolve the whole government coalition, and expose the whole system before the eyes of the masses. All of which is of course only a part of our struggle against this system and of our preparation for its overthrow.

England's Policy in Arabia.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

Since the victorious conclusion of the World War, the protection of the Asiatic shore of the Suez Canal and of the land route to India, has become one of the central problems for English Colonial policy. During the war, there took place the first act of the fight for power over the Arabian peninsula the most important tribes of which, thanks to the resentment of the peoples against the suppression exercised by the Turks for many centuries, and thanks to the seductive promises and bribes of the English, allied themselves with the Entente and thereby accelerated the defeat of the Turko-German Army. Hussein, the Sheriff of Mecca, one of the most rapacious and most cunning Arabian princes, by the grace of England became "King" of Hejaz, an in 1915, an agreement was concluded between him and the representative of England, according to which he was promised for his services the friendly support of England for the extension of the territory under his rule. The English fulfilled their promise, in as much as they recognized Hussein as legal King of Hejaz after the War, helped his son Feisal — after his attempt, secretly supported by the English, to possess himself of Syria had failed — to obtain the throne of Mesopotamia (Iraq), and finally handed over to his second son Abdallah, the Emirat of the territory east of the Jordan, which is a sterile tract of country, but of great importance as a connecting link between the adjoining territories. By the Balfour-Declaration, Palestine became a British Mandate Territory; Syria in spite of the violent resistance of the population, came under French administration.

It is superfluous to remark that the kings appointed by England fulfilled every requirement except the satisfaction of the needs of their peoples. These princes, who for the rest reign absolutely, and have no contact whatever with the people (Parliament or the like), are making use of their power for suppressing the "families" hostile to them and for enriching their own relatives (Hussein and the Hashimite family) at the expense of the poor population. Moreover in some cases they are totally alien to the country over which they rule, and have no other interest for the population than that of squeezing out of it the highest possible amount of taxes which they use for increasing the pomp and splendour at their courts, whilst spending only a small portion in the administration of the country and the welfare of its inhabitants. For example: Emir Abdallah receives from the population of his country, numbering some 350,000, no less than 120,000 Pounds a year, out of which sum 90,000 Pounds are spent for the personal use of the Emir whilst the remaining 30,000 Pounds has to suffice for all other purposes. The discontent of the population has to be suppressed by mercenaries drawn from war-like Bedouin tribes and sections of the Royal Air Force (English). Villages and districts offering obstinate resistance — the impoverishment of the Fellahs has, during the last six years, increased to an enormous extent in the Vassal countries ruled by Arabian princes, as well as in Palestine, which is directly administered by England, and has brought about mass emigration, partial insurrections etc. — are compelled by means of bombs to yield the taxes demanded of them. The middle stratum, which forms the germ of capitalism which is seeking to arise, is held back in its development by means of vexacious trade and customs regulations. These Kings and Emirs have English advisers attached to their courts, who "look after English interests". In practice it is they who decide the policy of the Arabian peninsula in accordance with the orders of the Colonial Office.

The latest phase of development of political affairs in the Arabian peninsula is marked by the attempt of King Hussein and his sons to secure a certain independence from the burdensome English tutelage. This is by no means a revolt against England, since without the support of the latter, the hated Hashimites would not be able to maintain their rule for a moment. It is simply a manoeuvre for obtaining further concessions

from the English diplomats by means of intimidation. King Hussein is striving at the creation of an Arabian Federation, which shall not only embrace the territory at present ruled by him and his sons, but also the English-French mandatary territories inhabited by Arabians. England, who inspired the first part of the scheme (in order to centralize her own influence), looks on not without pleasure at the inner unrest in French Syria, but at the same time considers the renouncement of the Palestine Mandate a highly unjustified demand on the part of Hussein since it means an attack upon the decisive influence of England in Palestine provided by the Balfour Declaration. King Hussein cannot obtain the support of the Palestine population for his aspirations in Palestine, if he gives sanction to the legal situation created by England in that country, the recognition of which has been refused up to now by all sections of the Arabian population. Mainly with a view to removing this serious obstacle to the Arabian Federation, King Hussein some weeks ago paid a visit to his son at Amman, (capital of Transjordan), where he intended to get into contact with the feudal leaders of the existing Arabian nationalist parties, to bring to a conclusion the negotiations regarding the Arabian Federation, and finally, in the event of his succeeding in his plan, to get himself in his capacity as King of the Federation, proclaimed Khalif. It became evident, however, that the opposition of the population to English Imperialism in the mandatary countries, that is where the Arabs had the opportunity of first hand experience of it — has already become so strong that the feudal leaders could not dare, without risking their predominant position in the national movement, to accept the proposals of King Hussein which aimed at a compromise with the English. There remained therefore only one other course: to attempt to induce England to concede the Arabian demands, a step which, since England knows only too well the import of her support for Hussein and his sons, was destined to miserable failure.

Hussein's journey to Amman reveals in the most striking manner the network of bribery, instigation and intrigues into which the diplomats of imperialist England have been able to implicate Arabia in the course of the last six years, in order to render it subject to her. That fact that upon a "hint from above" a Zionist delgation proceeded to Amman, in order to come to an agreement with Hussein regarding the fate of Palestine, clearly proves once again that the Jewish bourgeoisie, together with its obedient lackeys of the Poale Zionist "Ahduth Haavodhdh", who would like to win the sympathies of the world for their ideal "Reconstruction schemes", is in reality allied with English Imperialism and, as its instrument in the Arabian East, is ready at any time upon the command of the British to betray the ideals preached by them to the Jewish masses.

The Labour Government has declared that its policy in the Arabian countries will consciously follow that of the previous governments, Against the guard which is destined to prepare the overland route to India for Imperialism, and which consists of the Royal Air Force, bribed Bedouin Sheiks, Kings and Emirs, Zionist adventurers and feudal landowners — against this, the native working people, the living body of which is destined to form the foundation for the highway of Imperialism, for the time being, cannot oppose anything else but isolated protestation and desperate episodal insurrectory movements. But with the sufferings of the broad masses of the people, there grows also their bitterness and their courage to fight. Developments in the near future may very well lead to widespread outbreaks.

