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POLITICS

The Russian Famine and the Relief Necessary

by Victor Kopp.

Report to the Berlin International Conference of Organizations
working for the Relief of the Russian Famine.

** The picture of the famine in Russia is horrible enough and does not need any exaggeration. Almost the entire population of the stricken districts and, moreover, also a great part of the population of the neighbouring territories—all in all about twenty million people—are affected by the famine. It is no exaggeration to say that half of them, i. e. ten millions, are at the present moment on the verge of starvation. The number of starving children alone amounts to at least five millions.

As soon as the first signs of the catastrophe became apparent, the Russian government energetically employed all the means at its disposal to deal with the situation. Two important problems had to be solved immediately: first, the inhabitants who were leaving the place of disaster in panic, had to be retained by immediate aid so as to secure the cultivation of the land. In spite of the very meager harvest the government succeeded within a few weeks in gathering the necessary seed—about thirteen millions of poods—and in transporting it to the famine district.

Thus the first problem was solved. The panic was stopped, the streams of fugitives came to a standstill, the winter-sowing was accomplished. However, hereby only the first steps were made, but the question as to the maintenance of the population till the next harvest became every day more urgent. The hard winter that had meanwhile set in robbed the population of any possibility of obtaining food and fodder in the fields and forests, and made this question one of life or death to millions of starving people.

The starving districts require for their maintenance at least 100,000,000 poods of grain, 170,000,000 of which for human consumption. The district itself has yielded all in all only about 46,000,000 poods; thus in order to maintain the population it is essential to obtain elsewhere 124,000,000 poods. As has already been stated the entire harvest this year was rather scant. It can be said without exaggeration that there was a bad harvest all over Russia. The only source from which adequate assistance could be drawn is the world market glutted with grain. There are the granaries of North America, where wheat is lying without finding purchasers. There is Argentine, where this year's maize harvest was so plentiful, that the locomotives are heated with ears of corn instead of coal. That is the reason why Gorki appealed to the foreign countries, why the Russian government approached the foreign countries, because it clearly understood that it is not in a position to feed all the starving out of the supplies of Russia or to procure the required quantities of grain by cash purchase.

The response the appeal has so far met with abroad is, with a few exceptions, unsatisfactory enough. It is true that all of the organisations here represented are working with all their might in combatting the catastrophe. Yet all that has

been done by these organisations and also by the Hoover Organisation which is not represented here, is but a tiny part of what must be in order to prevent the most fertile part of Russia from turning into a cemetery of several millions of humans beings this winter.

The Hoover Organisation as well as that of Nansen are chiefly organisations for the relief of children. The number of children that will be maintained by these organisations during this winter is estimated at about 2,000,000. Several hundreds of thousands of children are being saved by the measures of the government—either by accomodating them in children's homes in their respective districts or by evacuating them to the better-off districts where they are being distributed among the peasant population. Nevertheless, by all these measures it will hardly be possible to provide food and shelter for half of the number. The other half is dying a slow and horrible death.

Still less is being done for the rescue of the adults. With the exception of the establishment of some feeding-centres in the places of concentration of the fugitives and of special measures to combat the epidemics (in which the greatest part was played by the German Red Cross), practically everything still remains to be done.

The small stocks still at the disposal of the population of the famine-districts after this year's harvest have been entirely consumed during the last four months. In consequence of the cold weather setting in it became impossible to gather those sordid substitutes on which the population subsisted up to the present moment: all sorts of grasses, swamp-plants, wild berries, acorns, bark and so forth. No matter how great the efforts of the Russian government may be—and there is really no lack of energy exhibited in this matter—in assisting the starving out of the resources of the country itself, without adequate assistance from abroad several millions of people will not survive this winter but will perish in hunger and misery. This naked truth which I am stating here without any embellishment, must be driven into the consciousness of those who do not starve.

Should the appeal to humanity, which was so eloquently and touchingly expressed in Professor Nansen's well-known speech at the conference in Geneva, no longer meet with a response, it would be high time to appeal to economic sensibility. For there should be no mistake about it:

In the moment in which peasant farming in the famine-district falls to ruin and this fertile land is thus turned into a desert with nothing but wild grasses growing on it for a long time to come—in this moment Russia will be eliminated for a long time from the ranks of the countries whose agricultural products exceed their wants. The purchasing power of its population will be paralyzed and there will no longer be any possibility of Russia regaining its place in the household of the world.

Hereby the problem of relief for starving Russia is elucidated from a world-economic point of view.

A territory of more than 56,000,000 dessiatines with a population of altogether 18,300,000 people, 16,200,000 of which are living rural districts, remained without a drop of rain throughout the spring and part of the summer. The fields were covered with a hard crust which showed wide cracks caused by the heat. The average yield of this land in harvest-time amounted to 11.4 poods per desiatine. After deduction of the seed corn, this means a net produce of 3-4 poods per capita. The importance of these numbers

may be gathered from the fact, that an average harvest in the district in question produced about 30—40 poods, a good one even more than 60 poods per dessiatine, and that a standard of 10 poods per head is by officially designated as a "hunger-ration", which practically means the beginning of starvation among the population.

The Russian Volga district, the district of the "black soil", is known as the granary not only of Russia but of all Europe. And undoubtedly this fame is well earned. The agricultural population of this district constitutes no less than 20% of the entire agricultural population of former European Russia. The cultivated land formed 24% of the entire cultivated area, which shows the prevailing agricultural character of the whole district. The average amount of grain exported from the district yearly in the years 1909 to 1913 was 188,000,000 poods, 65,000,000 poods of which were exported abroad.

The figures mentioned will fully suffice to show that the agriculture of the Volga district is of decidedly extensive character. It is an agriculture with little live stock (with 24% of the entire cultivated area it only has 23% of the working horses and 17% of the draught-oxen), the advantage of which does not lie in a sufficient fertilisation of the soil nor in a careful, mechanical cultivation of the land, but is founded on the possibility of giving parts of the land, so richly endowed by nature, year by year a rest. The peasant mode of farming is a primitive so-called "three field farming" which disappeared in Europe a century ago. The war has badly shaken the stoutest pillar of this agriculture, human working-power. Millions of young peasants did not return from the battle-fields or were kept as prisoners for years and years, while the farms were often left behind under a true petticoat government. The world war was succeeded by civil war. First the southeast part of Russia was for a long time the battlefield of the troops of the counter-revolution. Here the famous Czecho-Slovak revolt commenced in 1918, here was the ground of which Denikin's troops were drawn up when in 1920 he pushed his attack within a few hundred kilometers of Moscow. Here was to the last the haunt of the dispersed remnants of the White troops, of the failures in life who found their means of subsistence by looting the peaceful population. All these circumstances caused the productive power of the farmers to be reduced to a level far below that of pre-war time. The best proof thereof is the reduction of the cultivated area.

While in 1916 the cultivated land covered a space of 92 dessiatines per 100 inhabitants, it sank by 1921 to 58 dessiatines, that is by 37%. This occurred in spite of the considerable increase of peasant farming itself at the expense of the confiscated great estates. This fact has been attributed to the policy of the government which was said to have suppressed the inclination for the increase of production by imposing the duty of delivery. This may be partly correct; we have seen much the same in other countries where the government has taken similar measures under the pressure of war. However, this does not by any means fully explain the matter, for at the same time as the cultivated ground all other factors of production were reduced. So for instance, the number of working-animals, also calculated for a hundred inhabitants, sank in the same space of time from 26 to 14, i. e., by 46%, the number of cows from 23 to 16, i. e., by 30%, and so forth.

The farm implements and, most important of all, the ploughs, suffered much in quality in consequence of the impossibility of replacing the worn-out machines by new imported ones. The following figures will prove that. A plough is generally supposed to last ten years. In the ten years from 1906 to 1916 Russian agriculture was provided with 3,300,000 ploughs. This is the total amount of the ploughs that were produced in Russia and imported from abroad. In 1916 they were distributed over about 190,000,000 dessiatines. The cultivated land in the Volga district had a total of about 1,800,000 ploughs. From this year on the supply of agriculture with ploughs ceased almost entirely—partly on account of the blockade, partly on account of the transformation of the Russian metal industry for the manufacturing of requisites of war. No less than 40% of the entire stock of ploughs ought to be replaced by new ones, and even if they are used here and there they are by far not fit to perform the required work. Expressed in absolute numbers, the agriculture of the Volga district requires 175,000 ploughs in order to raise itself to the after all rather moderate level of 1916. With the other agricultural machinery conditions are the same as with the ploughs: about 130,000 reaping machines and about 30,000 steam ploughs are wanted, somewhat to make up for the depreciation in farm tools that has ensued in the meantime.

The quality of the seed-grain, that is of the commonly used grain, wheat, has deteriorated in a similar way. Before the war

Russian grain was considered on the world market to contain by far the greatest quantity of foreign elements. This was due chiefly to the inferior quality of the peasant seed. The war has greatly aggravated the conditions and the seed deteriorated to such an extent that by this alone the harvest might have been reduced by one half and even more than that.

Taking further into consideration the decrease of the live stock we will gain an idea of the main factors of the economic breakdown prevailing in the Volga district. It is now perfectly clear why this year's catastrophe, resulting from the effects of nature, has wrought such destruction, and it becomes obvious that in combatting the famine two equally important and inseparable factors have to be tackled: the relief of the immediate distress, the maintenance of the population throughout the winter, and further, work for the future, the rebuilding of the ruined economic life.

The chief object, as follows from the aforesaid, is the increase of the arable area. It will certainly be easier to solve this problem than to persuade the population to apply new methods of cultivation, to introduce the cultivation of different plants or to carry through measures of amelioration of the soil. In order to bring the arable area up to the level of 1916, over 55,000,000 poods, i. e. more than 900,000 tons of seed are required. To provide such a quantity of seed suitable to the climatic conditions of the region, and this for the approaching spring, is the first and most urgent task without the solution of which all other measures would become futile.

The second task that has to be solved simultaneously is the supply of the population with adequate implements.

The third task which must be begun at the same time as the two others is the production of a sufficient number of motor ploughs. Agriculture in the Volga district is very short of live stock, as we have seen. The working animals will be decimated by the famine so as gravely to threaten the spring cultivation of the fields. The wanting draught animals must be replaced by mechanical power. Without a sufficient number of tractors a reform of agriculture is impossible.

These three tasks—the supply of seed grain, the provision of implements and the provision of tractors—are together the very essence of economic assistance, without which the relief of distress can procure but a temporary alleviation, however badly it may be wanted. If this assistance for the spring to come should fail, the Russian Volga district threatens to be turned into a hunger district in permanence.

I am perfectly well aware of the fact that the private organisations here represented are far from possessing the means required for the solution of such an enormous task which must necessarily be dependent on the granting of prolonged credits. However, these organisations who were the first to come to the aid of the starving Russian people are very well able to draw the attention of influential quarters to this problem and to demand of them the granting of the necessary means. The very greatness of the task, the very depth of our conviction that the economic salvation of Russia means the salvation of all the world, ought to stimulate us to do all we can in order to make ourselves heard by means of the press, in Parliament, in the broadest publicity so as to furnish the conditions which are necessary to arouse the powers capable of the solution of the problem and to unite them. When public opinion in America and England is convinced that the horrible unemployment weighing on these countries can only disappear through the restoration of Russia's purchasing power, when at the same time the peoples of Central Europe become clearly aware of the fact that their distress is not in small degree due to the agricultural production of the vast Russian fields coming to a standstill, the urgency of economic assistance to Russia will take possession of public opinion with such force as to silence all private, partial, and selfish interests.

After the Vilna Elections

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

** Were the elections in the Vilna District an expression of the will of the whole population? The Polish authorities attempt to make the world believe that they were. According to them 60% of the electorate took part in the elections. That figure, however, is hardly to be accepted, for among the Poles themselves participation in the elections cannot have been very great, in face of the lack of political consciousness of the broad masses, especially the women, and of the bad means of communication. When one in addition takes into consideration the abstinence of the non-Polish nationalities, the published figures of the participants in the elections appear highly improbable.

That the Lithuanians boycotted the elections is perfectly dear. The same can be said of the Jews who in the Vilna District sympathized with the Lithuanians. These latter had, at least provisionally, granted them full equal rights of nationality; while they were treated as pariahs by the Poles. Notwithstanding this, from Polish official sources comes the assertion that the Jews outside of Vilna went to the polls. The claim is hard to substantiate. There were no special lists setting out the Jewish Electors, and in no instance was a single Jew elected.

Now, it is maintained that at least the White Russians have taken part in the Diet elections. It is true that the Polish authorities put themselves to great trouble to induce the White Russians to take part in the elections. They put forward a certain Aleksjuk as leader of the pro-Polish White Russians. The candidate brought no credit to the Polish election officials. He is a somewhat sinister personality who experienced certain legal unpleasantness on account of embezzlement. Of no higher moral prestige is the other "White Russian" the notorious brigand leader Bulak-Balachovitch, who published an appeal to the White Russians, calling on them to take part in the elections, along with the announcement of his personal participation in them. Here too one must wonder, how any creature who stands legally accused of murder, robbery and rape, can exercise the right to vote. But Poland needed votes. In spite of all that, the White Russians must have taken only a very mild interest in the elections, for the Aleksjuk Party has suffered a most signal defeat.

Thus the newly elected Diet represents only the Polish portion of the population.

In spite of that it appears certain that the Entente will not place its veto on the elections. It was in its power to hinder the elections, if it so desired, but it seems that the Entente is not able to adopt an unanimous attitude on the Vilna question. Moreover, all attempts to bring about negotiations between Poland and Lithuania having failed, it could scarcely oppose a definite solution of its own to the Polish solution.

The program of the next sitting of the Council of the League of Nations is framed in such a way that the Lithuanians will hardly find a sympathetic hearing for their complaints. It mentions the problem of the "Protection of the Lithuanian Minority" in the Vilna District which entirely excludes the possibility of the territory being awarded to the Lithuanians. It is equally evident from the report of the Foreign Minister Skirmunt in the committee of the Warsaw Sejm, that the Polish Government secured the assent, or at least the neutrality of the Entente Powers before the elections. One may therefore suppose that the fait accompli achieved by the Polish Government will be accepted as a basis for any further solution of the question. The League of Nations will very probably cause the Poles many a bitter moment yet, but it will hardly be able to effect a thorough alteration of the conditions. The Lithuanian protests will probably fall on deaf ears.*

On the other hand it will be equally impossible to satisfy the wishes of the Polish annexationists. It is well known that they have been very successful in the elections. The federalistic Pilsudski Party has suffered a most miserable defeat. At first Pilsudski (as a native of Vilna) had the intention of taking part in the elections himself, evidently to increase the chances of his adherents by his presence, but at the last moment he thought better of it and "fell ill". This is understandable, for his chief parties (Social-Patriots, Democrats, and the Peasants' Party "Rebirth") have only been able to return a small group of deputies.

The victory fell to the Right Party (National Democrats) who captured nearly half the seats. The second strongest party is the so-called People's Council, which will form the centre group in the Diet. As to its class position, this party is very indefinite and divergent. It sprang out of the "Borderland-Protection" Party patronized by Pilsudski but later on let itself be carried away on the Annexationist tide, and agitated for "reunion" just as eagerly as the National Democrats. Among its deputies there is no lack of full-blown National Democrats.

* The recent session of the Council of the League of Nations refused to have anything more to do with the Vilna question, as Comrade Domski had predicted. It ordered the withdrawal of its Military Mission of Control within one month and "invited the two governments concerned to confide their respective interests to friendly powers". The resolution continues, "the Council cannot recognise any solution of a dispute submitted to the League by one of its members which may be reached without regard to the recommendation of the Council or without the consent of both the parties concerned". This mars the most signal failure of the League of Nations since its establishment.

Thus a splitting up with a consequent adhesion to the right, whereby the National Democrats might get an absolute majority and become the governing party is not out of the question.

One might now expect that the slogan of the Right: a Plebiscite Sejm proclaiming union with Poland and dissolution afterwards will now become a fact. The Warsaw National Democrats stick to this slogan and have published an appeal to the elected deputies in this sense. But the soup is not likely to be eaten as hot as it was cooked. From Skirmunt's announcements in the Warsaw Sejm Committee it appears that even France advises the Poles to allow Vilna autonomy, and to carry out a policy of reconciliation, towards Kovno. France is afraid that the Lithuanians in the event of a further embitterment of relations might become a bridge between Germany and Soviet Russia. England and Italy have most decidedly warned against annexation, nor do they seem agreed upon autonomy.

In these circumstances Vilna autonomy will be the lesser evil for Poland. Even the editor of the influential "Rzeczpospolita" whose policy closely approaches that of the Nationalists, quite openly states this "diplomatic necessity" as he calls it.

Poor Pilsudski, however, will have little joy over this "victory" of his idea; for the autonomy of the Vilna District will, in this event be realized by the enemies of autonomy, as well as by the adherents to Centralism and of an enforced Polonization. These gentlemen will certainly not be able to prevent a further development of the district into a sort of buffer state and approach to Kovno. And if Pilsudski meant to create for himself a sally-port for further "Liberation" crusades, a hatching ground for further Petlurism, he is now deeply disappointed. Strange as it may sound—the reactionary issue of the elections is the most favorable for peace and particularly for quiet on the Soviet borders.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Situation in 1921

by Spectator.

** The development of national economy is influenced by a number of factors among which is of course the influence of political relations. It is beyond a doubt that the self-confidence of the capitalist class is today stronger than it was one or two years ago. It must also be admitted that the fear of the Russian Revolution is today not as great; in fact, Communism is almost considered as overcome, because the Soviet Government has supposedly capitulated before capitalism. It must furthermore be admitted that the working-class has been thrown on the defensive and that capitalism has begun a general attack on the conquests of the revolution and is even certain of its victory. In a word, capitalism has regained its confidence and is no longer afraid to commence operations on a large scale. A good proof of this is the fact that the Thyssen-concern alone is digging new shafts which will require 1,800,000,000 marks.

A situation exists in regard to the economic prerequisites for a revival of industry. In this field the prospects of capitalism are not as rosy as we might be inclined to presume. Apart from the various lines of development of single branches of industry, the main cause of the economic crisis of 1920-21 was the reduced demand for manufactured articles by the agricultural population and by the agricultural countries. During the war, it was just these agricultural countries and the agricultural districts of industrial countries that were able to increase their wealth considerably, thus creating a basis for the economic revival during the following post-war years. We can illustrate this by examining American statistics. During the war, from 1914-1919, the value of the agricultural products of the U. S. rose from \$9,900,000,000 to \$24,960,000,000. The net value (after the deduction of the cost of raw materials) of industrial products jumped from \$9,900,000,000 to \$20,500,000,000. This gave rise to the extensive domestic market, which in turn was the basis of the post-war boom. In 1920, agricultural products suffered a drop in the market and their total value went down to \$19,860,000,000. But the value of mining products rose considerably during 1920, in fact from \$4,600,000,000 to \$6,700,000,000.

If the value of industrial products did not rise to the same extent that mining products did, since in most cases the prices of manufactured articles did not rise as much as those of the mining industry, it is nevertheless certain that the total value of 1920's industrial production was considerably higher than that of agricultural production. While the general index of prices in 1920 showed a higher average than in 1919, the index figures for agricultural products dropped from 234 to 218. As a result

the domestic market was unable to consume the manufactured products and at the same time exports decreased, being chiefly consigned to agricultural countries, since the European industrial countries are still suffering so much from the aftermath of the war that their capacity for assimilating the industrial products of other countries is very small.

