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On Co-operation

By N. Lenin.

The following article on Co-operation was written by Comrade Lenin on the 4th and 6th January of this year. Some days ago the article was published by Comrade Krupskaya, Comrade Lenin's wife, in the Moscow "Pravda".

I.

It seems to me that we are devoting too little attention to the Co-operative Movement. Everyone cannot grasp that now, since the October revolution, and unprejudiced by the New Economic Policy (on the contrary, in this respect we must say: thanks to the New Economic Policy) co-operation has attained a unique significance in Russia. The founders of the old co-operatives mingled much imagination with their dreams. They have often been ridiculously imaginative people. And why have their dreams been mere imaginings? Because these people have never grasped the fundamental significance of the political struggle of the working class for the overthrow of the exploiting class. Here in Russia this overthrow has been accomplished, and much that appeared fantastic, or even extravagantly romantic, in the dreams of the oldco-operators, has become a complete reality.

Here in Russia, where state power is in the hands of the working class, where all means of production are the property of the state, the sole task remaining to us has been the real co-operative alliance of the population. Once given the prerequisite of a maximal co-operation of the population, that socialism which hitherto, and rightly, evoked at most an indulgent smile from those who were convinced of the necessity of class struggle of the struggle for political power, etc. has obviously attained its end. But none of our comrades are taking sufficient account of the fact that co-operation has acquired enormous significance in Russia. With the New Economic Policy we made concessions to the peasant, to the merchant, to the principle of private trade; contrary to what is generally supposed, precisely this gives rise to the immense importance of co-operation. All that we essentially need is the union of the Russian population on a sufficiently broad co-operative basis during the rule of the

New Economic Policy; for we have now attained such a degree of unification of private commercial interests, of their supervision and control by the state, and of their subordination to the interests of the general public, that we may claim to have realized what was formerly a stumbling block to very many socialists. For is not the actual power of the state over all the most important means of production, this state power in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with many millions of peasants and small holders, the secure and leading role of the proletariat in relation to this peasantry, etc.—is this not all that is required to enable us to build up, with the aid of co-operation, solely with the aid of that co-operation which we formerly treated as petty shopkeeping, and which we may still so treat, from one point of view, under the New Economic Policy, the complete structure of socialist society? This co-operation is not in itself the structure of socialist society, but it is everything that is required for this structure.

It is precisely this circumstance which is under-estimated by many of our practical functionaries. Co-operation receives too little attention from us; its extraordinary importance is not realized, first and foremost, in relation to the means of production as state property, and secondly, with regard to the transition to a new order on the simplest, easiest, and (for the peasantry) best attainable lines.

And just this is the main point. It is one thing to indulge in all sorts of imaginings about labor associations for building up a socialist structure, but it is another matter when it comes to practically building up this socialism so that every small holder may have his share in it. (We have already reached this stage. There is no doubt whatever but that we, having reached this stage, are not making full use of it.)

We were too hasty at the time of our transition to the New Economic Policy, not in the sense that we granted too great concessions to the principles of private industry and free trade, but in the sense that we forgot to think of co-operation, which we still under-estimate, and whose tremendous significance,

in relation to the two sides of this question mentioned above, we are already beginning to forget.

I want next to discuss with my readers what can and must be done now, practically, starting from this "co-operative" principle. Along what lines can and must we now set to work, in order to so develop this co-operative principle that its socialist significance becomes clear to everyone?

Politically, the co-operative question should be so treated that co-operation is not only granted, always and everywhere, certain facilities, but these facilities must be purely financial. (Amount of bank rate, etc.) Co-operatives must be supported by state credits exceeding—if not greatly, at least somewhat—those granted to private undertakings or even the heavy industry.

Every social order owes its existence solely to the financial support of a certain class. It is not necessary to mention those hundreds and hundreds of millions of roubles which the birth of "free" capitalism cost. But we must not forget it, and in actual practice we must realize that at the present time the social order to which we are to lend more than the average meed of support must be a co-operative order. And we must support it in the true sense of the word, that is, it is not sufficient if we understand by such support the support of any co-operative enterprise; by this support we must understand the support of a co-operative enterprise in which real masses of the population participate. If it is no doubt a correct formula to give a bonus to the farmer who takes part in co-operative enterprise. But his participation must be examined with respect to its consciousness and quality—that is the main point in question. When the co-operative member comes to a village, and opens a co-operative store there, the population has no share in this, strictly speaking. But for the sake of its own advantage it will speedily endeavour to have one.

There is therefore another side to the question. From the viewpoint of the "civilized" European (above all from that of everybody who can read and write) we have not far to go before every single individual can be induced to participate in co-operative operations, not merely passively, but actively. Actually there is "only" one further step necessary: to render our population so "civilized" that it will realize all the advantages of personal participation in the co-operative, and proceed to participate. "Only" this one step. But to realize this "only", implies a great stride forward, the covering of a wide stretch along the road of the cultural development of the whole mass of the people. Therefore we must make it our rule: as little philosophizing as possible, as little tomfoolery as possible. In this respect the New Economic Policy is a sign of progress in so far as it accommodates itself to the level of the lowest peasant, and demands nothing higher from him. But to utilize the New Economic Policy for the purpose of inducing the whole population, every separate individual, to take part in co-operation—this requires a whole historical epoch. We may pass through this epoch in one or two decades. But it will still be a distinct historical epoch, and without this historical epoch, without everyone's being able to read and write, without adequate insight, without having educated the population to the extent that all can make some use of books, and without having created the material basis for this, without a certain security, let us say, against bad crops and famine—without all this we cannot attain our end. Everything now depends on whether we can supplement that revolutionary élan, that revolutionary enthusiasm which we have so often successfully proved, by a capacity—I might almost say of acting like a sensible and experienced shopkeeper, which is all that is required from a good co-operator. By commercial capacity I understand the capacity to be a civilized business man. This distinction must be learnt by those Russian people who think: if one trades, that means that one possesses the qualities of a trader. This is entirely wrong. One must know how to trade in the European manner.

I conclude: A number of economic, financial and banking privileges for co-operation: this is the form to be taken by the support of the New Organization Principle by our socialist state. But this only draws the broad outlines of our task, for the whole actual contents of this task have not here been practically detailed; that is, we must understand how to find that form of "bonus" (and the conditions under which it is granted) which we shall accord to co-operation, the form of "bonus" which adequately aids co-operation, the form of bonus by the help of which we can educate civilized members of co-operatives. And the organization of civilized members of co-operatives, given common ownership of the means of production on the basis of the class victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie—this is socialisation.

(To be concluded.)

POLITICS

The Events in Bulgaria

By E. A. Buck.

News arrived recently, that the government had been overthrown in Bulgaria. In order to gain a better idea of the causes of this overthrow, a retrospect of Bulgarian conditions is necessary. The fallen Stambolisky government was formed of members of the agrarian party (Peasants' League). The majority of the members of this party are small farmers. It was as a party of small farmers that it took over power, with a program promising the peasants reduction of taxes, distribution of land to small holders and landless peasants, limitation of exploitation by commercial capital, extension of the rights of the people and of self-administration in the municipalities and rural districts, securing of peace, etc.

