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**Farewell, Ilyitch! Master, Farewell!**

By Leon Trotzky

Lenin is no more. Lenin has gone from our midst. The obscure laws which govern the activity of the blood vessels, have put an end to this life. Medicine has been unable to achieve that which was expected from it, which was passionately demanded from it, by millions of human hearts. How many among them would have unhesitatingly given their own last drop of blood, in order to revive and restore the blood circulation of the great Lenin, of Ilyitsch, of the unique incomparable guide. But the miracle has not happened, where science could do nothing.

Lenin is no more. These words fall on our consciousness like a gigantic rock hurled into the sea. How to believe it, how to admit it? The consciousness of the workers of the entire world will refuse to accept this fact, since the enemies are powerful and threatening, the path to be traversed is long and painful, the immense work, the greatest recorded in History, is not yet achieved.

Lenin is necessary to the working classes of the world as no man in the history of mankind has ever been.

The second phase of his illness, more burdensome than the first, had already lasted ten months. According to the bitter expression used by the physicians, the organs of circulation "played" all the time. A terrible play with the life of Ilyitch as the stake! An improvement, even a complete restoration of his health, could be expected as well as a catastrophe. We all expected the recovery; but it is the catastrophe, which has happened. The nerve centre, controlling the respiration, refused to function any longer and extinguished the torch of this genius of thought.

And thus it has come to pass! Ilyitch is no more. The Party, the working class, remains an orphan. This is, what one feels before all, when learning the death of him, who was the Master and the Guide. How are we to proceed on our path, comrades? Shall we not go astray, now when Lenin is no more with us?

Leninism subsists. Lenin is immortal by reason of his doctrine, his work, his method, his example, which live in us, which live in the Party he has created, in the first Workers' State, whose head, whose director he has been.

Our pain is great as our loss, but we give thanks to History, which made us contemporaries of Lenin, which allowed us to work at his side, to be his disciples.

Our Party is Leninism in action; our Party is the collective guide of the workers. Each one of us contains a small portion of Lenin. How are we to proceed on our way? With the torch of Leninism in our hands. Shall we find the right way? With the collective thought, with the collective will, we shall find it.

To-morrow, the day after, in a week and in a month, still we shall say to ourselves: "It is impossible, that Lenin is no more." Ay, his death will appear to us unbelievable, inadmissible, an arbitrary and monstrous crime of Nature. May the wound which will reopen in the heart of each of us, when remembering the great dead, remind us constantly, that our responsibility has doubled: let us be worthy of him who has taught us. In our grief, let us close our ranks and unite our hearts for new battles.

Comrades! Brethren! Lenin is no longer with us...

Farewell, Ilyitch! Master, farewell!

## POLITICS

### The Parliamentary Elections in Italy.

by Ruggiero Grieco (Rome).

#### The Middle-Class Parties and the Elections.

Would Mussolini's power have been strengthened or weakened if on the 9th of October 1922, when he received the mandate to form the Cabinet, he had dissolved Parliament? There are various opinions on the matter. Most are of opinion that the method used by Mussolini, of making use of the old Parliament, until the political situation allowed him to hold new elections, has proved good. It is not our business here to analyse the qualities of the old Cabinet — it cannot be distinguished from its predecessor, and its successors will resemble it in every respect. We were not at all astonished — as many others — at the fact that the deputies in the present Parliament submitted to the castigation which Mussolini gave them, without even raising a protest against the physical pain. Those who were astonished, forget, that the same deputies have for two years done nothing to prevent the development of Fascism, that, on the contrary, they have supported it both openly and secretly. Perhaps they did so in the belief that Fascism would be a pliable instrument in their hands; that it would itself strive for power, that they did not think of, and they had to be put right by Mussolini when he entered Rome. Mussolini could have dissolved the Senate and Parliament and have governed for one or two years on the ground of a Special Powers Decree issued by the king, as Primo de Rivera is doing. But in Italy, Democracy has made greater progress than in Spain. The Italian government wants to play among the first fiddles in European politics. For the outfit of a Great Power, a certain amount of apparent Democracy is as necessary as is the glitter and show at ceremonies. Mussolini did not think of being a forerunner of General De Rivera; but it has been possible to set aside Parliament without proclaiming its dissolution, without attacking the "Pillars of the Constitution".

He allowed the Parliament to continue, but at the same time caused it to grant him power to rule a whole year, without consulting it. The Chamber consented to allow itself not to be consulted, and not to control the government. The Liberals even theoretically justify their attitude towards the fascist "coup d'état", which has welded the New and Old together, without endangering the interior peace of the country.

In the middle of December, the Premier declared the first session of the Legislative closed. He has kept up appearance as to the constitution. He regulates his power in accordance with the ordinances of the Statutes. After the issue of the decree for the closing of the Session, there remain two possibilities: either there will be an order issued for the re-opening of the Session with a speech from the throne, or the dissolution of Parliament will be announced, and a time appointed for a re-election.

In our opinion the elections are very close at hand. What is the relation of the parties to the parliamentary elections? What attitude do the Workers' parties and the Proletariat take towards them?

Fascism, which has come into power, has caused crises in all the middle-class parties. The parliamentary majority before October 1922, consisted of the four democratic groups (they have no organization in the country) i. e. Democratic, Social-Democratic, Italian-Democratic and Liberal-Democratic, and of the group of the Popolari (people's clerical party) and the groups with a tendency to the Right (Fascist, Right-Liberal, National and Agrarian). Towards the Fascist government, the majority in Parliament took up a waiting attitude, still they agreed as well to the special powers law, as well as to the few bills which the government submitted to the Chamber. But outside Parliament the orientation of the middle-class parties was automatically produced by the innumerable interests which were disturbed by Fascism, and had to be defended against it.