What was the line of development of this state of affairs in 1921? Until the middle of 1921, for which period we have the statistics of the American Department of Labor on the fluctuation of prices, we see that the prices of agricultural products dropped very much more quickly than those of all other goods. In fact, in the month of June they had almost the 1913 level (plus 13%), while the general price index at that time was 48% above the price level of 1913. We see from the reports of two correspondents of the "Industrie- und Handelszeitung" and the "Frankfurter Zeitung" that the situation has not changed since then. The New York correspondent of the "Industrie- und Handelszeitung" reports in the issue of December 23rd that the prices agricultural products are still lower than those of industrial products. The correspondent for the "Frankfurter Zeitung" (issue of January 8th) cites the opinion of an American investigation Commission on Agriculture, according to which the farmer's dollar to-day is worth less than at any time during the last 30 years. It is at the same time established that the agricultural population in America is rapidly decreasing. The low buying power of the dollar as well as the decreased agricultural population leads to a shrinking of the domestic market. The same is no less true of the foreign markets. The faster decrease of prices of agricultural products resulted in an unfavorable balance of trade against the agricultural countries. During the war these countries had in most cases a favorable balance of trade. In 1920 and especially in 1921, the balance of trade went heavily against these countries. Since due to the impoverishment of Europe the influx of capital from industrial countries is very small, the buying power of the agrarian countries has seriously shrunk and as a result the foreign market has also suffered considerably. Hence also the economic crisis.

From the data published until now, we cannot yet say with certainty whether any change has taken place in this respect during the last months of 1921. Some countries, as for instance Brazil, seem to have improved their trade balance. Most of the countries of the world record a growing debit balance of trade. For instance, in the month of October India had an import trade of 225,000,000 rupees and an export trade of 172,000,000 rupees; South Africa's import trade amounts to £3,800,000 and her export trade to £1,990,000. A further proof of the debit trade balances of these countries is the drop in the exchange quotations of these countries. So for example, the Argentinian peso was quoted in England during December 1920 at 53¹/₁₆ pence; in December 1921 it stood at 53%. The Brazilian milreis was quoted at 10⁷/₁₆ and 7⁹/₁₆ pence respectively. The lower exchanges of these countries reflects their weaker buying power and signifies the limited sale of industrial products to these countries.

On the other hand, however, we see that in industrial countries, particularly in England, due to a number of circumstances, the prices of agricultural products are still higher than those of manufactured articles. But in the industrial countries, the working population forms the domestic market. If agricultural products are dear, while the prices on industrial products are going down, it means that wages at whose cost prices on industrial products are reduced, are dropping in their buying power as against food; in other words, the real wage is reduced and with it also the buying power of the greater part of the population. The temporary state of affairs under which food prices sank, while industrial products and wages remained as they were, created an increased demand for manufactured products in Europe. Today the situation is just the opposite; wages are falling more rapidly than food prices and as a result the population's buying power for manufactured products is very small. In addition to all this we must examine the situation in Central and Eastern Europe where, due to the unusually rapid drop of the currencies of these countries, the buying power of the population has surely not increased.

As another prerequisite of an economic revival, we may consider the situation in the money market. At present the situation is such that the private discount rate is still pretty high, particularly for long-term loans. During 1921 the average discount rate on 90 day notes was more than 5%, which is altogether too high a discount for England. A peculiar situation was created in which money can be obtained with comparative ease for speculative purposes and only with difficulty for new investments, because there is actually a shortage in capital, whereas there is not such a shortage in legal tender. On the contrary, there is plenty and more than plenty of legal tender, but there is on the other hand an actual shortage of the means

of production and their capital value, and of cash money. The following table is taken from the "Frankfurter Zeitung" of January 4th, 1922. It is a survey of the new shares issues in the most important countries.

Value of New Share Issues.

	Germany millions of marks	England millions of pounds	U.S.A. millions of doll rs	Holland millions of gulden
1912	994	210.9	2917.7	—
1913	635	196.5	—	193.9
1920	7,520	367.5	2391.2	1151.4
1921	19,229	389.0	1407.5	457.0

(The figures for the United States include only the first 10 months, and those for Holland the first 11 months of 1921.)

The figures for England seem to be not quite correct; at any rate those coming from English sources are different. In fact, according to the "Statist" the 1920 issue amounted to £481,000,000. Nevertheless the fact remains that the government expended the money, since £280,000,000 of the 1921 issues were government loans. The industrial issues are not only very small, but they show a steep drop in the last months of May, June and July of the same year. In the United States and in Holland the new 1921 issues were much smaller than those of 1920; the October 1921 issues of the United States for example, does not even amount to one-half of the January issue of the same year. The high figures which the issues in Germany show are easily explained by the depreciation of the currency. If we divide this sum by 25 as an average depreciation factor, we get a sum which is much less than that of 1912-1913. As far as actual production is concerned we really see a certain revival in the textile industry, at any rate in the United States, and a very slight increase in the production of iron and steel in the most important producing countries—United States, England, France and Belgium. But if we examine these figures more closely we get the following picture: (these figures are taken from the "Times" of January 7th) Reckoned in thousands of tons per month the production of these four countries was as follows:

	Pig Iron	Steel
1913	3067	3834
1920	4125	3616
1921 1st quarter	2871	2973
2nd quarter	1546	1729
3rd quarter	1306	1817
1921 October and November	1770	2219

We see that the average production of these four countries during the months of October-November amounts to 463,000 tons of iron and 400,000 tons of steel more than the average production during the third quarter of 1921. Due to the miners' strike England's production in the second quarter shrunk immensely. In the third quarter it was also very small. Should England's production diminish only at the same rate as that of the United States, it would show an increase of 1,245,000 tons of pig iron for the second and third quarters. Such is the loss in production, due not to the normal course of the crisis, but to the strike. In the following months world economy has not yet made good this loss. We see moreover, that the production of steel has dropped during the month of December in England as well as in the United States; in fact very much so in England—from 444,000 tons to 381,000 tons. That of pig iron has gained somewhat; in America considerably, in England only slightly. At any rate only the further developments in production will show us whether there will still be any demand for iron after the deficit caused by the strike has been made good. In the meantime we can say with certainty that the prices of iron and iron products are falling in America as well as in England, and that there is presumably no strong demand. We need not go into the tendency of prices at present, because they are only too well known. We may finally point out, however, that the number of bankruptcies has increased considerably, even in the United States, at any until October (we have no data for the period since October).

We thus see that the present economic situation does not yet warrant any presumption of a coming period of economic prosperity. This is hardly to be expected because—aside from the Central European and Eastern European relations which surely constitute an incalculable factor, and aside from the fact that as far as Central Europe is concerned, the chances for a quick recovery of industry and for the clearing up of the reparation-problems, are very slight—the general economic situation in the various countries has so little adapted itself to the changed conditions brought about by the war, that these countries will hardly be able to buy larger amounts of goods. For example, it is a

characteristic fact that in the month of December, the export of machines from England remained far below the level of December 1920, although the total export of 1921 is somewhat greater than that of 1920. This shows that in the last few months of 1921, the demand for machines slackened. It is particularly interesting to note the great decrease in the export of agricultural machines; in fact, the 1921 export of agricultural machines dropped to one-half of that of 1920, and to one seventh of that of 1913. The export of textile machines, on the other hand, has risen considerably and in 1921 it almost reached the figure of 1913. Most of these machines were consigned to non-European countries like India, Japan, China, but also to France. This shows that the non-European countries are developing an independent industry, which will compete with the European industry until the latter adapts itself to the new conditions and needs in these countries.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

New Developments in the Hungarian Labor Movement

by Josef Pogany.

** The profound changes in the camp of the Hungarian counter-revolution which are forcing the various classes of the counter-revolution, up till now rulers of the country, into open civil war, and which are destroying their Christian-legitimist ideology, have also caused very profound changes in the structure of the Hungarian labor movement.

The Horthy counter-revolutionary system has been forsaken by its most important supporters, the legitimist large land owners and capitalists and the antisemitic petty-bourgeois. Horthy and his premier, Count Bethlen, are now employing the celebrated tactics of Napoleon III. in playing one party in the National Assembly against another and trying to balance one class against another. The military absolutism, left hanging in the air, is attempting to gain a footing in one class of society after another. First, it seeks the support of the rich peasants and throws the legitimist counts in prison, then it turns to the legitimist magnates and expels the peasant minister from its Cabinet. Its most recent supports are the old Tisza Party, the liberal gentry (allied to Jewish finance capital) and the Social Democratic trade-union bureaucracy. In this connection it is very significant of the omnipotence of the military clique that neither the Tisza nor the Social Democrats have a seat in the National Assembly.

Premier Count Bethlen has concluded a formal pact with the Social Democrats. The Social Democratic Party desired to keep the provisions of this agreement secret, but Bethlen boasts almost every day in the domestic and foreign press, "The White Terror in Hungary has become so mild that it signs agreements with Social Democrats".

According to this agreement Horthy grants an amnesty to each of the thousands of political prisoners for whom the Social Democratic Party gives a guarantee; the holding of meetings is permitted under police supervision and several of the interdicted trade-unions are permitted to resume. On its part the leadership of the Social Democratic Party binds itself to carry on propaganda for the Horthy government in foreign countries and to employ the Second International for propaganda for the territorial integrity of Hungary. In other words, the Hungarian White Social Democrats undertake to sing hymns of praise to Horthy and Bethlen in foreign countries. They are determined to renounce the 7000 political prisoners whose existence is admitted by the White Terror itself, the thousands of interned workers and the 24,000 workers compelled to report daily to the police as even the White Terror, constrained to self-revelation, must admit. They promised to take part in the work of "national development", which only means that Horthy will institute military supervision in the mines and the Social Democrats will set up the supervision of the trade-union bureaucracy and "guarantee" higher production.

The pact also provides for the surrender by the Social Democrats of their "passivity" and for their participation in the coming elections to the National Assembly. Furthermore, they promise to withdraw from the "Bloc of Citizens and Workers" which threatens to become an ever-growing danger to the Horthy-Bethlen system. We had repeatedly and vigorously protested against the participation of the Social Democrats in a Bloc with the bourgeoisie and the Association of Big Industry. Now they are withdrawing from this Bloc, but only in order to enter in the much more reactionary Bloc of Horthy-Bethlen-Gömbös-Hejjas, with an even more shameful record of suppression of the workers.

And finally this pact contains the most shameful *betrayal of universal suffrage*. The Social Democratic Party is satisfied with a "reasonable" limitation of the suffrage, in other words with the confiscation of the right to vote of the poor peasants and the working proletarian women.

The White Hungarian Social Democracy has always in common cause with the counter-revolution. Its leaders and members of that government that not only hanged Communists but also imprisoned and interned thousands of ordinary Social Democratic workers. They only withdrew from this government when the armed detachments of the government began to murder Social Democratic leaders as well. Since then the leaders of the Social Democratic Party have repeatedly attempted to conclude agreement with Horthy.

Vanczak, the editor of "Nepzava", offered his "hand" to Horthy in token of peace just after his predecessor editor, Somogyi, had been murdered by Horthy's command in arms.

Now the leadership of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party will openly and officially be an organic member of the Hungarian counter-revolution.

This extremely significant fact is an important milestone in the Hungarian labor-movement.

The small clique of labor traitors has been forced to that the unanimous decision of the Party Central Committee of the Executive was all in vain. The masses refuse to have anything to do with this party; they can not understand this shameful betrayal and refuse to give their approval to it. Even the Hungarian Social Democratic Party has never before committed such a miserable, shameful act of treason against the working class. Thus, it is understandable that this has given rise to the gravest crisis in its entire history. The seriousness of the crisis shows that not only are the Hungarian workers against their "leaders", but—for the first time since the counter-revolution—that even the exiled Social Democratic group protested against the present leadership of the Social Democratic Party. For two years Garami, adherent of the Second International and Kunfi, of the International 2½, silently to all that the Vanczaks and Miakits were doing in Hungary. Although they could find nothing else to do during all the time but to sling mud at the Communist Party they did not say a word against the trade-union bureaucracy, haggling and bargaining in the name of the Hungarian working-class. Finally they are beginning to move. Garami declared that he cannot approve the pact with Horthy and Buchinger states that the concessions of Count Bethlen are not worth a cent now discovers that offering the "horny hands of Labor" to the bloody hand of Horthy is despicable treason. He goes so far as to repeat the statement of the Communists word for word almost to the point of plagiarism and says that the Vanczak clique have through this pact become a Social Democratic clique alongside of the officer detachments of Gömbös and

The Social Democratic emigrant groups are in opposition to the Hungarian Social Democracy by their opposition to the Peyer-Vanczak Social Democratic group has this betrayed not only the working-class but through its agreement half amnesty the emigrants as well. Garami and Kunfi soon pardon the betrayal of the working-class but they do not forgive their being forced out of the leadership through the agreement. The second important fact is the indignation of the Hungarian working-class against the present party leadership. The Garamis and Kunfis are afraid that if they do not do that there are also Social Democratic leaders who could unpunished treason the Hungarian working-class free itself from the claws of all Social Democratic deceivers.

The shameless treason of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party and of the trade-union bureaucracy in economic and economic question and finally in the Horthy pact rise to a wide-spread opposition in the Social Democratic Party and the trade-unions under its influence such as has not since spring 1919. The first step of the workers to the complete severing of all connections with the Christianists; the second is their present preparation for a fight against the White Social Democracy.

The transformation in the Hungarian working class also set the Hungarian Communist Party new tactics. Up till now our party faced two problems: firstly the illegal party organizations; secondly, connecting the party organizations with the opposition movement in the working class in order to solve the latter we demanded of the Garami group, affiliated to the International 2½, that they join together with us a determined fight for all those workers betrayed to Horthy by the Vanczak-Peyer dominating the Hungarian labor movement.

We called upon them for collaboration on the basis of the owing program:

1. A fight for an amnesty extending to *all* political prisoners.
2. A fight for *universal suffrage*, for the right to vote of the poor peasants, the rural workers and working women and for unrestricted freedom of assembly, organization and the press.
3. A fight for the *downfall of the Vanczak-Peyer-Miakits pro Horthy trade-union bureaucracy* and the final driving out of these traitors from the labor movement.

If the Garamis and Kunfis accept this cooperation we will be able to tear the majority of the Hungarian proletariat from the grip of the White Social Democracy. If they do not accept it, the development will be slower but more fundamental—the downfall of the Peyer-Miakits clique will carry with it Garamis and Kunfi as well.

The International Seamen's Conference

by B. Pirelli.

** On the 11th and 12th of January an International Seamen's Conference called by the International Transport Workers' Federation took place in Hamburg. Its antecedent history is very interesting. As is already known, the secretary of the English Seamen, Havelock Wilson, whose union formerly belonged to the I.T.W.F. left this organization and founded a separate seamen's International (I.S.F.). The peculiar conditions under which the seamen live are such as to intensify the close corporative spirit among them. That is what Wilson took advantage of when he led the International. At first several organizations of the seamen in various countries and of Belgium also joined this International, but these organizations remained at the same time in the I.T.W.F. Then the fight between the I.T.W.F. and the I.S.F. broke out. Of course this fight was in no way one of principles or of mental differences of opinion, for both of these organizations are now as heretofore based upon the idea of class-union and are opposed to the revolutionary class-struggle. The conflict arose purely out of competition between two bureaucratic groups for the domination of the seamen's organizations. Finally reduced itself to a quarrel between Edo Fimmen and Havelock Wilson, over the control of the organizations. If we disregard the personal quarrel of these leaders, the revolutionary transport workers naturally side with the I.T.W.F. because under no circumstances can we support the reformist movements of the seamen.

Another reason for calling this conference was the well known memorandum of the German Seamen's League. In this memorandum the League calls upon all the seamen of every country to form an international organization in the interests of the seamen. The secretary of the I.T.W.F. therefore had to settle the question of these tendencies, right and left. He succeeded in this by a weapon which he very skillfully applied at the conference. At the time when Stinnes was in London, Havelock Wilson conferred with him and sought his influence in establishing cooperation with the German seamen. This is what Fimmen took advantage of with the aid of the representatives of the transport workers in order to draw the vacillating organizations out of the I.S.F. A radical resolution, containing revolutionary phrases and condemning Wilson's activity, was adopted. Fimmen thus hoped to win over the revolutionary organizations, and in this way to foil the plan of the German Seamen's League. It must be said that very few seamen participated in this conference; the largest English, French and Italian organizations were not present. As for the German seamen, the Seamen's Section of the German Transport Workers' International took part, and to our knowledge, this section comprises the largest portion of the German seamen. The German Seamen's League, the revolutionary syndicalist organization, present has a membership of over 12,000, was not invited to the conference. Under these circumstances Fimmen has managed to have succeeded in winning an apparent victory for the I.T.W.F. and right organization. But this was prevented by the intervention of the International Transport Workers' Propaganda Committee which had joined the Red Trade Union International. The representatives of the International Propaganda Committee of the Workers the representatives of the All-Russian Transport Workers' League, of the Bulgarian transportation organizations and those of the German Seamen's League were delegated to the conference. These three organizations represented twice as many transport workers than did the whole conference. It is now only too well known that should these representatives have been invited to the conference, they would not be able to carry out

his plans which sought to defeat the German Seamen's League. He therefore moved that these delegates should not be admitted to the conference under the pretext that it was a conference of member-organizations exclusively, and that guests were not to be admitted at all. He succeeded with this manoeuvre also, but he will find it mighty hard now to camouflage the actual splitting plans of Amsterdam with the phrases of the resolution which was passed at the conference.

The delegates from these organizations which were not admitted to the conference issued the following call in the revolutionary press of Hamburg:

Transportation Workers of all Countries!

The Trade Union splitters are at work! If we examine the press of those organizations which belong to the Amsterdam International, we become aware of the fact that more than one-half of its content deals with the supposed wish to split on the part of the Red Trade Union International. Very little time is therefore left to the organs of the Amsterdam Trade Union Movement for the real fight against capitalism. The millions of readers of the labor press, who are thus daily and hourly told these stories, must actually believe that the Red Trade Union International was created for no other purpose than dividing the workers, confusing them and cleaving their organizations apart.

But what is really the truth of the matter? Wherever and whenever a testing situation comes up, and we do not speak here of empty phrasemongering, we see that the very same gentlemen who from morning till night are accusing us of wanting to split the workers, and who continually talk of the necessity of an united front, was the Amsterdammers who thwarted the sincerest endeavors with their desire for a split.

A good example and proof of this is the present situation in France. There the great majority of the trade-unionists were against the split. This unequivocal will of the majority which was embodied in the left wing of the French trade-union movement, was overridden by the adherents of the Amsterdam wing. It was comrade Lozovsky, the general secretary of the Red Trade Union International, who proposed to Amsterdam to cooperate in preventing the split in the French trade-unions. But it was the Amsterdammers who thwarted the sincerest endeavors with their desire for a split.

Another example of how the shouters for unity in the trade-union movement actually prevent such unity is the conference of the International Transport Workers which has just adjourned in Hamburg. A small group of trade-union leaders come together, and want to make the world believe that they represent the Transport Workers' International. Isolated from the world, and behind closed doors, this small group convenes and is absolutely disregarded by the seamen of most countries. The representatives of large organizations, which could have lent this puny convention the character of a real congress, were not admitted. A representative of the German Seamen's League, which represents the great majority of German seamen, was refused admission. The representatives of the Bulgarian Transport Workers, who made the long trip to Hamburg in order to confer with the comrades of other countries upon ways and means of halting the capitalist offensive, were not admitted. The same thing happened to the authorized representative of the All-Russian Transport Workers' League.

In this manner the gentlemen, who never tire of ascribing to us the intention of causing a split every day and every hour override the will of the millions of transport workers for the establishment of a united front. In this manner they do everything to prevent the realization of an united proletarian will. The reasons for these actions become clear to every transport worker. To these gentlemen it is only a question of retaining their quickly vanishing influence. They know very well that the moment the Red Trade Union International succeeds in getting into closer connection with the trade-union members, their regime and their influence will be a thing of the past.

Transport Workers of the World!