The agrarian federation government began its rule with the ideology and policy of a petty bourgeois party, that is, with half measures. Many of the social laws and reforms go but half way; they have disappointed the small farmers, and given them little or nothing.

Despite all his demonstrative hostility towards the bourgeois parties of the country, Stambolisky's struggle against the bourgeoisie was half-hearted. He persuaded himself that with his big farmers' party he could fight against both right and left at the same time. He persecuted the bourgeois politicians and the communists with the same bloody terror. By his suffrage laws and police measures he prevented the bourgeoisie coming into possession of power again, but at the same time he frustrated all attempts made by the workers and poorer peasantry to improve their position. This intermediary position became untenable in the course of time; either the government was in favor of the poor peasantry and workers, and thus prepared for a complete revolution, or it was against them, and thus served reaction, despite the comedy of the trial of the war criminals.

The first great action undertaken by the agrarian government was the bloody suppression of the transport workers' strike. During this strike, the Communist Party was outlawed. Thousands of communists and strikers were sentenced under martial law and brutally ill-treated. Many were shot. The labor press was suppressed.

The taxation policy pursued by this government was as bad, or even worse, than that of its predecessor. The indirect taxes were raised twentyfold. On the other hand direct taxation as well as taxes on land, were raised but very little. In its agrarian policy, Stambolisky's government accomplished nothing. It confiscated land belonging to a few large landowners—supporters of antagonistic big bourgeois parties—but not for the purpose of distributing it among landless peasants, but for subsequent allotment to leading members of the federation. In its social policy it accomplished even less. It introduced a legal obligation to work for the state, but the rich could purchase exemption from this obligation. It was only the petty bourgeoisie and the working masses who suffered under this obligation to work. The eight hour day has been done away with. Strikes have been suppressed by the government by every available means.

The medium and big farmers belonging to the agrarian federation have been enabled to enrich themselves by utilizing their power in their own favor; they form the new village bourgeoisie and are the rulers and leaders of the policy pursued by the agrarian government. Thus the agrarian federation represented the interests and the policy of the village bourgeoisie. This was the beginning of the process of disintegration within this party. The struggle carried on by the bourgeois parties allied in the national bloc often assumed severe forms. The agrarian government adopted the tactics of attacking its opponents one by one. After it had attempted, in 1920, to crush the C.P. with the help and approval of the bourgeois parties, it followed this up by directing its whole rage against the parties of the national bloc. The whole of the bloc leaders were put into prison. This took place under the pressure of the masses, who demanded that those guilty of the war and of the collapse of the country should be tried before a people's tribunal.

Stambolisky's government let the officials starve. The whole state apparatus was almost brought to a standstill by the continued dismissals of experienced officials and their substitution by totally inexperienced employees with nothing further to recommend them than their adherence to the agrarian federation.

In this way higher and lower officials were rendered more and more dissatisfied.

A few months ago a number of anarchists were butchered by the agents of the government. After Stambolisky had utilized the anarchists for the defeat of his enemies, he recognized that the anarchists were dangerous to himself. Therefore he had them brutally slaughtered at a meeting. More than 30 men were dragged to a barracks, and shot under martial law during the night.

The Macedonians were also adversaries of Stambolisky's government. The first Balkan war wrested Macedonia from the Turks, the second Balkan war placed it under Serbian rule. During the world war, Bulgaria received the Macedonian district back again. The peace of Neuilly brought it under Serbian dominion once more. The national Macedonian movement is not agreeable to the Serbian rulers. Serbia demanded from Stambolisky that he suppress this movement. Stambolisky followed this hint, had the leaders of the movement arrested, prohibited their newspapers, and disarmed the Macedonian bands present in Bulgaria. The leadership of the Macedonian bands is mainly in the hands of the bourgeois parties of the national bloc.

The internal policy pursued by the agrarian government has been weak and brutal. It has been based on arbitrariness and terror. The self-administration of municipal and rural councils has been completely destroyed. All municipal parliaments which were in the hands of the communists were dissolved, plundered and administered by officials commissioned by the government. The suffrage laws were so altered, that opposition parties found it extremely difficult to obtain access to parliament, and an absolute majority was secured for the government. At the last elections, the Communist Party received about 220,000 votes, the bourgeois bloc about 200,000, and the government parties about 500,000. Despite this proportion of votes, the Communist Party and the bourgeois bloc only received 16 seats, but the government party 213—and this quite apart from the Terror, which will for all time remain a classic example in the internal political history of Bulgaria. Corruption and usury have been in full bloom during Stambolisky's government.

Fascism, lauded by the national bloc as a weapon against the Communist Party, has been wholeheartedly supported by Stambolisky's government. In 1921, the Fascists destroyed the People's House in Sofia, under the protection of the police. The Fascists have been chiefly influenced by the bourgeois bloc. This founded several secret organizations of active and reserve officers, and provided these liberally with money. Many of the leaders of Fascist organizations have been in Stambolisky's service, and have utilized the influence lent them by their position for the purpose of contriving plots against him.

To those thoroughly cognizant of the state of affairs in Bulgaria, the downfall of Stambolisky's government was no great surprise. This overthrow was intended to be brought about last year by the bourgeois parties, with the aid of the counter-revolutionary forces of the Wrangel army still in Bulgaria. This plan was discovered in time by the Communist Party, and frustrated by mass demonstrations. But this time the conspirators have acted more astutely and systematically.

The expected conspiracy came; it was the work of the Macedonians, of the bourgeois politicians, of the national associations, and of former active officers. The rebels took Sofia by a systematically executed plan, the soldiers went over to them, and the self-defence organizations of the agrarian party and the police were defeated. Stambolisky's government was replaced by a coalition government under Zankov. Representatives of all bourgeois parties have seats in this government, as also a social democrat, who belongs to this company. The Bulgarian social democrats, as is well known, are a diminutive group without influence. The government rules at least over the capital city and over the official telegraph agency. It employs this last for the distribution of unlimited falsehood; thus we receive from Sofia the report that the leader of the Bulgarian communists has promised allegiance to the new government. This one report may serve as a criterion for the credibility of the others.

Who are the men at the head of the new government? In the main they are representatives of all the bourgeois parties united in the bourgeois bloc, and of the social patriots. They are men little known in political life, mere figure-heads behind which the leaders of the bourgeois parties conceal themselves. The new government, in the declaration in which it introduces itself to the world, promises the restoration of democracy, of peace and order—and always in the name of democracy. The same men who seized power, by means of violence and conspiracy, without having the people with them, and whose past is a record of reactionary deeds—these same men speak of democracy! A

proof that democracy merely serves as mask for all reactionary parties.

For a comprehension of the further events it is necessary to know the attitude which will be taken by the masses of the population with regard to the new government. The agrarian federation is not a firmly disciplined organization, one which could undertake definite steps on its own initiative. Should the new government have been successful in placing the leaders of the agrarian federation under lock and key, it will master the situation with ease. The masses of the peasantry who backed up Stambolisky are incapable of grasping the initiative for any serious resistance. The news so far received from Bulgaria goes to show that many of the leaders of the agrarian party have fled, and are already beginning to organize a resistance. Thus civil war would appear to be inevitable in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Communist Party can naturally not remain a mere spectator of all these struggles. In no case can it support the new government of the parties of the Right, for this can only bring with it increased misery, fresh burdens of taxation, continuation of the Terror, and suppression of every revolutionary movement. On the other hand, the Bulgarian Communist Party can take no hand in any action likely to restore Stambolisky's party to power. The masses of peasants are turning in disappointment from Stambolisky's government, and are centering their hopes in the Communist Party. They are preparing to join forces with the working masses of the towns for a common struggle. In this situation the Communist Party will place the question of the workers' and peasants' government in the foreground—of that workers' and peasants' government which is alone able to improve the position of the working masses in town and country, and to guard the country against Fascism and War.