Various groups, as for instance, those which stand at the head of the Nitti-Democracy, immediately took up a position in opposition to the politics of Fascism, of the Fascist government. It must nevertheless be mentioned, that several of these groups (the Liberals) have promoted the rise and consolidation of Fascism in every way. The records of their newspapers con-

stituted a veritable "Saga" which glorified in particular the military organization of the Fascists. These groups thought fascism could be easily destroyed again, when it was no longer wanted. It was thought the fascists would be satisfied with their demands which were put forward in the Congress in Naples in October 1922 — they demanded the overthrow of the ministry and the participation of the fascists in the new government coalition with four portfolios (Marine, War, Home and Foreign Office). Before the Naples Congress, interviews with Giolitti had taken place, in which members of the Fascist Party appeared as intermediaries. Giolitti refused the demands of the Fascists who would have had from him the right to parcel out the ministries at their own discretion. The Fascists thereupon decided to take the extreme measures. The march on Rome, which till now had seemed an impracticable solution, took on a more palpable form. The undertaking succeeded, and Fascism won a victory over its "father" Giolitti. Had Mussolini and Giolitti succeeded in arriving at a compromise in their deliberations over the formation of the Cabinet, the Fascist movement would probably have succumbed.

It was always Giolitti's tactics to further the development of movements with opposite tendencies, in which he was guided by the criterion, that every movement, like a disease, produces seeds for a new movement. Giolitti has often made use of this method, which appears infallible to him. Typical of him, for example, is his fight against the Right after 1890, in which he relied upon reformist Socialism; further his tactics towards the Socialists (whose leaders he knew very well), whom he helped to bring the development of the workers organisations so far, that the revolutionary movement of 1920 was possible, while, at the same time, he proceeded to the organisation of Fascism, which was to overthrow the workers movement "by a spontaneous reaction of public opinion". In October 1922, Fascism had, in Giolitti's opinion, served its purpose and had to be absorbed by Liberalism. This, however, did not happen. The Liberals, disappointed with the results of their tactics, took up, after October 1922, a suspicious waiting attitude towards the Fascist Government, although they had all compromised themselves by votes in favour of government motions. The followers of Nitti who publish the paper "Mondo" (The World) in Rome, took up a clearly challenging attitude towards Fascism. It is important to refer still to the anti-fascist attitude of the Milan paper "Corriere della Sera" (Evening Mail) a paper much read both in upper Italy and in other countries, which claims to maintain the tradition of Cavour-Liberalism. The Turin Paper "Stampa" (the Press), a paper of Giolitti's, but which now displays a more independent attitude, belongs likewise to the opposition, while Giolitti declares he is a friend and advocate of the "national Government".

We have already said, that the democratic groups in Parliament represent no existing organizations in the country. There is certainly, a Socialdemocratic organization, which for the most part supports the Fascist government, and is even — by the Postal Minister Colonna di Cesario — represented in the Government. But also this organization presents no compact whole with a uniform program. Not long ago, for instance, a great section broke away from it (the organization of the Province of Venice) which declared itself anti-Fascist. There exists further, an organization of the Liberal Party, which has become stronger recently, but in which there is no discipline and no clear instructions. The Central Committee of the Liberal Party has at different times declared, that it approves of the Reconstruction program of the Fascist government; still all Liberals do not agree with this declaration. Many have withdrawn from the party — some to have freedom to criticise Fascism — other in order to be able to take responsible posts in the state.

The Nationalists combined with the Fascists in one party immediately after the march on Rome. The Popolari (clerical people's party) went through a serious crisis, which is still not quite over. Recently it has taken up an attitude of continual opposition to Fascism. The right wing belongs still to the party, in order to fight within it, for the program of the Fascist government, but this movement has not many supporters within the Party.

One cannot yet say exactly, in what position the middle-class parties will be in the Elections. The new election law, which Mussolini has passed by the Chamber, is founded on a mixed system: The majority principle holds for the list which has an absolute majority, while the principle of proportion representation applies for the minorities. The majority has a right to

two-thirds of the Parliamentary seats; the minority must divide the remaining (one third) seats among themselves. This election law is so drawn up, that the Government is at the outset assured of victory. Mussolini will put together a majority list, in which, together with Fascists, friends out of other parties will figure. Still the number of Fascists in it will be so great, that unexpected action on the part members belonging to other parties, cannot signify any danger. Just as the government list, i. e. the Fascist list also contains names of Democrats, Popolari, Reformists, (Ex-reformists, Girondists), Liberals.

What will the attitude of the Opposition Parties be? What will be the attitude of the parties friendly to the Government, who nevertheless wish to maintain their own character? Up to now, these parties have expressed themselves very little on this question — with the exception of a few leaders, whose opinion is, however, no absolute criterion for the attitude of the parties. Giolitti is said to have declared, that the Liberals, although they are friendly inclined to the Government, ought to lay claim to the minority seats, but not to figure in the Government list. The Popolari also wish to come into the struggle with an intransigent list. Further, one speaks of a list of the constitutional opposition, whose development however seems problematic.

In the preparation of such a list, various groups are working-groups at the moment in process of development, like the "Democratic League" (Rome) and the "League for Democratic Control" (Milan). It is assumed also that the Ex-Minister, Ex-Socialist Bonomi, one of the fathers of Fascism — to-day anti-Fascist — is interested in this list. If this opposition list comes into being, there will still be, in addition to it and the Government list, the list of the Popolari (Opposition) and a "List of friends of the Government", which are not included in the Government list. This last will naturally be supported by the Government.

## The Struggle between Liberals and Conservatives in Turkey.

By G. Astakhov.

Two days after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, there was a sharpening in the political situation in the country. An interview given by Rauf Bey, the former Premier, to the Constantinople paper „Vatan“, was the occasion for this change. In the course of this interview Rauf Bey spoke very guardedly against the republican form of government, blamed the haste with which the republic had been proclaimed in very veiled expressions, remarked that it was a surprising and premature action, and even spoke of the initiative of irresponsible persons, referred to the disorder which had filled Turkish society, and called upon the government to lend an ear to public opinion and to give the necessary explanations.

The Medyilis of Angora — so the national assembly of the young Turkish Republic is named — thereupon decided, contrary to all its traditions, to publish all the important speeches which had been delivered in the sitting of November 22nd, in which it was evidently following the intention of appealing to public opinion. In this sitting, various speakers had delivered sharp speeches against Rauf Bey, in which they charged him with anti-republican efforts, reactionary deeds and an exaggerated sympathy for the Caliphate. Alleged plans to split the National Party were shown up. It was said that the reactionary party in Constantinople was setting its hopes on the former premier. The clear impression of this debate was that the speakers in the great national assembly were, by these attacks upon their political opponents, in reality aiming at the Caliph, against whom they do not yet dare to raise their voice. Moreover, Rauf Bey was charged with friendship for England.