We summon you to protest against this intentional sabotage of the united proletarian front. Show these boycotters of the united front that you will no longer permit them to override your efforts for a united front of transport workers. Tell the Amsterdammers determinedly: "Up to this point but no further!" Only your

own will can compe the Amsterdam trade-union leaders to carry out your endeavours for a united front of all transport workers, and it is your own will that can drive them out if they refuse to stop their sabotage.

The German Seamen's League.
All Russian Transport Workers' Union.
Bulgarian Transport Workers' Union.

Of course the International Propaganda Committee of the Red Transport Workers will expose the plans of the Amsterdamers and the masses of transport workers and seamen will know what to do with their leaders. We hope to be able to call an International Transport Workers' Conference in the near future. At this conference the seamen of all countries will be able to discuss and carry out the organization measures necessary for the creation of a professional seamen's international organization within the Transport International.

On the Eve of the Congress of the Italian Syndicalist Union.

by Pippo.

In a few weeks the Congress of the Italian Syndicalist Union (U.S.I.) will take place. As our comrades already know, the U.S.I. has joined the Red Trade Union International, though in a somewhat unclear and uncertain manner. From the position that A. Borghi, General Secretary of the U.S.I., has taken lately, it can be assumed without necessity of further proof that he would like to see the Red Trade Union International on the rocks.

A few months ago, after the Moscow Congress, the Congress delegates of the U.S.I., in conjunction with Comrades Gennari and Terracini, issued a declaration in which they pledged themselves on their return to Italy to concentrate their activities on influencing the U.S.I. to adopt the proposition of the Italian Communist Party concerning the building of the united proletarian front. However, hardly had these elected representatives returned to Italy, when the General Secretary of the U.S.I. began a series of speeches in which he did nothing but sling mud at the men and institutions of Soviet Russia.

In contrast to this, the Syndicalist Vecchi, the secretary of the Verona Chamber of Labor, has consistently fought to have the U.S.I. join Moscow unreservedly, and to have it adopt the proposal of the Italian Communists. The "International", the organ of the Verona Syndicalists, wrote the following on this proposal:

"Concerning the proposition of the general strike, we wish to say that a part of the Communist Party has obtained declarations of approval in large numbers from the masses of revolutionary workers. And how are we really to get out of our present miserable situation?"

"There are two ways. The first is to follow the lead of the Federation of Labor, and, in part, of the Socialist Party, to put the Chamber of Deputies in a position to influence the legal powers according to their ideas, and to obtain an armistice with the now dominating Fascisti. The second way is the contrary method of forcing the fight against the Fascisti to an issue, and of using as weapons only those means that can be drawn from the natural strength of the proletariat."

Relative to affiliation to the Red Trade Union International, the following observation of the same paper should be noted:

"We read in the last number of the "Proletarian" (Chicago), that the representative of the I.W.W. to the Berlin Congress of the Opposition of the Revolutionary Syndicalist International, has been openly repudiated by the Executive Committee of the I.W.W...."

In every number of this paper there are polemics against the "Class Struggle", the central organ of the Italian Syndicalist Union, which prints the anti-Bolshevik utterances of A. Borghi.

For us Communists the Congress is made interesting by the fact that there are two different tendencies within the camp of the which will uncompromisingly clash when they come together at the conference.

There are, perhaps, some who expect a split, as, for instance, Enrico Malatesta, who has placed the anarchistic organ "Umanita Nova" at Borghi's service. We want no split. We only want the adoption of Vecchi's standpoint, so that the Italian Syndicalist Union can finally join the General Confederation of Labor, in order that the Syndicalists and Communists can conquer the leading organisations of the Italian proletariat and cleanse them of all the lackeys of the Italian bourgeoisie, such as D'Aragona and Baldesti.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Situation in the French Party

by P. Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

** It is wrong to speak of a crisis in the French Party truth is, that the situation created at Tours was simply cut up at the Congress of Marseilles, and the resignation of Treint, Amedée Dunois and myself have been an effort at fiction not at scission. The Congress of Marseilles was cut into two parts, one the discussions and the vote upon the other devoted to considerations of general policy a nominating of the Central Committee. There is little of the first part. The debates proceeded quietly—often a remarkable proof of personal effort on the part of the little militants. Thus the discussions of the agrarian theses, pr to all, revealed a keen vitality among the peasant sections of the Party, furnishing the latter a solid foundation for recruit propaganda. A surprising divergence of views was during the discussions of the theses on national defense, will certainly surprise our foreign comrades more than ourselves—alas!

Fulfilling a long felt need, a number of theses were on the trade-unions, on woman labor, on agrarian propaganda the cooperatives, on national defense and on electoral politics.

The second part of the Congress was far less satisfactory. The most complete obscurity presided at the debates on policy and the voting for the Central Committee. For a small minority on the Left and the Right, the aims were. In these circumstances victory would be on the side of the would take the initiative and thus impose their will on a disordered mass of delegates.

One may truly say that this part of the Congress was complete obscurity. The common error, deliberate or not, of the various tendencies, was to do nothing that might shed light on the situation. I tried, on my part, to define with indulgence what I considered the spirit of the Right, from the old Party, and thus invited a debate of ideas. I was sorry to see, refused to follow me on this ground.

Thenceforth all surprises were to be expected. The on policy were hidden behind the discussions on a individual: Boris Souvarine. In this narrowed debate the lines of policy were soon entangled. How could a delegate informed on party matters realize, after all he had that by electing Lorient with a large majority to the Committee, and by excluding Boris Souvarine from voting at the same time for and against the same policy?

And how could he find his bearings in voting which maintained Boris Souvarine in the Executive after having excluded him from the Central Committee of the French Party while there was nothing he could be with as member of the Central Committee—being at as delegate to the Executive?

Where could this delegate see a powerful leadership Central Committee comprising at one and the same time Communists and allies of the eleventh hour who fought against us at Tours?

Most of the delegates at Marseilles carried away the impression of some nightmare, feeling themselves passion-created manoeuvres which they did not understand.

Nothing was more natural than our desire for the conclusion of Souvarine to shed light on this lasting obscurity had been a minority in the outgoing Central Committee, beaten on every important question that came up in the months. One may approve or condemn the method that of resigning. That is a matter of opinion. What is important, however, than our attitude at Marseilles during the months to come. Those who resigned from the Central Committee of the Party is more homogeneous than them. It represents better the tendency made at the Congress of Marseilles.

We ardently hope that its attitude will dispel our apprehensions and we are all ready to aid it in the implementation of its policy which it pretends to follow.

We want before all else a strong and active international disciplined Communist Party. We as some others do, to "annex tomorrow the Inter-French Party". We consider this pleasurable to a Communist.

The members who resigned take their place not in order to launch into sterile personal polemics to make their own attitude more precise and to

delight, but stubbornly, toward the development of a theoretical basis of which the Party stands in great need.

The Communist Party remains stronger and more united than ever—the vanguard of the proletariat for the difficult hours that are approaching.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Soviets and Soviet Congresses Who Governs Russia?

by X (Moscow).

** The nine All-Russian Soviet Congresses mark important steps in the development of the Russian Revolution. It is useful to indicate their principal characteristics and results.

First Congress (13-14 July, 1917).

1090 delegates, 822 with a deciding vote, 268 with a consultative vote. Socialist Revolutionaries: 585; Mensheviks: 248; Bolsheviks: 105; Internationalists: 32; United Social Democrats: 10; Bund: 10; Plekhanov Group: 3; Socialist Populists: 5; Anarchist Communists: 1.

Resolutions adopted: on the financial resources of the state; on the Bolshevik manifestations; on the Congress; on the attitude towards the Provisional Government; on the agrarian question and land-committees; on the Ukrainian question; on nationalism; on the war.

Second Congress (26-27 October, 1917).

576 delegates, the majority being Bolsheviks and Left Social Revolutionaries.

Seizure of Power.

Resolutions on the Workers' and Peasants' Government; on land socialization; on the abolition of capital punishment; on the formation of an army by the Revolutionary Com-

Third Congress (10 January, 1918).

Over 1000 delegates, chiefly Bolsheviks and Left Social Revolutionaries.

Resolution of the Constituent Assembly approved. Declaration of the Rights of Labor adopted.

Fourth Congress (Special session—March 14, 1918).

Over 1000 delegates. Bolsheviks: 64%. Ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

Fifth Congress (4-10 July, 1918).

16 deciding votes. Bolsheviks: 773; Left Social Revolutionaries: 353; Right Social Revolutionaries: 1; Maximalists: 17; Socialists: 4; Internationalists (Social Democrats): 14; Dashnaks: 10.

Resurrection of the Left Social Revolutionaries.

Resolutions on the policy of food provisioning; requisitions, detachments for food provisioning; on the organization of the Red Army; on the Soviet Constitution.

Sixth Congress (6-9 November, 1918).

Decisive votes. Communists: 829; Communist-Socialist-Communist-Revolutionaries: 2; Communist-Populists: 2; Socialists: 1; Social Revolutionaries: 6; non-party: 3.

Declaration of peace to the Entente. Amnesty.

Resolution on the German Revolution; on revolutionary administration in local Soviet administration (Committees of poor districts and rural Soviets).

Seventh Congress (5-10 Dec., 1919).

Decisive and 1364 consultative votes. Immense Comradery.

Resolution on the Red Army. (In connection with the victories on all fronts). Resolutions on peace; on oppressed peoples; on the exclusion of Friedrich Adler; on food provisioning; on the fuel crisis; on Soviet enlightenment. Appeals to workers and peasants.

Eighth Congress (22-29 Dec., 1920).

Decisive votes, 809 consultative votes.

Resolutions: Communists: 1641; non-party: 114.

Resolution on the workers on the transition to the work of agriculture to the Red Army. Resolution on the reduction of the Red Army. Address to the transport workers. Treaty with the Soviet Republics of Russia and Ukraine. Resolutions on international conferences; on Soviet enlightenment; on the participation of women in the work of agricultural reconstruction; on the development of rural economy. Decree on large industry.

Decree ordering the fusion of various local economic organs.

Finally the Ninth Congress which opened on the 24th of December, 1921. Present 1819 delegates among them 1690 Communists.

In 1921 (first half) the Executive Committees of the Russian Soviets were composed as follows:

	Provinces	Districts
Men	95.1	97.8
Women	4.9	2.2
By Profession.		
Peasants	35.9	63.2
Workers	31.2	14.4
Clerks	23.0	16.2
Miscellaneous	9.9	6.2
By Political Organization.		
Communists	74.7	41.5
Non-Party	25.3	58.3
Other Parties	0.0	0.2
By Degree of Education.		
School education	79.0	80.8
Higher education	20.3	16.5
Illiterate	0.7	2.7

During the first half of 1921 provincial and district congresses were held in all Russia.

Their composition was as follows (in %):

	Provinces	Rural Districts	Urban Districts
	%	%	%
Workers	35.4	27.2	43.9
Peasants	15.4	29.5	10.7
Clerks	29.3	24.5	26.8
Doctors	1.1	1.1	2.4
Lawyers	0.9	0.1	0.0
Teachers	8.7	7.1	3.9
Technicians	2.8	1.3	2.0
Students	3.7	3.8	4.9
Miscellaneous	2.7	5.4	5.4

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

A Telegram from the R. T. U. I. to the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation
Oudegeest.

The conclusion of your telegram received. Your refusal to participate in an International Conference following the Unity Congress of the French trade-unions only proves that the Amsterdam International does not want unity but fears it. As for us we believe that an agreement is possible in France now more than ever on the basis of the decisions of the Unity Congress.

signed: Lozovsky.

The Executive Committee of the R. T. U. I. to the Swedish Syndicalists

Dear Comrades.

** Your organization will shortly hold a referendum on whether or not to participate in the international trade-union movement. We hold that it is essential to explain those misunderstandings that have arisen among some of you in regard to the decisions of the R.T.U.I. Congress and shall do so in this letter.

Some of the active participants in the Swedish trade-union movement advocate the view that an international federation of revolutionary unions is not so imperative as it is made out to be. While not gainsaying the importance of a such a federation, they do not consider it as a vital necessity and an essential preliminary of a successful revolutionary struggle, and therefore prefer to remain aloof within their frontiers. This conception constitutes in our opinion a gross error, which seriously handicaps the revolutionary movement even within your country.

International consolidation of the bourgeois forces has after the war proceeded very rapidly. In spite of the irreconcilable conflicting interests the decay of Capitalism has caused throughout

the world, the capitalists of all countries are united when it comes to perpetuating the state of bondage the proletariat is living under. The swiftly spreading offensive of the capitalists represents an international action on the part of the bourgeoisie, following everywhere the one road towards the one aim. The bourgeoisie endeavors to exploit the disrupted state of the labor movement and the treacherous demeanor of the reformist leaders in an attempt at taking away from the proletariat the initiative and repealing those petty concessions the bourgeoisie had been obliged to concede under the pressure of the labor movement. Thus, the bourgeoisie hopes to lower the standard of living of the proletariat and chain the famished and desperate workers to the chariot of unheard-of exploitation.

The economic dependence of various countries upon each other has also been strengthened — a factor accounting for the general character of the present economic crisis. This crisis does not stay within the frontier of a given country, but affects one land after the other, everywhere causing unemployment and want, and an intensification of class antagonism. The bourgeoisie with due regard to this situation has everywhere adopted tactics directed by its united determination and its uniform aims.

He is merely a hopeless Utopian who maintains that under these circumstances a revolutionary battle can be fought to a successful finish by anything but a closely welded international organization. No matter how determined and well organized the 40,000 Swedish workers in your organization—their battles are but so much waste of energy and bound to fail, if conducted outside of an international organization.

What is an organization capable of warding off the attacks of Capitalism and of leading the proletariat in further struggles like?

It appears that in your ranks there are no adherents of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. Your organization was, if we mistake not, called into life because the revolutionary workers despaired of the policy of their reformist leaders who preached the community of interests between Capital and Labor instead of advocating a determined class struggle alike on a national and on an international scale.

There are, however, also certain doubts making you hesitate to affiliate with the R.T.U.I. which unites the entire revolutionary movement.

Some of you are still fighting shy of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat which constitutes the starting point of the program of the R.T.U.I. Such comrades think of the term "dictatorship" as of something absolute, something that never varies, no matter who its exponents — the landed interests, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat; they maintain that to strive for power is a nonsense contradicting the very principles of syndicalism. We think it superfluous to deal at length with and contradict opinions such as these which are apparently very revolutionary but upon closer examination reveal their altogether reactionary tendency. We merely wish to point out one thing. The Socialist system will know no state. But in order to cope in the coming struggles with the desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie, which will mobilize the whole state apparatus in this struggle, and in order to win through to Socialism, there is no other way than to seize that state apparatus and use it to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship during the transitional period. Not to acknowledge this means to play the game of the bourgeoisie and withhold from the proletariat its arms. Most of the syndicalists in all countries have recognized the imperative necessity for the struggle for the dictatorship. And we must say here once for all: he who has not yet gained this insight has become hidebound with the old formula and will learn nothing from the tremendous social upheaval mankind is undergoing at present.

But even among those syndicalists who have inscribed the slogan of the dictatorship upon their banners, there are differences of opinion as to ways and means to that end. The questions of the mutual relations between the Comintern and the R.T.U.I. on one hand and those between the revolutionary trade-unions and the Communist Parties on the other are heatedly debated. Here we must do away with a misunderstanding which is the principal reason why various syndicalists assume a sceptical attitude towards the R.T.U.I. The decisions of the R.T.U.I. Congress do not demand that the revolutionary trade-unions movement be subordinated under the Communist Parties, and the international organization under the Communist Parties, nor have such tendencies cropped out in the course of the entire activities of the R.T.U.I. A dependence such as that exists neither formally nor in actual mutual relations. The resolution of the Congress (which is the basis of the misunderstanding) speaks merely of the necessity for as close as possible union between all proletarian forces in their revolutionary struggle, which union involves rigid centralization and organizational unity between the various bodies of revolutionary labor, viz. the Communist Parties and the Red

Trade Unions. In the centre this bond has been established by reciprocal representation on the Executive Committees of both bodies. In various countries the forms of communication have been adapted to local circumstances and the prevailing situation. Can a revolutionary syndicalist, fully conscious of the necessity for a united struggle for the dictatorship, seriously complain of such arrangements? The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade-union movement differ both in regard to their organizational forms and their membership. Their aim, however—the Communist System—is the same and their battles follow the same direction. Can they who are confronted with one united front of adversaries conduct their actions independent of each other and in this manner render them useless if not worse? Every revolutionary worker will answer in the negative, his revolutionary experience and previous defeats urging him to that answer. It would indeed be a criminal waste of the energies of labor. And if the acknowledgment of that connection calls for certain alterations in syndicalist procedure as practised for years—is a course such as that not essential in view of the experiences of recent years, as for instance the war, the Russian and German Revolutions and the recent defeats you have suffered in your battle with Capital?

Another thing to startle the Swedish syndicalists is the decision of our Congress in regard to the tactics to be employed in the trade-union struggle. You have left the general trade-union movement of Sweden on account of its reformism. You are experiencing difficulties in comprehending the decisions of the Congress on the necessity of winning the trade-unions by working within them. You think that to affiliate with the R.T.U.I. would mean to acknowledge internationally principles which you have repudiated nationally.

To some of you it even appears that our activities are providing the Amsterdam International with an occasion to bring its influence to bear upon the R.T.U.I. from within; the same influence you endeavored to escape from by forming your organization. The contrary is the case. Not Amsterdam is bringing influence to bear upon us by means of the old trade-unions are little by little conquering the Reformist fortress from within. The majority of our Congress held the view that the revolutionary elements should not leave the millions of workers organized in the old trade-unions to the devices of their reformist leaders. We are tirelessly carrying our propaganda into those trade-unions, exposing the treacherous bureaucracy and directing and organizing the revolutionary indignation of the masses. It is manifest that in countries where (as for instance in Sweden) apart from the reformist unions there exist closely welded revolutionary organizations which are in close contact with the masses, there can be no question of dissolving such organizations. The R.T.U.I. follows attentively, and takes a lively interest in the growth of your organization, and is prepared to assist you with all means at its disposal. The necessity, however, for collecting all revolutionary elements in a given country, as dwelt upon above, renders it necessary that the R.T.U.I., in accordance with the decisions of its Congress, insist upon the necessity for the independent revolutionary organizations keeping in close touch with the revolutionary opposition within the old trade-unions. It depends upon the local conditions whether or not this contact shall lead to establishing joint committees of action or appointing commissions to solve certain tactical problems, or adopting other forms of cooperation. These problems must be solved by yourselves, together with representatives of the opposition. The fundamental difference between our International and the reformist federations is that we do not unite the workers' organizations in order to improve our sources of information or to adopt wordy resolutions on international solidarity, but with a view of getting them together for connected action in accordance with a uniform tactical plan. Differences of opinion on tactical questions cannot and should not be allowed to interfere with the united front.

That is the true purpose of those points in our policy to which you object.

Just as in other countries, in Sweden Capital is preparing for an offensive. The Swedish employers unite in order to attack the workers irrespective of what organization they may belong to. The offensive is carried on with a view of reducing the already low wages, extending the working hours and abolishing all those small advantages the Swedish proletariat has battled for during the last ten years. Under these circumstances it behooves the revolutionary vanguard of the Swedish workers to ward off the first onslaughts and march at the head of the army of defense. The broad masses of the Swedish syndicalist organizations are permeated with the revolutionary and internationalist spirit. Hence we hope that in the forthcoming referendum you will vote for the unity of the revolutionary phalanx of all workers. It depends upon your vote whether or not the syndicalist organizations will become small sectarian groups; sure to be defeated in

spite of their revolutionary sentiment, or will join the mighty tide of the Red Trade Unions getting everywhere ready for battle against the common enemy.

To deny the necessity for international unity would be equal to committing suicide. The sterile endeavors of the Berlin Conference to create a Syndicalist International would mean, as has already been stated by one of your comrades, to declare war upon Moscow; it would constitute a crime against the united front of all revolutionary workers.