"Travkin" and "Ryvkin" in the Ruhr area — or the Pleasantries of Curzon's German Disciples

By Karl Radek.

(Moscow, June 7, 1923.)

Many comrades, having learnt from the newspapers that I have been defying all laws of physics, and have been able to be simultaneously in Berlin and in the Ruhr area, conducting the strike, have called me to account for this remarkable occurrence. But as this remarkable occurrence is a state secret, I shall make no further mention of it here, but promise to deliver a lecture on it, either in the Grand Opera House or in the Simin Theatre. In order to raise the curiosity felt by all comrades for this Berlin-Ruhr miracle to a even higher degree, I may further say that the London correspondent of the "Vossische Zeitung" has been informed by the English Foreign Office that there is not the slightest doubt as to the occurrence itself, the only question is whether I have been conducting the strike on the orders of the French or of the Soviet government. I leave it to our comrades to rack their brains for the solution of this problem of revolutionary necromancy, and shall proceed to relate how Lord Curzon's agents called into being those adherents of the Communist International and Soviet Russia, Comrades Travkin, Ryvkin, Mandelstamm, Ida Rummel, etc., and how these have had to depart for another world after a very brief span of existence.

When Lord Curzon started his campaign against Bolshevist Russia, his first act was to seek allies. It is well known that the Commander in Chief of the British army, the Earl of Cavan, made his appearance in Warsaw. But lords are not sent nowadays to Berlin in order to seduce it, but rather beautiful girls or spies. Lord Curzon's spies, who generally call themselves journalists—Madame Stan Harding, the spy whose sufferings in Soviet prisons are being so chivalrously advertised by Lord Curzon, was also a journalist—at first found themselves on very unfavorable soil in Germany. When Lord Curzon dispatched his note to Soviet Russia, he simultaneously sent another one to Germany, and in this note the noble lord declared that the hopes raised by certain romantic individuals among the German bureaucracy and bourgeoisie, that England would help Germany against France, were entirely unfounded; that on the contrary he, Lord Curzon, would permit Poincaré to loof Germany at will, so long as Poincaré approved of his campaign against Soviet Russia. But here, Providence stepped in. The great miners' strike began in the Ruhr area. The miners have been praised as national heroes, but their wages have not been raised since the beginning of February. The strike, led by the Communists, spread rapidly, and threatened to extend over the whole area. The liberal English journalists saw

the hand of France in this strike, and talked of an alleged agreement between the German communists and French imperialism. The German bourgeoisie, which is always ready to come to an understanding with French imperialism, joyfully seized upon these rumours, for they afforded a pretext for accusing the communists of national betrayal. Even that sinister gentleman writing for *The Times*, and hitherto regarded as a common liar in the eyes of the German press, on account of his reports on German armaments, was now accorded the honorable role of an informer, and was regarded as a credible witness by the German government and German public opinion. But this gentleman made the mistake of attacking France as the promoter of the Ruhr strike; this was not in the least the intention of the English Foreign Office, for the latter has only been anxious to come to an understanding with France at Germany's expense, and thus has no desire to excite the public opinion of the alarmed English bourgeoisie against France. Lord Curzon's organ, the *Daily Telegraph*, controverts the rumours regarding the role played by the French government in the organization of the Ruhr Strike. (*Daily Telegraph*, May 31.) This newspaper, and a number of other conservative papers, took care, however, to substitute these contradicted rumours by fresh ones, i. e., that the leaders of the strike were representatives of Soviet Russia.

The legend as to Soviet Russian leading the Ruhr strike was circulated by an English agency a few days after the Ruhr events. Through the agency of the English spies working in the German espionage organization — our readers may perhaps remember that we ascertained there was a connection between the agents of the German and English spy service—these reports reached the telegraphic agency of German heavy industry, the *Telegraphic Union*, and, what is stranger still, *Wolff's telegraph office*. There reports were concocted in the most absurd manner; it was asserted, for instance, that the communication service in the Ruhr area was carried on by *Moscow cyclists*. Just think, who could be better qualified for carrying on a communication service in the Ruhr area than *Moscow cyclists*. But of course mere imbecility was never a reason why reports should not be circulated by bourgeois agencies, especially by Wolff's agency. This Wolff's agency has always specialized in such intellectual efforts. But presently a notice appeared in one of the stupidest organs of German Fascism, a notice which was a perfect work of art: the strike leaders in the Ruhr valley are the Russian communists: Travkin (who does not know Travkin?!), Mandelstamm (as early as 1914, Prince Bülow declared that he would not permit a Mandelstamm to interfere in German affairs!), Timofeyev (if this is not the same Timofeyev at present in prison in Moscow, in any case the name has been well known all over the world since the trial of the social revolutionaries), etc. This report ran through the whole German press, and it is said that even various mighty personages in the Berlin Ministry of Foreign Affairs turned pale with alarm. For did this not mean that Travkin and Ryvkin had come to an understanding with Poincaré, and were helping him to conquer the Ruhr area, with a view to the subsequent conquest of Berlin? What will become of Berlin under the dictatorship of Travkin and Ryvkin, and of what use is the Rapallo agreement if it cannot protect Germany from the intrusion of such malicious elements? Needless to say, we did not believe for a moment that anybody in the ministry for foreign affairs really seriously believed in the reports on the terrible "Travkin" and "Ryvkin". The ministry of foreign affairs is by no means merely a debating society for reparation questions; rumour has it that in addition to this it is an organ for the government of the German republic, and what is easier for it than to telegraph instructions that the villains be seized by the collar and conveyed to Berlin, where it would have been possible to establish their existence beyond doubt.

But alas. The case was worse than that of the villain in Uspenski's well known Russian novel, who had no collar for the policeman to seize him by, for here the collar by which Curzon's German disciples had seized the unhappy "Travkin" and "Ryvkin" contained neither a Travkin nor a Ryvkin. These worthy comrades, who were so eminently successful in the Ruhr, have never existed at all, therefore it has been impossible to arrest them, and however much the enemies of Soviet Russia may desire it, they never will be arrested; for not only do they not exist in the Ruhr area, they do not exist on the planet. When the German telegraphic agencies reported the arrest of two Russian strike leaders in Dortmund, the communists there enquired at the police station, and ascertained that the men arrested, if such exist, are innocent people who have nothing to do with the strike. In the Ruhr area there live a great many one-time prisoners of war, and, if the worst comes to the worst, a Pole can be counted as a Russian. Many thousands of Poles are working in the Ruhr area. The Dortmund police replied that no Russian had been arrested there. And when the Dortmund

workers drove out the police a few days later, they found no traces of arrested Russians, either in the police records or in the prison. The whole story was pure invention, just as the names of the Russian strike leaders, and the whole legend of the Russian leadership of the strike.

