

- INTERNATIONAL -

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May 1st, 1924.

Proletarians of all Lands!

For the sixth time since its foundation the Communist International calls upon you to celebrate the great day full of revolutionary spirit on which the workers present their most urgent class demands to bourgeois society.

Right from the beginning this day was the object of hate, fear and forcible measures on the part of the world bourgeoisie. The workers of all lands considered this day as the day of assembly and preparation against capitalism and as a symbol of the liberation from the yoke of capitalism by the social revolution.

Thirty-five years have passed since the first May Day celebration. The proletariat were deceived and betrayed by those who once vowed to advance and show the way. The socialist parties have trampled their program of the class struggle under foot. An expression of their decline was the gradual alteration of the revolutionary May Day demonstration into a hollow powerless opportunist May Festival. In the Second International the revolutionary socialism was strangled by a cowardly and short-sighted spirit of compromise. In the Second International the revolutionary celebration of the 1st of May has sunk down into an official arrangement of the party.

The imperialist war was the conclusion and the visible bankruptcy of the reformist policy. In the years before the war one of the chief demands of May 1st was "War against War". Only thanks to the energetic assistance on the part of the reformists was the international bourgeoisie in the position to carry through the slaughter of millions of working people. After the

gigantic crime of this brother murder under the irresistible pressure of the exploited of all lands for international solidarity May 1st once more became a day for proletarian demands, a day for the confession of faith in the class struggle, and a day for new preparation for the revolution. Workers of the world, look around you today! Behold the fruits of bourgeois, of social patriot and social pacifist policy. Admire the work of imperialist capitalism. Six years have passed since the troops of the Entente raised a wild cry of victory. "Democracy" has thrown the autocracy of the Kaiser to the ground. The little peoples are saved. Right and justice are triumphing. Versailles gave the world a just and lasting peace. During these six years all people, conqueror and conquered have made sacrifices of every kind and given up their claims to all necessities of culture. After six years the proletariat must everywhere experience the loss of the insignificant reformist gains. During these six years the crisis of bourgeois rule has sharpened unceasingly. Capitalism is irrevocably tangled up in its own mistakes, failures, crimes and contradictions. Far from performing constructive work international capitalism has merely heaped up ruins. At present the leading representatives of the ruling class wander around on these ruins and seek to keep the working and suffering people quiet with sops of empty demagogic speeches. They talk about the fatherland, democracy and national dignity. They demonstrate great activity and unfeeling brutality when they are suppressing the plundered and oppressed proletariat but they are powerless, incapable of thinking and cowardly in the work of reconstruction. Out of the

breakdown of bourgeois thought and will one essential characteristic stands out very sharply: the criminal lack of conscience with which the bourgeois of all lands together are preparing new and more terrible wars in spite of so much mass murder.

The United States of North America do not know to do with their gold but nevertheless they are grasping new and greater treasures. Everywhere in the world they are seeking oil fields which they seek to monopolize by deception and force and thus summon up thereby enduring war perils, and as a bloody mockery they hand out verbal pacifist manifestations.

England in spite of the powerless, illusion-ridden attempts of the Labour Partyites does not release its booty in the East. On the contrary it thrusts the revolutionary Hindoos into prison, and martyrs all those who demand their freedom. Whilst MacDonald, the premier of His Britannic Majesty willingly follows all wishes of the English bourgeoisie, especially of high finance, English imperialism spies, intrigues, and conspires in the whole world to maintain its hold on the domination of the world which is threatening to slip from its hands. The France of Millerand and Poincaré, the France of the Comité de Forges holds the throat of conquered Germany in a grasp of iron. Everywhere it is endeavouring to continue the work of destruction, corruption and the force of imperialism, and is being beaten all the more by the working of its own policy, the longer it continues.

The proletariat of Germany is suffering terribly under the strangling grip of French imperialism. With the open help of the German Social Democrats the German bourgeois are trying to strengthen the economic system of the country at the cost of the sharpened exploitation of the working class. In spite of this double enslavement the German proletariat is raising the red banner of Communism against the shameful acts of fascism and the cowardice of the Social Democrats.

With deceit and force the Facists of Italy have seized power and strengthened their hands. But they show themselves to be quite incapable to heal the wounds under which the Italian people are suffering. This incapability is not removed by the recognition of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics by Italy which took place plainly with the intention of leading the masses astray.

The Balkan peninsula saw the courageous effort of strength by the proletariat and the peasantry of Bulgaria, which was choked by the reaction of Zankov and in alliance with the Social Democrats.

In Roumania the Communist movement is to be assassinated and murdered in the prisons by the hangmen of Bratianu.

The small states of Central Europe which serve the purpose of preserving peace and which are vassals of the western states are in feverish friction in the search for an impossible solution of their national problems.

In all lands capitalist imperialism is fighting violently against the threatening fall in trying to force the proletariat into the double yoke of political slavery and material misery.

In nearly all lands the prisons are filled with proletariat and Communists who have fought for the liberation of the oppressed. Facism, this criminal mercenary of a cowardly and frightened bourgeois is straining all its energy in order to beat down the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for ever and in this work is always supported either directly or indirectly by the Social Democrats.

In all lands the hours of labour are being lengthened, the wages reduced and the labour legislation repealed. Unemployment and cost of living are increasing steadily. As a result of the ruling reaction the life of the workers, clerks, officials and peasants is becoming all the more painful. As a remedy against all these evils the superstition of pacifist and reformist utopia-

nism is being preached to the deluded and disappointed proletariat. The Labour government in England shall give this superstition new nourishment and strength. Its policy of illusions and halfmeasures shall lure the exploited further in the false ways which lead only into the swamps. In all lands however the forces of the revolution are uniting and organizing and are rising up against their oppressor, capitalism. The great proletarian counter-offensive in Germany in October was a striking proof of that. An armed rising in Bulgaria in September and the holding of Cracow by revolting workers are undeniable proofs of the fermentation which is taking place in town and country among the widest circles. The reformist illusions of the masses are being torn to shreds by the lies of democracy and the treason of social democracy.

The colonies are being shaken by the movements of growing revolt of the oppressed races.

In India, Java, Egypt and Syria warnings are coming of a powerful struggle for liberation of the enslaved peoples from the yoke of imperialism and capitalism.

Proletariat of all lands! The Communist International is showing you another way. Look at Russia. A great people has shaken off the chains of its slavery. Led by the strong Communist Party it has cleared away the old basis of its bondage and is now striding to the work of construction and is not frightened by the great difficulties, dangers and sacrifices. The whole of power of the state is organized in the hands of the soviets of the workers and peasants. Thanks to its Red Army, the Russia of the workers and peasants is finally free from the threats of hostile armies. Fired and supported by the great immortal spirit of Lenin it now puts all its power and strength in the construction of the Communist form of society.

Look to Russia, to the alliance of the Socialist Soviet Republics, this great historical example of the future world alliance of the working people. On May 1st look to Russia, proletariat of all lands, Communists of all lands. On this day balance up the accounts of the demands of the proletarian revolution which have been achieved, of the obstacles that are still to be overcome and the goal that is to be reached. You must never lose sight of the goal, You must never let yourself be frightened by the obstacles.

Against the reaction. Against the dangers of new wars.

For the protection of the elementary vital interests of the proletariat.

Close up the united front in the workshops.

Close it up in the country. Unite all those workers and producers who long for freedom.

Let the watchwords of the worker and peasant government be heard, those words which the criminal governments of the bourgeois everywhere put down, and that will be a first step towards the seizure of power.

In international solidarity with the exploited and oppressed of the whole world, in battle against the capitalism, workers and peasants, whether in working clothes or uniform, unite in a firm alliance together.

The Communist International will be a true and brave leader for all. On May 1st its banner will be carried in front of the masses who declare for:

Proletarian dictatorship against bourgeois dictatorship.

Power must fall from the hands of the capitalist exploiters.

All power to the soviets of the workers.

Long live the revolutionary 1st of May.

Long live the united front of the international proletariat.

Long live the proletarian dictatorship.

Long live Soviet Russia.

Long live the Comintern.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

May 1st, 1924.

By R. Albert (Paris).

This 1st of May will be without victory. Those who think of May Days of the past will perhaps suffer in making the comparison. There was a time when the festival of labour induced the bourgeois to sit in their own homes, blanched and filled with terror at the idea of "the great evening". The great fear mobilised the police and huge, unanimous demonstrations of the workers took possession of the streets of the industrial cities. Alas! the war and the smash of the 2nd International have crushed the hopes of those past times. This 1st of May will be dark. White terror in Spain, white terror in Poland, white terror in Italy, white terror in the Balkans, rise of fascism and dissolution of social democracy in Germany. It is true that there is a labour government in England but it is building warships for imperialism. There is still a privileged land, France, in the power of Poincaré and Millerand with its two trade union federations, one of which is yellow, deluded with its counter-revolutionary Social Democrat Party and its deluded anarchists.