Parallel with the extension of the English influence in Arabia, there increases the antagonism between English and French imperialism. The mutual instigatory work in the mandate district is complemented by feverish negotiations with the various Bedouin leaders, whose tribes for the great part possess no settled residence, are rapacious and bold, and always ready to fight on the side of the Power which in return for their help gives the largest supply of arms and gold. In opposition to the Arabian Federation, which, under the leadership of Hussein, is to become England's bulwark in Arabia, the French have allied themselves with Jéhjé, the King of Yemen, around whom there are rallying all those Bedouin tribes which are discontented with Hussein's hegemony. The relations between both Arabian groups are very strained, and if the news recently reported by an Egyptian paper as to the commencement of hostilities on the frontier of Hejaz has for the moment proved to be false, it is evident that the incitement carried on by both European powers must provoke a bloody fratricidal struggle in Arabia within the not distant future.

ECONOMICS

The International Economic Situation.

By Eugen Varga.

III.

The Problem of the Stabilization of the Mark.

We have always held the view that under the present economic conditions a permanent stabilization of the mark is an impossibility. This view has been based upon the assumption that Germany's economic balance is in itself passive, that is, that Germany — the sums to be paid for reparation being included in the calculation — consumes more than she produces. This has given rise to the tendency shown by German capitalists to invest their capital abroad, naturally causing a deterioration of the payment balance, with resultant depreciating effect upon the mark. Again, the enormous depreciation of the mark has led to the paper mark being substituted, even for German inland transactions, to a very great extent by foreign currencies — pound, dollar, and florin notes — and this signifies a further deterioration of the payment balance of the country, for the quantities of these foreign notes which have been serving as a means of circulation within Germany have been bought by the export of goods, that is, by the surrender of real values. The improvement of the German trade balance was brought about in previous years by the sale of mark notes and mark credits abroad, and by the transference of capital into the hands of foreign owners — shares, houses, ground property etc. It must further be taken into consideration that until the expropriation of the middle classes had been carried out, until the revolution in retail prices which began about August 1923, the leading capitalist circles of Germany still found the depreciation of the mark to their interest, and frustrated more or less deliberately the actions attempted by the government in support of the mark.

We are now confronted with the fact that since about November 15., the German mark has actually been stabilised. And we must now raise the questions:

1. What change has then taken place in Germany's economic conditions to render this stabilization possible?

2. Is there any prospect that this stabilization is final — or will it be of brief a duration as the attempt at stabilization made in the spring of 1923?

No change has taken place in Germany's productive conditions such as could have brought about a stabilization of the rate of exchange. Quite the contrary: In November and December of 1923 Germany's production sank to a point hitherto unknown. The number of unemployed and workers on short time reached six millions, in round numbers. It is therefore by no means possible to seek the basis of the stabilization in the sphere of production.

But in the sphere of circulation, on the other hand, a great change has taken place. This change may be briefly expressed as a great retardation in the speed of circulation of the money in circulation. The causes of this process must mainly be sought in the political changes, and in the attendant changes which have taken place in the psychological attitude of wide circles of the population. The last months of 1923 witnessed a great change in money technics in Germany. The Rentenbank was established, and the further discounting of state bonds by the Reichsbank was discontinued. The Rentenbank notes put into circulation for the account of the state were redeemed by the Rentenmark credit received by the state. In combination with this, the paper mark was stabilised at 1 billion paper marks to the gold mark. Since this time the German rate of exchange has not only been stable, but equal to gold value, that is, as a rule it is not possible to obtain more than the nominal gold value of 4.2 Rentenmarks for 1 American dollar in Germany.

If we regard the question of the stabilization from the quantitative side, then it appears totally incomprehensible. In this case the quantitative theory fails completely. Whilst the circulating mediums in circulation before the issue of the Rentenmark did not exceed more than about 200 million gold marks in Reichsbank notes and about 600 millions gold marks in gold loan and dollar treasury notes, the amount of money in circulation has been greatly increased since the establishment

of the Rentenbank*). According to the statement made by the minister of finance, Luther, the currency in circulation at the end of the year 1923 was as follows („Vossische Zeitung, 30. October):

	Millions of gold marks.
In Reichsbank notes	400
In Rentenmarks	1,200
In treasury notes and gold mark, lower values	300
In emergency money	500
	2,400

Since that time the sum has increased very considerably. Not only does the state railway issue large amounts of stable value and nonstable money, but the separate states — Prussia, Saxony, Thuringia and even the separate provinces of Prussia and the various cities, are issuing large quantities of paper money, which are received into circulation without difficulty and do not in the least detract from the stabilization.

The explanation of this fact can only lie in the retardation of the speed of circulation of money. This means that everyone coming into possession of money no longer hastens to convert this into goods or paper of value, as during the period of depreciation, but retains the money for a longer time, as in pre-war times. Here it must be remembered that the amount of goods being sold is smaller at the present time than it was six months ago, as production has much diminished. The increased powers of absorption shown by circulation for German paper money can only be partially explained by the fact that a part of the foreign notes formerly in circulation have been replaced by German paper money.

The present question is: What possibilities do the various agents in the sphere of circulation see for the retardation of the speed of circulation of money? In other words: Upon what are the separate owners of money basing their hope that money is not going to depreciate in their hands as it did before?

This hope is not based on the quality, on the description of cover existing for the paper money. The Rentenmark is just as much uncovered paper money as the old paper mark. The Rentenmark cannot be redeemed in gold, it cannot be exchanged abroad for foreign currencies. Its sole cover lies in the fact that it can be employed for the purchase of annuity bonds bearing 5% interest in gold. Even assuming that this 5% interest is fully covered by mortgages of German property in land, still it is scarcely possible for this to be the foundation of the absolute faith put in the Rentenmark and paper mark in Germany at the present time. For 5% annual interest, even in gold, is absolutely no attraction and no security under present circumstances, when 5% monthly and considerably more has to be paid for stable value loans.