To affiliate with the R.T.U.I. means a consolidation of all forces, both within your country and throughout the world, a step on the road to Victory. The decision rests with you. We, however, trust that your class instinct and unity will guide you upon the right road.

For the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International
Lozovsky, General-Secretary.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Activity of the Berlin Sub-Bureau of the International Women's Secretariat

by Hertha Sturm.

** At the initiative of the Second Women's World Congress in Moscow last summer a sub-bureau of the International Women's Secretariat was created in Berlin in order to support the activities of the Moscow Secretariat.

The political leadership of the international women's movement, the decision on fundamental problems, the starting of international actions, remained of course in the hands of the International Women's Secretariat which carries on all its activities in close cooperation with the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The tasks of the sub-bureau were mainly of an organizational and technical character. It had to gather and to arrange reports and material on the Communist women's movement of the various sections of the Communist International and so send them to the International Women's Secretariat. Furthermore it had to furnish all sections in the various countries with material, directions and decisions from Moscow and to supervise the putting into practice of the theses and resolutions of the International Women's Congress and of the World Congress of the Communist International. Thus the sub-bureau was to be the connecting link between Russia, both the heart and the brain of the World Revolution, and the West European countries. By scrutinising the actual state and the development of the Communist women's movement in the western capitalist countries and by furnishing concrete knowledge of conditions it had to create a solid basis for the future activities of the international women's movement.

How far these tasks have been fulfilled by the Berlin Sub-Bureau will have to be decided by the Third International Women's Congress. Though the achievements may seem small compared to the immense amount of work which still remains to be done, though the part of the Berlin Sub-Bureau in the significant progress of the Communist women's movement in Western Europe may be only a very modest one, we may state after our experience of these few months that the institution of a Sub-Bureau has proved useful in creating quick and close connections between the Centre and the various sections, in exchanging information and experiences on practical problems. By these activities the Executive in Moscow was enabled in various cases to grant practical support to the sections. The Berlin Sub-Bureau has furthermore succeeded in gaining satisfactory material on the state of the women's movement in most countries of Western Europe, thus filling a gap which at the last International Women's Congress was commented upon as something deplorable.

Considering the part the international women's movement is now playing in the International we realise the immense importance of the Second International Women's Congress in giving the first impulse for the organising of wide-spread propaganda among the women. In our opinion the effects of this Congress are still being felt. The discussions of the Congress were mainly limited to the theses on the Communist women's movement, issued some time ago, and only very few new points of view were expressed; yet, the spoken word, the personal exchange of ideas and experiences and, above all, the experiences of the delegates in Soviet Russia were more convincing and inspiring than dead letters. This becomes obvious from the Communist women's papers and the women's supplements of the Communist organs. Articles and reports on the International Congress itself, on the liberation of women by the Proletarian Revolution, on the life of work-

ing women and children in Russia, on the educational activities of the Soviet Republic and pictures of Russian militant women occupy a large space. This becomes still more obvious from all reports of the sections on their activities among the women, from all meetings and conferences of women and from their participation in the relief campaign for Soviet Russia.

In those countries where already before the International Congress of the problem of the women's movement had been discussed, no conference or meeting of women took place without the decisions and directions of the International being utilised as the basis for extended and intensified activities among the masses of the proletarian women, for a more practical organisation of the propaganda among women, for the setting up of clearer aims.

In *Germany* special attention was paid to the work among the women in shops and trade-unions. By initiating and proposing discussion evenings for Communist women in all important parts of the country, and by preparing the publication of a simply-written pamphlet on all problems with which working women are concerned, our comrades endeavored to gain influence among the proletarian women in the shops and trade-unions.

The Communist movement in *Czecho-Slovakia*, which was heretofore split into national sections, was united and the separate Czech and German women's secretariats formed a united National Women's Secretariat. In order to provide better political information for the officials, our female comrades established an Information Bulletin which contains material on all actual and general political problems and will be instrumental in educating new leaders and speakers. Besides this Information Bulletin there are three Communist women's organs in *Czecho-Slovakia*.

In accordance with the resolutions of the International Women's Congress and of the World Congress our comrades in *Austria* had the National Director of propaganda among the women admitted as an accredited member to the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Austria. The Party Convention which will take place in March will have to pass a decision that the responsible leaders of women's propaganda in the districts and locals also become accredited members of their respective Party committees. Our Austrian comrades have furthermore started the publication of a Communist women's paper besides the existing weekly women's supplement of the Vienna "Rote Fahne".

In *Holland* a National Committee for propaganda among the women was formed, the chairman of which is allowed to take part in the sessions of the Party Executive. The first National Conference of Communist Women, which took place recently, decided upon the dissolution of the Revolutionary Socialist Women's League. The Communist members of the latter must join the Communist Party. In the meantime this decision has been put into practice and the organ of the League "De Voorbode" has been transformed into a women's organ of the Communist Party.

A still more rapid development of the Communist Women's Movement is to be perceived in those countries where nearly no beginnings of a movement existed before the International Women's Congress. This can especially be said of France, England and Belgium.

Under the leadership of the International Secretary, Lucie Colliard, our eager and devoted comrades in *France* have succeeded in creating a provisional committee. This committee elaborated a programme for propaganda among the women, took all necessary organisational measures for the setting up of a women's secretariat, gained assistance from the Party and convoked the first women's conference at Marseilles in conjunction with the Party Congress. We can state to-day that this Conference has proved very successful. The Conference as well as the report of Comrade Colliard at the Party Convention and the following adoption of the programme on the activities among the women, caused the French Communist Party to recognize the fact that the problem of propaganda among the women is a vital necessity for the Party. Furthermore some of our female comrades were elected members of the new Party Executive. One of them, Comrade Marthe Bigot, is the responsible secretary for agitation among the women. It was decided to start a women's magazine. The three columns in the "Humanité" which every week were devoted to women's propaganda, will be transformed into a regular "Women's Tribune". The complete results of these decisions will become evident in the coming months.

In *Great Britain* the results of the International Women's Congress seemed to be lost as the British delegate to the Moscow Conference, Norah Smythe, had left the Communist Party after the expulsion of Sylvia Pankhurst. Only recently the Berlin Sub-Bureau was informed by Comrade Dora Montefiore, who without success had repeatedly drawn the attention of the Party Execu-

tive to the problems of the women's propaganda, that now Comrade Crawford, an experienced and capable comrade, has been charged with this task. A detailed and clear plan which Comrade Crawford presented to the Sub-Bureau will be a guarantee for systematic and energetic work in Great Britain. The plan includes the creation of women's supplements in the Party papers, the publication of a women's magazine and of propaganda literature for the broad masses. A preliminary condition for the successful carrying through of these tasks, however, is, that in a session of the Party Executive with the comrades active in the work, the Party guarantees the organisational and financial support of the newly established women's secretariat.

In December 1921 in a meeting of the female Party members Comrade Kestemont has for the first time in Belgium developed the idea of forming a women's committee for Communist propaganda among women. In accordance with the theses of the International Women's Congress she emphasised the necessity of all Communist women taking part in the life of the Party with equal tasks and rights. Thus the danger of a separate women's organisation can be prevented. Among the practical demands she laid special stress on "social protection of women and mothers". As Comrade Kestemont, member of the Party Executive, immediately after the World Congress was charged by the Communist Party of Belgium with the task of providing material and information for the organisation of propaganda among the women, (in this connection getting into connection with the Berlin Sub-Bureau) we may hope that in Belgium a strong Section of the International Communist Women's Movement will develop in close co-operation with the Communist Party.

Though realising the great importance of the International Women's Congress for the movement we do not overestimate its influence. We are conscious that the international Communist women's movement develops in close correlation with the entire Communist International and that it may be considered as a measure of the maturity of the whole Communist Movement. If to-day, six months after the Second International Women's Congress and the Third World Congress of the Communist International, the Communist Women's Movement has become larger, clearer and better organised than before, this obvious development must be regarded as a result of the more united energies and more uniform tactics of the Communist International. In its approach to the realization of its slogans, "Go to the Masses" and "The United Front of the Proletariat" it is gathering greater and greater masses of proletarian women. The development of the Communist movement in every country and the enrolling of the women in the militant vanguard of the world proletariat depends to a large extent upon the consciousness of every Communist Party and up on the continuous intensification of class antagonism which in every country will show the necessity of a revolutionary struggle on a large scale.

In a following article we will try to give a summarising review of the net of Women's Agitation Committees in the International as well as on their connections with the Berlin Sub-Bureau.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

Report on the Results of the Workers' Relief Campaign for the Famine Stricken in Russia.

** In spite of the fact that the proletarian relief campaign for the starving Russian workers and peasants has been going on for over six months, it is being continued in most countries with undamped energy. In various countries — France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Holland, South Africa, America and Argentina — the campaign has been greatly stimulated as a result of the International Conference in Berlin. In all countries the Workers' Relief Committees have begun to make collections of clothing, shoes, tools and other goods in addition to the collections of money. Germany alone has shipped 12 carloads of donated clothing and 15,000 pair of repaired shoes to Russia. Switzerland and Holland have shipped 5 and 7 carloads respectively. In France at the present time they are putting together an entire freight train which will transport the collected donations of the French workers via Metz and Saarbrücken to Stettin for transshipment to Russia.

According to the last reports to the International Committee for the Organization of Worker's Relief for the Famine Stricken in Russia (Berlin NW. 87, Wikingerufer 3), the total of the

collections of its various national committees has reached the respectable sum of over

150,000,000 marks.

The figures for the various countries are as follows:

	Marks
America (Friends of Soviet Russia, New York)	68,000,000
France	20,000,000
Holland	13,000,000
Sweden	8,000,000
Switzerland	7,600,000
Italy (Communist after split of Joint Committee)	5,000,000
Czecho-Slovakia (Communists after split of Joint Com.)	5,000,000
Norway	4,500,000
Germany	
Workers' Relief Committee	4,000,000
"Freie Arbeiter Union, Gelsenkirchen"	55,000
Jewish Workers' Relief Committee	20,000
England	4,000,000
Denmark	3,500,000
Argentina	2,000,000
South Africa	2,000,000
Bulgaria	1,500,000
Belgium	800,000
Spain	550,000
Luxemburg	30,000
Japanese Relief Campaign in Europe	30,000
Roumania (Socialist Party Brassov)	15,000

In addition to the above we have received a number of donations from private individuals, artists' committees, etc. Austria collected 2,500,000 Austrian crowns and Poland, 5,000,000 Polish marks.

With the money contributed we have made 18 shipments up to the present, consisting of 6000 tons of foodstuffs, 350 tons of clothing, shoes, tools, machines, etc., the entire equipment for 15 field kitchens and the complete furnishing for a children's home with food sufficient for several hundred children for 4 months. Further transports are being made up. The campaign is continuing and the undersigned committee urgently appeals to all workers' parties, trade-unions, cooperatives and individuals not to let up in their activity for Russia's starving workers and peasants.

The International Committee for the Organization of Workers' Relief for the Famine Stricken in Russia.

Willy Münzenberg, Secretary.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Amsterdam and Unity

The Communist Proposal and the Answer of the Socialist Believers in Compromise.

by W. Lada.

** The Communist International and the Red Trade Union International have appealed to Labor throughout the world to work untiringly for a united proletarian front both nationally and internationally in order to counter the ever-increasing misery of the proletarian masses.

Our antagonists have not been slow in utilising this proposal for a fresh anti-Communist campaign. The gentlemen of the International 2½ endeavor daily in their Berlin organ, the "Freiheit" to prove that the Communists "stealthily" approach the other organizations in order to make use of them for their ends. The friends of Jouhaux tell the few readers of the "Peuple" that this appeal is the best proof of Moscow's death and that it is endeavouring to avert certain defeat by deluding the workers anew. And the Social-Jingos of the Second International play the same tune.

The acme of the stupidity and baseness in this campaign against the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat has, however, been reached by the Secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, one Mr. Oudegeest. Formerly, belonging to a Christian trade-union, and an unknown Dutch local official, Oudegeest has attained the position as leader of the Amsterdam International thanks to the conflicts between the nationalist French and German trade-union leaders. This gentleman is now dealing with Moscow, in lengthy articles which are being reprinted by the daily press of both the Second and the Second-and-a-Half International. He has nothing new to say, however, as we shall see.

Accusations and Counter-Proposals of Amsterdam.

In opening Oudegeest tells his readers that the R.T.U.I. is responsible for the split in France, because it did nothing to prevent the Christmas conference of the opposition, as Jouhaux urgently desisted. That means that not those are responsible for the split in the movement who expelled the revolutionary masses from the trade-unions, but those who employed all organisational means to counter that move. And Moscow is alleged to be responsible because it endeavoured to avert the split by proposing to Amsterdam that the two factions should conclude a compromise, instead of advising the revolutionary opposition to give in without resistance to the people around Jouhaux (advice that could and would not have been followed). This reasoning resembles closely that of the Fraternity of St. Loyala at Vienna who maintained that Serbia had provoked the war by not complying with the harsh demands of the Austrian ultimatum.

The comes the charge that the R.T.U.I. first accuses the Amsterdam leaders of being traitors to the cause of Labor and then proposes to those same leaders to meet its representatives, to discuss ways and means of forming an united front. Oudegeest himself goes on to say that Moscow itself thinks very lightly of what it terms "treason to Labor" concluding as it does agreements with representatives of Capitalism day after day. As regards the proposal to discuss about an united front Oudegeest counters with the advice to affiliate with Amsterdam and "joint conduct" the struggle against Capitalism.

Let us consider both.

First, how can an united front with Amsterdam be achieved?

The Communists brand the leaders of Amsterdam as traitors to Labor and shall continue to do as long as the latter adhere to their present policy. And yet we propose to them the discussion of ways and means of forming an united front of the proletariat. Why? Because the situation of the world and the position of Labor in it make such a course imperative. Because the masses of the workers strive for a united front. And because we calculate that the leaders must under the pressure from below call these masses to action. In spite of the antagonism we think it imperative to manifest against the treacherous policy of the leaders of Amsterdam, we cannot allow ourselves to overlook the sad but indisputable fact that the policy of those leaders unfortunately very often merely reflects the sentiment of certain sections of their rank and file. Decay of commerce and industry throughout the world, wide-spread unemployment, condemning millions of proletariat to a sorry life and a worse death, the wage reductions everywhere, lowering the standard of living of the masses beneath that of pre-war times and fixing it on the level of a Chinese coolie—there are the evil fruits of the Amsterdam policy, acknowledged as such, if against their wishes, even by themselves. Under these conditions Jouhaux, Thomas, Mertens, Leipart & Co., whose natural element is treason and petty bartering with the bourgeoisie, have no choice but call the masses to action against the latter. *And we, too, want to be there.* And in this we do not want to see the mass actions of Labor split, no matter how "dangerous" unity might appear to the leaders of Amsterdam! And there is another matter to be taken into consideration. If we propose to the leaders of Amsterdam to meet and consider joint mass actions, there are two courses open to the latter. They either accept our proposal and organize the necessary actions in conjunction with us, (in that case all our aims are realized and the rest will take care of itself) or the leaders fail us in this or that stage of the negotiations, and then we have made at any rate one step on the way towards a united front. For then at least part of the followers of Amsterdam will come to recognize which of the two policies is right, ours or that of their leaders, who are responsible for the division of Labor.

In consideration of the tremendous importance of this matter we shall endeavour to make it clearer yet in the following two examples.

Let us take for instance the campaign against war.

In the November Conference Amsterdam repudiated war and demanded of the miners, metal and transport workers, and if necessary of all other trades, that they should prevent war by crippling the industries serving it; if necessary, an international general strike was to be called for the same purpose. At the same time, however, and even after, the leaders of Amsterdam supported the disarmament fake of the bourgeoisie who, while fanning the flames of discord, boasts of its love and good will toward mankind.

Fimmen, the second secretary of the Amsterdam International has (entirely independent of us though with our approval) declared that the Washington "Disarmament" Conference is merely an attempt at throwing dust into the eyes of the

workers. Now one should not forget that the League of Nations and its Council consist of the business managers of the same imperialist world bourgeoisie whose representatives, under the cover of disarmament negotiations, set afoot imperialist intrigues and plots at Washington.

Nor has the League's Commission on Disarmament any other object than that of "throwing dust into the eyes of labor". While after two years of what it is pleased to term work the League of Nations in its January session came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to suggest to the various affiliated nations that their war budgets in the next two years should not exceed that of the current year (which decision is but mocking labor and a direct provocation!) the Executive Meeting of the Amsterdam Trade Union International decided in December "after a long debate" that its representatives should continue their roles in the Disarmament Comedy. That is the import of Amsterdam's struggle against war, armaments and imperialist reaction!

We, however, insist upon a genuine struggle against the threatening imperialist wars!

Another example—the fight against unemployment and for the solutions of the world-wide crisis in commerce and industry, a source of misery to the workers throughout the world. In the December issue of their official organ, "The International Trade Union Movement", the leaders of Amsterdam admitted that the bourgeoisie—and consequently all those cooperating with it in reconstructing the world on an economic basis—have failed completely in solving those problems. At the Labor Council at Geneva in November, and recently, at the January meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Labor Bureau, the leaders of Amsterdam advocated a solution, not by means of a struggle against the bourgeoisie, but by cooperating with it.

What we think of the Amsterdam counter proposals.

Our opinion in that respect is shortly told. The counter accusations are stupid, if not worse, the counter proposals downright shabby.

Neither Lozovsky nor Zinoviev, the representatives of the militant international proletariat, will go to Genoa to negotiate with representatives of the imperialist governments, but Chicherin, Litvinoff and Krassin, the spokesmen of the Russian proletariat that has gained a victory over its bourgeoisie and set up a Soviet Republic, but is nevertheless compelled to compromise with international capitalism, because European labor has not been able to cope with it. These comrades will confer as equals with the ministers of the European power in order to conclude a temporary agreement, always ready to take up arms once more, should they be compelled to do so. If the leaders of Amsterdam would be prepared to meet the ruling classes on a footing such as that, the unity of the proletariat would be something feasible.

With regard to the proposal that the "few millions" Russians in the R.T.U.I. join the 24 millions in the Amsterdam International, we can only say that to us it seems all that can be expected of a man with Oudegeest's intellectual horizon. The historical causes responsible for the creation of both bodies done away with in the wink of an eye and unity achieved—that is too good to be true! And on what platform should unity be accomplished? On that of cooperation with Mr. Thomas and the representatives of governments and employers in the Labor Bureau and in the League of Nations, and on the community of interest between Capital and Labor they advocate in their respective countries? Mr. Oudegeest does not say, and thus his proposal is nothing but a rather stupid joke.

Notice.

We call the attention of all editorial staffs to the fact that henceforth the articles and notices of our "Correspondence" are marked by an initial double star (**). We request that in reprinting the double star be printed as acknowledgement of source.

The Editors.

Explanation for the inclusion of a second, poorer-quality image of this issue of International Press Correspondence ["Inprecor"] in this pdf file:

Following this page of text, you will find ANOTHER DIGITAL RENDITION of this issue of Inprecor. One of lower image quality... more blurry, lower resolution, mushy-appearing. One I made by scanning old microfilm, years prior to my producing the scan preceding this note, which I made on a flat bed scanner (at 600 dpi, single bit BW [bi-tonal], from original paper.

That poorer quality is included here for the following reason:

The original paper issue of Inprecor Vol. 2 No. 7/8 (January 27, 1922) that I had to scan had four seriously damaged pages: Pages 53, 54, 55, and 56. A significant part of each of those pages was missing, along with substantial amounts of text.

I have appended to the pdf file of my scan of original pages a scan of the same issue I made years earlier from microfilm. The images I scanned from this microfilm (made by the Communist Party of Great Britain) show all of the text missing from the damaged physical pages noted above

Thus, that's what a second (more blurry, but without damaged pages) digital image of the issue in question is doing here, after this page of text.