The present time is that of the white dictatorship, of the renegades, and also, — these three facts are indissolubly connected — of the victories of an emasculated Socialism.

Whether it is the anti-democratic reaction which holds firmly to power, or the bourgeois who once more feel enough security to tolerate democratic institutions or that they require transitional forms on their way to absolute dictatorship, they always find at the given point the socialist whom they need, full renegade, half-renegade, quarter renegade or actual leader of the "Labour International".

The ex-Socialist, Millerand, presides over the destinies of French imperialism. The former chief editor of "Avanti", Benito Mussolini, strengthens the Italian monarchy. The former Socialist, Voiciehowski, sits over the destinies of Poland which has become a vassal of the Comité des Forges and in whose prisons women are tortured. The Socialist Ebert is president of that republic where the murderer of Kurt Eisner has just been pardoned whilst Toller, Mühsam, Max Hölz, the heroes of Hamburg and so many other revolutionaries endure a hopeless imprisonment. A "great honest Socialist man" Ramsay MacDonald is defending the interests of English capitalism against the Bolsheviks, is arming England for the next war and lets the Hindoos strikers be machine gunned. The king of Denmark, so it seems, will soon have his socialist government. The king of Belgium — and of the bloody rubber Congo — has failed to get his. It has, however, only be postponed.

That is why this 1st of May brings no victory.

At the beginning of the twentieth century a tragic adventure has befallen the working class. Its organisers, its educators, those who had created its conscience, those through whom it thought, those who spoke in its name have betrayed it, whether nicely or not, whether conscientiously or not. That is the cause of its divisions, its disarray, its temporary retreat and the advance of the bourgeois who are served by so many deserters from the ranks of the workers. But the adventure is ending. In some countries it is already finished and Scheidemann will not recommence his career.

It is the last card of the bourgeois which is being played. When a class can only govern when it is directed or supported by the deserters of the hostile class it is truly sick. If a class is no longer as a general rule able to either give bread to those whom it exploits nor to restore peace among the ruins which it has created that class is doomed. When it tramples its own legalities under foot, tears up its own constitutions, returns to violence, and takes its inspirations from revolutionary methods then is it doomed. Let us remember that in Germany capitalism is living only by makeshifts. It owes its existence only to the cowardice of the Social Democrats and to the cannon of French imperialism. The future is slipping from the hands of this old world.

Its most far-seeing statesmen are preparing for war, — a suicide.

It is for that reason that this May Day in view of all the socialist ministries and triumphant bourgeois, in face of fascism which is drunk with power without any possibility of a historical tomorrow — they will never be able to bring life once more into the old decrepit body of bourgeois society — for that we dare to say that never yet in spite of all appearances to the contrary has the working class been stronger and nearer its goal.

Never has it been stronger. Already for seven years there has existed a republic of labour, an entrenched camp whose defenders failed not, a city of refuge for beaten revolutionaries, the home of the 3rd International, a school, an example, a living force. The scorners and the chattering of the bourgeois Social Democrats and the degenerated Anarchists can strive as they will to cast dirt, the facts speak louder than their hate. Between their powerlessness and the seven years of victorious resistance of the November Revolution to the world reaction, what a contrast. In their rational moments they themselves are quite clear that the revolution that they insult is their most certain bulwark of defence, and that if it were not standing upright from the Baltic to the Pacific the bourgeois would have long ago gone over the only partially enslaved labour organisation with their steam roller.

Never has the working class been nearer its goal. Let us be understood. A state of society does not die in the course of a few years and is not born in the course of a few years. The rhythms of history have a different swing to that of our existences. Even if we were at the beginning of a cycle of capitalist reconstruction — a thing which is nowhere visible — the Russian revolution, the end of the bourgeois democracies, the terrific victories of reaction, the dying agonies of reformism, the imperialist rivalries, the awakening of the Orient, the numerous factors of the development of the class consciousness of the workers would bear witness still that the social revolution has really commenced.

It is a matter of small importance as to how many years will be needed for its passage over the earth. Facts prove us right. The future will not prove us wrong. "Revolution or death" wrote Raymond Lefebvre. That is a most concise statement. One must either admit that capitalism can decay forever or that the future belongs to Communism.

POLITICS

Roy's Letter to MacDonald.

The Right Honourable J. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister
of Great Britain,

London.

(copy to the Secretary of State for India).

Right Honourable Sir:

The undersigned is an Indian who believes in the right of every people to be free. Since 1905, I participated in the movement whose object it is to conquer this right for the Indian nation. Consequently, I had to suffer all sorts of prosecutions and persecutions at the hand of the British Government of India. Finally, in 1915, I was obliged to leave my native land in order to escape the extreme penalties of the law. Since then, I have lived in forced exile, which however did not render me immune from persecution. I have been persistently hunted down by the agents of the British Government, who do not hesitate to bring pressure upon the authorities of other countries in contravention of the codes and usages of International Law, giving the right of asylum to political offenders. Nevertheless, I have gone on doing, according to my convictions, my share in the struggle for the freedom of the Indian people.

Being a Socialist, I do not subscribe to the Program of Indian Nationalism which bases itself simply on the rivalry and antagonism between native and foreign capital. I hold that India should have an autonomous national government, because, without it, the normal progress and prosperity of her people in general cannot be attained. From this point of view, I make common cause with the movement of bourgeois nationalism. But at the same time, I am of the opinion that the national government should be made really democratic by giving ample protection to the economic interests of the toiling masses. The common people however will have very little of political right and economic protection from the national government if they do not prepare from now to defend their class interests. This can only be done, if they will participate in the nationalist movement, not as a mere adjunct of the native bourgeoisie, but as an independent social factor, organised and fighting on the basis of their own distinct political and economic program. In other words, my activities follow the line of organising the workers and poor peasantry on the basis of their class-interests. Our program places the nationalist movement, not on the basis of racial issue nor of capitalist antagonism, but on the wider basis of the economic interests and social emancipation of the masses of the population.

This program has brought on me the epithet of "Bolshevik Agent", in addition to other previous accusations. You know how freely this epithet is used by Imperialism. The paper published by us as well as anything else written by me or my comrades are branded as "Bolshevik propaganda" and proscribed in India. The circulation, reading and possession of such literature is punishable. This literature is devoted to the propagation of the program whose outlines are given above. I take the liberty of sending under separate cover specimens of our publications for you to judge if they contain anything more or less than ordinary nationalist and socialist program. Literature of similar and much more revolutionary nature is allowed to be published and circulated in Great Britain and her self-governing colonies, not to mention other independent countries. In one word, socialist literature is prohibited in India. We accepted the situation as natural hitherto but it is also natural for us to expect that it should be changed under a socialist government.

Now, Right Honourable Sir, as a Socialist and a representative of the British proletariat, you must agree that it is no crime to claim the right of self-determination for one's country, nor does simple socialist propaganda become "subversive Bolshevik propaganda" as soon as it comes to India. Indian socialists and the Indian working-class are entitled to have their international affiliation. There are many who are adherents of the British Labour Party and of the International to which you belong. There may be others who prefer other international working class organisations. It is a mere question of opinion, and to-day the socialist movement of no country is free from this difference of opinion. Therefore, the fact of my membership of the Communist International cannot reasonably deprive me

of the right of living and working in India, while adherents of the same International are not deprived of the identical right in Great Britain.

The advent of a Labour Government in Britain encourages in us the hope that the position will be changed. We expect that those working for the advance and welfare of the Indian working class will not be so persecuted under a Labour Regime as before. Therefore, I beg you:

1. To cause the ban to be raised on our paper *The Vanguard* on books and brochures written by me and others holding identical views, as well as on all kinds of Socialist literature freely circulated in every civilised country; and

2. To give me the permission to return to India without becoming the object of prosecution for alleged offenses committed in the past. I should draw your attention to the fact that my political views have undergone a radical change since I left India in 1915.

What I solicit is an amnesty from the alleged charges made against me in the past. I suppose the declaration made by His Majesty the King Emperor in 1919 concerning Indian political offenders can be applicable to me. When I return to India, I will, of course, be prepared to take the consequences of my action in the future.

I will appreciate it very much if I am even given the passport to come over to England, there to discuss with the Indian Office the question of my return to India.

Expecting a favourable and early reply.

Zurich, Switzerland, Feb, 20, 1924.

I remain,
Right Honourable Sir,
Yours very truly,
M. N. Roy.

N. B. My lawyer, Dr. C. A. Hitz Bey, Nationalrat, Turner St. 19 Zurich, has been instructed to receive the reply to this communication in my behalf.