Among his opponents, Ishkam Beay, the former president of the „Tribunal of Independence“, made himself specially noticeable, and further, Ismet Pasha, Sanus Nadi (The Turkish „Marat“) the editor-in-chief of the Radical-National organ „Jemi Gium“, the well known publicist Akhmet-Agaef, and the great writer Hamdula Subkhi. Hamdula Subkhi especially said „A revolution is not a light shower it is a mighty storm. In a revolution there is no place for hesitation and half measures, nor is there any hope to satisfy the whole world. We have ventured to try that and have thus caused confusion. There are enemies of the new regime amongs us . . . The Caliphate continues to exist in Constantinople, and in the surroundings of the Caliph the ceremonial of the court

of the sultan is copied. There are people who think of restoring the Sultan. Let us be on our guard.“

Ismet Pasha spoke of the role of the army of the Caliphate in war, and of the anti-national errors of the former Caliph. Redyeb Bey, clearly illuminated the problems of foreign policy. „The land robber (England) can still stretch out her hands towards Sivas and Erzerum (a reference to the speech of Asquith over the natural boundaries of British possessions in Asia Minor) The question of the debts is not settled. Rayan the well-known English agent has just come to Constantinople, and Italy is intriguing against us.“

What were the results of these events? Reactionary journalists were arrested in Constantinople and received the sharpest punishment. But Rauf Bey in the meantime has remained in the National Party which has caused the reactionary press to regard him as the hero of the hour, to honour him as victor and to make propaganda on behalf of his friends. In this way one has heard that Kasime Karabikis Pasha, the commander of the Eastern front, Adman Bey, Refet Pasha and Ali Fuad Pasha stand on the side of the reactionaries. The republican organ „Jeni Gium wrote that republican and anti-republican are grappling with each other. It is more correct to say that the present conflict places Liberal and Conservative against each other. Zia Ghek Alp, one of the theoretical writers on the Turkish revolution, characterised the National Party as a block of Liberals and Conservatives who have united against the reactionaries and the radicals. According to his view, when the two last-named groups have been defeated the conflict between Liberal and Conservative must begin. We have actually arrived at this stage. Last Spring the radicals of the Workers and Peasants Party were pushed out of all political activity by brutal measures. At the end of the Summer the same fate overtook the reactionaries, so that the „Defenders of the Law of the Old National Assembly have since that time had to confine themselves to illegal activity. The elections that took place at the end of the Summer have forced Rauf Bey, who formerly embodied the Liberal Conservative Block, to let the power pass out of his hands. The proclamation of the Republic was at the same time a declaration of war. The national block still exists but is however quite shaken, and appears destined to fall to pieces in a short time. The immediate future will show the liberal Kemalists, who will have the support of the radicals who are now scarcely persecuted, in the sharpest struggle for power with the Conservatives who will be joined by the reactionary elements.

## ECONOMICS

### Economic Survey of the Year 1923.

By E. Varga.

The economic year 1923, the fifth since the end of the world war, has not brought with it the expected consolidation of Capitalism on a world wide scale. Neither has the crisis of Capitalism been overcome in this year. During the year, it has also become very apparent that at present there exists no uniform capitalist world economy, with a uniform conjuncture and with the alternation of boom and depression which is so characteristic of the capitalist system. While the first half of the year witnessed a boom of great intensity in the United States, the economic life of Europe, with minor fluctuations in the individual countries, remained constantly in a state of crisis and depression. This is perhaps best indicated by the fact that the sum total of unemployed in Europe at the end of 1923, was greater than at the end of 1922. This separation of world economy into various parts, each of which is passing through its own course of development, makes it impossible to present a unified picture of the economic situation of the whole world. It is necessary to consider each division separately.

#### America.

In the entire picture of the capitalist world, there stands out with special prominence, owing to its special development, America; by which we think particularly of the United States and of Canada. The South American States present in many respects a somewhat different picture. As we have already mentioned, the economic situation in the United States experienced a big trade boom in the first half of 1923. This boom culminated about April and May. At that time the production reached a

level which was about 25% higher than the best of the past years. In the middle of the year the boom subsided, without it coming to a crisis. Production and the whole economic life of the United States and Canada continue on a fairly good level, without so far showing any clear signs of an approaching crisis. We do not wish to say that this crisis will not soon arise. In accordance with the general experience of capitalist production, this should be the case in the not distant future, but so far as we can observe, there are no objective visible signs at present.

Of special interest is the fact that this boom in America is based entirely upon the demands of the home market. Of special significance in this respect is the fact that the foreign trade of the United States, in the period when the boom was at its height, that is the months of March, April, May and June, had a surplus of imports which is very exceptional in the history of the United States. With the decline of the trade boom this changed, and from July on, America shows once more an active balance of trade resulting from a large reduction in imports and a small increase in exports. This points clearly to the fact that, precisely on account of the end of the boom within the country, it became necessary to purchase less abroad and to sell a larger amount to foreign countries.

#### The Connection with the European Economic Situation.

As we have already stated in a former article, it was a matter of decisive importance for the fate of the old centre of the world capitalist system, — for Europe, whether the boom in the United States would exercise its influence upon the stagnating business of Europe in such a manner that a trade revival would also come to Europe. To express it in another way: Is the trade boom of America capable of spreading to Europe and resulting in a trade revival for the whole capitalist world? This question which could not be answered six months ago, now appears to permit of a negative answer. The crisis in Europe is like nearly every crisis in capitalism a question of markets.

The American trade boom could only have succeeded in stimulating Western Europe if the adverse balance of trade for the United States were a permanent thing, that is if the United States, for a long period, had bought more from the world market than it sold. The increased importation of the United States consisted only for a very small part of the products of European industry (iron, building material) and consisted for the most part of raw materials which were bought in other parts of the world. But the increased purchase of raw materials in these countries and the decreased export of the products of American industry, if it had lasted some time, would have enabled European industry, which is suffering from lack of markets, to have placed its products on these markets. With the change in American foreign trade this possibility disappears. Thus Europe finds itself in the same economic situation as it was in before the boom in America. The paths of American and European capitalism seem to have diverged for a long time to come.