We deal with this legend, solely because it is a symptom of certain serious intentions on the part of a section of the German bourgeoisie. Curzon's note aroused hopes in this section of the German bourgeoisie that it would receive a reward from the allies for participating in the fight against Soviet Russia. This revival of ancient hopes of being able to sell themselves to the Entente is being utilized by a number of political swindlers, who are working for the German press as serious "informers" on Russia. Today, we shall only mention one of these ink-slinging tribe. There is a certain Herr Eckart, who writes on Russian matters in serious German economic and political journals. This gentleman attempted to bribe certain employees of our commercial mission in Berlin. As he applied in writing to the commercial delegation, using the notepaper of a reputable Hamburg economic institution, he was removed from this institution on the request of Comrade Stomoniakov. The institution apologized to the commercial delegation through Professor Stuhlmann. And this shady Herr Eckart is now providing serious German newspapers with rumours on the propagandist activity of our trading agencies. We hope however, that the publication of the documents on this affair will deprive Herr Eckart of all further opportunity of enlightening German public opinion. But of course the German Eckarts would possess no significance if there were not also German Urquharts who dream of a share in a great looting expedition. We trust that the serious portion of German industrialists has already learnt by experience what it has to expect from the Entente. And we hope that the German government, which has sufficient material at its disposal to enable it to institute a thorough inquiry into all these rumours, will itself deny them in the press.

Poincaré's Hand in Bavaria.

The Munich High Treason Trial.

By W. Zink.

The trial for high treason of Fuchs and his companions suffices, despite the obvious efforts at concealment made by the "people's court of justice", to give us a clear picture of the relations between French militarists and Bavarian monarchists and Fascists. It is true that the official Hitler press repudiates the accused and designates them as "mad fantasists", who have however acted "in their despair at Germany's shame and misery"; but despite this the threads of the conspiracy run from the French chief spy Richert, commissioned by the French government, far into the ranks of the Fascist leaders, the national Bavarian monarchists. The ex-crown prince Rupprecht, as well as the "republican" commanders of the national army, were informed of the repeated presence of Richert in Bavaria and South Germany, and of the object of the negotiations. But of course all concerted action is denied today.

The proceedings are based on the following fact: A Professor Fuchs, and a bandmaster Machhaus in Munich—this latter hanged himself in his cell shortly before the commencement of the trial—were bought by the French government for the purpose of establishing close relations between France and Bavarian Fascist circles. Fuchs and Machhaus set about this task by agitating, aided by their connections with German national circles, for the idea of creating a Germany "purified of Bolshevism" by means of a movement originating in Bavaria and aided by France, and by means of creating a reactionary dictatorship in South Germany with the object of re-establishing the monarchy. Although Fuchs and Machhaus were themselves chiefly actuated by material interests in the propagation of this plan, it is characteristic that they found in Bavarian Fascist circles sufficient followers willing to put aside their hate, so loudly emphasized, against the "hereditary enemy", and to greet the French militarists as welcome allies for the suppression of the working class. Ludendorff's wish, that the German White Guards be employed by French militarism for throttling the revolutionary movement, was to be fulfilled. This was in no way altered by the alleged espionage work done by a Major Mayr and a lieutenant captain Kauter for the Bavarian government. These were in a sense sent to reconnoitre, so that in the event of the conspiracy proving likely to be successful, the present Bavarian government might be informed in good time, and might adapt its course to the "given facts". The Bavarian government was kept perfectly informed as to Richert's mission, and with

regard to his repeated visits to Bavaria. The Bavarian state organs vacillated for a long time before they ventured to lay a finger on Richert's accomplices. It is a fact that the present Bavarian government utilized the negotiations carried on by Richert, the agent of the French government, as a means for pressing through certain political demands in Berlin, and did not take any steps against Fuchs and his companions until Richert had been allowed to escape, after the Cuno cabinet had made sufficient concessions to Bavarian reaction.

France expressed, through Richert's negotiations, the greatest interest in the co-operation of German Fascism. And if the relations between French militarists and German nationalists have been somewhat less friendly of late, this is to be ascribed to the failure of the Munich plot, and to the apparent breaking off of the relations.

The obviously close relations with Italian Fascism, relations based not only on essential unity of character, but also on firm organizational foundations, again give rise to common interests between German Fascists and French militarists, despite occasional conflicts leading at times to acts of sabotage and even to death sentences. France is today, supporting the monarchist movement in Germany, in order to be able to mow down the German working class with the assistance of Wittelsbacher, Hitler, and their like. The chief conspirator Fuchs, at a hearing before the court, declared—and this important utterance has not been denied by the Parisian press, that the Bavarian military secret associations, the dissolution of which was demanded by Germany, and by the Entente headed by France, have been preserved from dissolution by the connection maintained by Richert. Richert is not a non-entity. He is Poincaré's confidential agent, and was chosen as such as French ambassador in Munich. At the present time he is playing the role of a so-called coal commissioner in the Saar district, but it is an open secret that he holds all the threads of espionage and underground connections.

The French government has been unsparing of cash for the financial side of the undertaking by means of bribery. It could be proved that Fuchs alone had received one hundred million marks; he himself admitted that at the beginning of the action, that is, at the time of the occupation of the Maine line by the White Guards of South Germany, aided by the French troops, Richert held out prospects of thousands of dollars. After the invasion of the Ruhr, Richert was especially urgent for the acceleration of the undertaking. The *coup d'état* was arranged down to the last detail (breaking up of the parliament, suppression of the non-Fascist press, introduction of military law and "emergency regulations" etc.), and was fixed for February 26 of this year at latest. Richert was permitted to carry out the last arrangements in Bavaria, with the connivance of the Bavarian government, but then an obstacle arose: a section of the Fascists took alarm at the last moment as to the probable issue of the civil war, in view of the self-defense movement which had grown up in the meantime among the class-conscious proletariat! The risk appeared too great. Richert was judiciously allowed to escape, the petty intriguers were seized upon, and are now being submitted to a formal trial before the "people's court of justice". It goes without saying that this legal instrument of Bavarian Fascism will take the greatest care to conceal the inner significance of these proceedings, so important for the working class.

The international proletariat has received fresh proof that German reaction and French militarism, the alleged deadly enemies, each of which tries to stir up the working class of its own country against the "national enemy", are in reality fraternizing for the joint suppression of the working class. The details of the Munich trial should be given the utmost publicity, should be proclaimed so loudly, that all proletarians will stop and listen!

Bourgeois Antagonisms in France

By Albert Treint (Paris).

The French senate, in declaring itself incompetent to pass judgment in the so-called communist conspiracy, has in reality made a political demonstration against Poincaré's Ruhr policy. After January 11., the whole French bourgeoisie at first supported the imperialist policy of creating a Rhenish buffer state under French domination under the pretext of taking a productive pledge; the policy of subordinating German heavy industry to France for the purpose of a joint exploitation of the Rhenish-Westphalian proletariat; of utilizing the Ruhr occupation for counter-revolutionary aims.