Perhaps in the future someone can get access to a different paper holding of Inprecor, and make quality scans of the pages currently flawed in this work of mine.

---marty

Martin H. Goodman MD
Director Riazanov Library digital archive projects
San Pablo, CA October 2021

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POLITICS

The Russian Famine and the Relief Necessary

by Victor Kopp.

Report to the Berlin International Conference of Organizations working for the Relief of the Russian Famine.

** The picture of the famine in Russia is horrible enough and does not need any exaggeration. Almost the entire population of the stricken districts and, moreover, also a great part of the population of the neighbouring territories—all in all about twenty million people—are affected by the famine. It is no exaggeration to say that half of them, i. e. ten millions, are at the present moment on the verge of starvation. The number of starving children alone amounts to at least five millions.

As soon as the first signs of the catastrophe became apparent, the Russian government energetically employed all the means at its disposal to deal with the situation. Two important problems had to be solved immediately: first, the inhabitants who were leaving the place of disaster in panic, had to be retained by immediate aid so as to secure the cultivation of the land. In spite of the very meager harvest the government succeeded within a few weeks in gathering the necessary seed—about thirteen millions of poods—and in transporting it to the famine district.

Thus the first problem was solved. The panic was stopped, the streams of fugitives came to a standstill, the winter-sowing was accomplished. However, hereby only the first steps were made, but the question as to the maintenance of the population till the next harvest became every day more urgent. The hard winter that had meanwhile set in robbed the population of any possibility of obtaining food and fodder in the fields and forests, and made this question one of life or death to millions of starving people.

The starving districts require for their maintenance at least 100,000,000 poods of grain, 170,000,000 of which for human consumption. The district itself has yielded all in all only about 40,000,000 poods; thus in order to maintain the population it is essential to obtain elsewhere 124,000,000 poods. As has already been stated the entire harvest this year was rather scant. It can be said without exaggeration that there was a bad harvest all over Russia. The only source from which adequate assistance could be drawn is the world market glutted with grain. There are the granaries of North America, where wheat is lying without finding purchasers, there is Argentine, where this year's maize harvest was so plentiful, that the locomotives are heated with ears of corn instead of coal. That is the reason why Gorki appealed to the foreign countries, why the Russian government approached the foreign countries, because it clearly understood that it is not in a position to feed all the starving out of the supplies of Russia or to procure the required quantities of grain by cash purchase.

The response the appeal has so far met with abroad is, with a few exceptions, unsatisfactory enough. It is true, that all of the organisations here represented are working with all their might in combatting the catastrophe. Yet all that has

been done by these organisations and also by the Hoover Organisation which is not represented here, is but a tiny part of what must be in order to prevent the most fertile part of Russia from turning into a cemetery of several millions of humans beings this winter.

The Hoover Organisation as well as that of Nansen are chiefly organisations for the relief of children. The number of children that will be maintained by these organisations during this winter is estimated at about 2,000,000. Several hundreds of thousands of children are being saved by the measures of the government—either by accomodating them in children's homes in their respective districts or by evacuating them to the better-off districts where they are being distributed among the peasant population. Nevertheless, by all these measures it will hardly be possible to provide food and shelter for half of the number. The other half is dying a slow and horrible death.

Still less is being done for the rescue of the adults. With the exception of the establishment of some feeding-centres in the places of concentration of the fugitives and of special measures to combat the epidemics (in which the greatest part was played by the German Red Cross), practically everything still remains to be done.

The small stocks still at the disposal of the population of the famine-districts after this year's harvest have been entirely consumed during the last four months. In consequence of the cold weather setting in it became impossible to gather those sordid substitutes on which the population subsisted up to the present moment: all sorts of grasses, swamp-plants, wild berries, acorns, bark and so forth. No matter how great the efforts of the Russian government may be—and there is really no lack of energy exhibited in this matter—in assisting the starving out of the resources of the country itself, without adequate assistance from abroad several millions of people will not survive this winter but will perish in hunger and misery. This naked truth which I am stating here without any embellishment, must be driven into the consciousness of those who do not starve.

Should the appeal to humanity, which was so eloquently and touchingly expressed in Professor Nansen's well-known speech at the conference in Geneva, no longer meet with a response, it would be high time to appeal to economic sensibility. For there should be no mistake about it:

In the moment in which peasant farming in the famine-district falls to ruin and this fertile land is thus turned into a desert with nothing but wild grasses growing on it for a long time to come—in this moment Russia will be eliminated for a long time from the ranks of the countries whose agricultural products exceed their wants. The purchasing power of its population will be paralyzed and there will no longer be any possibility of Russia regaining its place in the household of the world.

Hereby the problem of relief for starving Russia is elucidated from a world-economic point of view.

A territory of more than 56,000,000 dessiatines with a population of altogether 18,300,000 people, 16,200,000 of which are living rural districts, remained without a drop of rain throughout the spring and part of the summer. The fields were covered with a hard crust which showed wide cracks caused by the heat. The average yield of this land in harvest-time amounted to 11.4 poods per dessiatine. After deduction of the seed corn, this means a net produce of 3-4 poods per capita. The importance of these numbers

may be gathered from the fact, that an average harvest in the district in question produced about 30—40 poods, a good one even more than 60 poods per dessiatine, and that a standard of 10 poods per head is by officially designated as a "hunger-ration", which practically means the beginning of starvation among the population.

The Russian Volga district, the district of the "black soil", is known as the granary not only of Russia but of all Europe. And undoubtedly this fame is well earned. The agricultural population of this district constitutes no less than 20 % of the entire agricultural population of former European Russia. The cultivated land formed 24 % of the entire cultivated area, which shows the prevailing agricultural character of the whole district. The average amount of grain exported from the district yearly in the years 1909 to 1913 was 188,000,000 poods, 65,000,000 poods of which were exported abroad.

The figures mentioned will fully suffice to show that the agriculture of the Volga district is of decidedly extensive character. It is an agriculture with little live stock (with 24% of the entire cultivated area it only has 23 % of the working horses and 17 % of the draught-oxen), the advantage of which does not lie in a sufficient fertilisation of the soil nor in a careful mechanical cultivation of the land, but is founded on the possibility of giving parts of the land, so richly endowed by nature, year by year a rest. The peasant mode of farming is a primitive, so-called "three field farming" which disappeared in Europe a century ago. The war has badly shaken the stoutest pillar of this agriculture, human working-power. Millions of young peasants did not return from the battle-fields or were kept as prisoners for years and years, while the farms were often left behind under a true petticoat government. The world war was succeeded by civil war. First the southeast part of Russia was for a long time the battlefield of the troops of the counter-revolution. Here the famous Czechoslovak revolt commenced in 1918, here was the ground of which Denikin's troops were drawn up when in 1920 he pushed his attack within a few hundred kilometers of Moscow. Here was to the last the haunt of the dispersed remnants of the White troops, of the failures in life who found their means of subsistence by looting the peaceful population. All these circumstances caused the productive power of the farmers to be reduced to a level far below that of pre-war time. The best proof thereof is the reduction of the cultivated area.

While in 1916 the cultivated land covered a space of 92 dessiatines per 100 inhabitants, it sank by 1921 to 58 dessiatines, that is by 37 %. This occurred in spite of the considerable increase of peasant farming itself at the expense of the confiscated great estates. This fact has been attributed to the policy of the government which was said to have suppressed the inclination for the increase of production by imposing the duty of delivery. This may be partly correct; we have seen much the same in other countries where the government has taken similar measures under the pressure of war. However, this does not by any means fully explain the matter, for at the same time as the cultivated ground all other factors of production were reduced. So for instance, the number of working-animals, also calculated for a hundred inhabitants, sank in the same space of time from 26 to 14, i. e., by 46 %, the number of cows from 23 to 16, i. e., by 30 %, and so forth.

The farm implements and, most important of all, the ploughs, suffered much in quality in consequence of the impossibility of replacing the worn-out machines by new imported ones. The following figures will prove that. A plough is generally supposed to last ten years. In the ten years from 1906 to 1916 Russian agriculture was provided with 3,300,000 ploughs. This is the total amount of the ploughs that were produced in Russia and imported from abroad. In 1916 they were distributed over about 190,000,000 dessiatines. The cultivated land in the Volga district had a total of about 1,800,000 ploughs. From this year on the supply of agriculture with ploughs ceased almost entirely—partly on account of the blockade, partly on account of the transformation of the Russian metal industry for the manufacturing of requisites of war. No less than 40 % of the entire stock of ploughs ought to be replaced by new ones, and even if they are used here and there they are by far not fit to perform the required work. Expressed in absolute numbers, the agriculture of the Volga district requires 175,000 ploughs in order to raise itself to the after all rather moderate level of 1916. With the other agricultural machinery conditions are the same as with the ploughs: about 130,000 reaping machines and about 30,000 steam ploughs are wanted, somewhat to make up for the depreciation in farm tools that has ensued in the meantime.

The quality of the seed-grain, that is of the commonly used grain, wheat, has deteriorated in a similar way. Before the war

Russian grain was considered on the world market to contain by far the greatest quantity of foreign elements. This was due chiefly to the inferior quality of the peasant seed. The war has greatly aggravated the conditions and the seed deteriorated to such an extent that by this alone the harvest might have been reduced by one half and even more than that.

Taking further into consideration the decrease of the live stock we will gain an idea of the main factors of the economic breakdown prevailing in the Volga district. It is now perfectly clear why this year's catastrophe, resulting from the effects of nature, has wrought such destruction, and it becomes obvious that in combatting the famine two equally important and inseparable factors have to be tackled: the relief of the immediate distress, the maintenance of the population throughout the winter, and further, work for the future, the rebuilding of the ruined economic life.

The chief object, as follows from the aforesaid, is the increase of the arable area. It will certainly be easier to solve this problem than to persuade the population to apply new methods of cultivation, to introduce the cultivation of different plants or to carry through measures of amelioration of the soil. In order to bring the arable area, up to the level of 1916, over 55,000,000 poods, i. e. more than 900,000 tons of seed are required. To provide such a quantity of seed suitable to the climatic conditions of the region, and this for the approaching spring, is the first and most urgent task without the solution of which all other measures would become futile.

The second task that has to be solved simultaneously is the supply of the population with adequate implements.

The third task which must be begun at the same time as the two others is the production of a sufficient number of motor ploughs. Agriculture in the Volga district is very short of live stock, as we have seen. The working animals will be decimated by the famine so as gravely to threaten the spring cultivation of the fields. The wanting draught animals must be replaced by mechanical power. Without a sufficient number of tractors a reform of agriculture is impossible.

These three tasks—the supply of seed grain, the provision of implements and the provision of tractors—are together the very essence of economic assistance, without which the relief of distress can procure but a temporary alleviation, however badly it may be wanted. If this assistance for the spring to come should fail, the Russian Volga district threatens to be turned into a hunger district in permanence.

I am perfectly well aware of the fact that the private organisations here represented are far from possessing the means required for the solution of such an enormous task which must necessarily be dependent on the granting of prolonged credits. However, these organisations who were the first to come to the aid of the starving Russian people are very well able to draw the attention of influential quarters to this problem and to demand of them the granting of the necessary means. The very greatness of the task, the very depth of our conviction that the economic salvation of Russia means the salvation of all the world, ought to stimulate us to do all we can in order to make ourselves heard by means of the press, in Parliament, in the broadest publicity so as to furnish the conditions which are necessary to arouse the powers capable of the solution of the problem and to unite them. When public opinion in America and England is convinced that the horrible unemployment weighing on these countries can only disappear through the restoration of Russia's purchasing power, when at the same time the peoples of Central Europe become clearly aware of the fact that their distress is not in small degree due to the agricultural production of the vast Russian fields coming to a standstill, the urgency of economic assistance to Russia will take possession of public opinion with such force as to silence all private, partial, and selfish interests.

After the Vilna Elections

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

** Were the elections in the Vilna District an expression of the will of the whole population? The Polish authorities attempt to make the world believe that they were. According to them 60 % of the electorate took part in the elections. That figure, however, is hardly to be accepted, for among the Poles themselves participation in the elections cannot have been very great, in face of the lack of political consciousness of the broad masses, especially the women, and of the bad means of communication. When one in addition takes into consideration the abstinence of the non-Polish nationalities, the published figures of the participants in the elections appear highly improbable.

That the Lithuanians boycotted the elections is perfectly dear. The same can be said of the Jews who in the Vilna District sympathized with the Lithuanians. These latter had, at least provisionally, granted them full equal rights of nationality; while they were treated as pariahs by the Poles. Notwithstanding this, from Polish official sources comes the assertion that the Jews outside of Vilna went to the polls. The claim is hard to substantiate. There were no special lists setting out the Jewish Electors, and in no instance was a single Jew elected.

Now, it is maintained that at least the White Russians have taken part in the Diet elections. It is true that the Polish authorities put themselves to great trouble to induce the White Russians to take part in the elections. They put forward a certain Aleksjuk as leader of the pro-Polish White Russians. The candidate brought no credit to the Polish election officials. He is a somewhat sinister personality who experienced certain legal unpleasantness on account of embezzlement. Of no higher moral prestige is the other "White Russian" the notorious brigand leader Bulak-Balachovitch, who published an appeal to the White Russians, calling on them to take part in the elections, along with the announcement of his personal participation in them. Here too one must wonder, how any creature who stands legally accused of murder, robbery and rape, can exercise the right to vote. But Poland needed votes. In spite of all that, the White Russians must have taken only a very mild interest in the elections, for the Aleksjuk Party has suffered a most signal defeat.

Thus the newly elected Diet represents only the Polish portion of the population.

In spite of that it appears certain that the Entente will not place its veto on the elections. It was in its power to hinder the elections, if it so desired, but it seems that the Entente is not able to adopt an unanimous attitude on the Vilna question. Moreover, all attempts to bring about negotiations between Poland and Lithuania having failed, it could scarcely oppose a definite solution of its own to the Polish solution.

The program of the next sitting of the Council of the League of Nations is framed in such a way that the Lithuanians will hardly find a sympathetic hearing for their complaints. It mentions the problem of the "Protection of the Lithuanian Minority" in the Vilna District which entirely excludes the possibility of the territory being awarded to the Lithuanians. It is equally evident from the report of the Foreign Minister Skirmunt in the committee of the Warsaw Sejm, that the Polish Government secured the assent, or at least the neutrality of the Entente Powers before the elections. One may therefore suppose that the fait accompli achieved by the Polish Government will be accepted as a basis for any further solution of the question. The League of Nations will very probably cause the Poles many a bitter moment yet, but it will hardly be able to effect a thorough alteration of the conditions. The Lithuanian protests will probably fall on deaf ears.*

On the other hand it will be equally impossible to satisfy the wishes of the Polish annexationists. It is well known that they have been very successful in the elections. The federalistic Pilsudski Party has suffered a most miserable defeat. At first Pilsudski (as a native of Vilna) had the intention of taking part in the elections himself, evidently to increase the chances of his adherents by his presence, but at the last moment he thought better of it and "fell ill". This is understandable, for his chief parties (Social-Patriots, Democrats, and the Peasants' Party "Rebirth") have only been able to return a small group of deputies.

The victory fell to the Right Party (National Democrats) who captured nearly half the seats. The second strongest party is the so-called People's Council, which will form the centre group in the Diet. As to its class position, this party is very indefinite and divergent. It sprang out of the "Borderland-Protection" Party patronized by Pilsudski but later on let itself be carried away on the Annexationist tide, and agitated for "reunion" just as eagerly as the National Democrats. Among its deputies there is no lack of full-blown National Democrats.

* The recent session of the Council of the League of Nations refused to have anything more to do with the Vilna question, as Comrade Domski had predicted. It ordered the withdrawal of its Military Mission of Control within one month and "invited the two governments concerned to confide their respective interests to friendly powers". The resolution continues, "the Council cannot recognise any solution of a dispute submitted to the League by one of its members which may be reached without regard to the recommendation of the Council or without the consent of both the parties concerned". This marks the most signal failure of the League of Nations since its establishment.

Thus a splitting up with a consequent adhesion to the right, whereby the National Democrats might get an absolute majority and become the governing party is not out the question.

One might now expect that the slogan of the Right: a Plebiscite Sejm proclaiming union with Poland and dissolution afterwards will now become a fact. The Warsaw National Democrats stick to this slogan and have published an appeal to the elected deputies in this sense. But the soup is not likely to be eaten as hot as it was cooked. From Skirmunt's announcements in the Warsaw Sejm Committee it appears that even France advises the Poles to allow Vilna autonomy, and to carry out a policy of reconciliation, towards Kovno. France is afraid that the Lithuanians in the event of a further embitterment of relations might become a bridge between Germany and Soviet Russia. England and Italy have most decidedly warned against annexation, nor do they seem agreed upon autonomy.

In these circumstances Vilna autonomy will be the lesser evil for Poland. Even the editor of the influential "Rzeczpospolita" whose policy closely approaches that of the Nationalists, quite openly states this "diplomatic necessity" as he calls it.

Poor Pilsudski, however, will have little joy over this "victory" of his idea; for the autonomy of the Vilna District will, in this event be realized by the enemies of autonomy, as well as by the adherents to Centralism and of an enforced Polonization. These gentlemen will certainly not be able to prevent a further development of the district into a sort of buffer state and approach to Kovno. And if Pilsudski meant to create for himself a sally-port for further "Liberation" crusades, a hatching ground for further Petliurism, he is now deeply disappointed. Strange as it may sound—the reactionary issue of the elections is the most favorable for peace and particularly for quiet on the Soviet borders.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Situation in 1921

by Spectator.

** The development of national economy is influenced by a number of factors among which is of course the influence of political relations. It is beyond a doubt that the self-confidence of the capitalist class is today stronger than it was one or two years ago. It must also be admitted that the fear of the Russian Revolution is today not as great; in fact, Communism is almost considered as overcome, because the Soviet Government has supposedly capitulated before capitalism. It must furthermore be admitted that the working-class has been thrown on the defensive and that capitalism has begun a general attack on the conquests of the revolution and is even certain of its victory. In a word, capitalism has regained its confidence and is no longer afraid to commence operations on a large scale. A good proof of this is the fact that the Thyssen-concern alone is digging new shafts which will require 1,800,000,000 marks.

A situation exists in regard to the economic prerequisites for a revival of industry. In this field the prospects of capitalism are not as rosy as we might be inclined to presume. Apart from the various lines of development of single branches of industry, the main cause of the economic crisis of 1920-21 was the reduced demand for manufactured articles by the agricultural population and by the agricultural countries. During the war, it was just these agricultural countries and the agricultural districts of industrial countries that were able to increase their wealth considerably, thus creating a basis for the economic revival during the following post-war years. We can illustrate this by examining American statistics. During the war, from 1914-1919, the value of the agricultural products of the U. S. rose from \$9,900,000,000 to \$24,960,000,000. The net value (after the deduction of the cost of raw materials) of industrial products jumped from \$9,900,000,000 to \$20,500,000,000. This gave rise to the extensive domestic market, which in turn was the basis of the post-war boom. In 1920, agricultural products suffered a drop in the market and their total value went down to \$19,860,000,000. But the value of mining products rose considerably during 1920, in fact from \$4,600,000,000 to \$6,700,000,000.

If the value of industrial products did not rise to the same extent that mining products did, since in most cases the prices of manufactured articles did not rise as much as those of the mining industry, it is nevertheless certain that the total value of 1920's industrial production was considerably higher than that of agricultural production. While the general index of prices in 1920 showed a higher average than in 1919, the index figures for agricultural products dropped from 234 to 218. As a result

the domestic market was unable to consume the manufactured products and at the same time exports decreased, being chiefly consigned to agricultural countries, since the European industrial countries are still suffering so much from the aftermath of the war that their capacity for assimilating the industrial products of other countries is very small.