The United States continue to draw not only goods, but actual gold in large amounts in return for its surplus exports, and for the interest upon its capital which is invested in other parts of the world. In the last eleven months of the current year the United States had an effective surplus import of 261 million dollars in gold. The amount of gold in possession of the Treasury Department and the state controlled note banks increased from 3,473 million dollars on December 1st 1922, to 3,771 million dollars on December 1st 1923. The total amount of gold present in the United States now is estimated at 4,168 million dollars which is an increase of 120% since the beginning of the war. The United States now possesses already one half of the gold in the world which is estimated at about 8,500 million dollars.

The export of gold which was announced by Hoover for the year 1923 did not take place. The question arises: what chance is there at all of the European capitalist states returning to a gold currency if the United States continues on the same scale to suck up gold out of the whole world and to concentrate it in its own hands. If the same process continues for another twenty years the remainder of the world will be absolutely stripped of its gold reserves. The fact of the piling up of the half of the gold supply of the world in the United States is symbolical of the transfer of the centre of gravity of the world capitalist system to the United States, which has already come about.

#### The Development of European Economics.

In contrast to the high American trade prosperity, the economic situation in Europe has, on a whole, become worse rather than better in the course of 1923. An improvement of the economic conditions has taken place in the neutral countries, on a small scale in France and Italy and, in the last quarter, the first signs of a better conjuncture are showing themselves in England.

But this improvement in the economic situation of the surrounding states has been bought at the price of the almost complete cessation of business with Germany. The occupation of the Ruhr destroyed the production of this district which is the most highly industrialized in the whole world, and the ending of the passive resistance has, up to the present, altered nothing. As a result of the violent change in the fixing of prices, the stagnation has extended over the whole of Germany. At the end of the year there was about 3½ million unemployed in the whole of Germany, including the occupied territory and several million more on short time. One does not need to be much of a prophet to foresee that at the moment when the Ruhr and the whole of Germany begin to produce again, the state of the markets in the surrounding states, France, England, Italy and Czecho-Slovakia will once more become very bad.

The fundamental problem for western Europe consists in the question of liquidating the over-industrialization which proceeded during the war period. To reduce it to rough terms, it means that there are one hundred blast furnaces too many in Europe. Or to express it in another way. Is it possible for the industrial states of Europe: England, Germany, France (since the end of the war), Belgium, and Czecho-Slovakia, to feed their populations by the export of manufactured articles and the import of food and raw materials? The decision of this question depends upon the ability of the world market to absorb industrial products. As, however, a great industrialization took place during and after the war in the younger capitalist lands, and especially in the British colonies, and as China, which appears to be the only land which is suited to the extension of capitalist production, cannot be colonised for the time being owing to political reasons, while, in addition, Soviet Russia is no longer accessible for capitalist expansion in the old style, there exists little prospect that the economic situation of Western Europe can be regenerated upon the pre-war basis. The feeling of this impossibility shows itself before all in the economic and political chaos in England.

#### The English Problem.

The question of the fate of Western Europe: whether it can re-establish itself upon the pre-war basis, confronts England the most sharply, for it is the country which had developed the furthest in this direction. The economic and political events of the last three months in England demonstrate most clearly the embarrassment of the English bourgeoisie, who are usually so clear in their views and conscious of their aims. All possible economic and political tendencies cross each other. One group favoured the creation of an independent British world empire, which would bind the colonies and the mother country into a unified economic territory by means of preferential tariffs. The carrying out of this idea would have led to the a high duty upon food imported into England, because only in this way would it have been possible to grant the colonies a preference worth considering. The realization of this plan broke down upon the resistance of the British consumers who, at the elections, rejected the moderate tariffs which had been decided upon at the Empire conference upon some articles, and thereby rejected the whole conception of a self-contained British Empire.

The second group, which is chiefly represented by the large English industry, wishes to restore the competitive power of English industry in the world market by means of a policy of inflation. As a matter of fact, a not insignificant depreciation of the pound has actually taken place in the last few months.

A third group represented by the commercial interests and the Labour Party, holds that it is still possible to ensure the food supply of England by the export of industrial articles, if peaceful economic conditions once more reign in Europe itself. How the restoration of a normal capitalism is possible, has so far only been announced in quite general phrases.

A fourth group has finally accepted the consequences of the derangement of the world capitalist system and advocates emigration, development of English agriculture, and Malthusianism;

which means it has already abandoned the struggle for the winning back of England's old position in the world market.

Thus we see a complete chaos in England's economic policy and, as a probable consequence, a further independence of the English colonies from the mother country, which is the very opposite development to that which is desired by the English imperialists

#### France and the Reparations Question.

France finds herself in a similar situation to England, with the difference that her agrarian basis is more extended and healthier, but on the other hand the position of the state finances is incomparably worse. The occupation of the Ruhr territory has brought little alteration in the fundamental questions of French economics. On the one hand the possession of the Ruhr assures the French heavy industry the necessary supply of coal and coke, but on the other hand the question arises as to where France, will find the market for the full production of the French and Ruhr heavy industry. The natural market for the Ruhr industry is unoccupied Germany. France cannot therefore cut off the Ruhr industrially from Germany, as in that case French heavy industry would be destroyed by the competition of the Ruhr. All the fine plans for the participation of French capital in Germany will, in the event of their carried out, not alter the common problem of English, French, and German heavy industry, i. e., the lack of markets. It is specially characteristic for the present decay of Capitalism that French heavy industry wishes to attain its market by a long and systematic restriction of the export from the Ruhr, that is, by an externally enforced limitation of production of the industry of the Ruhr. Instead of finding consumers for the increased productive powers by the extension of the capitalist markets, it is sought to throttle competition by political measures and to restore the balance by reduction of production. Thus we see the scarcely concealed effort of the French capitalists to sabotage still further the production of the Ruhr, to keep it within bounds which correspond with French "national interests".

The occupation of the Ruhr has ended in this way with a temporary political victory, but not with an economic strengthening of France. The rapid depreciation of the French franc in the past few weeks is proof enough for that. This depreciation is still proceeding. If, however, confidence is once shaken, the depreciation can easily reach the same dimensions as in Germany. The continually sharpening antagonism between France and England will also render futile the conferences of experts which begin early in 1924. France, who is being badly hit by the depreciation of the franc, will still endeavour to make good the loss at the expense of Germany. With the disappearance of the hopes of an international loan, the stabilization of the mark will also fall to the ground. The chaos in Europe will become still greater and will drift with all speed towards a solution through war. The prospects of the restoration of "normal" capitalism in Europe in the year 1924 are of the remotest.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Labour Struggles in Britain.