The foundation for the unlimited faith placed in the Rentenmark lies, in our opinion in the political change which took place in Germany almost simultaneously with the issue of the Rentenmark. The working class had just suffered a temporary defeat in the struggle between capital and labour in Germany. This defeat has had the social effect of lengthening working hours and reducing wages. The capitalist and Social Democratic press designates the present stage as a „crisis of convalescence“, to be followed by complete restoration to health of German economics on a capitalist basis after the lapse of a few months, and after production has been cheapened by the above measures, and prices correspondingly lowered. The faith placed in the Rentenmark is chiefly induced by this mass suggestion, and it is this which has so greatly retarded the speed of circulation of money.

*) According to calculations made by the Secretary of State Hirsch, the following is the amount of money which has been in circulation per head of the population:

Pre-war, about	90 gold marks
End of 1919, about	51 „ „
October 1922, about	14 „ „
June 1922, about	6 „ „
Since then	2½ — 4 „ „
Beginning of November 1923	1 „ „

On the other hand, he estimates the bills and foreign notes possessed by Germany — in accordance with the Cuno offer of an inner German security loan — at 3 milliards of gold marks, in round figures 50 gold marks per head of the population.

And then come the measures intended to aid the stabilization of state finances: the placing of taxation on a gold basis; the planned reduction of state expenses by the dismissal of personnel; the rendering of the post-office and the railways independent of the state, involving cessation of further subsidies. And finally, the fact that no reparation payments whatever have been made within the last few months, and that the abandonment of resistance in the Ruhr has greatly reduced the expenses incurred by the state.

If a correct judgment of the situation is to be made, it must not be forgotten that the Rentenmark — and the German mark in any form — has completely ceased to be a medium for international payment. All import and export business with Germany is carried on in foreign currencies, so that there exists the possibility of allowing an actual depreciation of the mark not to be immediately expressed in a lowered rate of exchange in comparison with foreign rates, but of expressing it by a rise in prices in Germany itself, or by preventing prices from being lowered, the nominal gold parity being maintained meanwhile. As a matter of fact, the present turnover of German money at the foreign exchanges is so nominal that only a very slight intervention is required to keep the rate of exchange formally stable.

It need not be said the confidence at present actually existing in the stability of the mark in Germany can only be kept up permanently if the economic basis be provided. For this purpose we must examine three points:

1. The possibility of equilibrating state finance.
2. The form taken by trade and payment balance.
3. The form taken in the future by the reparation obligations. These three questions are closely bound up with one another.

1.

The Equilibration of State Finances.

The data of revenue and outlay for the German Reich, since the stabilization, are unexpectedly favorable. The figures are as follows:

	(In millions of gold marks.)						
	21.—30. Nov.	1.—10. Dec.	11.—20. Dec.	21.—31. Dec.	1.—10. Jan.	11.—20. Jan.	21.—31. Jan.
Total revenue	15.1	32.8	42.9	88.8	99.9	161.2	188.7
Total outlay	258.7	180.0	165.7	153.8	63.9	180.4	199.1
Surplus	—	—	—	—	38.0	—	—
Deficit	243.6	147.2	122.8	65.9	—	19.1	10.4

Whilst the revenues of the Reich covered less than 1% of the expenses before the issue of the Rentenmark, it has been found possible, during the first period of the current year, to raise a revenue covering 155% of the expenses and yielding a surplus of 36 million gold marks. The period under survey is too short for a final conclusion to be drawn. The more so that the revenues of the Reich are not yet fixed, as the third taxation enactment has not yet been issued, and the above data contain sources of income which have now been done away with (Ruhr levy, bread levy), and therefore play no part in the year 1924. The remarkably favorable result yielded by the first ten days of the year 1924 besides that is to be ascribed to the fact that no officials' salaries were paid during these ten days. Thus we are at present still faced by the purely theoretical consideration of whether Germany is at all in the position to balance her state finances. If we put aside all consideration of reparation payments, then the question may be replied to with an unqualified affirmative. The expenses of the German Reich, compared with pre-war times, have been greatly reduced by the cessation of the necessity of paying interest on inner state debts, and by the greatly lessened outlay for military purposes. As Germany's productive capacity — assuming that capitalist production is not acutely deranged by the proletarian struggle — is still intact, so therefore there is no reason why German economy should not raise sufficient amounts by taxation for the payment of state outlay. The great question is the following: Will or will not the German bourgeoisie, now able, thanks to the victory won over the working class, to regard the state as a class state, pay taxes for the maintenance of this state? In other words: Is the state-forming class will of the German ruling classes strong enough to force their individual members to pay adequate taxes, or is it not? If the bourgeoisie will pay, there is really no reason why the German people should not maintain the German state. It goes

without saying that this would involve a great increase in taxation. It is impossible to maintain the German state with 1200 million gold marks, the revenue in 1922, or with about 700 to 800 million gold marks, that of 1923. And as the reductions in wages among workers and officials has diminished their tax-paying powers to a minimum, it is the propertied classes who must pay the increased taxation — the large land owners, big bourgeoisie, large farmers. If this is not done, then the stabilization of the mark will be of short duration.

In order to gain an idea as to how long the present favorable conditions of state finances will last, we must examine more closely into the sources of revenue. We then see that the larger part of the revenue has been drawn from sources yielding a single payment only. We have before us the latest complete statement on the revenue of the Reich for the month of December. As 1 billion paper marks remained equal to 1 gold mark during this month, we give the figure already reduced to gold marks.

The total revenues of the Reich, obtained from taxes, duties, levies etc. amounted to 312.32 million marks ¹⁾.

This income has been raised from sources falling under 63 different categories. If we leave aside those sources yielding less than 1 million marks the revenues are distributed as follows:

Levies paid once only

(in millions of gold marks)

Ruhr levy, ratable under income tax	94.06
do ratable under tax on corporations	29.44
Works levy: employers' levy	20.38
do land levy	6.27
Bread supply levy	7.31
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	167.46

Permanent Revenues.