What was the line of development of this state of affairs in 1921? Until the middle of 1921, for which period we have the statistics of the American Department of Labor on the fluctuation of prices, we see that the prices of agricultural products dropped very much more quickly than those of all other goods. In fact, in the month of June they had almost the 1913 level (plus 13%), while the general price index at that time was 48% above the price level of 1913. We see from the reports of two correspondents of the "Industrie- und Handelszeitung" and the "Frankfurter Zeitung" that the situation has not changed since then. The New York correspondent of the "Industrie- und Handelszeitung" reports in the issue of December 23rd that the prices agricultural products are still lower than those of industrial products. The correspondent for the "Frankfurter Zeitung" (issue of January 8th) cites the opinion of an American Investigation Commission on Agriculture, according to which the farmer's dollar to-day is worth less than at any time during the last 30 years. It is at the same time established that the agricultural population in America is rapidly decreasing. The low buying power of the dollar as well as the decreased agricultural population leads to a shrinking of the domestic market. The same is no less true of the foreign markets. The faster decrease of prices of agricultural products resulted in an unfavorable balance of trade against the agricultural countries. During the war these countries had in most cases a favorable balance of trade. In 1920 and especially in 1921, the balance of trade went heavily against these countries. Since due to the impoverishment of Europe the influx of capital from industrial countries is very small, the buying power of the agrarian countries has seriously shrunk and as a result the foreign market has also suffered considerably. Hence also the economic crisis.

From the data published until now, we cannot yet say with certainty whether any change has taken place in this respect during the last months of 1921. Some countries, as for instance Brazil, seem to have improved their trade balance. Most of the countries of the world record a growing debit balance of trade. For instance, in the month of October India had an import trade of 225,000,000 rupees and an export trade of 172,000,000 rupees; South Africa's import trade amounts to £3,800,000 and her export trade to £1,900,000. A further proof of the debit trade balances of these countries is the drop in the exchange quotations of these countries. So for example, the Argentinian peso was quoted in England during December 1920 at 53¹/₁₆ pence; in December 1921 it stood at 53%. The Brazilian milreis was quoted at 10¹/₁₆ and 7¹/₁₆ pence respectively. The lower exchanges of these countries reflects their weaker buying power and signifies the limited sale of industrial products to these countries.

On the other hand, however, we see that in industrial countries, particularly in England, due to a number of circumstances, the prices of agricultural products are still higher than those of manufactured articles. But in the industrial countries, the working population forms the domestic market. If agricultural products are dear, while the prices on industrial products are going down, it means that wages at whose cost prices on industrial products are reduced, are dropping in their buying power as against food; in other words, the real wage is reduced and with it also the buying power of the greater part of the population. The temporary state of affairs under which food prices sank, while industrial products and wages remained as they were, created an increased demand for manufactured products in Europe. Today the situation is just the opposite; wages are falling more rapidly than food prices and as a result the population's buying power for manufactured products is very small. In addition to all this we must examine the situation in Central and Eastern Europe where, due to the unusually rapid drop of the currencies of these countries, the buying power of the population has surely not increased.

As another prerequisite of an economic revival, we may consider the situation in the money market. At present the situation is such that the private discount rate is still pretty high, particularly for long-term loans. During 1921 the average discount rate on 90 day notes was more than 5%, which is altogether too high a discount for England. A peculiar situation was created in which money can be obtained with comparative ease for speculative purposes and only with difficulty for new investments, because there is actually a shortage in capital, whereas there is not such a shortage in legal tender. On the contrary, there is plenty and more than plenty of legal tender, but there is on the other hand an actual shortage of the means

of production and their capital value, and of cash money. The following table is taken from the "Frankfurter Zeitung" of January 4th, 1922. It is a survey of the new shares issues in the most important countries.

Value of New Share Issues.

	Germany millions of marks	England millions of pounds	U.S.A. millions of dollars	Holland millions of gulden
1912	994	210.9	2917.7	—
1913	635	196.5	—	193.9
1920	7,520	367.5	2391.2	1151.4
1921	19,229	389.0	1407.5	457.0

(The figures for the United States include only the first 10 months, and those for Holland the first 11 months of 1921.)

The figures for England seem to be not quite correct; at any rate those coming from English sources are different. In fact, according to the "Statist" the 1920 issue amounted to £481,000,000. Nevertheless the fact remains that the government expended the money, since £280,000,000 of the 1921 issues were government loans. The industrial issues are not only very small, but they show a steep drop in the last months of May, June and July of the same year. In the United States and in Holland the new 1921 issues were much smaller than those of 1920: the October 1921 issues of the United States for example, does not even amount to one-half of the January issue of the same year. The high figures which the issues in Germany show are easily explained by the depreciation of the currency. If we divide this sum by 25 as an average depreciation factor, we get a sum which is much less than that of 1912-1913. As far as actual production is concerned we really see a certain revival in the textile industry, at any rate in the United States, and a very slight increase in the production of iron and steel in the most important producing countries—United States, England, France and Belgium. But if we examine these figures more closely we get the following picture: (these figures are taken from the "Times" of January 7th) Reckoned in thousands of tons per month the production of these four countries was as follows:

	Pig Iron	Steel
1913	3067	3834
1920	4125	3616
1921 1st quarter	2871	2973
2nd quarter	1546	1729
3rd quarter	1306	1817
1921 October and November	1770	2219

We see that the average production of these four countries during the months of October-November amounts to 463,000 tons of iron and 400,000 tons of steel more than the average production during the third quarter of 1921. Due to the miners' strike England's production in the second quarter shrunk immensely. In the third quarter it was also very small. Should England's production diminish only at the same rate as that of the United States, it would show an increase of 1,245,000 tons of pig iron for the second and third quarters. Such is the loss in production, due not to the normal course of the crisis, but to the strike. In the following months world economy has not yet made good this loss. We see moreover, that the production of steel has dropped during the month of December in England as well as in the United States; in fact very much so in England—from 444,000 tons to 381,000 tons. That of pig iron has gained somewhat; in America considerably, in England only slightly. At any rate only the further developments in production will show us whether there will still be any demand for iron after the deficit caused by the strike has been made good. In the meantime we can say with certainty that the prices of iron and iron products are falling in America as well as in England, and that there is presumably no strong demand. We need not go into the tendency of prices at present, because they are only too well known. We may finally point out, however, that the number of bankruptcies has increased considerably, even in the United States, at any until October (we have no data for the period since October).

We thus see that the present economic situation does not yet warrant any presumption of a coming period of economic prosperity. This is hardly to be expected because—aside from the Central European and Eastern European relations which surely constitute an incalculable factor, and aside from the fact that as far as Central Europe is concerned, the chances for a quick recovery of industry and for the clearing up of the reparation problems, are very slight—the general economic situation in the various countries has so little adapted itself to the changed conditions brought about by the war, that these countries will hardly be able to buy larger amounts of goods. For example, it is a

characteristic fact that in the month of December, the export of machines from England remained far below the level of December 1920, although the total export of 1921 is somewhat greater than that of 1920. This shows that in the last few months of 1921, the demand for machines slackened. It is particularly interesting to note the great decrease in the export of agricultural machines; in fact, the 1921 export of agricultural machines dropped to one-half of that of 1920, and to one seventh of that of 1913. The export of textile machines, on the other hand, has risen considerably and in 1921 it almost reached the figure of 1913. Most of these machines were consigned to non-European countries like India, Japan, China, but also to France. This shows that the non-European countries are developing an independent industry, which will compete with the European industry until the latter adapts itself to the new conditions and needs in these countries.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

New Developments in the Hungarian Labor Movement

by Josef Pogany.

** The profound changes in the camp of the Hungarian counter-revolution which are forcing the various classes of the counter-revolution, up till now rulers of the country, into open civil war, and which are destroying their Christian-legitimist ideology, have also caused very profound changes in the structure of the Hungarian labor movement.

The Horthy counter-revolutionary system has been forsaken by its most important supporters, the legitimist large land owners and capitalists and the antisemitic petty-bourgeois. Horthy and his premier, Count Bethlen, are now employing the celebrated tactics of Napoleon III. in playing one party in the National Assembly against another and trying to balance one class against another. The military absolutism, left hanging in the air, is attempting to gain a footing in one class of society after another. First, it seeks the support of the rich peasants and throws the legitimist counts in prison, then it turns to the legitimist magnates and expels the peasant minister from its Cabinet. Its most recent supports are the old Tisza Party, the liberal gentry (allied to Jewish finance capital) and the Social Democratic trade-union bureaucracy. In this connection it is very significant of the omnipotence of the military clique that neither the Tisza nor the Social Democrats have a seat in the National Assembly.

Premier Count Bethlen has concluded a formal pact with the Social Democrats. The Social Democratic Party desired to keep the provisions of this agreement secret, but Bethlen boasts almost every day in the domestic and foreign press, "The White Terror in Hungary has become so mild that it signs agreements with Social Democrats".

According to this agreement Horthy grants an amnesty to each of the thousands of political prisoners for whom the Social Democratic Party gives a guarantee; the holding of meetings is permitted under police supervision and several of the interdicted trade-unions are permitted to resume. On its part the leadership of the Social Democratic Party binds itself to carry on propaganda for the Horthy government in foreign countries and to employ the Second International for propaganda for the territorial integrity of Hungary. In other words, the Hungarian White Social Democrats undertake to sing hymns of praise to Horthy and Bethlen in foreign countries. They are determined to renounce the 7000 political prisoners whose existence is admitted by the White Terror itself, the thousands of interned workers and the 24,000 workers compelled to report daily to the police as even the White Terror, constrained to self-revelation, must admit. They promised to take part in the work of "national development", which only means that Horthy will institute military supervision in the mines and the Social Democrats will set up the supervision of the trade-union bureaucracy and "guarantee" higher production.

The pact also provides for the surrender by the Social Democrats of their "passivity" and for their participation in the coming elections to the National Assembly. Furthermore, they promise to withdraw from the "Bloc of Citizens and Workers" which threatens to become an ever-growing danger to the Horthy-Bethlen system. We had repeatedly and vigorously protested against the participation of the Social Democrats in a Bloc with the bourgeoisie and the Association of Big Industry. Now they are withdrawing from this Bloc, but only in order to enter in the much more reactionary Bloc of Horthy-Bethlen-Gömbös-Hejjas, with an even more shameful record of suppression of the workers.

And finally this pact contains the most shameful betrayal of universal suffrage. The Social Democratic Party is satisfied with a "reasonable" limitation of the suffrage, in other words with the confiscation of the right to vote of the poor peasants and the working proletarian women.

The White Hungarian Social Democracy has always made common cause with the counter-revolution. Its leaders were members of that government that not only hanged Communists, but also imprisoned and interned thousands of ordinary Social Democratic workers. They only withdrew from this government when the armed detachments of the government began to murder Social Democratic leaders as well. Since then the leaders of the Social Democratic Party have repeatedly attempted to conclude an agreement with Horthy.

Vanczak, the editor of "Nepzava", offered his "horny hand" to Horthy in token of peace just after his predecessor as editor, Somogyi, had been murdered by Horthy's comrades in arms.

Now the leadership of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party will openly and officially be an organic member of the Hungarian counter-revolution.

This extremely significant fact is an important milestone in the Hungarian labor-movement.

The small clique of labor traitors has been forced to admit that the unanimous decision of the Party Central Committee and of the Executive was all in vain. The masses refuse to have anything to do with this party; they can not understand this shameful betrayal and refuse to give their approval to it. Even the Hungarian Social Democratic Party has never before committed such a miserable, shameful act of treason against the working-class. Thus, it is understandable that this has given rise to the gravest crisis in its entire history. The seriousness of this crisis shows that not only are the Hungarian workers rising against their "leaders", but—for the first time since the counter-revolution—against the present leadership of the Social Democratic Party. For two years Garami, adherent of the Second International and Kunfi, of the International 2½, silently tolerated all that the Vanczaks and Miakits were doing in Hungary. Although they could find nothing else to do during all these years but to sling mud at the Communist Party they did not say a single word against the trade-union bureaucracy, haggling and bargaining in the name of the Hungarian working-class. But now finally they are beginning to move. Garami declared that he cannot approve the pact with Horthy and Buchinger states that the concessions of Count Bethlen are not worth a cent. Kunfi now discovers that offering the "horny hands of Labor" to the bloody hand of Horthy is despicable treason. He goes even so far as to repeat the statements of the Communists word for word almost to the point of plagiarism and says that the Vanczak-Peyer clique have through this pact become a Social Democratic detachment alongside of the officer detachments of Gömbös and Hejjas.

The Social Democratic emigrant groups are influenced in their opposition to the Hungarian Social Democracy by two facts. The Peyer-Vanczak Social Democratic group has this time betrayed not only the working-class but through its agreeing to a half amnesty the emigrants as well. Garami and Kunfi would soon pardon the betrayal of the working-class but they cannot forgive their being forced out of the leadership through this agreement. The second important fact is the indignation of the Hungarian working-class against the present party leadership. The Garamis and Kunfis are afraid that if they do not show that there are also Social Democratic leaders who oppose this unprecedented treason the Hungarian working-class will finally free itself from the claws of all Social Democratic deceptions.

The shameless treason of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party and of the trade-union bureaucracy in every political and economic question and finally in the Horthy pact has given rise to a wide-spread opposition in the Social Democratic Party and the trade-unions under its influence such as has not been seen since spring 1919. The first step of the workers to the left was the complete severing of all connections with the Christian Socialists; the second is their present preparation for a break with the White Social Democracy.

The transformation in the Hungarian working masses has also set the Hungarian Communist Party new tactical problems. Up till now our party faced two problems: firstly the creation of illegal party organizations; secondly, connecting these organizations with the opposition movement in the working-class. In order to solve the latter we demanded of the Garami-Buchinger group, affiliated to the International 2½, that they commence together with us a determined fight for all those interests of the workers betrayed to Horthy by the Vanczak-Peyer clique, now dominating the Hungarian labor-movement.

We called upon them for collaboration on the basis of the following program:

1. A fight for an amnesty extending to all political prisoners.
2. A fight for *universal suffrage*, for the right to vote of the poor peasants, the rural workers and working women and for unrestricted freedom of assembly, organization and the press.
3. A fight for the *downfall of the Vanczak-Peyer-Miakits pro Horlhy trade-union bureaucracy* and the final driving out of these traitors from the labor movement.

If the Garamis and Kunfis accept this cooperation we will soon be able to tear the majority of the Hungarian proletariat from the grip of the White Social Democracy. If they do not accept it, the development will be slower but more fundamental—the downfall of the Peyer-Miakits clique will carry with it Garamis and Kunfi as well.

The International Seamen's Conference

by B. Pirelli.

** On the 11th and 12th of January an International Seamen's Conference called by the International Transport Workers' Federation took place in Hamburg. Its antecedent history is very interesting. As is already known, the secretary of the English seamen, Havelock Wilson, whose union formerly belonged to the I.T.W.F. left this organization and founded a separate seamen's International (I.S.F.) The peculiar conditions under which the seamen live are such as to intensify the close corporative spirit among them. That is what Wilson took advantage of when he founded the International. At first several organizations of the Scandinavian countries and of Belgium also joined this International, but these organizations remained at the same time in the I.T.W.F. Then the fight between the I.T.W.F. and the I.S.F. broke out. Of course this fight was in no way one of principles or of fundamental differences of opinion, for both of these organizations are now as heretofore based upon the idea of class-cooperation and are opposed to the revolutionary class-struggle. The conflict arose purely out of competition between two bureaucratic groups for the domination of the seamen's organizations and finally reduced itself to a quarrel between Edo Fimmen and the secretary of the I.S.F., Havelock Wilson, over the control of the organizations. If we disregard the personal quarrel of these two leaders, the revolutionary transport workers naturally side with I.T.W.F. because under no circumstances can we support the separatist movements of the seamen.

Another reason for calling this conference was the well known memorandum of the German Seamen's League. In this memorandum the League calls upon all the seamen of every country to form an international organization in the interests of the seamen. The secretary of the I.T.W.F. therefore had to settle with both of these tendencies, right and left. He succeeded in finding a weapon which he very skillfully applied at the conference. At the time when Stinnes was in London, Havelock Wilson conferred with him and sought his influence in establishing close cooperation with the German seamen. This is what Fimmen took advantage of with the aid of the representatives of the German transport workers in order to draw the vacillating seamen's organizations out of the I.S.F. A radical resolution, full of revolutionary phrases and condemning Wilson's activity, was passed. Fimmen thus hoped to win over the revolutionary seamen also, and in this way to foil the plan of the German Seamen's League. It must be said that very few seamen participated in this conference; the largest English, French and Italian organizations were not present. As for the German seamen, only the Seamen's Section of the German Transport Workers' League took part, and to our knowledge, this section comprises only a small portion of the German seamen. The German Seamen's League, the revolutionary syndicalist organization, which at present has a membership of over 12,000, was not admitted to the conference. Under these circumstances Fimmen would perhaps have succeeded in winning an apparent victory over the left and right organization. But this was prevented by the activity of the International Transport Workers' Propaganda Committee which had joined the Red Trade Union International. At the request of the International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers the representatives of the All-Russian Transportation Workers' League, of the Bulgarian transportation workers and those of the German Seamen's League were delegated to this conference. These three organizations represented twice as many transport workers than did the whole conference. Fimmen knew only too well that should these representatives participate in the conference, he would not be able to carry out

his plans which sought to defeat the German Seamen's League. He therefore moved that these delegates should not be admitted to the conference under the pretext that it was a conference of member-organizations exclusively, and that guests were not to be admitted at all. He succeeded with this manoeuvre also, but he will find it mighty hard now to camouflage the actual splitting plans of Amsterdam with the phrases of the resolution which was passed at the conference.

The delegates from these organizations which were not admitted to the conference issued the following call in the revolutionary press of Hamburg:

Transportation Workers of all Countries!

The Trade Union splitters are at work! If we examine the press of those organizations which belong to the Amsterdam International, we become aware of the fact that more than one-half of its content deals with the supposed wish to split on the part of the Red Trade Union International. Very little time is therefore left to the organs of the Amsterdam Trade Union Movement for the real fight against capitalism. The millions of readers of the labor press, who are thus daily and hourly told these stories, must actually believe that the Red Trade Union International was created for no other purpose than dividing the workers, confusing them and cleaving their organizations apart.

But what is really the truth of the matter? Wherever and whenever a testing situation comes up, and we do not speak here of empty phrasemongering, we see that the very same gentlemen who from morning till night are accusing us of wanting to split the workers, and who continually talk of the necessity of an united was the Amsterdammers who thwarted the sincerest endeavors with their desire for a split.

A good example and proof of this is the present situation in France. There the great majority of the trade-unionists were against the split. This unequivocal will of the majority which was embodied in the left wing of the French trade-union movement, was overridden by the adherents of the Amsterdam wing. It was comrade Lozovsky, the general secretary of the Red Trade Union International, who proposed to Amsterdam to cooperate in preventing the split in the French trade-unions. But it was the Amsterdammers who thwarted the sincerest endeavors with their desire for a split.

Another example of how the shouters for unity in the trade-union movement actually prevent such unity is the conference of the International Transport Workers which has just adjourned in Hamburg. A small group of trade-union leaders come together, and want to make the world believe that they represent the Transport Workers' International. Isolated from the world, and behind closed doors, this small group convenes and is absolutely disregarded by the seamen of most countries. The representatives of large organizations, which could have lent this puny convention the character of a real congress, were not admitted. A representative of the German Seamen's League, which represents the great majority of German seamen, was refused admission. The representatives of the Bulgarian Transport Workers, who made the long trip to Hamburg in order to confer with the comrades of other countries upon ways and means of halting the capitalist offensive, were not admitted. The same thing happened to the authorized representative of the All-Russian Transport Workers' League.