This letter was originally addressed as a private correspondence. I did not have the intention of publishing it. Nor would it be necessary to publish it today had Mr. MacDonald not answered it in a very unexpected way. The letter failed to elicit a direct reply, one way or the other. More than enough time has been given for the purpose. So in publishing a private letter I am not committing an act, which can be construed as a breach of etiquette. The issues raised in the letter are too serious to be hushed by the simple act of not hazarding a direct reply. Mr. MacDonald himself knows it quite well to be the case. Although he has failed to give a direct reply, he has not delayed in defining his position as regards the questions asked in the letter. He has chosen to answer them indirectly, but his answer has been quite conclusive.

To the question whether the Indian working class can expect to have the freedom of propaganda and organisation under the Labour Government, Mr. MacDonald has given the reply by sanctioning, at least tacitly, the persecution of the Indian working class in the person of the Communists tried at Cawnpore as "conspirators". I requested the permission to return to India or to enter Great Britain. Instead of giving the permission sought for the Labour Government has connived with the Indian authorities in putting an additional obstacle in the way. The demand for the legalization of Socialist and Labour propaganda has been answered by putting the Indian Communists on trial on the strength of the program advocated by them and the publications devoted to the propagation of this program.

Mr. MacDonald knew quite well that the issues raised in my letter were of vital interest to the Indian working class, and that they would become the subject of public discussion should he fail to define his position as regards them. In order to fortify his position, he answered my letter by throwing down a challenge to those who propose to take up the fight for the right of the toiling masses of India. His tactics have been to put his opponents under great handicap and let them defend themselves as best as they can under that circumstance. In anticipation of the eventuality of the demands ever becoming public issues, he decided to prejudice our case in the eyes of the British proletariat. He has permitted the Indian Government to arraign the leaders of the Indian working class as "conspirators" so that any demand made by them might not win the approbation of any section of the British proletariat. It has indeed been a very clever move; the sinister motive behind it can be seen through, nevertheless.

The letter, which for the first time raised the question of working class interest, evidently spurred Mr. MacDonald to action. It was an indication of a very uncomfortable position he might be put into before long. He took the time by the fore-lock, and began the offensive before he was called upon to defend his attitude. Had the issues contained in the letter been raised publicly, it would be rather inconvenient to answer them as he has done. Since his policy of permitting the Indian government to persecute the vanguard of the Indian working class on clear issue of Socialist propaganda and international proletarian solidarity has been provoked by some demands made privately, the document by means of which those demands were made has become a document of public interests. Therefore, I consider the publication of the letter opportune. It will provide the British proletariat with another opportunity to understand the real character of the government that rules as its representative. It will also illuminate the world proletariat as to what can be expected of Menshevism.

The Cawnpore trial, which was undertaken a month and a half after the above letter was addressed to Mr. MacDonald, is the reply of the latter. I demanded freedom of Socialist press. The reply has been to brand all Socialist and Labour propaganda as instruments of criminal conspiracy. As one accused of "conspiring against the sovereignty of the King-Emperor" I am, of course, not entitled to set my feet on Indian soil unless I am prepared to accept the penalty involved (which may be as much as imprisonment for life). I asked the Labour Government for an amnesty of the charges previously brought against me by Imperialism. It would be rather difficult to dismiss this demand without risking a popular agitation demanding explanation; therefore to have me charged with a new crime is the most convenient way out of the difficulty. Many a trusting soul in the proletarian ranks might have wondered why has the task of crushing the youthful working class party in India been undertaken so determinedly when a Labour Government rules the Empire. This possible enquiry is caused by the ignorance of the fact that provoked the Labour Government's mad career. The fact was the potential demand that whatever might be its attitude towards bourgeois nationalism, the Labour Government as the representative of the British proletariat must adopt a positive attitude as regards the conditions, aims and aspirations of the Indian masses. Evidently Mr. MacDonald had expected that the voice of the Indian working class would not reach so far across the oceans, and that with the willing assistance of a few Indian Fabians (and it should be noted that even this brand is very much diluted in India) he would be able to hush up the faint echo successfully. But to his great displeasure, the Indian workers in the meantime had found more a revolutionary vehicle for expressing their demands. This revolutionary vanguard was in the field in spite of the enormous odds put in its way not only by Imperialism, but also by the nationalist bourgeoisie. The revolutionary task of organizing the party of the exploited masses was undertaken. The problem that the Labour Government would be called upon to face was to define its attitude towards this imminent revolt of the Indian working class. Mr. MacDonald chose to suffocate the numerically small vanguard before it becomes too dangerous. This answer of his, read in conjunction with the letter through which the voice of the Indian working class reached his ears in an unexpectedly clear manner, will be very instructive.

Therefore, with the purpose of placing the issues raised therein before the world proletariat, I publish the letter which must have provoked the persecution of the Indian Communists.

M. N. Roy.

The Fall of Bloody Smuts.

By J. T. Murphy (London).

The last of the Versailles Premiers has had to go. Mr. Naude, the South African Nationalist candidate polled 1420 votes in the Wakkerstroom by-election against Mr. Robertson the Government candidate's 1207. Robertson had resigned his post as the administrator of the Transvaal to contest this seat and he was considered one of the government's strongest candidates. Smuts took this decision as a vote of "No confidence" and has resigned. A general election is to take place. The Prince of Wales' visit has been postponed and an exceedingly interesting situation has arisen.

There are few who count on the return of Smuts to leadership. National and labour feeling is so high against him that most people are counting upon a sweeping turn of the votes. His defeat will mark the end of an epoch and the beginning of a period of acute instability in South Africa. Smuts is a thorough going imperialist and iron handed ruler. Known to Europe through his liberal speeches, recognised in Britain as a willing and ambitious tool of its most imperial aims, he is also hated and loathed by the workers especially of South Africa. Whatever illusions the latter may have had concerning Smuts they vanished with the blood bath on the Rand in 1922. But for these virtues the Liberal and Tory press of Britain prayed that fate had been more kind and made him "leader of the Empire". That was at the time of the Imperial Conference in 1923.

The fools! Are there not enough "leading imperialists" out of leading jobs in Britain alone to teach them how to read history? That the passing of the Versailles chiefs represents a movement of social forces and is not simply the failure of a few individuals! This applies as thoroughly to Smuts as to Lloyd George or Clemenceau or Wilson. His fall marks the end of the domination of the mining fraternity of the Corner House whose activities swung round the key positions of British imperial expansion and led to the Boer War of 1899—1902. By this war England not only extended a grip upon African territory. She thereby broke the back and removed the feudal traces from Southern Africa. In the process they roused against themselves the national prejudices of the Boers who were the main defenders of the old order. Had the Boers been left alone to work out their own fate it could not have been at a very distant date before Feudalism would have perished by the normal process of the invasion of industrialism into South Africa. But the latter process was being carried forward not by a section of the Boers but by another nationality — the British. The class lines were therefore obscured by the bitter national feeling which was engendered. Hence when the British Imperialists forcibly annexed the Boer Republics all grievances crystallised around the national question as distinct from the class question. It has been this factor, so deeply woven into South African experience, that has made it so terribly hard for the labour movement of South Africa to come to any working arrangements with the Boers or to make any marked progress in their countries. The reaction in the ranks of labour was also marked by the opposite national feeling demanding the undisputed loyalty to Britain as a first requirement before action. Both Dutch and British bosses could count on these divisions keeping the workers apart. Then always there was the native question. But of that more later.

It was upon these premises that Botha and Smuts ratted on the struggle for independence and led the whole Boer nation under the banner of British Imperialism. Aided by Campbell Bannerman to whom the Scotch are so frequently likening Ramsay MacDonald, the Union was affected and has been cited as a model for all other imperialists to follow on. How to secure Imperialist aims and to kid the conquered that they have got their aims too. But in 1912 it was made perfectly clear that not everybody agreed upon this matter and General Hertzog, then Minister for Justice, was expelled from the Cabinet as a "secessionist". That was the beginning of the National Party that with the South African Labour Party is challenging General Smuts for leadership.

In the last elections the Nationalists secured 43 seats and the Labour Party 9, while the South African Party led by Smuts secured 78. But lately he has been working with only a half dozen majority and the by-election put the finishing touch to the situation.

Meanwhile there had been great changes and great experiences in the working class movement. Previous to the war, the miners strike of 1907 and the general strike of 1913 had roused a large movement, and the Labour Party found itself with a majority in 1914 after Smuts had so incensed the public by the deportation of nine labour leaders that a large proportion of the petty bourgeois elements flocked to the labour standard. For this "victory" it paid the price in the war. Unable to maintain unity on the question of the war, Jingoism won and the Labour Party was broken and completely eclipsed. Smuts came back and has held office ever since while the forces external to the parliament began to re-assimilate. The eclipse of the Labour Party had not taken away the town population which was the social foundation from which it had sprung while the Boers increasingly chafed under the blatant flouting of all their aspirations by the imperialism of Smuts. The Rand Strike gave the finishing touch to the situation. The Boer workers who had been

transformed from the peasantry into proletarians of the town had kept their national independence as the dividing line from that of the British Colonials, but found on this occasion that Smuts dealt on class lines ruthlessly and imperial. No question here whether Boer or British, Workers in revolt must be crushed. They were crushed only to rise again.