By J. T. Murphy.

We are in for a period of industrial strife. Two big strikes are raging now and numbers more are in the offing. At the moment all the German Seamen in British Ports are on strike, whilst the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen are tying up the railways. Unless a settlement is arrived at quickly, it only wants a trifle and the whole transport system will stop. The dockers are sympathetic to the striking seamen and have demonstrated it in a practical way. They are chafing under the dislocation caused by the railway strike and the emphatic rejection of their demands for a two shilling per day increase in wages. Their existing agreement terminates on Jan. 31. The building workers have also tabled demands for 2d. per hour increase on base rates, whilst the miners by an overwhelming majority have given 3 months notice to terminate their agreement with the mine-owners. That the stage is set for a first class row is certain.

It will be observed that all these struggles are either against reductions in wages or demands for increases in wages. Many agreements made at the beginning of the big slump in 1921 are automatically ending and fresh demands are in order. The workers are chafing under the losses of the last 3 years. The unemployment figures are not so large as a year ago, and the

slightest breath of improvement in trade seems to be the signal for a forward movement. Besides this fact, the workers in some industries have held their own against the onslaught of the last few years and are encouraged to forge ahead. Of these the building workers stand foremost. The big demand for builders when others were more severely hit by unemployment, added to the big organizational plans the Building workers have carried through, have retained the short hours (varying from 41½ to 46 hours per week according to season) as well as kept their wages fairly high. Recently they received ½ d. per hour increase through the operation of the sliding scale agreement, but that does not interfere with their new demand for 2d. per hour increase on base rates.

But more than the question of wages is involved in all these disputes. Ever since the war-time efforts to establish compulsory arbitration, there have been continuous efforts to work it in by the back door. In principle the policy was emphatically rejected by the whole union movement, but in practice there has been a ceaseless effort to bring it into being. In place of compulsory Arbitration Courts, there were established arbitration courts to which both employers and unions could appeal by common agreement, and the finding of such a court was to be binding upon both parties who appealed. Then there were set up Wages Boards to which both sides could take their demands and the findings of such bodies would be recommended to the respective organizations for acceptance or rejection. Besides these are the various wages and conditions agreements arrived at by direct negotiations between the employers and the workers, as in the case of the miners.

The present struggle between the two railway unions is focussing on this process of developing conciliation boards into compulsory arbitration courts. The N. U. R. led by Thomas, is in the forefront of this struggle to eliminate industrial strife by arbitration. It is not more than a year since what is known as the 728 arbitration award became his weapon for the re-grading of the railway workers and the defeat of the competing unions. But the conciliation railway boards are the leading features of the struggle on this occasion. Thomas and Cramp of the N. U. R. hold that, having signed the wages board findings, it is their job to fight for their acceptance in the unions. The Locomotive Society, led by Bromley, refuses this point of view and holds that the men of the union shall decide on their acceptability in relation to their own circumstances. Bromley holds that the Wages Boards and Arbitration Courts are only the first rounds of the struggle for what the men want and not the end of the struggle. So it will be observed in the following account of the dispute that Thomas and Cramp discover a new use for the word „blackleg“. „Blacklegging on the agreement“!! Men who strike after the agreement is signed etc. are blacklegs on the decision of the union etc.

#### Arbitration and Labour Government.

That the struggle is important from the point of view of the development of compulsory arbitration needs to be emphasized, especially in view of the advent of the Labour Government. It is already apparent that „industrial peace“ is to be the slogan of this Government, and it is certain that every dispute will be used in the direction of developing „conciliation machinery“ for the purpose of stifling mass revolts. Immediately it became clear that the Labour Party were about to take the reins of office, even the I. L. P. organ, the „New Leader“ began to sob about industrial disputes and plea „for the common cause“. For example, Mr. Brailsford on the railway crisis: „It would have been difficult to invent a diversion so nicely calculated to upset public confidence and to foster the mood of panic“. „What is at stake is the whole future of this machinery of conciliation...“ „No one disputes the abstract right of the Associated Society to reject a decision with which they are dissatisfied. But it is clear that if they do so, the moral authority of these decisions is destroyed.“ „The real sanction for the working of conciliation is public opinion“. „Sooner or later the discipline of service must replace the discipline of the class struggle“. „This strike, if it takes place, will deal the Labour Party in public opinion a blow which no Rothermere or Beaverbrook could have inflicted... If we are fit to govern, we must learn in the industrial as well as in the political fields to master our jealousies to suppress our egotisms, and to organize ourselves, in the workshop as in the party, for the triumph of the common cause“.

There you are! „Graduation in excelsis, conciliation in bucketsfull, and right-down treachery to the workers.

### Parliamentary Obsessions.

But this is not all. Were it only the columns of the „New Leader“ which poured out this kind of stuff, we could ignore it completely without any harm being done. These manifestations, however are symptoms of widespread views amongst the leaders. Parliamentarism threatens to sweep the boards at the expense of the industrial movement. Is there the chance of a struggle between the unions and the boss? Then the union leaders must intervene for peaceful purposes, to conciliate, to paralyse mass action. Are there differences in policy? Then the big battalions stand the best chance, autonomy becomes the means of fostering the division and so long as this lasts there is little prospect of a united mass fight. That is why F. Hodges stands for autonomy in the M. F. G. B. That is why it waxes hot and cold about industrial unionism — hot if it will prevent action, as in the present struggle on the railways, cold if proposed as a means of struggle.

### Perverting Industrial Unionism.

Nothing could make this matter more abundantly clear than the present railway dispute. Here there are two or three unions covering the whole industry, viz., the N. U. R., the National Union of Railway Clerks and the Associated Society of Locomotive men. First the N. U. R. poses as an industrial union, but immediately aims at destroying its revolutionary significance by ignoring the claims of the Loco-men, who were in a minority. In fact it accepts terms which hit the loco men and they alone. Whilst the latter having only 20,000 members out of 300,000 cannot make their resistance felt. At one stroke the real purpose of industrial unionism is destroyed. Instead of it taking the form of a unity to advance the interests of all concerned, of a better fighting instrument, it is used to divide the workers against each other. It is this overriding of the interests of the minority of locomotive workers that keeps and justifies the existence of the Locomotive Men's Association. A craft union becomes a fighting organization and the industrial union the organization of funk and betrayal.