It should be clearly recognized that, in spite of all antagonisms between the various imperialist states, the occupation of

the Ruhr area by French and Belgian troops is part of a definite counter-revolutionary plan, to which all capitalists, including the German, have accorded a tacit agreement. The essential point is the suppression, at the point of the bayonet, of a working population which was the vanguard of the German revolutionary movement in 1920. The occupation of the Ruhr valley also renders it possible to regulate exactly the distribution of coal in Germany. That is, it would be an easy matter to ruin the industry of those German states in which the proletariat is gaining the upper hand. In accordance with the terms of the Rapallo treaty, Soviet Russia had given orders in the Ruhr area for locomotives, agricultural machines, etc., in the interests of her agricultural reconstruction. The occupation of the Ruhr valley has made it impossible for these orders to be executed, and thus there is a direct connection with the capitalist offensive preparing against the Russian revolution. The occupation of the Ruhr basin makes it possible to utilize one of the greatest industrial centres of Europe in a counter-revolutionary war against a German revolution combining itself with the Russian revolution. In the interests of this counter-revolution, the English, Italian, and American imperialists have more or less supported the policy of January 11., despite their antagonisms to France.

But the Ruhr crisis is causing a disintegration within the French capitalist class itself. This disintegration was already observable when Loucheur was sent to England. For the secret of this mission consisted in the fact that Loucheur was the personal ambassador of the President of the Republic, Millerand, and was acting generally without the knowledge and agreement of Poincaré. The occupation of the Ruhr area has brought about varying conditions in the different French metal industrial districts. Antagonisms have thus naturally arisen. In this connection the breach between Schneider-Creuzot and the Comité des Forges is extremely characteristic. The big French capitalists, affected in different ways by the economic set-back consequent on the Ruhr occupation, have split into two camps which are increasing in their hostility to one another. One of these parties is that of the extreme capitalists; this party desires to utilize the Ruhr area for the purpose of establishing French bourgeois rule over the whole of Europe. The other party, on the other hand, is anxious to come to a rapid understanding with German heavy industry, even at the cost of considerable concessions. Neither of these two parties can take an open stand against Poincaré's policy of violence, having once openly agreed to its methods. But attempts are being made to undermine the position of the ministry, the rôle of protector of "democratic liberty" is accordingly being played, and the accused communists are being defended in the name of this democratic liberty. It is for this reason that the bourgeois deputy Taittinger demanded, in the Chamber, the release of the arrested communists; and for this same reason the senate refused to condemn them. But the French working class will, just as little as our own party, be able to believe that this "liberalism" on the part of the Senate forms any justification for the left bloc. For the policy pursued by the left bloc is just as anti-labor as that of the national bloc. The left bloc simply makes use of the working class in order to ensure the success of certain industrial and financial combinations. It is only by an independent attitude of opposition to all bourgeois parties that the working class will be able to prevent the subjugation of the proletariat by united capitalism. The Westphalian workers, in making themselves rulers of Gelsenkirchen, and in starting a movement in the Ruhr area for the protection of the vital interests of the proletariat, have indicated the right track to the whole international proletariat. The Communist Party of France is resolved to exert its utmost endeavors to make it clear to the occupation troops, that nothing must induce them to direct their weapons against their class comrades, the German workers of Rhenish-Westphalia.

The workers of Paris, in demonstrating in thousands before the Luxembourg palace, have shown that they are well able to differentiate between independent class action and parliamentary scene-shifting. In the heart of Paris they have loudly proclaimed their determination to fight shoulder to shoulder with the German workers, against the international gamblers in war and peace.

The Communist Party of France to the French Soldiers in the Ruhr.

After news had been received of the shameful begging letter sent by Lutterbeck to the French generals, soliciting their cooperation in a bloody suppression of the striking Ruhr workers, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France issued an appeal to the soldiers in the Ruhr. From this we make the following extracts:

"Comrades! Soldiers! Remember that a worker must never turn his weapons against other workers, not even if he has been forced into a military uniform for the time being. Proletarians of France, you who have elected Marty today for the 38th time, see to it that his noble example is followed.

Marty refused to fire on the Russian workers in their revolution. Proclaim loudly and determinedly that no worker whatever should take up an attitude of hostility to the German workers who are striking in the Ruhr. Enlighten your class comrades everywhere. Show them that the cause of the German workers is our cause as well, and the cause of the international proletariat!

Organize agitation against the employment of French bayonets in the Ruhr strike. The Communist Party, with the support of all proletarian organizations who are desirous of combining their efforts with ours, will speedily organize a united and systematic propaganda against a repetition of the bloody events in Essen."

Pan-Americanism - Two Conferences

By I. Amter.

While Europe has been busy "settling" the Ruhr trouble and has been occupied with conferences trying to settle the Near East question, the United States has been getting into close relations with Central and South America.

This rapprochement to the countries to the South began during the War. Up to the War, America had taken very little trouble to obtain a foothold in South America, trade being chiefly in the hands of Great Britain and Germany, America coming in a slow third. During the War, when Europe was cut off, South and Central America were obliged to buy from and sell to the United States. Thus the trade figures with South America were as follows:

Imports from	1914	1920	1921
South America	\$ 222,677,075	\$ 869,944,300	\$ 485,225,000
Exports to			
South America	\$ 124,539,909	\$ 490,898,074	\$ 523,450,600

In other words, imports from South America increased fourfold from 1914 to 1920, then diminished about 45% in 1921. In 1922, there was a slump in both imports and exports, which amounted to \$ 288,377,069 and \$ 190,827,828 respectively. Europe had returned to the South American market: South American merchants declared that they received better and quicker service from Great Britain and Germany.

The danger of losing these markets and its influence in Latin America, prompted the United States to call these conferences.

The Central American Conference was held in Washington, beginning last December and lasted till February. It was attended by representatives of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The population of these five countries aggregates that of Australia—5,500,000. The Conference was led along its course to the destruction of the freedom of Central America by the adept hand of Secretary of States Hughes.

The Conference came to weighty decisions: limitation of armament; against violent alteration of the constitutional organization of the States; it will seek constitutional reforms that will make it impossible for a president or vice-president to be re-elected; it agreed not to enter into secret treaties. It is clear from the face of it that this Conference sealed the fate of Central America: Central America has become a colony of American imperialism.

The limitation of armament renders the States as a body, toward one another and toward the aggressiveness of the United States, absolutely helpless. The impossibility of reelecting a president or vice-president renders them a prey to the machinations of American imperialism.

The denial of the right to make secret treaties ends the possibility of European capital securing an economic foothold secretly in Central America—or, in other words, it establishes the supremacy of the United States.

This conference was preliminary to the Pan-American Conference that concluded on May 17, at Santiago de Chile. It was necessary to range the whole of Central America on the side of the United States, so that the Central American "children" might play the game of their United States guardian.

The Pan-American Conference was a complete failure. The attitude of the United States was such, that the Latin-American countries were distrustful from the beginning and for

the best of reasons. South America has seen American imperialism making the greatest efforts to strangle Mexico, hatching revolt after revolt, sending troops into the country without even consulting the government. She has seen conspirators fitted out in the United States, murder and arson perpetrated in Mexico at the instance of American capitalists. She has seen Central America gobbled up; hence she feels in no wise safe from the encroachments of the United States.