(in millions of gold marks)

Income tax deducted from wages	37.35
Other income tax	3.13
General turnover tax	50.58
Increased turnover tax	1.85
Company tax	1.48
Exchange returns tax	16.47
Bill stamps	2.78
Duties and consumption taxes, together	29.04
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	142.68

From this we see that the financial position of the Reich has a very shaky foothold, despite the favorable data yielded by the first ten days of January. More than one half of the December revenues are classified under Ruhr levy, works levy, and bread supply levy — all of them sources of income no longer existing in 1924. The income permanently flowing in is not likely to cover more than 20 to 30 % of the expenditure — after deduction of the grants to the different states and municipalities. The figures further show that the German bourgeoisie did not pay any taxes in December, apart from the lump sum levies ²⁾. Of the taxes bringing in a permanent income, the following are paid by the ruling classes:

Income tax	3.13	mill. gold marks
Increased turnover tax	1.85	" " "
Company tax	1.48	" " "
Exchange returns tax	16.47	" " "
Bill stamps	2.78	" " "
	<hr/>	
	25.71	mill. gold marks

The ruling classes also participate in the turnover taxes, duties, and monopolies. At a generous computation, the bourgeoisie has paid 60 million gold marks in current taxes. If state finances are to be balanced, the bourgeoisie will have to increase its payment of constant taxes by about five times, and this amount, combined with the taxes paid by the proletariat, would establish the equilibrium — **without reparation payments.**

Before the war, the taxation revenues were as follows, in round figures ³⁾:

Reich	2.000	mill. gold marks
States	2.000	" " "
Municipalities	1.500	" " "

At the present time the Reich requires considerably less outlay for the army; the Reich, the states, and municipalities have scarcely any interest to pay on loans. These two items would amount to 2.200 millions, the reduction in consequence of diminished area amounts to 300 millions. Reckoned in pre-war values, 3.000 millions remain. But as the purchasing power of gold has diminished by a third, the actual sum required is approximately 4.500 million gold marks. In round figures, 380 gold marks per month. If we estimate the taxes paid by the bourgeoisie in December at 60 million marks, and those paid by the proletariat at 80 millions, it will be seen that the ruling classes have to increase their burden of taxation fivefold, for the proletariat, with its minimum wages, can scarcely bear any further taxation. And here no calculation is made for costs of occupation, nor for reparation payments, nor for the deficits in the state undertakings. If we further take into consideration that the occupied territory is paying no taxes at the present time, as the capitalists are having their participation in the Micum contract placed to their credit on their tax accounts, and as further the most profitable section of the state railways, that of the Ruhr area, is in the hands of the French, then we see that in actual fact the bourgeoisie of unoccupied Germany must raise much more than fivefold in current taxes, if state finances are to be equilibrated. If this is not done, and the government is obliged to resort to inflation again, even in a concealed form (gold loan, state railway money, gold notes issued by the states, renewed Rentenmark credits, etc.), then the stabilization of the mark, not very firm in any case, will be of but brief duration.

Sabotage of taxation on the part of the ruling classes.

We have already raised the question: Is the state-forming class will of the German ruling class still powerful enough to force its individual members to pay the taxes necessary for the maintenance of the state of the bourgeois dictatorship?

In view of the last few weeks, we are inclined to reply to this question in the negative at the present juncture. There are, however, some few voices to be heard from the periodicals published by the class conscious section of the bourgeoisie, speaking in favour of the payment of taxes. Thus, for instance, Stinnes' paper, the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", wrote on 19. December 1923 as follows:

"In such a moment as the present it is of first importance that action be taken, and that means in this case, that payments be made. These payments cannot be regarded from the view-point of the political estimation in which the present government is to be held, for they serve the immediate object of maintaining the state as such, and are thus to be judged and paid apart from any party bias. At the present time the sole question is to raise money at once, not only in the interest of the state, but in the interest of the economic life.

For the productivity of economics is insolubly bound up with the functions of the administrative apparatus, and there is no knowing what would be the consequences if one day our juridical apparatus, our police, state, soldiery, and administration, should cease to function, if officials' salaries were no longer paid regularly, if corruption found its way in, if we came to a complete dissolution. The

¹⁾ The total revenue of the Reich here given is not equivalent to the revenue sums calculated by periods of ten days. These are "Surpluses of the finance offices", and contain the additional income gained by the state from financial operations, for instance the sale of gold loans. In the periods of the first, second, and third ten day offices of December the total of the surpluses gained by the finance amounted to only 173.7 million gold marks, as compared to 512 millions of total revenue from taxes, customs, etc. The 136 million gold marks lacking are obviously the amounts falling to the states and municipalities out of the revenues of the finance offices of the Reich.

²⁾ It is particularly characteristic of the tax sabotage practised by the bourgeoisie, that the death duties only brought in the ridiculously sum of 56.650 marks in December. In the year 1913 this tax brought in an average of 3.9 million marks. The small amount yielded by this description of tax in Germany in December appears to be principally due to the slowness of the tax procedure; months pass between a death and the payment of the death duties, and the depreciation in the value of money then means that the amount is reduced to nothing.

³⁾ "Börsen Courier", 20 December 1923.

interests of economics and the interests of the state have seldom been so closely bound up with one another as they are today and will be in the days immediately before us¹.

But such an isolated utterance as this is counter-balanced by dozens of articles and protests from bourgeois organizations, representing the present taxation as unbearable. We reproduce a few of these here:

"The merchants of Hamburg make the public declaration that if the proposed new and unevadable tax, falsely designated as income tax, but in reality representing a taxation of returns, be imposed, then they will be obliged, from 1. Januar onwards, to cease the work of reconstruction commenced at the cost of so much sacrifice, and to have recourse to most decisive measures of self protection." (Resolution passed by the Hamburg Assembly of honorable merchants, "Vorwärts", 6. December 1923).

"We do not contest the right of the Reich to take urgent financial measures, and to issue emergency enactments. But we must expressly protest against the intention shown by the taxation enactment to undertake a fundamental taxation reform with reference to agriculture, a reform tending to the socialist taxation program, without any proper preparation, and without allowing those concerned to adopt a suitable attitude and to provide themselves with material. In consideration of the disquietude bound to be caused among the rural population by such measures on the part of the government, and further bound to exercise a powerful influence upon agricultural production, we beg the chancellor, in the interests of the people's food supplies and the peace of the population, to take action for the postponement of those intended measures which are not absolutely and immediately urgent until these have been subjected to proper discussion". (Letter of the "Reich Agricultural Federation to the Chancellor Marx", "Vorwärts", 7. December 1923).