It is doubtful whether there has ever been a dispute where union rivalry has been more bitter. The leaders of the N. U. R., Messrs. Thomas and Cramp, not only denounced the strike before it started, although the loco men had joined in the 1919 railway strike without having the slightest material interest in the dispute, but on every day since the strike began they have actively functioned as strikebreakers. Even when the loco men struck unitedly and many of the N. U. R. loco men came out unofficially, Thomas declared, amidst the derision even of the capitalist press, that the strike was „a fiasco“. In fact it can be safely asserted that had not Thomas most emphatically declared in favour of the Wages Board, the railway companies would have modified their attitude before the strike began. From the moment they realised that Thomas's hatred of Bromley threw him entirely on their side, they have been most vigorous in their opposition to any modification and are insisting on the Wages Board findings being treated as an arbitration award. It is this feature of the situation, aggravating the dissensions in the unions, which is demoralising the whole union movement. The employers have in this case selected the engineers as the means of defeating all the railwaymen. For more than two years the employers have played off one district of the miners against another or a number of districts against the whole Union Federation. With the transport workers they have selected the dockers as the centre of attack, whilst leaving the remainder of the transport workers in the clutches of 300 different agreements. In the agricultural struggle they settled with every county or part of a county in turn. No wonder there is no united struggle. With practically all the union leaders and now the Labour Government enamoured with the philosophy of „gradualism“, „industrial peace“, „conciliation“ and „compulsory arbitration“, a strike is regarded as most regrettable, an extension of it as a terrible event, and a united attack upon the boss as a calamity. It is a healthy sign that the workers have different views on these matters and it is going to be no light job for the union leaders and the Labour Government to prevent a succession of strikes on an increasingly larger scale.

The Communist Party naturally is working with all its strength on behalf of the strikers and agitating for the united action of the railway men, transport workers, miners and builders.

In the „Workers Weekly“ the organ of the Communist Party the facts of the railway dispute are set forth in the most telling manner.

The R. I. L. U. Bureau and its organ the „Worker“ are fighting splendidly in the same direction. The slogans of the „Worker“ are especially effective: „A craft union which fights is better than an industrial union which funks“, is getting home. „Scabbing by order of Thomas is still scabbing“ catches the officials on the raw.

### The Seamen Strike.

But now let us turn to the other strike and the strikes that are preparing. The outstanding event of the last few weeks has been the strike of the German seamen as they have landed in British ports. More than 100 ships are tied up and the crews are being helped by the British Unions: The National Sailors and Firemen's Union and the Transport and General Workers Union are lending a hand. The two unions directly involved are the Seamen's Section of the Transport Workers' Union and the Deutscher Schifffahrtsbund. Although one is affiliated to Amsterdam and the other to the R. I. L. U. they are fighting together. Here in the ports there is no question of differences, only the question of strengthening the strike. In this the dockers' section of the Transport Workers are continually taking a hand. In the London docks they forced the German Consul into negotiations by dismantling the unloading machinery, and in all ports the British unions are picketing, placing their union headquarters at the disposal of the strikers and it is definitely stated that any attempt to find blackleg crews from the Continent or elsewhere, will lead to a more vigorous extension of the strike in the ports. The wages of German seamen are two pounds, eighteen shillings per month, that of British seamen nine pounds per month. The German seamen are demanding the latter terms.

By Feb. 1, the Dockers may be involved on their own account. The Transport workers agreement terminates on Jan. 31 and the Dockers have demanded two shillings per day advance. This has been flatly refused.

Other movements developing are the miners and builders. But the negotiation period is not yet over. The miners by an overwhelming majority have decided to give three months notice to end the wages agreement. The new terms which the miners are demanding, are not yet decided.

The foregoing will enable one to understand the issues that are being fought and the direction they are taking. In all cases the fight starts with the wages question and develops into the struggle against compulsory arbitration and the giving of an arbitrary character to the findings of negotiation boards.

## The Struggle of the German Seamen.

By G. Hardy.

German seamen are still on strike in the ports of the British Isles. Over 75 ships are tied-up, involving according to latest reports 1200 men. The strike is now in its third week and the seamen are as firm as ever in their stand for a wage commensurate with the necessities of life. They are asking for British rates of pay. They are determined to save their wives and families from the starvation and misery now prevailing at home.

In order to understand this strike we must know something of the struggle of the workers since the Armistice. It was the seamen who contributed marvellously to the revolution in 1918. The sailors of Kiel revolted and in all the ports they were in the forefront, of the struggle which made the Weimer constitution possible. But since then they have always been betrayed by the Social Democrats. Noske at the very start established his policy which has characterised the rule of Social Democracy and the bureaucracy of central trade unions ever since. He congratulated them at Kiel upon their achievements in saving the revolution, which kept him and his colleagues in power during the Kapp Putsch, but when they continued to fight to make a complete working class revolution, he replied the very next day with machine guns. The history of the last five years is one of bloody suppression.

The last year has been the worst for the German seamen since they helped to dethrone the Kaiser. The rapid decline of the mark has affected seamen most, as they received their wages upon returning to the home port. Sailors who were away on a three month's voyage had not enough even to buy one loaf of bread. And even with the established rate at the time of signing, their

wages were many times below that of the Chinese. Despite these facts, the leaders of the reactionary unions refused to make common cause when the Deutsche Schifffahrtsbund — the German Seamen's Union — of the R. I. L. U. went on strike, and the seamen were beaten back to their ships.

Exasperated and desperate, in August they again revolted. The dockers and seamen struck. The roll of dead after three days struggle left its mark upon the memories of starving women and consumptive children. The Hamburg State is in the control of the Social Democrats; and their blood-thirsty chief of police was responsible for the death of our German fellow workers. A slight increase in wages was given, but the continued fall of the mark negated this in a few days. Then the sailors wives must stand around the shops with empty baskets. Prices had risen, their money was valueless. Again the familiar phrases were heard every where: „Kein Brot? Kein Kartoffel“ (No bread! No potatoes!) The union offices were invaded by sobbing women asking for aid for their children.