America, however, is obliged to find markets for her tremendous production. European markets will be closed for an indefinite period. American capital has billions to invest. Hence, Wall Street prepared well in advance of the Conference. Since 1921, it has loaned \$ 300,000,000 to South American States, receiving as security, liens on the custom receipts. In addition, American corporations have obtained mineral and oil concessions. Up to 1914, there were no American banks in South America. During the war, this was changed. Wall Street has invaded South America and has become a keen competitor of British interests, especially in Brazil. There are branches of American banks in many small localities of South America.

America's relations to Brazil must be understood in order properly to judge the Conference and its outcome. American capital is getting a hold on Brazil. Up to the War, American capital made little effort to penetrate that country. Great Britain, on the other hand, has been working for fifty years in Brazil, and has claims amounting to £ 142,500,000. In 1918, the United States made the first loan to Sao Paulo, which amounted to \$ 5,500,000. Since that time, it has advanced nearly \$ 200,000,000. Before the War, England occupied the first place in Brazil's import trade being followed by Germany and the United States. During the War, the United States supplied one-half of the imports. Since 1922, she has dropped into second place, being 1 1/2% behind Great Britain.

America is fostering trade relations with Brazil before all the other South American States. She has secured from the Brazilian Government a preferential tariff, which places her at a decided advantage over her European competitors. In addition, America had a large pavilion at the Centenary Exhibition held in Rio de Janeiro last Year. England spent little money in connection with the Exhibition, a fact that was unfavorably commented on.

In Argentina, on the other hand, England has the upper hand, and is not likely to be ousted.

The Pan-American Conference was attended by delegates from nineteen countries. Canada was not represented, since she is not a sovereign State. Mexico was not there, since only those States which are recognized by the United States were invited to the Conference. Peru and Bolivia, being at odds with Argentina, did not send representatives. The absence of delegates from three Latin-American countries created a bad impression.

There was a host of minor questions, purposely introduced by the United States government. In fact it was quite noticeable that the United States laid more stress upon mercantile matters than on questions of political significance. However, there were two very important items on the agenda: the limitation of armaments and the consideration of the Monroe Doctrine.

Brazil intimated in advance of the Conference, that she would refuse to reduce her navy in view of the "long coastline that she must protect". There is a background to this claim. In recent years, the American government has sent military missions to several of the South American countries to reorganize their armies and navies. Germany organized the Brazilian army, England the navy. The United States has managed to replace both of them at these strategic points. As a matter of course, American imperialism desires as little armament in South America as possible. Still the fact must not be forgotten that the United States spends more than four times as much for destructive purposes—\$ 813,547,931—as the whole of South and Central America together.

Armaments were limited at the Washington Conference. The United States needs a good agent in South America—one that might be well armed and whose assistance in imperialistic adventure might be counted on. That agent in South America is Brazil.

At the Conference, Brazil persisted in her refusal to consider a reduction in armaments. She was willing to allow Argentina to proceed with her program, but tolerated no interference with her own.

The second point—the "consideration of the questions arising out of an encroachment by a non-American power on the rights of an American nation"—was intended as an opening of a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine. The South American States readily realize what this Doctrine means: it is not intended to protect South America from attacks by a European power, but

to allow the United States to interfere in South American affairs. South America is tired of being under the tutelage of the United States—a laudable feeling, but futile in view of the grip that the United States has on the economic and military power in the western hemisphere. The American delegates and the American government gave South America to understand, that they would tolerate no interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and that the defence of it was entirely in the hands of the United States government. This tended to unite the Latin-American States, so that there was a manifestation rather of *Latin-Americanism* than of *Pan-Americanism*. The American government considers itself the guardian of the western part of the world, and regards the Pan-American Union, or "League of American Nations", merely as a barrier to the ambitions of European imperialism.

The Bolivian government had suggested an invitation to the League of Nations, but the United States government declared it would consider such an invitation as an affront.

Thus the Conference came to an end—ending just as the European Conferences do—in empty air. There was nothing to negotiate. The U. S. has her plans well laid—she has a capable representative in South America; she is making steady progress in trade and the investment of capital. Central America has opened up a corridor—Mexico will be the next victim.

French comment on the Conference is quite interesting—one rapacious imperialist chiding the other. America is charged with inspiring most of the trouble that has arisen in South and Central America during the last twenty years. French papers say that: "in Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Haiti and even in the Republic of Liberia, Americans, in formal contradiction of their famous doctrine, intervene, not only politically, but by landing forces of occupation, taking hold of local administrations and imposing governments of their choice. In Argentine, Chile, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia and Colombia, we see interference in public and private affairs, with a finger in governmental administration." Every word of which is true—which applies equally to French interference in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia, and British interference in the Near and Far East. "When rogues fall out etc."

The American penetration of South America is arousing British imperialism. Matters have reached such a pass that a group of one hundred parliamentarians, directors of industry and interested in the development of the resources of South America, was recently formed in London. A battle royal may soon be expected. But British entanglements in the East and the superior financial power of the United States, together with the tremendous advertising campaign that America is conducting in South America, clearly indicate that South America will succumb to the power of the imperialism of the United States.

FASCISM

The Struggle against Fascism, and New Experiences of the United Front in Germany

By Paul Böttcher.

I.

The Methods of Fascism.

While Fascism in Italy has now doubtlessly got beyond its culminating point, it is still in the ascendancy in Germany. German Fascism develops its driving force in two directions. In combatting all the liberal and pacifist tendencies within the bourgeoisie, it aims at a national dictatorship "to free the nation from the foreign yoke" (the Treaty of Versailles), while on the other hand, as the most aggressive part of the capitalist offensive, it naturally directs its chief blows against the working class. The fight of the Fascists affects the Communists as well as the Social-Democrats. "Elimination of the November criminals" has become the watchword of Hitler, the Fascist chieftain of Bavaria. The leaders of Fascism are well aware of the fact that for the conquest of power they must needs have a broad social basis. From the post-revolutionary struggles they have learnt the lesson that a handful of worn out officers and nationalistic students may well intimidate the petty bourgeois, but it cannot vanquish the worker. In order to extend its basis from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie into the proletarian camp, Fascism is now pursuing a two-fold tactic: 1. Terrorization of the Communist and Social-Democratic organizations (breaking up of meetings, raids on newspapers, assassination of leaders, and

provocations); 2. Political propaganda among the wavering and indifferent elements of the proletariat. Fascism uses these two methods either singly or in co-ordination, according to circumstances.

What German Fascism lacks to be victorious, is a sufficiently broad social basis. This it can only attain by extending its sphere of influence to the proletariat. This aim it cannot attain by confining itself to terrorist methods alone. It is for this reason that Fascism, in recent months, has started a vigorous agitation among the disappointed, exploited and deceived elements. This agitation of which the nationalist Labor Party is the standard bearer, is of an outspoken anti-capitalist and antisemitic character. The slogan is against usury, profiteering and stock exchange gambling. "To the gallows with the usurers and the Jews", is the principal feature of the nationalist propaganda, which is cleverly playing up to the mood of large circles of the people. The starting point of the Fascist agitation is the bankruptcy of parliamentarism and the inability of the coalition governments to improve the economic position of the poor and maintain the independence of the nation. Not content with propaganda at public meetings, the Fascist have taken a further step. Their immediate object is to capture the industries. Supported by the employers, they install students, officers and de-classed elements in various positions in the important industries, chiefly as spies, "Pinkerton-men", firemen and industrial police, but also as plain workers for the purpose of propaganda. At recent elections to the Factory Councils there have been numerous occasions when the Fascists put forward their own lists of candidates. Fascists were elected into Factory Councils in Upper Silesia and even in Berlin. It cannot be denied that Fascism has struck root within the working class. Fascism is gaining a place in the workshop.