It was that terrible experience which paved the way to a rapprochement between the National Party and the Labour Party. Their common enemy was Smuts and the South African Party. The moment for the fight has come. They have united for the purpose of defeating Smuts although the two parties are poles apart in some respects. Between them it appears fairly certain that they will win out. And then begins the compromising period of uncertainty. The National Party has its petty bourgeois limitations as befits its peasant origin while the Labour Party aspires along the pathway of the Labour movement of Australia with its State Banks and Labour legislation.

Both parties are silent on the native question the rock upon which any but a proletarian revolutionary party is bound to crack sooner or later. Both parties fear this question and seek to continue the policy of white man domination while saying little about it. Labour sees the swift encroachments that are being made in the domain of industry as capitalism spreads but there are few bold enough to face the logic of these developments. Meanwhile the most dominant expression of this developing capitalism is receiving a nasty blow in the fall of Smuts and his government and we can await the next stages without alarm.

The Labour Government and the French Communists.

By Albert Treint.

III.

(Conclusion.)

Discussion.

When we have put forward these observations and these criticisms, we have met with objections.

We were told:

One cannot compare the Labour Party members with the Social Democrats. The Labour Party is something new which has yet to be tested.

To this we reply:

The Labour Party belongs to the same International as the German Social Democracy. The difference consists in that, that it does not veil its reformism with Marxist formulas, as do the German Social Democrats. Labour reformism presents itself to us quite nakedly. There is also the difference that the Labour Party members came to power through the play of an electoral and Parliamentary combination, which places them at the mercy of the Liberals, while the German Social Democracy was brought to power by the victory of the Revolution of November 1918. If the Social Democrats have betrayed the revolution which made of them its leaders, what is there to hope from the Labour Party which owes its power merely to the play of the Constitutional institutions of Great Britain?

But it is further urged:

Let us leave it to the Labour Party discredit itself. Let the masses make their own experience with it.

To this we reply:

The role of the Communist Party cannot be that of a passive spectator. If we do not expose the Labour Party illusion, if we do not criticize it, it is certain it will discredit itself in the eyes of the proletariat, but we, Communists, will be discredited along with it.

For the rest, Lenin in the "Infantile Malady" lays special stress on the fact that the role of the Communists is to aid the proletariat to judge the Government of the Hendersons and of the Snowdens by their action.

It is argued:

The Labour Party is in reality a workers block and cannot be compared to a party.

To which we reply:

Quite right! But the question is precisely that of knowing, what is to be the action of the Communists within the block. This action cannot be consistent with Bolshevism if it does not incessantly push the Labour Government on to proletarian action and if it does not denounce every deviation, as was done by the Bolsheviks regarding the Mensheviks from 1903 to 1917.

It seems also that we do not take sufficient account of English psychology. This is a hackneyed phrase, which is repeated every time a national section seeks to divert the International from the right line. By all means let us take into account English psychology in its form and in its details, but not in order to change the essence of the tactics and policy of Communism.

The English Party has great difficulty in getting into contact with the masses. But no more than was the case with the Bolsheviks. When Lenin returned to Russia, the first time he spoke in public, he was shouted down by the workers of Petrograd. Lenin himself, in the quotations cited by us at the head of this article, warns us against the objection that the tactics which he advocates are too sly, too complicated to be understood by the masses.

And was it not Lloyd George, who, as Lenin said, has learned much from the Marxists, who said:

"Our country is easier than any other in the world to overthrow, and if it begins to waver, the catastrophe, owing to the reasons indicated, will be greater here than in the other countries."

Lloyd George bases this opinion on the fact that England has not, as has France, a wide agricultural basis which secures a certain political stability. He foresees in the industrial regions and in the urban agglomerations the possibility of a rapid extension of the Bolshevik and revolutionary influence.

And Lenin recommends us to go sometimes to the school of Lloyd George.

To sum up: What must be the Communist policy regarding the Labour Government:

1. We must criticize the Labour Government from now on in the light of international experience. We must show that it is dependent upon the aid of the Liberals and that it is subjected to the veto of the latter.

2. We must denounce the Labour illusion not only as regards England, but also for the proletariat of all countries. The German Social Democracy especially still exercises a certain influence on the workers of Germany merely by playing before them the card of the Labour illusion.

3. We must show that, objectively, the formation of a government of the Labour Party in England, and the Block of the Left aspiring to power in France, affords French and British imperialism the opportunity of concluding the compromise of the Ruhr under the cloak of the Hamburg International and of the League of Nations.

4. We must denounce the colonial policy of the Labour Government which maintains in bondage the colonial peoples as vassals of the British Empire.

5. We must proclaim that the experience of the Labour Government will lead the English workers to realize that they can find no other way out than the revolutionary struggle conducted together with the Communists and according to the methods of the C. I.

6. We must not limit ourselves to this negative criticism. We must, on a national and on an international scale, lay proposals for practical actions before the Labour Government, in order to extract from it all that it can give in favour of the workers, and in order to denounce it pitilessly, when, being unable to go any further, it will make an alliance with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

For instance it does not suffice to call upon MacDonald in a vague manner to demand from Poincaré the evacuation of the Ruhr. There must be made to him the proposal of a united Franco-English front with the Communists, with a view to an agitation for the evacuation of the Ruhr, conducted in the large French and English centres with groups of international speakers.

And we must clearly indicate that this is but a first step, a first preparatory measure for fight.

The article of Lozovsky ("Humanité" of the 2nd February, p. 5) entitled "No Illusions" indicates with great clearness what has to be the attitude of the Communists regarding the Labour Government. This article is in full harmony with the thought of Lenin, with Bolshevism, with the policy and the tactics of the whole Communist International.

We believe that, if the Party manifests with force its will to adopt such a policy, all danger of deviation on the part of the French Party towards an opportunist policy regarding the Labour Party will be definitely eliminated.

ECONOMICS

The „Economic Restoration“ of Austria and the Proletariat.

By Josef Grün (Vienna).

The Treaty of Geneva delivered Austria to the economic and consequently also to the political control of the League of Nations in return for the meagre loan of 650 millions Austrian goldcrowns — a sum which, with a bit of energetic handling, could have been extorted from the capitalists at home. Moreover, the League of Nations did not itself advance the loan, but only stood security for it, in return for which it obtained practically full control over Austria. The Treaty expires towards the end of the year 1924, but efforts are already being made to extend the term of two years provided in the Treaty. Foreign and inland capitalists have made a very good thing out of this “Economic Restoration”, and therefore they are interested in prolonging the same as long as possible. Following the model of Austria other countries also are destined to be subjected to “Economic Restoration”. At the moment, it is the turn of Hungary, but other countries also, in the first place Germany, have been long since marked down for similar treatment. It is of interest therefore for the international proletariat to learn, by a brief survey of the results obtained hitherto, the “benefits” of this “Economic Restoration”, its influence on state and national economy in general and its effects for the proletariat in particular.

The first aim of the “Economic Restoration” the stabilization of the Austrian crown, has, — viewed outwardly, — been reached. The crown which in September 1922, some weeks before the conclusion of the Treaty of Geneva, after fresh collapses had sunk to its lowest level, after the conclusion of the Treaty and after the arrival of the first credits recovered somewhat, and with some oscillations has maintained itself now for some months unvariedly at a level corresponding to about a fourteen thousand five hundredth part of its pre-war value.

Also, likewise viewed outwardly, the budget of the Federal Republic of Austria has to a certain extent been equilibrated. This has been achieved in the first line by an enormous increase of the taxes and of similar burdens. The indirect taxes in particular have of course, been raised to an unheard of extent. New kinds of taxes have also been introduced, especially the tax for goods turn-over, which in the meantime has even been raised and is the most unsocial tax, burdening the exploited masses more than any other indirect tax. The revenue from the indirect taxes as well as from the direct taxes (the latter, of course, are yielding far less than the indirect taxes) has proved more than was expected. But this, however, only proves the smallness of the sums previously derived from them. As regards the employment of the credits not yet exhausted and amounting to 200 millions goldcrowns, for the first time in the course of the “Economic Restoration”, a greater disagreement has arisen between the General Commissary of the League of Nations, the former Lord Mayor of Rotterdam, Dr. Zimmermann, and the bourgeois government of the Prelate Seipel, which in other cases accepts always his dictates without objection. The “Government” would like to employ this sum for investments which are very necessary and which have been neglected very much, while Zimmermann, who, of course, is only too eager to keep hold of his job with its huge emoluments and unrestricted powers, is striving to prolong the control of the League of Nations over the budget of the Federal Republic of Austria.