This went on. Until again in October the workers were forced to revolt. Cuno's Government had fallen in August and Stressemann's rule had produced nothing better. The vacillating policy of the Social Democrats had paved the way for their complete ultimate elimination from the Government. The suffering was unendurable and bread prices rose in one day from 35 to 450 milliard marks. The last week in October, a culmination to their suffering, found the workers of Hamburg behind the barricades fighting a desperate battle for bread. They lost the battle with 67 dead and many wounded, but not until they had inflicted great losses upon the forces of Capital.

The outcome of all this is: the seamen have been forced to take action outside of Germany. The white guards of Noske are impotent when the sailors take international action. They have found another place to strike in, where the bullets of the Reichswehr and Green Police cannot be used against them.

Contrary to the statements made that the British shipowners are supporting the strike and that the National Sailors and Firemen's Union called the men out, the sailors arrived at their decision entirely through German circumstances. They contemplated intermittently striking at foreign ports, to escape the conditions cited. And the British Shipping Federation indicates clearly that they regard the strike as a dangerous precedent. In this method of striking, they see a danger, that will probably lead to similar action on the part of British Seamen. It is against all maritime law internationally, and, as they say: „involves a repudiation of legally binding contracts.“ They were willing to harass German shipping, but now the strike assumes larger proportions they line-up on the side of the German shipowners — they are internationalists when dealing with Labour.

But there is an indication that class consciousness is on the increase. The dockers at the Victoria and Surrey Commercial Docks at London struck in aid of the German seamen. They resumed work on condition that the Consul and the Brokers summon the German owners to negotiate. The owners refused. But the representatives of the strikers, who were sent for from Hamburg, after touring British ports, report that the men are standing firm and are determined to win.

The British Bureau of the R. I. L. U. is arranging meetings in aid of the strikers' families, and all workers everywhere should rally and give their whole-hearted support. The principle of international solidarity should for once be realised among seamen. Not only because British rates are menaced as long as the slave conditions remain in German ships, but as a signal for an international union among seamen. Just as the strikers in Britain are always called traitors etc., the ironical German press states that the seamen, after being starved and murdered, with their sisters driven to the streets in despair, are „traitors“ and „disloyalists“ and „tools in the hands of an enemy“. At the same time the Fascist Dictator raids the offices of the Deutsche Schifffahrtsbund and renders this seamen's union illegal because of its international principles and international action.

Strikes are on in American, Chilian and Australian ports. The Australian Seamen's Union affiliated to the R. I. L. U., is supporting the strikers. British workers, especially seamen and dock-workers, aid your struggling fellow workers, lest Lord Inchape makes good his threats. If we aid by striking ships in British docks to prevent blacklegs running them, then we may pave the way for reciprocal action when we need it during marine strikes.

Stand firm for International Solidarity.

## GERMANY

### Official Figures on the Misery of the German Proletariat.

By Max Dörr (Berlin).

The statistics of the German Republic and the various states remain far behind the facts which they should include. A plain statement of the actual figures seems at present to be distasteful to those who bear the chief guilt for the wretchedness of the German proletariat. For instance, there is no statement as to the number of deaths by starvation in the Statistical Communiques, while Dr. Freudenberg states in the statistical Quarterly Reports of the city of Berlin, that since 1922, in Berlin alone 105 persons were officially recorded as having died of starvation and that their number as a matter of fact might have been much greater.

The state statistics are therefore quite incorrect; while in addition they are not published until long after the events recorded have happened. Hence it follows that all statements in the German and the foreign press about the increasing misery of the German working class in the last months, are based more upon estimates than upon exact figures. More exact material is furnished by the following document, which Herr Leid, the mayor of the district of Wedding, handed over to the Central-Administration of Berlin. The report deals with conditions up till January 4th, 1924 in Wedding, a decided working class quarter, 90% of the 350, 400 inhabitants belonging to the working class.

“City of Berlin. Office of the District Wedding-Berlin.

No. 65. Exerzierstraße 11a.

Berlin, Jan. the 4th, 1924

The urgent need of the population in the administrative district of Wedding is illustrated by the following figures:

On the 31th December 1923 the following persons were supported by public means

30,041 unemployed, of these 18,025 were married, each with their families being reckoned as four persons . . .	72,100
12,016 single . . . . .	12,016
State insurance pensioners . . . . .	7,534
Paupers (continually supported) . . . . .	3,077
Receivers of Out Door Relief . . . . .	890
Small pensioners . . . . .	935
Once in receipt of relief . . . . .	3,729
Orphans . . . . .	743
War-invalids . . . . .	1,998
War-widows . . . . .	2,580
War-orphans . . . . .	5,587

To which is to be added 14,500 workers on short time each counted as 4 persons . . . . . 58,000

Totalling therefore . . . . . 169,189 persons out of a population of 350,400.

The housing conditions likewise throw a light on the social position of the inhabitants of the district of Wedding. Altogether there are: 105,885 dwellings.

Of these 90,843 are small dwellings up to two rooms, 13,054 medium dwellings of 3 or 4 rooms, 1,807 large dwellings and 181 extra large.

In the month of December, there was expended on Relief to 3,967 continually supported persons, 35,285,464 milliard Marks and on 3,729 only once supported persons 9,691,439 milliard Marks.

By the feeding of the poor 181,012 meals were provided in December 1923; by the public feeding 30,375 meals were provided gratis and 6,615 meals at cheap rates.

By means of the state bread subsidy, bread was provided in December to 5,052 families with 10,474 children and to 1,679 other needy persons, 40% cheaper than the regular price.

The bakers of greater Berlin rendered aid to 6,200 persons by letting them have bread 5% cheaper.

Public kitchens were set up in the district by the Protestant Women's Union, by the Womens' Fatherland Union and the International Workers' Relief.

Relief work was also rendered in connection with the Office of Public Welfare.

Christmas festivities and food were provided for 1,000 per-

sons on Christmas Eve by means collected by the Reichswehr. Feeding by travelling kitchens on the same day by the relief-service and the office of welfare. The firm of Wittler made a weekly gift of 70 loaves of bread to be distributed gratuitously. 70 persons received a free dinner in families of members of the Democratic Party. Butter was distributed among consumptive-families. Austrian relief in the shape of food parcels for middle class people and families with numerous children.