"Conscious of their responsibility for the maintenance of economics and the ensuring of the people's food supplies, the Bavarian Agricultural Board of Crafts' Conference instruct the manufacturing industrialists and farmers of Bavaria to deliver to the financial office only such portion of the amount of their taxes as they are able to afford without detriment to their necessary working capital, until such time as the demands for revision which have been submitted have found proper consideration. Any far-reaching encroachment into capital levy substance must be avoided under any circumstances. Should for instance the payment of a tax involve the sale of absolutely necessary working mediums and tools, then only that part of the tax should be paid which can be raised without this." (Resolution passed by the Bavarian Agricultural Board of Crafts Conference, "Frankfurter Zeitung", 16. December 1923).

These examples, which could be multiplied infinitely, may suffice. They show that the bourgeoisie, the agrarians, peasants, and craftsmen protest equally against the required taxation.

And even the dictatorship exercised by generals does not seem adapted to induce the German ruling classes to pay such taxes as the occasion demands. General Lossberg, head of the bourgeois dictatorship in Münster-Westphalia, made the following declaration at the general meeting of the Westphalian agrarian association:

"In my opinion the point of first importance is that German agriculture should be capable of undertaking to supply the German people with food, and that leading circles realize that this is only possible if everything is not taxed away from the farmer. I have therefore forwarded an application to Berlin, pointing out in all seriousness that it is perfectly monstrous to retain the defence levy, imposed in 1912, at its present height. The amount of this defence levy is used as the basis for calculating the capital levy, the Rhine and Ruhr levies, etc. Other ways must be found for solving this problem. (From the "Westphalian Mercury", quoted in "Vorwärts", evening edition, 26. January, 1924).

When military dictators speak like this, then there are but poor prospects of taxes being paid in Germany¹). But if the required sums are not raised by taxation, then stabilization of the mark will not last long!

¹) We should like to point out to those comrades who regard the equilibration of German finances as completely impossible,

2.

Foreign Trade and Payment Balance.

The forms taken by foreign trade and payment balance are of equally decisive importance for the permanency of the stabilization of the mark. A rate of exchange can only remain stable if payments are properly balanced. The desired balance may also be obtained by means of foreign credits granted to a country for the covering of its deficit. ("Borrowed active payment balance"). But for Germany the prospects of a foreign loan are somewhat poor at present. The fact that the Rentenmark is a medium of circulation only within Germany does not alter this state of affairs. If the paper mark sinks in value, then the Rentenmark which, in **actuality** — not in accordance with the law — is indissolubly bound of with it, likewise sinks. The fact that the Rentenmark is a medium of German inland circulation only, might make it possible formally to veil the depreciation by raising the gold mark Rentenmark prices to correspond. — We shall deal especially with the trade balance, as the fundamental element of the payment balance.

We have frequently pointed out in our reports that the data furnished by German foreign trade statistics are often condemned as false. In our report on the second quarter of 1923 we reported on the calculations made by Horten, who arrived at an export sum amounting in value to 9.8 milliards of gold marks for the year 1922, instead of the 3.9 milliards stated by the official statistics, and at an active trade balance of 4 milliards instead of a passive one of 2 milliards. At that time we too considered that the actual fact would probably incline further to activity than shown by the official figures, but were of the opinion that an active balance of 4 milliards was an impossibility, as in this case the extreme depreciation of the mark taking place in 1922 was inexplicable.

The State Statistics Office has now adopted the method of multiplying the data referring to the quantities of goods by the unit value given by foreign trade statistics in 1913, so as to calculate the gold mark value in pre-war prices. This correcter method of calculation now shows Germany's post-war foreign trade to be passive in only a very slight degree.²)

We here give the figures as calculated by the former and by the present methods of calculation.

Foreign trade in millions of gold marks

Old calculation.			
May to Dec.	Import	Export	Import surplus
1921	4015	2401	1614
1922	6200	3970	2230
New calculation ³)			
Jan. to Nov.	Import	Export	Import surplus
1920	3947	3724	223
1921	5751(3724)*	5586	165
1922 ⁵)	6312	6199	113
1923	5589	5516	73

that according to Helfferich's calculations, made in the months from April to August 1922, German home finance showed a surplus covering the deficit in state undertakings from April to June, and still leaving a surplus. Even counting the outlay — at that time very slight — for the peace treaty, the deficit involved during these five months did not amount to more than 60 gold marks. (See my report for the first quarter of 1923.)

²) The fault of the former calculation into gold marks — and of the gold mark value data still being published under the title of "Value results on the basis of present values" — lies in the fact that the export values are based on the declarations made by the exporters, whose statements are always kept at the lowest possible level, in view of the export fees, and are thus invariably synonymous with the minimum export prices at which export licences are granted. (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", 11. January 1924.)

³) "Statistical Annual for the German Reich, 1923" Page 384.

⁴) May till December. We calculate about one half for the four missing months.

⁵) Provisional figures.

We see that the correcter calculation gives an entirely different result. Instead of a deficit of 2230 million gold marks in the year 1922 we find a deficit of only 113 millions! No doubt the new method of calculation is liable to errors as well, as various goods have risen in varying degrees in the world's markets. (The difference is however, more likely to be in favor of Germany's active trade balance than against it.) But at any rate the calculation corresponds to the prices obtaining in 1913 much better than the former method of calculation does. Official data show the following active balance for German trade in the months of October and November:

(In millions of gold marks)

	Export	Import	Export surplus
Oct. 1923	568	436	132
Nov. 1923	514	434	80

It is not unlikely that the figures have been slightly „faked“ to facilitate the possibility of a foreign loan. But none the less it appears as if the stability of the mark is not threatened with any great danger from foreign trade.

With reference to the items of the payment balance which do not come under the category of trade, we must here take into consideration the interest on German property which has largely passed into foreign hands and the increased costs — increased by the higher prices in Germany — for the journeys of Germans abroad. As items on the credit side we may count the interest on capital invested abroad and the returning current of this capital itself: a return probably beginning with the establishment of the bourgeois dictatorship. At present no danger threatens from this side either.

3.

The Reparation Payments.