With the huge increase in incomes, there are also drastic reductions in expenditure. It goes without saying, that, with the prevailing mania for economising, it is the expenditure upon social and cultural aims which suffers first. But the greatest economies were and are intended to be attained by a very far-reaching dismissal of Federal employees, which is bound to be closely connected with the intended and in great part already carried out denationalisation of federal state undertakings and handing over of the latter to private enterprise. The dismissal of about a third, i. e. of at least 100,000 Federal employees in the course of two years, is provided for in the “Economic Restoration” Scheme and has already been partly carried out. In the first year (up to the 17th November 1923) 51,043 employees were dismissed, up to February 1924, 63,307.

It should however be stated that almost the half of the federal employees of the whole of Austria are engaged on the railways, — the deficit of which is not due to the expenditure for the personnel which amounts to only a twentieth of the total expenditure, — about one fifth in the other productive undertakings and hardly one third in the Federal administration in its larger sense. The unwarranted dismissal of the employees has not only proved to be a danger to individual sections of the Federal service, but also to the Federal economy and the national economy still more. Furthermore, it has brought no saving, because the pension and the capitalized pension sums for the discharged employees, — in spite of many breaches of contracts and other acts of injustice committed in regard to discharges, — are still very high in their total sum and far exceed the savings on the salaries and wages bill. Besides this, however, the dismissals have, of course, helped to keep the volume of unemployment, in particular among the employees, very large and in fact have led to it becoming larger.

The number of the unemployed in receipt of benefit, in August 1922, before the commencement of the Geneva negotiations, amounted to 30,967 and up to November 1922 had risen to 58,008. With some incidental reductions in the summer of 1923, the figures continued to increase, until in November 1923 they reached 75,809 and since then to first half of March 1924 they attained 126,734. In addition to this, by making the conditions for receipt of unemployed benefit continually more rigorous, a continually increasing percentage of the unemployed were robbed of their benefits, so that at present scarcely more than half of those actually unemployed can be reckoned as being in receipt of benefit. The increase of the benefit on account of the continuous fall in value of the Austrian crown was always granted too late and then never in a sufficient amount, so that its real value in the course of the last eighteen months has sunk by a half.

But also the standard of life of the workers and employees who are still in employment, was still more reduced by the “Economic Restoration”. As mentioned above, the Austrian crown has only been stabilized, as regards its position on the Foreign Exchanges, but it has continually decreased in its purchasing power at home. This is proved even by the official statements which certainly seek to put things in the best possible light. Even these prove that the cost of living has increased at least by one fourth in the course of the “Economic Restoration”. But since the official calculations are only based on a certain groups of goods, this figure is far too low.

On the other hand, however, the wages of the workers and employees — owing to the feeble policy of the Trade Union bureaucrats, which is quite on a par with the tame parliamentary “opposition” of the Social Democrats, which permitted the conclusion and carrying out of the Geneva Treaty — have increased far less and consequently have actually decreased, as regards their real value. The loss in real wages in the course of the year 1923 must be estimated to be at least one tenth, and in the course of the period of the “Economic Restoration”, comprising almost one year and a half, to be at least one sixth to one fifth. Thereby the real wage has finally sunk to about one half of the pre-war wage.

Thus the work of “Economic Restoration” of the League of Nations and of the Government Seipel, which the Social Democrats, by the nature of their “opposition”, virtually support, has up to now resulted in increasing the burden of taxes, augmenting unemployment and further impoverishing the Austrian proletariat. The continuation of the “Economic Restoration” promises to continue these blessings on an even more generous scale.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the Hamburg Dock Workers.

By A. H.

The piecemeal surrender of the social and political fruits of the year 1918 in Germany is justified by the leaders of the trade unions on the ground that the proletariat is quite uninitiated in its will and that the preliminary conditions of the taking up of the struggle to maintain these gains are not present and what makes it still worse is that the proletariat do not wish to fight.

True, numerically, considered as an organization the proletariat, so far as its economic fighting organizations come into question, is split up into organized and unorganized, but the chief blame for this regrettable weakness of the German proletariat must be born by the trade union bureaucrats and the whole leadership of the ADGB. (General German Trade Unions Federation).

The struggle of the Hamburg dock workers has proven that the German proletariat can be weakened in its organization but not in its will to struggle. Fifteen thousand workers unanimous and resolute conducted the struggle without regard to the political and economic organizations to which they belonged. Also thousands of unorganized workers took part in the struggle.

The struggle has all the greater moral significance because it was in its character a sympathetic strike for the 25,000 workers of the shipyards who were locked out for refusing to sacrificing the eight hour day. The employers also demanded from the dock workers that they should work on two shift system instead of a three shift system as had so far been the case and that meant the same thing as giving up the eight hour day. In a plebiscite which was held by the German Traffic Alliance the dock workers decided by more than two thirds majority against the sacrifice of the eight hour day. In spite of the unanimity of the strikers the strike petered out because it was not conducted in accordance with active revolutionary principles.

Officially the committee of the dockworkers section of the Traffic Alliance had the leadership of the strike in their hands but the gathering together of the strikers into meetings was not arranged by them. The leadership was bound to fail because it was not lead by the strikers themselves and therefore did not possess the confidence of those involved in the struggle. Alongside of this official direction of the strike there existed an illegal revolutionary body which was composed of representatives of the shop councils, the representatives of the revolutionary fraction in the Traffic Alliance, the unemployed and the new Dock Workers Union which was founded last year. The decisions of this illegal body were accepted by the masses very hesitatingly at the beginning of the struggle and only in the last stages were the measures they recommended carried out by the strikers. This illegal body had its mistakes also. The chief one was that they also were not elected by the mass of strikers and that they were not under the control of those who were chiefly concerned in the struggle. That was the reason that their decisions were so slowly adopted. Thus the basis upon which they could work was too small. They were not firmly enough anchored in the masses.

The illegal body directing the strike decided to formulate the following demands both for the dock workers and the shipyard workers.

Eight Hour Day.

Real Wages to be the same as in the time before the war.

Reduction of the percentual difference in the scale of wages.

Equalisation of the wages of juvenile and adult workers.

No overtime work.

Re-opening of the closed up businesses and resumption of full production in short time factories.

Re-engagement of unemployed.

No compulsory labour.

Abolition of the two shift system.

These demands were adopted by the strikers. They are quite usual and contain nothing that would upset the earth. The employers and the trade union bureaucrats declared them to be extravagant and that no one could possibly take them up. The Emergency Service which was formerly organized by the Social Democrats was put into action. Senator Hense, the former Social Democratic secretary of the Building Workers' Union placed the sabres of the police at the service of the employers. The Hamburg "Society for Home Defence" to which many Social Democrats belong had the following circular sent to all dock workers as a document of culture:

"What workers earns as much today as before the war?"

Answer: "No worker in Germany"

with however one exception, namely the dockworkers of Hamburg could have a wage of 5,20 marks for a nine hour day if they would not strike. Before the strike the dockers received only 4,50 marks for an eight hour day and in peace time they received 5,40 for nine hours, so that they have now the offer of 96% of their peace time wages. But they dare not work because the union does not allow it, and the union does not allow the catchword of the eight hour day, because nothing shall be done to upset.

Before the war and after the war the dock workers worked more than eight hours and were actually very glad over every hour of overtime. How is it that they are suddenly not able to work nine hours a day.

No worker and no working woman

can give a reasonable answer to this. But every worker and working woman knows that one

can not live

from catchwords and specially not from the catchword of the eight hour day.

The employers have demanded the introduction of the nine hour day and the work in two shifts because through this increase work a greater result will be achieved. Greater results make the dock work cheaper without the dock worker receiving less wages, indeed he actually receives higher wages.

Cheaper work attracts more ships and more cargoes to Hamburg and thus brings more opportunities of work for the workers.

How many ships has this senseless strike already chased away and kept away from Hamburg. How many ships have gone to foreign harbours which nearly came to the harbour of Hamburg and which would have brought work to this harbour if the leaders of the union had come to an agreement with the employers in time and had thrown the catchword of the eight hour day overboard.

If the extra hour's work and the increased wages which are offered by the employers are introduced into the harbour of Hamburg a large amount of work will come to Hamburg so that the dock workers will be fully employed at good wages.

Therefore it is in the interest of every worker and docker a duty to his family to demand from the leaders of the strike that the offer of the employers 5,20 marks docker's wages for a nine hour shall be accepted. Nothing is to be gained by the strike. On the contrary each day of the strike increases the loss.

Hamburg, March 1924.

Signed: Hamburg Society for Home Defence.