Fascism is no longer a military, illegal organization of a small minority of Kaiser officers and bankrupt intellectuals. Owing to the collapse of Germany, the tremendous distress among the masses and the treacherous role of the social-democracy and the Trade Union leaders, it has managed to become a social movement by means of demagogic anti-capitalist and anti-semitic propaganda. There is no doubt whatever, that Fascism will disintegrate through its inherent contradiction. It cannot act as the tool of the capitalist offensive while posing at the same time as the benefactor of the distressed masses. However, the large masses of the people are not yet alive to this contradiction in Fascism. It is the duty of the Communist Party to arouse this consciousness and to unmask the real nature of Fascism. This leads on to the question: How should Communism fight against Fascism?

The Fight against Fascism.

The growth of the Fascist movement in Germany compelled the German Communist Party to revise its attitude towards Fascism. As long as Fascism was confined to militarist formations and the use of military violence, the defensive struggle of the working class was concentrated in meeting Fascist violence with proletarian violence. The formation of a proletarian self-defence as a military weapon against Fascism was a foremost plank in the Communist propaganda. Yet it is quite clear that this weapon alone will not suffice to combat Fascism. Since Fascism has in fact become a political movement with a social message, it must be fought also ideologically. First by positive propaganda, showing the way out of the national collapse and the economic subjection. Secondly by the exposure of Fascism as the tool of capital. It would be perfectly erroneous to consider Fascism as an isolated phenomenon and to treat it accordingly. Since Fascism is the advance guard of the capitalist offensive, it can be overcome only by a counter-offensive of the working class led by the United Front of the proletariat. The working class must be taught to realize that if a small but brave militarily organized minority cannot take the fight for political power out of the hands of the entire proletariat, no more can such a small force vanquish the Fascists. The march of Fascism on the industries is the signal for alarm. The counter blow of the working class must now be carried into the industries with full vigour. In this struggle a large majority of the social-democratic and the Amsterdam leaders are parting company with the working class and are standing with the bourgeoisie. Even more than that. For instance in the last fights in the Ruhr district they fought shoulder to shoulder with the Fascists in the white-guard self-defence organizations against the red self-defence of the working class. The Communist Party has managed to create organs of the United Front among the wide masses in spite of the opposition of the Social-Democratic leadership. Around the Factory Councils Movement are now grouped, large elements of Social-Democratic and non-party workers. In this

movement they see a fighting weapon against the capitalist offensive. The Central Committees, as organs of the United Front wage the campaign against usury and profiteering. They gain the increasing confidence of house-wives, petty bourgeois elements and of all those who are driven to starvation by the soaring food prices. In the fight against Fascism the German Communist Party has now succeeded in organizing within the working class the joint proletarian "factory hundreds" (defence corps), as the organs of the United Front.

An Inside View of Italian Fascism

By Edmundo Peluso (Florence).

Symptoms of the disintegration of Fascism first became apparent in Piedmont. In this district, the leader of the Fascisti is Vecchi. In his capacity of minister of pensions he had already aroused the indignation of ex-servicemen by declaring that war-disabled had no right to a pension. This is the same man who gave orders for the continuance of the butchery of the workers in Turin last December, even after instructions to the contrary had been received from Rome. Thus a violent conflict arose within the ranks of the Fascisti. This was soon followed by an incident in Alexandria. The two heads of the Fascist movement there, a certain Torre, general commissioner for railways, and a certain Sala, mayor of the town, entered into a violent quarrel. It came to blows and shooting between their followers. Mussolini had them both summoned to Rome, and ordered them to be reconciled with one other. This they promised. But scarcely were they back home again, when the old quarrel recommenced. The province of Umbria has also its Fascist scandal. The "viceroy" of Umbria at the present time is the Fascist chieftain Bastiani, a youth of 24 years. He exercises supreme power over the whole district. He combined the agreeable with the useful by persuading a young girl belonging to one of the richest families in the district to marry him. The population had to give him a motor-car as a wedding present. In this same Umbria two leading representatives of Fascism had to be recently expelled from the party, as they had enriched themselves too openly.

At first, Mussolini tried to prevent reports of such scandals from getting into the newspapers. But such a concealment of facts could not be kept up permanently. The quarrels among the Fascisti themselves led to a flood of insults and duels. The chief of the Fascist militia, General de Bono, has therefore prohibited duelling among the Fascisti.

In order to maintain peace among the Fascisti, the attempt is being made to subject them to military law. There is no end of brotherly love among the Fascist leaders. As a rule, each leader has control of some small local paper, and utilizes his pages for throwing mud at his competitors. In these newspapers the Fascist leaders call one another scoundrels, hired ruffians, career hunters, etc. The so-called "October Fascisti" are distinguished by special zeal. These individuals, who did not join the Fascisti until after Mussolini's *coup d'état*, have made it their aim to gain as large a share of the booty as possible. To Mussolini the overweening authority assumed by his onetime comrades in arms, who have now become viceroys, is highly disagreeable, and he seeks every opportunity of replacing these old leaders of Fascism by new ones. This was seen in Rome for instance, where the founder of Romish Fascism, Calza Bini, was replaced by a petty lawyer, a certain Vaselli, favored by Mussolini. The followers of the deposed leader then made an attack on the Rome headquarters of Fascism, the Magnano palace. This incident led to arrests and to expulsions from the party. Mussolini acted in a similar manner in Naples. Here a certain Padovani, a demagogue of the worst description, was all-powerful. In a sense he was viceroy of southern Italy. Mussolini has now replaced him by an insignificant politician, a certain Greco.

New scandals occur from day to day. It may be said that at the present time the Fascist crisis has become chronic. The "purifications" which have been undertaken in the Fascist party do not alter the matter in any way. In order to remove all corruption, the whole of the party members would have to be expelled. Mussolini's tactics have altered conspicuously of late. It seems as if he were seeking a fresh foundation for his dictatorship. He has appointed numerous generals to high administrative and police positions. Mussolini's whole political life has consisted in his betraying one party after the other. Has he perhaps, the intention of deserting Fascism, and of setting up a purely military dictatorship? Should he make this attempt, he will speedily have to recognize the fact that in Italy, a dictatorship by generals has never lasted long.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Sixth Trade Union Congress in Finland

By L. Novak (Moscow).

Attention has already been called to the shameful provocatory intentions entertained by the Finnish Social Democracy with regard to the Finnish Trade Union Congress, and it was under the shadow of these provocations that the 6th Congress took place in the Helsingfors Workers' Headquarters from 21st-26th of May last. Although the Finnish comrades would not allow their sessions to be influenced by these provocations, the Finnish bourgeoisie was influenced by them, and through its police came to the aid of the Social Democrats by arresting and imprisoning, some weeks before the opening of the Congress, all the old and experienced Trade unionists, known for their influence and revolutionary ideas.

The Social Democrats now thought themselves assured of an easy victory. But in this they were altogether mistaken, as will be seen from the following report on the Congress.