The weak points of the whole structure are the payments due under the peace treaty: costs of occupation, reparation payments. We have already dealt with this question in detail. Here we can only repeat that a permanent stabilization only appears to be possible if a complete moratorium or a foreign loan be granted.

To sum up: The permanent stabilization of the mark appears to be economically possible, but not probable.

The premises for permanent stabilization would be:

a) Multiplication of taxes paid by the ruling classes up to a point at which state finance is covered out of current taxes (perhaps by means of long term inner loans).

b) An active or only slightly passive foreign trade balance. This is only possible if

c) the German proletariat consents to the prolongation of working hours and the reduction of wages, and to the complete dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, without offering any great resistance calculated to interrupt the process of production.

d) If a complete moratorium be granted for all the liabilities contained in the peace treaty — or a foreign loan be obtained for their payment!

There is little probability that all these prerequisites will come about*), and thus there is little probability of a permanent stabilization.

It must further be emphasized that — after the experience which the German people has already undergone once — there is not much likelihood that another process of depreciation would be gradual, and extend over years. If the present faith in the mark is once shaken, the speed of circulation of money will immediately assume its maddest rate. As the paper money at present in circulation, calculated in gold, exceeds by at least ten times the amount circulating before the stabilization, it may easily be imagined what dimensions a renewed sinking of the mark would assume. It would become a catastrophe at once.

*) The minister of finance, Luther, declared in the course of a speech on 23. December, in Hamburg: „The present burden of taxation exceeds the politically and economically reasonable limit.“

THE WHITE TERROR

Communism on Trial in India!

Attempt to Stifle Growing Movement towards Party of Workers and Peasants.

By M. N. Roy.

There is a deliberate attempt on foot to render the growth of a revolutionary working-class movement in India impossible by damming it beforehand in the eyes of the law as „seditious conspiracy“ and by prosecuting those champions of the exploited and down-trodden masses who seek to point the way to their emancipation.

Without any warning, and upon no adequate legal grounds, the Director of the Intelligence Department of India, Col. Kaye, has preferred a charge in the Magistrate's Court of Cawnpur, U. P. against Manabendra Nath Roy and seven other Indians of „conspiracy against the sovereignty of the King Emperor“, for the crime of having advocated the organization of a mass-party of workers and peasants in India!

The whole charge is a frame-up to declare the young Communist and working-class movement illegal, and to crush it to the ground before it has had time to root itself deeply in the minds of the exploited proletariat and peasantry. The steadily growing spirit of revolt that is manifest in the Indian masses, — the deep interest that is being taken among wide sections of the population in the ideas and theories of Scientific Socialism, — above all, the danger that the organization of a class-conscious party of the Indian working-class would constitute for British imperialism, — have driven fear into the souls of the Anglo-Indian ruling-class. They dread another Russian Revolution, repeated on a larger scale in India. Hence the steady anti-Russian propaganda that has been carried on in the Indian press, fed by Reuter. Hence the present trial.

The evidence, like the charge itself, is trumped up to suit the occasion. Out of eight accused, only two are present to defend themselves, — Dange and Singaravelu Chettiar. One is the Editor of a theoretical weekly paper called „The Socialist“; the other is the Editor of a small weekly called „The Labour and Kishan Gazette.“ The other six are already under Government ban, — four being interned under an obsolete law known as Regulation 111 of 1818, without trial or process of law, on the unproven charge of being „Bolshevik Agents“; the other two, Sharma, an exile in French India, and Manabendra Nath Roy, an exile in Europe — without the least chance of appearing in their own defense.

It is alleged on behalf of the Prosecution, that intercepted letters, alleged to have been written by the accused, called for „complete separation of India from Imperialist Britain by means of a violent revolution“, this end to be achieved by the organization of a party of workers and peasants. According to Col. Kaye, who seems to be the chief and only witness as well as prosecutor, „an agreement constituting a conspiracy was arrived at by means of letters written by the accused to each other“. This conspiracy, explains the Colonel, was to be financed by the Third International, apparently without producing any letters to substantiate his claim.

It appears that the six absent accused are to be proclaimed guilty by default of any attempt to defend themselves. Four being interned and two being prohibited entry into British India, there is little opportunity to put up a legal fight against these Star-Chamber methods, even did time and space permit Roy and Sharma to travel to the scene of their „trial“. But it appears that the two remaining accused, Dange of Bombay and Chettiar of Madras, have been permitted the services of a lawyer, — a concession to „British justice and fair play“. This gentleman requested Col. Kaye to produce proofs of his allegations. The latter graciously consented, and proceeded to exhibit a series of documents which he gratuitously called „correspondence of Roy from Moscow“. The Court apparently allowed this statement to pass unchallenged, and without troubling to enquire, if the letters were bona fide, how they came to the hands of the Intelligence Department instead of to the addressees. Can it be that letters are intercepted in the post-office of his Most Gracious Majesty, the King-Emperor of India? The crime of these letters, according to Col. Kaye, seemed to consist in the fact that they criticized the Indian

bourgeoisie as well as the British ruling-class, and even ventured to question the action of Mahatma Gandhi in ordering the Bardoli retreat, which resulted in the condemnation of 72 starving peasants to death by hanging for the crime of having attempted to better their miserable lot, and to the subsequent arrest and sentence to six years' imprisonment of the Mahatma himself. The letters further declared, according to Col. Kaye, that "the bourgeoisie will not accept a communist programme", and it is therefore necessary to organize a party of the Indian workers, free from Congress control. This is indeed a great crime in the eyes of Anglo-Indian bureaucrats, but what about the British proletariat, in power today as the Labour Government in England? Have they nothing to say in defense of the right of the Indian proletariat and peasantry to organize for their emancipation?

Further "proof" produced by India's Scotland Yard chief consists in a Manifesto, openly published and circulated throughout Europe, America and India by the Communist Party of India, calling upon the British Labour Party and proletariat of the world to protest in the name of international working-class solidarity against the wholesale slaughter of 72 Indian peasants, driven to revolt by hunger produced by the unbearable exploitation of the British Government in India in league with the Indian landlords. This is indeed "revolutionary conspiracy" against the hitherto unchallenged despotism of British Imperialism and Indian landlordism. Has the Labour Government nothing to say on this subject?