The union bureaucrats demanded the acceptance of a decision which had been given by a board of arbitration. In spite of all machinations the workers organized in the Traffic Alliance decided by a vote of 4819 to 1686 to reject it. It is true that the decision decided in favor of the eight hour day but there was no increase in wages and no solution of the strike among the shipyard workers. After the rejection of the award a large scale agitation against the strikers began. The Central Executive of the Traffic Alliance telegraphed that another referendum which they said would be sure to be in favour of the acceptance of the award was to be held. The Federal Minister of Labour came personally to Hamburg as well as a representative of the Central Executive in order to bring about the end of the strike. Braun, the Federal Minister of Labour, succeeded in convincing the trade union bureaucrats as well as the majority of the legal strike committee of the necessity of ending the strike. By circulars, by meetings in the local meeting places the strikers were influenced to give up the strike and to resume work. It was due to this pressure that hundreds and thousands of the strikers became shaky and declared themselves ready to resume work. It did not take place in a body but hesitatingly from day to day so that on the third day the illegal strike committee saw itself obliged to summon a meeting and to decide to end the strike.

The struggle suffered in its force chiefly because it received no support, that is backing, from the other land industries in Hamburg, and before all no support in the other towns of the Baltic and North Sea and further that the international harbour proletariat did not react to the struggle.

The Hamburg Dock strike shows that the workers are prepared to struggle with the employers in great mass struggles for their own naked existence. But at the same time it shows us that mass struggles cannot be conducted upon "old approved lines" of the trade union movement but that these struggles must be born by the activity of the strikers. A preliminary condition is naturally a smoothly working leadership which holds the confidence of the strikers and further that such struggles mass must be still more broadened out.

It is true that the harbour of Hamburg is an important nerve centre of Germany but the ship that come and go can be towed and loaded just as easily in another harbour. If the Hamburg dock workers wish to be victorious they must render it

impossible for strike breaking work to be performed in other harbours. In the case of the dockyard works must be added that the repairs can be carried out in foreign dockyards. Thus one sees how necessary it is that all the dock workers of the North and Baltic should be united into a firm organization and that close touch should be maintained with all harbours of foreign countries, and that it is also necessary that the seafaring proletariat shall unite still more closely with the harbour workers and be joined up with them in an industrial union according to sections. This struggle has also a political significance. If this significance did not become apparent the fact remains firm for us that if the Federal Minister of Labour had not succeeded in ending the strike by his personal intervention the state of siege would have probably been proclaimed over Hamburg and the harbour declared to be a vital industry. That would have meant that the strikers would have been forced by means of machine guns to take up their work.

The proletariat as a whole must take the lesson of the struggle, that it is necessary to proceed now to prepare for the next struggle which will certainly have greater significance than the Hamburg struggle which was broken off.

The Second Teachers' International.

A Classic Example of the Disruptive Work of the Amsterdammers.

(R. I. L. U.) The Educational International (Educationists, Teachers etc.) was founded at the Congress in Bordeaux in 1920 and was reorganized in 1922 at the International Congress of Paris. Since then a number of national Teacher's Organizations have affiliated to this International. At the present time there are altogether nine Sections, of which we will only mention the "French Union of Teachers", the "All Russia Union of Cultural and Educational Workers", the "Sindacato Magistrale Italiano" and the Luxembourg "Syndicate of Colleges". The affiliation of the Bulgarian Organization of Teachers is only delayed by the Fascist conditions here. If this international Organization is still weak, it is surely only a reason for strengthening it.

For more than two years, however, Amsterdam has been trying to form a new international vocational Secretariat of Teachers. The Congress for its foundation is convened for the 16th and the 17th April 1924 in Leipzig.

At first it was intended to invite to the Congress all Teachers' Organizations, including the existing international Teachers' Organizations — the "Internationale de l'Enseignement" (International of Education). The General Secretariat of this Paris International was also ready to accept the invitation and thereby proved its firm intention to maintain the Unity of the international Teachers' Organization with all its power. Sassenbach from the office of the International Trade Union Federation refused to allow the participation of the Paris International, because Amsterdam wishes to found a new, a second Teachers International, "which accepts the standpoint of the International Trade Union Federation". In other words, that means, that Amsterdam wishes to form a Teachers International, which has to be its tool, even if the forces of the international teachers organizations animated with the trade-union spirit, which are everywhere still weak, be thereby shattered. Here one can discern the true features of the Amsterdam apostles of disruption, who ruthlessly split everything, which stands against their counter-revolutionary machinations, while, on the other hand, as against the efforts of the Red International of the Labour Unions, to bring together all the revolutionary forces of all countries, it again and again casts the reproach of "splitting".

Indeed a perfect classic example!

Still to-day the Paris International is ready to prove its desire for the Unity of the international Teachers' organization. For it is not the creation of a new international teachers' organization, which affiliates to the International Trade Union Federation which is demanded by the situation in the international Teachers' Movement, but a unified Teachers' International which is not an appendage of Amsterdam, but collects all the scattered forces of the teaching bodies in the whole world, which are prepared for free trade union activity. That is the thing which serves the interests of the international teachers. Amsterdam does not wish to serve these interests, but wishes to divide the international teachers, who all have one common enemy, who all live in the same poverty and suffer the same privations.

The workers, employees, clerks and teachers of all lands will easily recognise from this example, who it is that wishes to maintain with all its strength the unity of the Teachers' International, and who it is, that destroys by all its means the united front of the Teachers of the world.

E. C. C. I.

Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Central Committee of the Norwegian Labour Party.

The Central Committee of the Norwegian Labour Party.

Moscow, April 5th 1924.

Comrades,

On behalf of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I beg to inform you that the 5th world congress of the Comintern meets in Moscow on June 5th. I am sending you the order of business of the congress by this post. This is the first congress which has taken place since the events which led to the split in the Norwegian Labour Party and the formation of a new Communist Party which has been recognised as the only section of the Comintern in Norway. You have therefore the right to appeal to the congress, to examine the situation in Norway and to give a new decision in this question. If you wish to make use of this right the Presidium calls upon you to send your delegates to the congress at the time which has been set.

Please send your reply by return mail to the Secretariat of the Comintern so as to enable your request to be placed on the order of business of the congress in time.

With Communist greetings,

General Secretary of the E. C. C. I.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Resolution of the Communist Youth International concerning the War Peril and the Duties of the C. Y. I.

(Adopted at the Session of the EC. of the CYI, March 17th 1924.)

The EC. of the CYI. has considered the question of the growing preparations for war on the part of the capitalist countries and the imperialist conflicts of the last months. It has come to the conclusion that the consolidation of the forces which are centred around the two giants of militarism, England and France, the strengthening of American imperialism in China, South America and Mexico and the preparations for renewed armed disputes have not slowed down, but, on the contrary, have enormously increased in the last half year and have thus renewed the necessity of the Communist Youth Leagues and the Communist Youth International taking up a redoubled struggle against militarism.

The past few months have clearly shown, how illusory are the "disarmaments" which have been sought after by the League of Nations. This body is powerless. It does not care to interfere in that imperialist conflict which attracted the attention of the whole world (the Conflict between Italy and Greece). Also the Washington agreements over the reduction of naval forces have suffered a complete bankruptcy. Armaments are increasing in all countries, now as heretofore. The number of troops already exceeds the number of 1914 by about 700,000. The strengthening of air forces has reached unheard of dimensions. New naval bases are being created (Singapore). Gigantic war credits are being voted, the term of military service is being lengthened, new establishments for manufacture of instruments of murder, which are technically more complete, and for the building of new warship and submarines are being erected.

The imperialist conflicts follow each other uninterruptedly: Ruhr, Corfu, Fiume, Morocco, Yavorina (between Czecho-Slovakia and Poland), England and Afghanistan, the Balkans and the Far East. France has practically obtained control over all the coal

and iron resources of Middle Europe and over a large part of the railways, and has created a chain of vassal states. The policy of France in the Ruhr, her war-credits to the vassal states and the agreement with Czecho-Slovakia clearly show the true goal of French imperialism which is ensuring its hegemony in Europe and brings us every day nearer to the fateful catastrophe.

The power standing opposed to France — British imperialism — has by no means withdrawn into the background, since the Labour Party has taken over the government, but, on the contrary, has taken up the most prominent position. For the Labour government is actually carrying out the plan of the British bourgeoisie, which is the sharpening of the antagonism with France, increased military preparations for war against that country and at the same time the maintenance of the imperialist policy in the colonies. (Extension of the submarine and air fleets, correspondence between Macdonald and Poincaré, Henderson's speech over the Treaty of Versailles, and the policy of force of the Labour Government in the colonies.)

In the same way as France is grouping Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland as vassals around her, so England is seeking to create a reliable support by linking together Spain, Italy and Yugoslavia in a military ring and is at the same time striving against the domination of Germany by France, in order to bring the former country under English domination. The struggle which is being conducted by England and France for influence in the Balkan Peninsula and in Turkey merely completes the picture of the strenuous preparations for the deciding struggle between the two imperialist rivals; a struggle which will surpass everything which humanity has ever seen in the way of bloody wars — not excluding the World-War of 1914—1918.

The Parties of the Second International have not fulfilled any of the promises that were made by them at the Hague, they have on the contrary obediently followed the imperialist policies indicated to them by the bourgeoisie of their countries. That is proved by the declarations of Vandervelde against Macdonald and vice versa, the declarations of the Marseilles congress of the French Socialist Party and the attitude of the Czech social patriots of the Franco-Czech alliance.