In this manner the gentlemen, who never tire of ascribing to us the intention of causing a split every day and every hour override the will of the millions of transport workers for the establishment of a united front. In this manner they do everything to prevent the realization of an united proletarian will. The reasons for these actions become clear to every transport worker. To these gentlemen it is only a question of retaining their quickly vanishing influence. They know very well that the moment the Red Trade Union International succeeds in getting into closer connection with the trade-union members, their regime and their influence will be a thing of the past.

Transport Workers of the World!

We summon you to protest against this intentional sabotage of the united proletarian front. Show these boycotters of the united front that you will no longer permit them to override your efforts for a united front of transport workers. Tell the Amsterdammers determinedly: "Up to this point but no further!" Only your

own will can compe the Amsterdam trade-union leaders to carry out your endeavours for a united front of all transport workers, and it is your own will that can drive them out if they refuse to stop their sabotage.

The German Seamen's League.
All Russian Transport Workers' Union.
Bulgarian Transport Workers' Union.

Of course the International Propaganda Committee of the Red Transport Workers will expose the plans of the Amsterdamers and the masses of transport workers and seamen will know what to do with their leaders. We hope to be able to call an International Transport Workers' Conference in the near future. At this conference the seamen of all countries will be able to discuss and carry out the organization measures necessary for the creation of a professional seamen's international organization within the Transport International.

On the Eve of the Congress of the Italian Syndicalist Union.

by Pippo.

In a few weeks the Congress of the Italian Syndicalist Union (U.S.I.) will take place. As our comrades already know, the U.S.I. has joined the Red Trade Union International, though in a somewhat unclear and uncertain manner. From the position that A. Borghi, General Secretary of the U.S.I., has taken lately, it can be assumed without necessity of further proof that he would like to see the Red Trade Union International on the rocks.

A few months ago, after the Moscow Congress, the Congress delegates of the U.S.I., in conjunction with Comrades Gennari and Terracini, issued a declaration in which they pledged themselves on their return to Italy to concentrate their activities on influencing the U.S.I. to adopt the proposition of the Italian Communist Party concerning the building of the united proletarian front. However, hardly had these elected representatives returned to Italy, when the General Secretary of the U.S.I. began a series of speeches in which he did nothing but sling mud at the men and institutions of Soviet Russia.

In contrast to this, the Syndicalist Vecchi, the secretary of the Verona Chamber of Labor, has consistently fought to have the U.S.I. join Moscow unreservedly, and to have it adopt the proposal of the Italian Communists. The "International", the organ of the Verona Syndicalists, wrote the following on this proposal:

"Concerning the proposition of the general strike, we wish to say that a part of the Communist Party has obtained declarations of approval in large numbers from the masses of revolutionary workers. And how are we really to get out of our present miserable situation?

"There are two ways. The first is to follow the lead of the Federation of Labor, and, in part, of the Socialist Party, to put the Chamber of Deputies in a position to influence the legal powers according to their ideas, and to obtain an armistice with the now dominating Fascisti. The second way is the contrary method of forcing the fight against the Fascisti on an issue, and of using as weapons only those means that can be drawn from the natural strength of the proletariat."

Relative to affiliation to the Red Trade Union International, the following observation of the same paper should be noted:

"We read in the last number of the "Proletarian" (Chicago), that the representative of the I.W.W. to the Berlin Congress of the Opposition of the Revolutionary Syndicalist International, has been openly repudiated by the Executive Committee of the I.W.W...."

In every number of this paper there are polemics against the "Class Struggle", the central organ of the Italian Syndicalist Union, which prints the anti-Bolshevik utterances of A. Borghi.

For us Communists the Congress is made interesting by the fact that there are two different tendencies within the camp of the which will uncompromisingly clash when they come together at the conference.

There are, perhaps, some who expect a split, as, for instance, Enrico Malatesta, who has placed the anarchistic organ "Umanita Nova" at Borghi's service. We want no split. We only want the adoption of Vecchi's standpoint, so that the Italian Syndicalist Union can finally join the General Confederation of Labor, in order that the Syndicalists and Communists can conquer the leading organisations of the Italian proletariat and cleanse them of all the lackeys of the Italian bourgeoisie, such as D'Aragona and Baldesi.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Situation in the French Party

by P. Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

"It is wrong to speak of a crisis in the French Party. The truth is, that the situation created at Tours was simply cleared up at the Congress of Marseilles, and the resignation of Loriot, Treint, Amedée Dunois and myself have been an effort at clarification not at scission. The Congress of Marseilles was divided into two parts, one the discussions and the vote upon the theses, the other devoted to considerations of general policy and the nominating of the Central Committee. There is little to say of the first part. The debates proceeded quietly—often showing remarkable proof of personal effort on the part of the little known militants. Thus the discussions of the agrarian theses, profitable to all, revealed a keen vitality among the peasant sections of the Party, furnishing the latter a solid foundation for recruiting and propaganda. A surprising divergence of views was revealed during the discussions of the theses on national defense, but this will certainly surprise our foreign comrades more than ourselves—alas!

Fulfilling a long felt need, a number of theses were voted on—the trade-unions, on woman labor, on agrarian propaganda, on the cooperatives, on national defense and on electoral policy.

The second part of the Congress was far less satisfactory. The most complete obscurity presided at the debates on general policy and the voting for the Central Committee. For a very small minority on the Left and the Right, the aims were clear. In these circumstances victory would be on the side of those who would take the initiative and thus impose their will on the disordered mass of delegates.

One may truly say that this part of the Congress was in complete obscurity. The common error, deliberate or unwitting, of the various tendencies, was to do nothing that might throw light on the situation. I tried, on my part, to define with indulgence what I considered the spirit of the Right, a heritage from the old Party, and thus invited a debate of ideas. Frossard, I was sorry to see, refused to follow me on this ground.

Thenceforth all surprises were to be expected. The debates on policy were hidden behind the discussions on a single individual: Boris Souvarine. In this narrowed debate the guiding lines of policy were soon entangled. How could a delegate little informed on party matters realize, after all he had been told, that by electing Loriot with a large majority to the Central Committee, and by excluding Boris Souvarine from it, he was voting at the same time for and against the same policy?

And how could he find his bearings in voting a motion which maintained Boris Souvarine in the Executive at Moscow after having excluded him from the Central Committee of the French Party while there was nothing he could be reproached with as member of the Central Committee—being attacked only as delegate to the Executive?

Where could this delegate see a powerful leadership in a Central Committee comprising at one and the same time old Communists and allies of the eleventh hour who fought stubbornly against us at Tours?

Most of the delegates at Marseilles carried away with them the impression of some nightmare, feeling themselves victims of passion-created manoeuvres which they did not understand.

Nothing was more natural than our desire after the exclusion of Souvarine to shed light on this lasting obscurity. We had been a minority in the outgoing Central Committee and were beaten on every important question that came up in the last three months. One may approve or condemn the method we chose—that of resigning. That is a matter of opinion. What is more important, however, than our attitude at Marseilles is our attitude during the months to come. Those who resigned think that the Central Committee of the Party is more homogenous without them. It represents better the tendency made evident at the Congress of Marseilles.

We ardently hope that its attitude will deceive our apprehensions and we are all ready to aid it in the truly Communist policy which it pretends to follow.

We want before all else a strong and active International; an international disciplined Communist Party. We do not desire, as some others do, to "annex tomorrow the International to the French Party". We consider this pleasintry unworthy of a Communist.

The members who resigned take their place in the ranks not in order to launch into sterile personal polemics, but in order to make their own attitude more precise and to work out of the

linelight, but stubbornly, toward the development of a theoretical basis of which the Party stands in great need.

The Communist Party remains stronger and more united than ever—the vanguard of the proletariat for the difficult hours that are approaching.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Soviets and Soviet Congresses Who Governs Russia?

by X (Moscow).

** The nine All-Russian Soviet Congresses mark important stages in the development of the Russian Revolution.

It is useful to indicate their principal characteristics and labors.

First Congress (13-14 July, 1917).

1090 delegates, 822 with a deciding vote, 268 with a consultative voice. Socialist Revolutionaries: 585; Mensheviks: 248; Bolsheviks: 105; Internationalists: 32; United Social Democrats: 10; Jewish Bund: 10; Plekhanov Group: 3; Socialist Populists: 3; Laborites: 5; Anarchist Communists: 1.

Resolutions adopted: on the financial resources of the Soviets; on the Bolshevik manifestations; on the Congress; on the attitude towards the Provisional Government; on the agrarian question and land-committees; on the Ukrainian question; on antisemitism; on the war.

Second Congress (26-27 October, 1917).

676 delegates, the majority being Bolsheviks and Left Socialist Revolutionaries.

Seizure of Power.

Resolutions on the Workers' and Peasants' Government; on peace; on land socialization; on the abolition of capital punishment; on the formation of an army by the Revolutionary Committees.

Third Congress (10 January, 1918).

Over 1000 delegates, chiefly Bolsheviks and Left Social Revolutionaries.

Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly approved.

Declaration of the Rights of Labor adopted.

Fourth Congress (Special session—March 14, 1918).

Over 1000 delegates. Bolsheviks: 64 %.

Ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

Fifth Congress (4-10 July, 1918).

1116 deciding votes. Bolsheviks: 773; Left Social Revolutionaries: 353; Right Social Revolutionaries: 1; Maximalists: 17; Anarchists: 4; Internationalists (Social Democrats): 14; Dashnak: 1; non-party: 10.

Insurrection of the Left Social Revolutionaries.

Resolutions on the policy of food provisioning; requisitions, formation of detachments for food provisioning; on the organization of the Red Army; on the Soviet Constitution.

Sixth Congress (6-9 November, 1918).

914 decisive votes. Communists: 829; Communist-Socialists: 71; Communist-Revolutionaries: 2; Communist-Populists: 2; Maximalists: 1; Social Revolutionaries: 6; non-party: 3.

Offer of peace to the Entente. Amnesty.

Resolution on the German Revolution; on revolutionary legality; on local Soviet administration (Committees of poor peasants and rural Soviets).

Seventh Congress (5-10 Dec., 1919).

1066 decisive and 1364 consultative votes. Immense Communist majority.

Appeal to the Red Army. (In connection with the victories gained on all fronts). Resolutions on peace; on oppressed nationalities; on the exclusion of Friedrich Adler; on food provisioning; on the fuel crisis, on Soviet enlightenment. Appeals to the Cossacks and peasants.

Eight Congress (22-29 Dec., 1920).

1728 decisive votes, 809 consultative votes.

Decisive votes: Communists: 1641; non-party: 114.

Appeal to the workers on the transition to the work of peace. Message to the Red Army: Resolution on the reduction of the Red Army. Address to the transport workers. Treaty between the Soviet Republics of Russia and Ukraina. Resolutions on economic conferences; on Soviet enlightenment; on the participation of women in the work of agricultural reconstruction; on the reestablishment of rural economy. Decree on large industry.

Decree ordering the fusion of various local economic organs.

Finally the Ninth Congress which opened on the 24th of December, 1921. Present 1819 delegates among them 1690 Communists.

In 1921 (first half) the Executive Committees of the Russian Soviets were composed as follows:

	Provinces	Districts
Men	95.1	97.8
Women	4.9	2.2
By Profession.		
Peasants	35.9	63.2
Workers	31.2	14.4
Clerks	23.0	16.2
Miscellaneous	9.9	6.2
By Political Organization.		
Communists	74.7	41.5
Non-Party	25.3	58.3
Other Parties	0.0	0.2
By Degree of Education.		
School education	79.0	80.8
Higher education	20.3	16.5
Illiterate	0.7	2.7

During the first half of 1921 provincial and district congresses were held in all Russia.

Their composition was as follows (in %):

	Provinces	Rural Districts	Urban Districts
	%	%	%
Workers	35.4	27.2	43.9
Peasants	15.4	29.5	10.7
Clerks	29.3	24.5	26.8
Doctors	1.1	1.1	2.4
Lawyers	0.9	0.1	0.0
Teachers	8.7	7.1	3.9
Technicians	2.8	1.3	2.0
Students	3.7	3.8	4.9
Miscellaneous	2.7	5.4	5.4

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

A Telegram from the R. T. U. I. to the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation
Oudegeest.

The conclusion of your telegram received. Your refusal to participate in an International Conference following the Unity Congress of the French trade-unions only proves that the Amsterdam International does not want unity but fears it. As for us we believe that an agreement is possible in France now more than ever on the basis of the decisions of the Unity Congress.

signed: Lozovsky.

The Executive Committee of the R. T. U. I. to the Swedish Syndicalists

Dear Comrades.

** Your organization will shortly hold a referendum on whether or not to participate in the international trade-union movement. We hold that it is essential to explain those misunderstandings that have arisen among some of you in regard to the decisions of the R.T.U.I. Congress and shall do so in this letter.

Some of the active participants in the Swedish trade-union movement advocate the view that an international federation of revolutionary unions is not so imperative as it is made out to be. While not gainsaying the importance of a such a federation, they do not consider it as a vital necessity and an essential preliminary of a successful revolutionary struggle, and therefore prefer to remain aloof within their frontiers. This conception constitutes in our opinion a gross error, which seriously handicaps the revolutionary movement even within your country.

International consolidation of the bourgeois forces has after the war proceeded very rapidly. In spite of the irreconcilable conflicting interests the decay of Capitalism has caused throughout

the world, the capitalists of all countries are united when it comes to perpetuating the state of bondage the proletariat is living under. The swiftly spreading offensive of the capitalists represents an international action on the part of the bourgeoisie, following everywhere the one road towards the one aim. The bourgeoisie endeavors to exploit the disrupted state of the labor movement and the treacherous demeanor of the reformist leaders in an attempt at taking away from the proletariat the initiative and repealing those petty concessions the bourgeoisie had been obliged to concede under the pressure of the labor movement. Thus, the bourgeoisie hopes to lower the standard of living of the proletariat and chain the famished and desperate workers to the chariot of unheard-of exploitation.

The economic dependence of various countries upon each other has also been strengthened — a factor accounting for the general character of the present economic crisis. This crisis does not stay within the frontier of a given country, but affects one land after the other, everywhere causing unemployment and want, and an intensification of class antagonism. The bourgeoisie with due regard to this situation has everywhere adopted tactics directed by its united determination and its uniform aims.

He is merely a hopeless Utopian who maintains that under these circumstances a revolutionary battle can be fought to a successful finish by anything but a closely welded international organization. No matter how determined and well organized the 40,000 Swedish workers in your organization—their battles are but so much waste of energy and bound to fail, if conducted outside of an international organization.

What is an organization capable of warding off the attacks of Capitalism and of leading the proletariat in further struggles like?

It appears that in your ranks there are no adherents of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. Your organization was, if we mistake not, called into life because the revolutionary workers despaired of the policy of their reformist leaders who preached the community of interests between Capital and Labor instead of advocating a determined class struggle alike on a national and on an international scale.

There are, however, also certain doubts making you hesitate to affiliate with the R.T.U.I. which unites the entire revolutionary movement.

Some of you are still fighting shy of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat which constitutes the starting point of the program of the R.T.U.I. Such comrades think of the term "dictatorship" as of something absolute, something that never varies, no matter who its exponents — the landed interests, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat; they maintain that to strive for power is a nonsense contradicting the very principles of syndicalism. We think it superfluous to deal at length with and contradict opinions such as these which are apparently very revolutionary but upon closer examination reveal their altogether reactionary tendency. We merely wish to point out one thing. The Socialist system will know no state. But in order to cope in the coming struggles with the desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie, which will mobilize the whole state apparatus in this struggle, and in order to win through to Socialism, there is no other way than to seize that state apparatus and use it to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship during the transitional period. Not to acknowledge this means to play the game of the bourgeoisie and withhold from the proletariat its arms. Most of the syndicalists in all countries have recognized the imperative necessity for the struggle for the dictatorship. And we must say here once for all: he who has not yet gained this insight has become hidebound with the old formula and will learn nothing from the tremendous social upheaval mankind is undergoing at present.

But even among those syndicalists who have inscribed the slogan of the dictatorship upon their banners, there are differences of opinion as to ways and means to that end. The questions of the mutual relations between the Comintern and the R.T.U.I. on one hand and those between the revolutionary trade-unions and the Communist Parties on the other are heatedly debated. Here we must do away with a misunderstanding which is the principal reason why various syndicalists assume a sceptical attitude towards the R.T.U.I. The decisions of the R.T.U.I. Congress do not demand that the revolutionary trade-unions movement be subordinated under the Communist Parties, and the international organization under the Communist Parties, nor have such tendencies cropped out in the course of the entire activities of the R.T.U.I. A dependence such as that exists neither formally nor in actual mutual relations. The resolution of the Congress (which is the basis of the misunderstanding) speaks merely of the necessity for as close as possible union between all proletarian forces in their revolutionary struggle, which union involves rigid centralization and organizational unity between the various bodies of revolutionary labor, viz. the Communist Parties and the Red

Trade Unions. In the centre this bond has been established by reciprocal representation on the Executive Committees of both bodies. In various countries the forms of communication have been adapted to local circumstances and the prevailing situation. Can a revolutionary syndicalist, fully conscious of the necessity for a united struggle for the dictatorship, seriously complain of such arrangements? The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade-union movement differ both in regard to their organizational forms and their membership. Their aim, however—the Communist System—is the same and their battles follow the same direction. Can they who are confronted with one united front of adversaries conduct their actions independent of each other and in this manner render them useless if not worse? Every revolutionary worker will answer in the negative, his revolutionary experience and previous defeats urging him to that answer. It would indeed be a criminal waste of the energies of labor. And if the acknowledgment of that connection calls for certain alterations in syndicalist procedure as practised for years—is a course such as that not essential in view of the experiences of recent years, as for instance the war, the Russian and German Revolutions and the recent defeats you have suffered in your battle with Capital?

Another thing to startle the Swedish syndicalists is the decision of our Congress in regard to the tactics to be employed in the trade-union struggle. You have left the general trade-union movement of Sweden on account of its reformism. You are experiencing difficulties in comprehending the decisions of the Congress on the necessity of winning the trade-unions by working within them. You think that to affiliate with the R.T.U.I. would mean to acknowledge internationally principles which you have repudiated nationally.

To some of you it even appears that our activities are providing the Amsterdam International with an occasion to bring its influence to bear upon the R.T.U.I. from within; the same influence you endeavored to escape from by forming your organization. The contrary is the case. Not Amsterdam is bringing influence to bear upon us by means of the old trade-unions are little by little conquering the Reformist fortress from within. The majority of our Congress held the view that the revolutionary elements should not leave the millions of workers organized in the old trade-unions to the devices of their reformist leaders. We are tirelessly carrying our propaganda into those trade-unions, exposing the treacherous bureaucracy and directing and organizing the revolutionary indignation of the masses. It is manifest that in countries where (as for instance in Sweden) apart from the reformist unions there exist closely welded revolutionary organizations which are in close contact with the masses, there can be no question of dissolving such organizations. The R.T.U.I. follows attentively, and takes a lively interest in the growth of your organization, and is prepared to assist you with all means at its disposal. The necessity, however, for collecting all revolutionary elements in a given country, as dwelt upon above, renders it necessary that the R.T.U.I., in accordance with the decisions of its Congress, insist upon the necessity for the independent revolutionary organizations keeping in close touch with the revolutionary opposition within the old trade-unions. It depends upon the local conditions whether or not this contact shall lead to establishing joint committees of action or appointing commissions to solve certain tactical problems, or adopting other forms of cooperation. These problems must be solved by yourselves, together with representatives of the opposition. The fundamental difference between our International and the reformist federations is that we do not unite the workers' organizations in order to improve our sources of information or to adopt wordy resolutions on international solidarity, but with a view of getting them together for connected action in accordance with a uniform tactical plan. Differences of opinion on tactical questions cannot and should not be allowed to interfere with the united front.

That is the true purpose of those points in our policy to which you object.