The whole idea is to rush through this farce of a trial in order to secure a verdict which will serve as a precedent to crush the dawning working-class and communist movement of India. The few constitutional privileges that exist there, of freedom of speech, press and assembly, miserably curtailed though they are for the bourgeoisie, are to be denied altogether to the Indian working-class. Will India stand for it? Will the Labour Government sit quietly by while this travesty of justice proceeds? Will the British working-class allow this to be done in its name?

One hundred and fifty thousand workers in the cotton-mills of Bombay have been locked out for two months and refused their back pay, already earned, and bonus by the Mill-Owners Association, which has been drawing profits of 12% to 20%, while the workers died in the streets from starvation! The Government refused to intervene, because it did not wish to interfere with the "freedom of negotiation", — which meant the freedom of the mill-owners to exploit the workers at their pleasure, protected by the machine-guns and armed police of the State. On March 7th mounted soldiery were called out and armoured cars brought into play against an unarmed crowd of demonstrating workers! four of whom were killed and countless wounded for daring to protest against the monstrous injustice of the double oppression which weighs them down and crushes them to the grave.

Yet nothing has been heard from the Labour Government on this subject beyond an answer to a question in the House of Commons that it has been left to the Government of India to conduct an "enquiry".

These are some of the reasons why a Communist Party is needed in India. And these are also the reasons why Communism, in the eyes of the Government and capitalists, should be stamped out. Hence this bare-faced attempt to crush working-class agitation from the press and platform as "conspiracy". Hence this mock-trial, which puts the very name of "British Justice" to shame, hardened though that virgin deity is.

Will Communism be stamped out in India by the methods of the machine-gun and the Star-Chamber? No, a thousand times no!

Communism survived the bloody autocracy of the Czars, and sits today triumphant as the ruling power of Soviet Russia and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. It will some day see the end of Imperial rule in India and will lead the hungry masses on a better road to freedom.

The Communist Party of India demands a manifestation of solidarity from the Communist Parties of all countries and from the militant proletariat throughout the world. It calls upon the British Labour Government and the British proletariat to denounce this attempt to crush the right of freedom of working-class agitation in India, which will be a lasting blot on their own name in history.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Journalism in Soviet Russia.

(An exhibition of wall newspapers.)

By Frida Rubiner (Moscow).

Should a conscientious observer wish to make a comparison, by means of numbers, of the development of the present Russian press, with, say, the English or the German, the result would be a very distorted picture of the true state of affairs. The fact that in the capital, in Moscow for example, the number of daily papers can be counted on one's fingers, says absolutely nothing as to what and how much the population of Moscow reads in the way of daily papers. In Russia, culture does not appear in the streets as it does in Western Europe (where it is all too frequently confounded with civilization): one must go down into the masses, must move in the midst of the masses, who through the revolution first gained an eye to see and a mouth to speak — to find the true culture of the people, a culture which sometimes bears peculiar new forms. One can learn by experience in this country how quantity dialectically turns suddenly into quality.

One can gain such an experience by going the round of the exhibition of wall newspapers, which is now to be seen in the Trades Union House (formerly the house of aristocratic assembly).

What is a wall-newspaper?

In Western Europe, in Germany, the factories issue wall-newspapers, which are written by hand for the purposes of the works, or are duplicated by typewriters. We know of what service such wall-newspapers are to us communists at such times when our press is forbidden or during a strike, when no newspapers can be printed. The works newspaper is a means of propaganda, nay more, of political struggle. Nevertheless, the wall-newspaper remains a substitute for the printed newspaper.

Not so in Russia. Here the wall-newspaper is, so to speak, an invention, a discovery of the masses, who formerly had little to do with newspapers. In the Russian works, there are now thousands of workers, who five or six years ago could hardly read or write. They have learned how to write, they have learned to speak, they have learned — through the technics of the Soviet regime — to formulate their thoughts and their wishes and give them publicity. They are compelled to find communication with the outside world, with their class comrades etc; and the wall-newspaper is the desired medium. Such wall-newspapers are produced in almost every great factory, in every institution, every school etc.

The wall-newspaper is put together in the simplest way, sometimes only a double folio-sheet in size, but sometimes three or four times as large. The printing-works allow themselves the luxury of printing their workers' wall newspapers; in the big factories the workers' papers are typed out in the administration office, in the Trades Union organization office or the works' office; the rest are simply written carefully by hand, in big round letters, as a labour of love by one or more practised workers.

The exhibition in the Moscow Trades Union house, which was organized by the Moscow Committee of the RCP. (Russian Communist Party), is an exhibition — about 400 wall-newspapers, chiefly from Moscow — which one could scarcely find anywhere outside Russia. The newspapers give, even outwardly, the impression of intensive, manifold mass-work. In the very get up, there is expressed the character and taste of the writer. All the papers date from the week after the death of Lenin; their contents are: Lenin the Master, his Significance. The newspapers are decorated with pictures (Illustrations out of magazines, which have been cut out and carefully pasted on), Portraits and hand paintings and drawings of all kinds. Some of these portraits are touching in their helplessness, but again there are others which show taste — not to say talent. One newspaper is in the form of a great circle: the Earth, at whose pole there stands the figure of Lenin; the circle is surrounded by a hammer and a sickle, the ends of which Lenin holds in his hands. Another amateur artist of the factory gives play to his imagination in that the ground colour of the paper bears the portrait of Lenin in dull red. The variations are very numerous, but always original and striking.