There therefore lies before the Communists of all lands, and especially before the Communist Youth, the task of renewing the struggle with double energy against the war peril and against bourgeois militarism. The danger of a new mass murder which will claim even more victims from among the working people than did the world war, can only be warded off by real intense work solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat.

In the period between the Third Congress and the Fourth Session of the Bureau of the CYI. (December 1922—June 1923) the antimilitary work of the Communist Young People's organizations and the whole of the Youth International made considerable progress and brought, especially in the Ruhr district, great success. Later, however, this work fell off as a result of the political events in Germany, Bulgaria and England, and was only continued with its former intensity in France, the Ruhr and in the occupied area among the French soldiers of occupation. In view of the sharpened international situation, the struggle of the CYI. against the war peril and bourgeois militarism must be taken up on a larger scale. This struggle must be closely linked up with the general political tasks, which lie before the Communist parties and the Youth organizations of all lands at the present moment. It must be brought into close connection with the actual political questions.

The struggle against the military interference in the domestic affairs of Germany, against the militarist attacks of the vassal states of France against Soviet Russia and against the militarist imperialist policy of the great powers in the colonies and in the Far East, must form the central point of international anti-militarist work.

The guiding lines of the practical work of the Communist Youth Leagues in the field of the struggle against war peril and bourgeois militarism must be those which were laid down at the Fourth Bureau Session of the CYI. At the present moment the EC. of The CYI. emphasises the following points as the most important:

The anti-military work must in no case be confined to a general agitation among the workers; it must be carried on among the soldiers of the standing armies as well as among the professional armies. That is only possible where a firm apparatus exists within the army and a regular connection exists with the barrack and military formations. For this reason special

attention must be given at present to the formation of nuclei within the army.

The question of anti-military work must also receive more attention in the press of the Youth organizations. The collection and publication of anti-militarist material is to be continued, and the anti-military press propaganda is to be conducted, not only on a legal basis, but illegal methods are also to be used. The struggle for the improvement of the economic position of the soldiers must be strengthened and in the countries where enlistments or calling to the colours is about to take place, special anti-militarist campaigns are to be organized.

Practice has shown that anti-military work is only successful, when it is performed equally by the Party and the Youth. As the immediate danger of imperialist wars confronts the Communist Party with the necessity of increased anti-military struggles, the Communist Youth Leagues must redouble their co-operation with the CP. in this field. For this purpose the EC. of the CYI. decides to raise the question of the struggle against the war peril and bourgeois militarism before the EC. of the CI. and holds it to be necessary that the CI. shall see to it that the Communist Parties strengthen their anti-military work.

The EC. of the CYI. expects that the Communist Youth Leagues of all capitalist countries will take up their tasks in the field of the struggle against the war peril and bourgeois militarism with a renewal of their former energy and authorises the anti-military department of the CYI. to strengthen the practical work in the direction above indicated.

APPEALS

The C. P. of Roumania to the Organizations of the Workers and Peasants of the World.*)

To all Workers and Peasants!
Comrades!

The reaction of the oligarchy which rules Roumania forces us to turn to you in the moment of the greatest danger for the working class of our land. The first manifesto which we sent to you was confiscated by the ochrana and the military authorities, for it is a crime in Roumania to proclaim loudly to the world the misdeeds of our rulers, and their hateful murderous attacks against the oppressed classes of Roumania society. We have once more received the opportunity to commit this crime and appeal once more to you, comrades of all lands.

Roumania is the booty of an oligarchy of financiers and country squires who rule with force, terror and disregard for every principle of law and bourgeois legality. The oligarchic government which is not even recognised by the bourgeois opposition of the country who declare that they do not recognise the legislation of the government as having legal force keeps itself in power only by these means. But even that is no longer enough. Now, having sent the king and parliament into every land that will let them in, the government has proclaimed an increased state of siege in order to prolong its existence a few months more.

The white terror is now about to make its policy more severe. The persecution of the trade unions will increase although they are now persecuted and hindered with force and red tape from making any complaint even to the League of Nations. The merciless oppression and suppression of the peasant class to a mediaeval slavery will be continued. The wild oppression of the minority languages of the annexed territories which goes as far as assassination will hold new orgies. But the highest points will be reached by the attacks upon the Communist Party. The Communist press is ractically prevented by the arbitrary measures of the government. Party meetings and open meetings are long since prohibited. The arrests, maltreatments and even numerous coward assassinations have become a regular habit of the government.

However, before it falls our government wishes to go itself one better. New arrests are taking place. As the Communist Party was the only one that had the courage to stand for demand the right of self-determination which was demanded by the minorities, the oligarchic government — — this government which has sold the wealth of the nation to the capitalists of all

*) This manifesto was drawn up before the proclamation of martial law and the prohibition of "Socialismul".

lands and which has renounced the independence of the country for the benefit of the great imperialist states — has charged our party with high treason and is preparing to destroy the whole legal existence of the labour movement in the land. The Communist Party of Roumania is collecting into one volume, which will soon be published, all the documents which prove the shameful acts, the assassinations etc. which have been committed by the Roumanian oligarchy against the people.

The working and peasant people of Roumania are certain as they have applied to you, comrades of all lands, that you will be ready to prove by deeds your will to stand by your oppressed brothers.

Long live international solidarity.

Down with the reactionary oligarchy of Roumania.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Roumania.

To the English Miners!

Miners of England! Comrades!

With the closest attention we German miners are following your fight which you are compelled to conduct against English Capital, against the English Coal Barons. Just as we German miners, so also are you to have your already miserable wages still further reduced, your working time prolonged and be robbed of your last social rights.

Comrades, you know in what an unbearable situation the German miners are in. Ever greater burdens are being laid upon us. Under the pressure of the German and French bayonets, supported by a treacherous reformist bureaucracy, we have been deceitfully robbed of our hours of free time. The seven hour shift, which we gained after severe victorious struggles was taken from us. Our wages were so reduced that we, with our families, were handed over to death by starvation.

We have been set upon by an International Band of Robbers and had our standard of living pressed down to a level lower than that of any Chinese coolie. For months, German heavy industry carried out the sabotage of production in the most brutal form, it threw hundreds of thousands of us on the streets, in order to force us to work the ten and twelve hour shift, to increase the profits of the international capitalists, of the parasites wallowing in superfluity and luxury. Now a fresh attempt is being made by the Stinnes, Thyssen & Co., in union with the reformist leaders of the Social Democratic Mine Workers' Union and supported by the German and French authorities, to impose the eight to ten hour shift on us along with further reductions of our wretched wages.

Comrades! If the international capitalists succeed in casting us in such fetters, then Comrades, your struggle will be rendered enormously more difficult, its success still further jeopardized. If we Germans Miners are finally robbed of our seven hour shift and our wages depressed to an unendurable level, the logical result is that longer working time will likewise be demanded and forced from you Comrades in England and that also in the competitive struggle of the international coal mining concerns, wages will be reduced and all social progress be rendered impossible.

Therefore, Comrades, the time has now arrived for a united fight against the English and German Mining Capitalists. We assure you, Comrades in England, that the German miners will not unresistingly submit to the yoke of slavery. In the next few days, if the ultimatum submitted by our Factory Councils' Congress to the employers is not complied with, they will determinedly and unanimously take up the fight.

Comrades in England you also must now organize your struggle. Do not rely upon your Social Democrats in your Labour Government! Just as the German Social Democrats have helped to slay thousands of our best comrades, they also will stab you in the back will ally themselves with your lords the conservative and liberal bourgeoisie in order to betray you in the severe struggle, as they have betrayed the Railway Workers and Transport Workers.

Comrades! Your MacDonalds and Hendersons are the English Eberts and Husemanns.

They are flesh and bone of the II International, which hounded you into the war, which in every situation and at all times still take sides with our common enemy.

You can only trust in your own strength!

United we will conduct a struggle under common leadership. In common struggle we will beat back and annihilate inter-

national capital. Therefore, Comrades in England, let us close our ranks! United we are irresistible. Forward to the common fight!

Long live International Solidarity!

Long live the common struggle of the English and German Miners!

The National Trade Council
of the Union of Hand and Brain Workers of Germany,
Mining Industry Group.

POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

The Discussions in the C. P. of Germany.

II.

The Tasks of the German CP. and the Task of the German CP. Prospects, Partial Aims, Revolutionary Unity from below.

By A. Maslov.

1.