Just as in other countries, in Sweden Capital is preparing for an offensive. The Swedish employers unite in order to attack the workers irrespective of what organization they may belong to. The offensive is carried on with a view of reducing the already low wages, extending the working hours and abolishing all those small advantages the Swedish proletariat has battled for during the last ten years. Under these circumstances it behooves the revolutionary vanguard of the Swedish workers to ward off the first onslaughts and march at the head of the army of defense. The broad masses of the Swedish syndicalist organizations are permeated with the revolutionary and internationalist spirit. Hence we hope that in the forthcoming referendum you will vote for the unity of the revolutionary phalanx of all workers. It depends upon your vote whether or not the syndicalist organizations will become small sectarian groups, sure to be defeated in

spite of their revolutionary sentiment, or will join the mighty tide of the Red Trade Unions getting everywhere ready for battle against the common enemy.

To deny the necessity for international unity would be equal to committing suicide. The sterile endeavors of the Berlin Conference to create a Syndicalist International would mean, as has ably been stated by one of your comrades, to declare war upon Moscow; it would constitute a crime against the united front of all revolutionary workers.

To affiliate with the R.T.U.I. means a consolidation of all forces, both within your country and throughout the world, a step on the road to Victory. The decision rests with you. We, however, trust that your class instinct and unity will guide you upon the right road.

For the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International
Lozovsky, General-Secretary.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Activity of the Berlin Sub-Bureau of the International Women's Secretariat

by *Hertha Sturm.*

** At the initiative of the Second Women's World Congress in Moscow last summer a sub-bureau of the International Women's Secretariat was created in Berlin in order to support the activities of the Moscow Secretariat.

The political leadership of the international women's movement, the decision on fundamental problems, the starting of international actions, remained of course in the hands of the International Women's Secretariat which carries on all its activities in close cooperation with the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The tasks of the sub-bureau were mainly of an organizational and technical character. It had to gather and to arrange reports and material on the Communist women's movement of the various sections of the Communist International and so send them to the International Women's Secretariat. Furthermore it had to furnish all sections in the various countries with material, directions and decisions from Moscow and to supervise the putting into practice of the theses and resolutions of the International Women's Congress and of the World Congress of the Communist International. Thus the sub-bureau was to be the connecting link between Russia, both the heart and the brain of the World Revolution, and the West European countries. By scrutinizing the actual state and the development of the Communist women's movement in the western capitalist countries and by furnishing concrete knowledge of conditions it had to create a solid basis for the future activities of the international women's movement.

How far these tasks have been fulfilled by the Berlin Sub-Bureau will have to be decided by the Third International Women's Congress. Though the achievements may seem small compared to the immense amount of work which still remains to be done, though the part of the Berlin Sub-Bureau in the significant progress of the Communist women's movement in Western Europe may be only a very modest one, we may state after our experience of these few months that the institution of a Sub-Bureau has proved useful in creating quick and close connections between the Centre and the various sections, in exchanging information and experiences on practical problems. By these activities the Executive in Moscow was enabled in various cases to grant practical support to the sections. The Berlin Sub-Bureau has furthermore succeeded in gaining satisfactory material on the state of the women's movement in most countries of Western Europe, thus filling a gap which at the last International Women's Congress was commented upon as something deplorable.

Considering the part the international women's movement is now playing in the International we realise the immense importance of the Second International Women's Congress in giving the first impulse for the organising of wide-spread propaganda among the women. In our opinion the effects of this Congress are still being felt. The discussions of the Congress were mainly limited to the theses on the Communist women's movement, issued some time ago, and only very few new points of view were expressed; yet, the spoken word, the personal exchange of ideas and experiences and, above all, the experiences of the delegates in Soviet Russia were more convincing and inspiring than dead letters. This becomes obvious from the Communist women's papers and the women's supplements of the Communist organs. Articles and reports on the International Congress itself, on the liberation of women by the Proletarian Revolution, on the life of work-

ing women and children in Russia, on the educational activities of the Soviet Republic and pictures of Russian militant women occupy a large space. This becomes still more obvious from all reports of the sections on their activities among the women, from all meetings and conferences of women and from their participation in the relief campaign for Soviet Russia.

In those countries where already before the International Congress of the problem of the women's movement had been discussed, no conference or meeting of women took place without the decisions and directions of the International being utilised as the basis for extended and intensified activities among the masses of the proletarian women, for a more practical organization of the propaganda among women, for the setting up of clearer aims.

In *Germany* special attention was paid to the work among the women in shops and trade-unions. By initiating and proposing discussion evenings for Communist women in all important parts of the country, and by preparing the publication of an simply-written pamphlet on all problems with which working women are concerned, our comrades endeavored to gain influence among the proletarian women in the shops and trade-unions.

The Communist movement in *Czecho-Slovakia*, which was heretofore split into national sections, was united and the separate Czech and German women's secretariats formed a united National Women's Secretariat. In order to provide better political information for the officials, our female comrades established an Information Bulletin which contains material on all actual and general political problems and will be instrumental in educating new leaders and speakers. Besides this Information Bulletin there are three Communist women's organs in *Czecho-Slovakia*.

In accordance with the resolutions of the International Women's Congress and of the World Congress our comrades in *Austria* had the National Director of propaganda among the women admitted as an accredited member to the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Austria. The Party Convention which will take place in March will have to pass a decision that the responsible leaders of women's propaganda in the districts and locals also become accredited members of their respective Party committees. Our Austrian comrades have furthermore started the publication of a Communist women's paper besides the existing weekly women's supplement of the Vienna "Rote Fahne".

In *Holland* a National Committee for propaganda among the women was formed, the chairman of which is allowed to take part in the sessions of the Party Executive. The first National Conference of Communist Women, which took place recently, decided upon the dissolution of the Revolutionary Socialist Women's League. The Communist members of the latter must join the Communist Party. In the meantime this decision has been put into practice and the organ of the League "De Voorbode" has been transformed into a women's organ of the Communist Party.

A still more rapid development of the Communist Women's Movement is to be perceived in those countries where nearly no beginnings of a movement existed before the International Women's Congress. This can especially be said of *France, England and Belgium*.

Under the leadership of the International Secretary, Lucie Colliard, our eager and devoted comrades in *France* have succeeded in creating a provisional committee. This committee elaborated a programme for propaganda among the women, took all necessary organisational measures for the setting up of a women's secretariat, gained assistance from the Party and convoked the first women's conference at Marseilles in conjunction with the Party Congress. We can state to-day that this Conference has proved very successful. The Conference as well as the report of Comrade Colliard at the Party Convention and the following adoption of the programme on the activities among the women, caused the French Communist Party to recognize the fact that the problem of propaganda among the women is a vital necessity for the Party. Furthermore some of our female comrades were elected members of the new Party Executive. One of them, Comrade Marthe Bigot, is the responsible secretary for agitation among the women. It was decided to start a women's magazine. The three columns in the "Humanité" which every week were devoted to women's propaganda, will be transformed into a regular "Women's Tribune". The complete results of these decisions will become evident in the coming months.

In *Great Britain* the results of the International Women's Congress seemed to be lost as the British delegate to the Moscow Conference, Norah Smythe, had left the Communist Party after the expulsion of Sylvia Pankhurst. Only recently the Berlin Sub-Bureau was informed by Comrade Dora Montefiore, who without success had repeatedly drawn the attention of the Party Exec-

tive to the problems of the women's propaganda, that now Comrade Crawford, an experienced and capable comrade, has been charged with this task. A detailed and clear plan which Comrade Crawford presented to the Sub-Bureau will be a guarantee for systematic and energetic work in Great Britain. The plan includes the creation of women's supplements in the Party papers, the publication of a women's magazine and of propaganda literature for the broad masses. A preliminary condition for the successful carrying through of these tasks, however, is, that in a session of the Party Executive with the comrades active in the work, the Party guarantees the organisational and financial support of the newly established women's secretariat.

In December 1921 in a meeting of the female Party members Comrade Kestemont has for the first time in Belgium developed the idea of forming a women's committee for Communist propaganda among women. In accordance with the theses of the International Women's Congress she emphasised the necessity of all Communist women taking part in the life of the Party with equal tasks and rights. Thus the danger of a separate women's organisation can be prevented. Among the practical demands she laid special stress on "social protection of women and mothers". As Comrade Kestemont, member of the Party Executive, immediately after the World Congress was charged by the Communist Party of Belgium with the task of providing material and information for the organisation of propaganda among the women, (in this connection getting into connection with the Berlin Sub-Bureau) we may hope that in Belgium a strong Section of the International Communist Women's Movement will develop in close co-operation with the Communist Party.

Though realising the great importance of the International Women's Congress for the movement we do not overestimate its influence. We are conscious that the international Communist women's movement develops in close correlation with the entire Communist International and that it may be considered as a measure of the maturity of the whole Communist Movement. If to-day, six months after the Second International Women's Congress and the Third World Congress of the Communist International, the Communist Women's Movement has become larger, clearer and better organised than before, this obvious development must be regarded as a result of the more united energies and more uniform tactics of the Communist International. In its approach to the realization of its slogans, "Go to the Masses" and "The United Front of the Proletariat" it is gathering greater and greater masses of proletarian women. The development of the Communist movement in every country and the enrolling of the women in the militant vanguard of the world proletariat depends to a large extent upon the consciousness of every Communist Party and up on the continuous intensification of class antagonism which in every country will show the necessity of a revolutionary struggle on a large scale.

In a following article we will try to give a summarising review of the net of Women's Agitation Committees in the International as well as on their connections with the Berlin Sub-Bureau.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

Report on the Results of the Workers' Relief Campaign for the Famine Stricken in Russia.

** In spite of the fact that the proletarian relief campaign for the starving Russian workers and peasants has been going on for over six months, it is being continued in most countries with undamped energy. In various countries — France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Holland, South Africa, America and Argentina — the campaign has been greatly stimulated as a result of the International Conference in Berlin. In all countries the Workers' Relief Committees have begun to make collections of clothing, shoes tools and other goods in addition to the collections of money. Germany alone has shipped 12 carloads of donated clothing and 15,000 pair of repaired shoes to Russia. Switzerland and Holland have shipped 5 and 7 carloads respectively. In France at the present time they are putting together an entire freight train which will transport the collected donations of the French workers via Metz and Saarbrücken to Stettin for transshipment to Russia.

According to the last reports to the International Committee for the Organization of Worker's Relief for the Famine Stricken in Russia (Berlin NW. 87, Wikingerufer 3), the total of the

collections of its various national committees has reached the respectable sum of over

150,000,000 marks.

The figures for the various countries are as follows:

	Marks
America (Friends of Soviet Russia, New York)	68,000,000
France	20,000,000
Holland	13,000,000
Sweden	8,000,000
Switzerland	7,600,000
Italy (Communist after split of Joint Committee)	5,000,000
Czecho-Slovakia (Communists after split of Joint Com.)	5,000,000
Norway	4,500,000
Germany	
Workers' Relief Committee	4,000,000
"Freie Arbeiter Union, Gelsenkirchen"	55,000
Jewish Workers' Relief Committee	20,000
England	4,000,000
Denmark	3,500,000
Argentina	2,000,000
South Africa	2,000,000
Bulgaria	1,500,000
Belgium	800,000
Spain	550,000
Luxemburg	30,000
Japanese Relief Campaign in Europe	30,000
Roumania (Socialist Party Brassov)	15,000

In addition to the above we have received a number of donations from private individuals, artists' committees, etc. Austria collected 2,500,000 Austrian crowns and Poland, 5,000,000 Polish marks.

With the money contributed we have made 18 shipments up to the present, consisting of 6000 tons of foodstuffs, 350 tons of clothing, shoes, tools, machines, etc., the entire equipment for 15 field kitchens and the complete furnishing for a children's home with food sufficient for several hundred children for 4 months. Further transports are being made up. The campaign is continuing and the undersigned committee urgently appeals to all workers' parties, trade-unions, cooperatives and individuals not to let up in their activity for Russia's starving workers and peasants.

The International Committee for the Organization of Workers' Relief for the Famine Stricken in Russia.

Willy Münzenberg, Secretary.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Amsterdam and Unity

The Communist Proposal and the Answer of the Socialist Believers in Compromise.

by W. Lada.

** The Communist International and the Red Trade Union International have appealed to Labor throughout the world to work untiringly for a united proletarian front both nationally and internationally in order to counter the ever-increasing misery of the proletarian masses.

Our antagonists have not been slow in utilising this proposal for a fresh anti-Communist campaign. The gentlemen of the International 2½ endeavor daily in their Berlin organ, the "Freiheit" to prove that the Communists "stealthily" approach the other organizations in order to make use of them for their ends. The friends of Jouhaux tell the few readers of the "Peuple" that this appeal is the best proof of Moscow's death and that it is endeavouring to avert certain defeat by deluding the workers anew. And the Social-Jingos of the Second International play the same tune.

The acme of the stupidity and baseness in this campaign against the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat has, however, been reached by the Secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, one Mr. Oudegeest. Formerly belonging to a Christian trade-union, and an unknown Dutch local official, Oudegeest has attained the position as leader of the Amsterdam International thanks to the conflicts between the nationalist French and German trade-union leaders. This gentleman is now dealing with Moscow, in lengthy articles which are being reprinted by the daily press of both the Second and the Second-and-a-Half International. He has nothing new to say, however, as we shall see.

Accusations and Counter-Proposals of Amsterdam.

In opening Oudegeest tells his readers that the R.T.U.I. is responsible for the split in France, because it did nothing to prevent the Christmas conference of the opposition, as Jouhaux urgently descried. That means that not those are responsible for the split in the movement who expelled the revolutionary masses from the trade-unions, but those who employed all organisational means to counter that move. And Moscow is alleged to be responsible because it endeavoured to avert the split by proposing to Amsterdam that the two factions should conclude a compromise, instead of advising the revolutionary opposition to give in without resistance to the people around Jouhaux (advice that could and would not have been followed). This reasoning resembles closely that of the Fraternity of St. Loyala at Vienna who maintained that Serbia had provoked the war by not complying with the harsh demands of the Austrian ultimatum.

Then comes the charge that the R.T.U.I. first accuses the Amsterdam leaders of being traitors to the cause of Labor and then proposes to those same leaders to meet its representatives, to discuss ways and means of forming an united front. Oudegeest himself goes on to say that Moscow itself thinks very lightly of what it terms "treason to Labor" concluding as it does agreements with representatives of Capitalism day after day. As regards the proposal to discuss about an united front Oudegeest counters with the advice to affiliate with Amsterdam and "joint conduct" the struggle against Capitalism.

Let us consider both.

First, how can an united front with Amsterdam be achieved?

The Communists brand the leaders of Amsterdam as traitors to Labor and shall continue to do as long as the latter adhere to their present policy. And yet we propose to them the discussion of ways and means of forming an united front of the proletariat. Why? Because the situation of the world and the position of Labor in it make such a course imperative. Because the masses of the workers strive for a united front. And because we calculate that the leaders must under the pressure from below call these masses to action. In spite of the antagonism we think it imperative to manifest against the treacherous policy of the leaders of Amsterdam, we cannot allow ourselves to overlook the sad but indisputable fact that the policy of those leaders unfortunately very often merely reflects the sentiment of certain sections of their rank and file. Decay of commerce and industry throughout the world, wide-spread unemployment, condemning millions of proletariat to a sorry life and a worse death, the wage reductions everywhere, lowering the standard of living of the masses beneath that of pre-war times and fixing it on the level of a Chinese coolie—there are the evil fruits of the Amsterdam policy, acknowledged as such, if against their wishes, even by themselves. Under these conditions Jouhaux, Thomas, Mertens, Leipart & Co., whose natural element is treason and petty bartering with the bourgeoisie, have no choice but call the masses to action against the latter. *And we, too, want to be there.* And in this we do not want to see the mass actions of Labor split, no matter how "dangerous" unity might appear to the leaders of Amsterdam! And there is another matter to be taken into consideration. If we propose to the leaders of Amsterdam to meet and consider joint mass actions, there are two courses open to the latter. They either accept our proposal and organize the necessary actions in conjunction with us, (in that case all our aims are realized and the rest will take care of itself) or the leaders fail us in this or that stage of the negotiations, and then we have made at any rate one step on the way towards a united front. For then at least part of the followers of Amsterdam will come to recognize which of the two policies is right, ours or that of their leaders, who are responsible for the division of Labor.

In consideration of the tremendous importance of this matter we shall endeavour to make it clearer yet in the following two examples.

Let us take for instance the campaign against war.

In the November Conference Amsterdam repudiated war and demanded of the miners, metal and transport workers, and if necessary of all other grades, that they should prevent war by crippling the industries serving it; if necessary, an international general strike was to be called for the same purpose. At the same time, however, and even after, the leaders of Amsterdam supported the disarmament fake of the bourgeoisie who, while fanning the flames of discord, boasts of its love and good will toward mankind.

Fimmen, the second secretary of the Amsterdam International has (entirely independent of us though with our approval) declared that the Washington "Disarmament" Conference is merely an attempt at throwing dust into the eyes of the

workers. Now one should not forget that the League of Nations and its Council consist of the business managers of the same imperialist world bourgeoisie whose representatives, under the cover of disarmament negotiations, set afoot imperialist intrigues and plots at Washington.

Nor has the League's Commission on Disarmament any other object than that of "throwing dust into the eyes of labor". While after two years of what it is pleased to term work the League of Nations in its January session came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to suggest to the various affiliated nations that their war budgets in the next two years should not exceed that of the current year (which decision is but mocking labor and a direct provocation!) the Executive Meeting of the Amsterdam Trade Union International decided in December "after a long debate" that its representatives should continue their roles in the Disarmament Comedy. That is the import of Amsterdam's struggle against war, armaments and imperialist reaction!

We, however, insist upon a genuine struggle against the threatening imperialist wars!

Another example—the fight against unemployment and for the solutions of the world-wide crisis in commerce and industry, a source of misery to the workers throughout the world. In the December issue of their official organ, "The International Trade Union Movement", the leaders of Amsterdam admitted that the bourgeoisie—and consequently all those cooperating with it in reconstructing the world on an economic basis—have failed completely in solving those problems. At the Labor Council at Geneva in November, and recently, at the January meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Labor Bureau, the leaders of Amsterdam advocated a solution, not by means of a struggle against the bourgeoisie, but by cooperating with it.

What we think of the Amsterdam counter proposals.

Our opinion in that respect is shortly told. The counter accusations are stupid, if not worse, the counter proposals downright shabby.

Neither Lozovsky nor Zinoviev, the representatives of the militant international proletariat, will go to Genoa to negotiate with representatives of the imperialist governments, but Chicherin, Litvinoff and Krassin, the spokesmen of the Russian proletariat that has gained a victory over the bourgeoisie and set up a Soviet Republic, but is nevertheless compelled to compromise with international capitalism, because European labor has not been able to cope with it. These comrades will confer as equals with the ministers of the European power in order to conclude a temporary agreement, always ready to take up arms once more, should they be compelled to do so. If the leaders of Amsterdam would be prepared to meet the ruling classes on a footing such as that, the unity of the proletariat would be something feasible.

With regard to the proposal that the "few millions" Russians in the R.T.U.I. join the 24 millions in the Amsterdam International, we can only say that to us it seems all that can be expected of a man with Oudegeest's intellectual horizon. The historical causes responsible for the creation of both bodies done away with in the wink of an eye and unity achieved—that is too good to be true! And on what platform should unity be accomplished? On that of cooperation with Mr. Thomas and the representatives of governments and employers in the Labor Bureau and in the League of Nations, and on the community of interest between Capital and Labor they advocate in their respective countries? Mr. Oudegeest does not say, and thus his proposal is nothing but a rather stupid joke.

Notice.

We call the attention of all editorial staffs to the fact that henceforth the articles and notices of our "Correspondence" are marked by an initial double star (**). We request that in reprinting the double star be printed as acknowledgement of source.

The Editors.