The office for the youth reports:

In consequence of the increasing unemployment in the district of Wedding the misery of children has assumed terrible proportions. Of 8,000 babies and little children, 6,000 are without sufficient linen, according to the findings of the district's welfare-administration, 2,000 have no bed for themselves. The rest suffer in particular through lack of fuel and nourishment. Private help has not been forthcoming with the exception of 700 meals provided by the Quakers. Only a small degree of alleviation has been affected by action for the cheapening of milk. For 3,000 children and about 800 pregnant women, the medically necessary additional nourishment is failing. Additional nourishment for a further 5,000 children is not to be procured. As a consequence, the figures as to sickness increase every week. Instead of the 700 meals provided by the Quakers for little children, 7,000 would be necessary. Likewise the 350 meals for pregnant women is much too small. To meet the urgent need an increase of at last ten times as much would be necessary.

Of the 40,000 school-children of the district, about 25,000 are without sufficient clothing. 15,000 entirely lack linen and warm underclothing. Only a small number of the 40,000 school-children have boots that do not leak.

As a result of the bad conditions, a great number of the school-children have got skin diseases and vermin. On account of the wretched housing and the unheated rooms, the school-children are exposed to special danger to their health. Heated rooms, with the possibility of their being able to work therein with proper inspection, should be provided. Games and exercise in the open air cannot be performed for want of proper clothing. About 12,000 schoolchildren receive additional food through foreign relief and private gifts. Extra food is also urgently required by an additional 18,000. On account of lack of accommodation and means, it is impossible to send children into the country for the benefit of their health. 10,000 very urgent requests must remain disregarded.

For young people who have left school and whose need is very great, no relief at all exists up till now, 80% are unemployed. Food and clothing is utterly wanting. In consequence of this, criminal cases and demoralisation are increasing daily. The damage arising therefrom is irreparable.

Besides food and clothing employment is necessary. To train them on the land is at present nearly impossible.

(Signed:) Leid."

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Lyons Congress of the C. P. of France.

By Jacques (Paris).

The preceding Congress of the C. P. of France took place in the middle of October 1922. It showed that the Party had divided itself into three fractions which were sharply distinguished, and were fighting against each other. The 4th. World Congress had the difficult task of promoting a recovery of the Party, by knitting together all its revolutionary elements and by eliminating the reformist, Freemason and petty bourgeois political careerists.

Thus, within the period between the Paris and the Lyons Congresses, the latter of which finished its work on the 23rd January 1924, there took place the great purging of the Party and the Frossard crisis. With Frossard at their head, the majority of the leaders, who up to then had intentionally and continually sabotaged the development towards a Communist Party, withdrew from the Party. The latter lost with them some thousands of members, but by the purging it became so strong that, some days after this schism, it was able to lead the big campaign against the Ruhr occupation. It proved at the conferences of Essen and Frankfurt that it had found proper contact with the German workers. It has led the agitation for amnesty with such success, that the government was compelled gradually to give way. It has learned to draw closer the connections with the revolutionary trade unions, it has transformed

the old federalist organization of the Party into a centralist one and it has employed the united front tactics in an effective manner.

The Congress of Lyons had to sum up the balance of the past 15 months. There had not arisen any principle or tactical antagonism during this period within the Party. It pursued the path which the 4th World Congress had indicated to it. The main task consisted only of stating and of correcting the deviations which unavoidably arise in carrying out various campaigns or during reorganization. For this reason, the Congress — contrary to the preceding one — proceeded quietly.

The first important problem was the attitude of the Party in the coming elections, where the reactionary National Block is fighting with the petty bourgeois Block of the Left. The French Socialists of course, go together with the bourgeoisie and form, together with the petty bourgeois parties, the Block of the Left. The Communist Party proposes to them a united front for a Workers' and Peasants' Block. It makes this proposal on the basis of a minimum program, but it demands on the other hand, that the Socialists abandon all collaboration with the bourgeoisie and help to reunite the split trade unions. The Socialists would like to make the block with the Communists only in certain industrial constituencies. The Communists, however, insist on an entire break with the bourgeoisie, which will never be carried out by the Socialists, although the slogan: Workers' and Peasants' Block is finding many adherents in their ranks.

In France, the old Socialist Party was, in fact, merely an organization for elections, the play-ground for ambitious politicians who used the Party only as a spring-board for their going over to the camp of the bourgeoisie through parliament. The Communist Party, in order to show that also in this respect it had broken with the traditions of the old party, decided at the Lyons Congress, that at least 9/10ths of the candidates must be proletarians or peasants working, respectively, in the shops or in agriculture. Party employees are only adopted as candidates in exceptional cases. Thus the C. P. of France will be the only party which will conduct the election struggle under its own proletarian flag.

In the sphere of the Trade Unions the Congress mainly dealt with the question as to how the Party can best work for uniting the split trade unions. Closely connected with this, was the question of transforming the Party organizations into shop nuclei. The shop nuclei will have, as one of their first tasks, to promote the knitting together of the trade unions from below. Besides the discussion on the political report, the question of the trade unions and the shop nuclei occupied most of the time of the Congress.

Regarding the Ruhr Policy of the French bourgeoisie, these were adopted which stated the incapability of the bourgeoisie to solve the international problems, and declared the only solution to be the closing together of the ranks of the German and French workers. In the organizational field of the Party, besides the transformation of the organizations into shop nuclei, measures were adopted ensuring the better contact of the provinces with the Central. The Peasants' Question and the Co-operative Question were also dealt with.

There were some defects in the preparation of the Congress, as the Party was very much occupied just in the week preceding the Congress, as a result of the incident of the Grange-aux-Belles, in which two workers had been killed by the provocation of the anarchists. A report on the international situation was not given; also the discussion on the question of the interior situation had to be limited to the reports printed a month before.

On the third day of the Congress, the death of Lenin was announced. With profound emotion the Congress recorded the immense loss which the suppressed and exploited throughout the whole capitalist world had thereby sustained. Tears gleamed in the eyes of most, and the resolution of the Congress to carry on Lenin's work and Lenin's teaching with still greater energy, was the expression of the sentiments of all present.

The sitting was thereupon interrupted and resumed in the evening. All the items on the agenda were dealt with.

The Communist Party of France demonstrated at this Congress, that it is pursuing the right way. Its Congress was taken up with the discussion of the difficult questions of the day. The Party has still many a defect, it will still have to overcome many a difficulty, but it is well on the way to becoming the revolutionary party, which will destroy French capitalism.