The German proletariat suffered severe defeat in October and November 1923. This defeat was greater than the defeats of the years 1919, 1920, 1921. It was greater for the simple reason that in the years from 1919 till 1921 the German proletariat did not possess a communist mass party to point out the way, and it was greater because there has never been a situation in which the German proletariat has been so near victory for the proletarian revolution as in the autumn of 1923. The struggles in January and March of 1919 were carried on by a small vanguard of a proletariat still for the most part under the spell of democratic illusions (we need only remember the election to the national assembly). The fighting in March 1920 was the struggle of a proletariat still trusting too much to the reformist organizations and possessing a revolutionary party (the Spartacus union of that time) which had not clearly grasped that its work was to lead the masses, not solely to accompany the reformist and centrist organizations with weak criticism and slogans which only promoted illusions (for instance the Bielefeld agreement, and the promise of "loyal opposition" made by the Spartacus union to an imaginary "purely socialist government"). The fights of March 1921 were the struggle of a vanguard inspired by revolutionary feeling, a vanguard which failed to make a correct estimate of the situation and the comparative strength of forces, and thus suffered shipwreck.

In October and November 1923, on the other hand, we had an economic crisis of unheard of acuteness, the divisions in the camp of the enemy were greater than they had ever been, the proletariat was comparatively free from democratic illusions, the influence of the reformist organizations on the broad masses of the proletariat was almost destroyed, the influence of the communists upon the proletariat and upon the petty bourgeoisie was greater than ever before, and the international situation was never so favourable. History demanded the struggle in October-November 1923. The proletariat was beaten, suffered such a defeat as it had never experienced before. The CP. of Germany is confronted by the next task of organizing the fight which the proletariat did not fight in October-November 1923, the fight for political power.

2.

Has the German proletariat been decisively defeated? To reply to this question in the affirmative means to maintain that the German bourgeoisie can reconstruct and consolidate German Capitalism.

This question must be replied to flatly and decidedly in the negative. The situation is still as objectively revolutionary as it was before. That is, the international contradictions of German Capitalism have not been removed, the frightful social crisis in Germany has neither been solved nor is it on the road to solution, and the international uncertainty of the so-called equilibrium is as uncertain as ever.

The situation is objectively revolutionary, now as before, and this fact points out the task of the Communist Party: the Communist Party will organize the revolution. This is the task of the Party. Not one of the tasks, but the task.

But still the situation today is different to that in October-November 1923, and the Party must therefore go about its task in a different manner, remembering that we are no longer at the boiling point of a crisis which was absolutely perceived physically by everyone in Germany during those months.

In how far has the situation changed? The crisis is no longer acute, the revolutionary wave has ebbed. The situation is objectively revolutionary, but it would seem as if the revolutionary factors have become weaker. The stabilization of the mark has effected a subjective pacification. The defeat of the proletariat has brought about disorganization and demoralisation among its ranks. The bourgeoisie has utilized both circumstances for the purpose of showing to the proletariat, politically, that it has suffered defeat: the robbery of the eight hour day is much less an economic measure than a political one, a gesture made by the victorious bourgeoisie. On the one side millions of unemployed, and on the other workers drudging for 10 hours — the bourgeoisie demonstrates its political victory to the proletariat, and seeks at the same time to split up the proletariat into two camps, into that of the 10 hour drudges and that of the unemployed. It dooms one group to perish of physical exhaustion and overwork, and the other group to perish by starvation, and to sink to the depths of demoralisation attendant on lack of occupation.

But the bourgeoisie seeks to sow schism among the working class along other lines as well, and here too, the reformist flunkeys lend willing aid here: they oppose the qualified and relatively well paid workers against those slaving for starvation wages. The phenomena offered by the beginnings of organizations bearing a guild-like character (Turners' Union) with their "program" of "non-partisan neutrality"; the ideas propagated by the Fascist trade unionists, with their program of "class neutrality" — these are the characteristic symptoms of the disintegration and schism of this period.

But in the midst of these signs of disintegration, inevitable after a defeat, we may observe the beginnings of a mustering among the defeated proletariat. The strikes in the Rhineland and on the coast and the strike of the chemical workers are the first attempts at self defence. These defensive struggles, these beginnings of a rally among the proletariat, define the character and nature of the period for which the CP. of Germany has to set itself the concrete tasks of the immediate future.

3.

But how does our task as stated above (the organization of the revolution), agree with this definition of the period which we are now passing through?

A limit must be set to the period. It will end as soon as the German CP. has succeeded in arresting the retreat of the proletariat, in gathering the masses around the Party, in bringing the masses under the sole leadership of the German CP., and in developing the movement into an attack.

The Party was faced by the same task in 1921, after the March fights. The Party did not accomplish this task in the 2½ years which elapsed between then and October-November 1923. It did not even comprehend the task.

The task is: the organization of the revolution. In the years between 1921 and 1923 the CP. of Germany only perceived one part of this task, an important one, but not far-reaching enough. It sought to win over the majority of the decisive sections of the proletariat. This task still exists today, as much as it did in 1921. But the German CP. did not grasp that it had to win over the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat by means of organizing the revolution. The German CP. carried on partial struggles for partial aims. The German CP. has to do the same today. But in 1921—1923 the German CP. carried on the partial struggles as if the partial ends were self-sufficing. The German CP. must not repeat this disastrous error. The German CP. must carry on the partial struggles with the object of thereby organizing the revolution. The German CP. must carry on the partial struggles by organizing the revolution. The German CP. must organize the revolution by carrying on the partial struggles.

Definite tasks are thus set to the German CP. The propagandist and agitative tasks are: in every struggle, whether organized by the German CP., or entered into by the CP. after the struggle has begun spontaneously (as in the Rhineland, and in the cases of the chemical workers, and dockers' strikes), the Party has to enlighten the proletariat as to communist aims, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Soviet government. In every such struggle, which the Communist Party must seek to organize, to enlarge, and to politise, it is of the utmost importance to show the struggling proletariat that even a "successful" conclusion of the fight cannot signify any permanent success so long as the bourgeoisie rules. The Party must prove this concretely, on the evidence afforded by the struggle and by daily events.

But the task remains: the organization of the revolution. This cannot be accomplished by propaganda and agitation alone. This is to be accomplished by the formation of class organs, by the formation of a revolutionary fighting front within the proletariat from below, by arming of the proletariat, by scattering or the enemy, by winning over allies from the camps of the petty bourgeoisie and the small holders, by the neutralization of those middle classes which cannot be won over as allies.

4.

The period for which the German CP. now sets its tasks for the immediate future is thus a period in which the proletariat is to be gathered together in defensive struggles, a period of partial struggles for partial aims, opening out the path for the transition to the struggle for political power, a period of organization of the revolutionary unity of the proletariat from below, a period of ideological and organizational preparation of the Soviets as organs of armed insurrection. The main slogans of this period will be: the eight hours day; real wages, ensuring an existence worthy of human beings; enlistment of the unemployed in the army of the workers; control of production; release of political prisoners; arming of the proletariat; conquest of revolutionary rights for the factory councils, and beginning of control of production; gathering together of the working population in organs of a Soviet character, and beginning of the control of production; formation of Soviets — the beginning of the exercise of political power.

We have classified these slogans in groups of three. The first three slogans are economic watchwords for the first struggles, the watchwords by which the proletariat is first to be called together. The next three slogans will be the propagandist slogans for the whole period, and will become slogans of action as soon as the mustering of the proletariat has reached a certain degree. The last three slogans are the organizational and political slogans of the united front from below, and characterize the close of the period and the commencement of the transition to the struggle for full power.

5.

When will the period thus characterised by us come to a close? At the present juncture nobody can reply to this question. It would be charlatanism to maintain that it must be short. It would be defeatism to swear that it must be long. The point politically important to the German CP. is: to be always fully conscious that it is the sole party leading the proletariat and organizing the revolution; that at the close of the period indicated it must be the sole party which has to form the government of the dictatorship of the proletariat; that the close of the period may come any day, may be here tomorrow; that the Party must organize the revolution, whether the period closes tomorrow or not for years, that is, preparation has to be made for that struggle which ends with the annihilation of the bourgeoisie as a class and with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The brevity or length of this period does not depend on the objective development alone. The German CP. influences the speed of the development when it organizes the revolution. The organization of the revolution is the exact contrary to putschism. The German CP. gathers the masses together; the German CP. forms the organs of revolutionary unity from below; the German CP. is aware that some of the proletariat will be on the other side of the barricades; the German CP. does not look upon the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat merely with a mechanical and statistical eye. The German CP. must be ready to stake everything upon a single card if needs be. But the German CP. organizes the revolution: this is the contrary of putschism. Putschism is an attempt to force revolution by a sudden coup, without class organs, without the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat, without scattering the enemy, without an exact survey and estimation of the situation and of comparative forces. But to organize the revolution signifies: to lay the foundation stone for the insurrection, for the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus, for the new organs of the new class state, of the proletarian dictatorship, of the Soviet state. To organize the revolution means: to organize the decisive strata of the proletariat for these aims.

The whole of the concrete and immediate tasks of the Party will become clear, and will be accomplished, as soon as the Party has grasped the task for this period, and understands how to carry it out.