Contents: Article, short extracts from Lenin's works, reminiscences, poems, short stories, outpourings of feelings, simple

remarks. It is true that many stereotyped phrases, or sentences, which have remained in the peoples' minds, from speeches and newspapers, are repeated, but by their side one finds things of such a simple natural freshness and immediateness, which one could hardly find in a "real" newspaper. In the paper of a factory school, an apprentice tells of his mother, who is very religious and never misses a church service. When Lenin died, his mother did not go on Sunday to church, but to Lenin's funeral. Then I saw, writes the boy, that even for so uneducated a woman as my mother, Lenin signified something great. An old peasant tells, how in the year 1918, at a time when he had nothing to eat, he went to Moscow, obtained admittance to Lenin and begged him for help. Lenin did help. Of historical importance is another story, the report of a former soldier, how in one troop, under the influence of White Guard propaganda, it was decided to murder Lenin (this was in 1917 or 1918). Then Ilyitch came and made a speech: after the man concerned had heard Lenin, he determined not to carry out the assassination. A woman worker from the textile factory "Prochorovka" writes: "Nadeshda Konstantinovna (Lenin's wife) says, that Vladimir Ilyitch had allowed his heart and his brain to be consumed for the working class. I, a working woman, will say this: our Vladimir Ilyitch has not consumed his heart and his brain, but shared them into the working and peasant class."

This exhibition might serve as an illustration of how Lenin lives in the consciousness of the proletarian masses of Russia.

When going round this exhibition, one makes the surprising discovery, that there is already in Russia a great section of the proletariat who can write for a newspaper. When three to five writers are grouped round each newspaper, so Moscow alone has 300 to 500 workers, who write. That is a whole staff of proletarian "journalists". The Institute of "Workers Correspondents" who report to a newspaper from every factory, has also sorted out a staff of qualified proletarian correspondents. Naturally these are not all men who write leading articles on Lloyd George and the chicanery of world politics, but they know how to take up an attitude to politics as regards their surrounding, and can write regarding the actual problems of their proletarian existence, and thus become active participators in public life. This is a "journalism" of a new type, a journalism of the masses, which will undoubtedly, in its further development, form an element of the new, coming, proletarian culture.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Dimitri S. Popoff.

On the 18th of March there died in Vienna, Dimitri S. Popoff, one of the best comrades of our Bulgarian brother party. He was formerly a member of the Sobrane, a town councillor in Varna, and representative of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the years 1921 and 1922.

Comrade Popoff came of a petty bourgeois family. Already as a schoolboy he belonged to the scholars' socialist group in Varna; as a student at the Technical University in Munich he founded the Bulgarian Socialist Student group there. In Bulgaria he turned to the study of the science of jurisprudence and was very active in the Labour movement. He soon became the recognised leader of the workers in his native town of Varna, where he had settled as a lawyer.

He fought in the long, severe struggle between the reformist (broad) and the revolutionary (narrow) Socialists of Bulgaria on the side of the latter, and in his native town completely vanquished the Reformists.

The struggle in September 1923 found him in Varna. He was arrested together with many others, and was to have been killed, as the Fascist organizations had sentenced him to death. He was at that time with great pains rescued from death; but the events in September and the murder of his best friends and fellow-workers, among others, of the Communist Mayor of Varna, Comrade D. Kondoff, had shaken him so much, that he became fatally ill. In vain he sought recovery in Vienna. On the 18th of March, when hardly 45 years of age, he closed his eyes for the last time.

The Bulgarian workers and the Communist International have lost one of their best.

The great day of reckoning with the murderers in Bulgaria is not far distant!

The Case of Bombacci.

Resolution of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Commission which was entrusted with the investigation of the appeal of Comrade Bombacci, having examined the stenographic report of Bombacci's speech on the question of the Russo-Italian understanding as well as all the circumstances which preceded and followed this incident, declares:

1. That Comrade Bombacci, in his speech, to which he wished to give a purely practical (economic) character, sought to show the necessity of the treaty between Italy and Russia, from the standpoint of the interests of the state and of the Fascist Government itself, instead of attacking the domestic and foreign policy of Mussolini. It was this which gave the speech its opportunist character and uncommunitistic line of argument which has already been rightly referred to in the communication of the ECCI.

2. That in spite of the honest desire of Bombacci to hasten the recognition of the Proletarian State, his speech and the manner in which he reasoned was completely wrong, for the Fascist Government was forced into this indispensable recognition solely by the revolutionary power of the Russian proletariat, by the objective circumstances in which Italian Capitalism finds itself at present, of having to seek new markets, and by the breakdown of the blockade policy in the capitalist states.

3. That the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy was perfectly right in taking severe measures against Bombacci in view of such a deviation from Communist lines, but when the most important mitigating circumstances which have come to light in the thorough investigation of the case are considered, the Commission finds the measures adopted too severe.

4. That in spite of the extremely annoying speech, which is to be explained by the motives which have been already mentioned, Comrade Bombacci, who has devoted the greater part of his life to the service of the working class, remains as before an honest staunch Communist in the ranks of the Communist Party of Italy and the Communist International.

The Commission proposes to the Presidium that this resolution shall be published.

APPEALS

To the Factory Workers of All Countries!

Hardly a year has past since the heroic struggle of the chemical workers of Ludwigshafen, which lasted many weeks, and again the same Chemical Capital compels the factory workers of Germany to conduct a new violent struggle. More than 20,000 workers of the Aniline Works are locked out. It is not only by means of the lock-out, of the hunger whip, but also with the aid of the Police and French Military that the international patriots of chemical capital fight for their rate of profit. Their aim is the robbery of the eight hour day in Germany, after these money-bag patriots have sold the secrets of their manufacture of poison gas to French Militarism. The murderous chemical capital carries on its work with powder and lead. Many dead and wounded from the ranks of the locked out workers are among the victims of the civil war for the eight hours day.

20,000 workers followed the funeral of the workers who had been shot down. At their gravesides the workers, standing under unfolded banners, vowed to revenge their death and not to rest before having obtained victory.

The struggle is already extending to Central Germany and Berlin, and shows that the factory workers are willing to conduct a united front fight throughout the whole chemical industry of Germany for the eight hour day.

Factory Workers and Comrades!

The fight of the Chemical workers of Germany is your fight! Their victory is your victory! Their defeat is your defeat and implies prolongation of work time in all countries. The fighting German working class appeals to your immediate solidarity!

All monies for the carrying on of the struggle are to be remitted to the Industrieverband der Chemischen Arbeiter, Ludwigshafen, Friesenheimerstr. 65.

Down with the International Chemical Capitalists!

Down with the enemies of the working class! Long live the eight hour working day! Long live the fighting working class of Germany! Long live international solidarity!

The International Propaganda Committee
of the Factory Workers, Moscow.