The vileness of the provocations on the one hand, and the importance of the victory won by us on the other hand, will be better appreciated if we bear in mind the extraordinary difficult situation of the working class in Finland. Finland has a population of 3,300,000, and is one of the classical countries of the White Terror, this however, has only been rendered possible, by the hangman's services the Finnish Social Democracy is affording the country. After the February Revolution of 1918, more than 90,000 working people were thrown into dungeons and 15,000 of them were shot without any judgment being passed on them or being submitted to any trial. 20,000 workers died of hunger in these dungeons. Even now 800 of those imprisoned workers are still being kept imprisoned, most of them condemned to lifelong captivity and penal servitude. Many of these had originally been sentenced to death, and the sentence has been "mitigated" by legal procedure to prison for life. Of course, there are in addition, some hundreds of fresh prisoners, as the White Terror is proceeding uninterruptedly with its ghastly work. You have but to mention the word "Revolution" in a magazine or in a meeting, and you will straightaway receive at least three years imprisonment in accordance with the special "Socialist Paragraph" in the law.

These facts serve to emphasize the vile treachery of the Social Democrats, who hoped by means of their provocations to become the masters of a situation, to which even the White Terror was not equal, as has been shown by the last Trade Union voting. These votes revealed that an enormous majority of the Trade Union members, two thirds in fact, proudly proclaimed their adherence to the Red International of Labor Unions.

The foremost items on the agenda of the Congress were the following: 1) Relation to political parties. 2) Affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions.

The treatment of these questions showed, that our Finnish comrades are clearly aware of the seriousness of the situation and of the necessity of maintaining the united front of the Trade Unions. The best proof of this has been given by the unanimous accepted motion concerning the relations to the political parties. The first item of this resolution is, that the trade-unionist organizations of Finland are firmly based on the principle of the class-struggle, and that therefore they are fighting side by side with the political organization of the workers, that is virtually fighting the class struggle.

The second item secures common action with this same party of class-struggle for any special aim in the fight. The third item asserts their loyalty to those workers' parties that recognize different principles, leaving to their members to choose which of the political parties they wish to join.

When the problem of joining the Red International of Labor Unions was being dealt with, the meeting unanimously resolved not join this International yet, but to remain outside for some time, so as to thwart the splitting plans of the Social Democrats, who were already preparing the constitution of a special federations of their own.

With regard to the work of organization, important progress is to be seen in the fact that the congress has agreed upon transforming the existing twenty-one craft unions into 13 industrial unions.

As to tactics, the Congress pronounced in favor of the united front of the masses of the workers in any fighting activities and for the solidarity of all workers.

After some questions relating merely to organization and to administration had been dealt with, the newly chosen Committee was requested to prepare, in the name of the Congress, a manifesto addressed to all political and Trade Union Internationals, calling upon them to assist our Finnish comrades in their fight against the White Terror and for the liberation of the political prisoners.

The newly elected Committee of twenty-six consisted of 18 adherents of the Red International of Labor Unions, 2 Social Democrats, and 6 Neutral, the Congress itself, representing 48,000 members, had 76 delegates, 65 of which sympathized with the R.I.L.U. while 11 were Social Democrats. A fact characteristic of the workers' movement in Finland is, that more than 80% of the delegates were for more than a year in the prisons of Finland.

The Amsterdamers were represented at the Congress by 2 guests from the Swedish Trade Unions and 1 from the Norwegian, the supporters of Moscow sent the representative of the Czecho-Slovakian trade unions.

The Congress was a historical illustration of the fact, that the keenest and most unrelenting White Terror will never, in spite of long years of activity, be able to suppress the class-consciousness of the workers, that it will never succeed in making them weak and impotent tools of the capitalists; on the contrary, the experience gained in the struggle against the White Terror have so well trained the Finnish Proletariat, as to render it proof against the most cunning provocations of the Social Democrats, and able to thwart their evil intentions though at a heavy price. In spite of their courageous loyalty to the R.I.L.U. they renounced joining it at once, for the sole purpose of saving the unity of the Trade Unions and avoiding a split that would be of the most serious consequences. It is now the turn of the Social Democrats to show what they are prepared to sacrifice in order to secure the success of the struggle in which the working class of Finland is involved.

ECONOMICS

The British Iron and Steel Industry and Franco-American Competition

By H. P. Rathbone.

To understand the present position of the British Iron and Steel Industry, and to estimate its influence on the world capitalist economy, it is necessary to emphasize certain features with regard to it. As one of the basic industries it was, of course, one of the first to shake off the shackles of the competitive stage of capitalism. As early as 1860, there were many instances of a move towards amalgamation; between 1870 and 1900 the whole industry had become concentrated into about 10 or 20 main groups, some allied to large armament firms such as Vickers and Armstrong Whitworth, others depending for their markets on commercial shipbuilding, such as the Furness Group, and others developing a large business of their own, as for instance, Baldwin's and Dorman Long. But not one of them was completely independent of the import of iron ore. The chief sources of supply were Spain and Sweden. In the case of the former, many of the combines, though competing in the markets of the finished product, had recourse to combination for the purpose of insuring their supplies of the raw material. But all the combines had one great advantage. They were assured of a cheap and abundant supply of coal at the ports. This factor has been of the greatest importance in their development and in their ability to compete on the foreign markets of the world. It has ever been maintained that before the war, British steel made with Swedish ore could effectively compete on the world market with German steel, in spite of the fact that German steel had been made with German ore; and it was further alleged that this was due precisely to the fact that the fuel resources of Britain were geographically well situated at the ports.

How far this contention was true—and it may have been true in certain isolated cases—it was also true that German competition was becoming an altogether too serious matter for British steel capitalism as a whole. For instance, the relative percentage proportions of English and German participation in the International Rail Syndicate were being reduced against England and increased in favour of Germany. The English percentage proportion for instance, was decreased from 65% in 1884 to 34% in 1913. German competition invaded not only the old foreign preserves of British steel capitalism, but even the home market as well. British steel capitalists in consequence, entered on a further period of concentration in the five to ten years before the imperialist war. They combined in order better

to withstand the price cutting of the German and other foreign capitalists. They combined to be able to retaliate in the home markets of their competitors. They formed associations to endeavour to extend foreign made manufactures, tried to compel British financial houses only to lend money on condition that the material was purchased in England, but all these expedients were not sufficient. The British steel capitalists were in consequence, one of the chief influences behind the diplomats of Britain in the manoeuvres which led to the imperialist war.

With the imperialist war, just as in every other country the demand for munitions meant an enormous development in the steel industry. With this development and in consequence of it, the steel industry embarked on a further period of concentration. Both by the formation of new associations and by direct amalgamation, the industry became controlled by five or ten predominant combines. Not only were these combines interested in the iron and steel industry, but they also branched out into branches of commercial engineering. Vickers Ltd. and Cammell Laird & Co. Ltd., for instance, absorbed and developed important heavy electrical undertakings capable of entirely supplying and equipping an electrical railway. Armstrong-Whitworth developed by means of absorption, a vast hydro-electrical branch while Baldwin's Ltd, besides immensely adding to their potential output of steel raids, branched out into the mass production of tinplates.

But to achieve this, immense sums had to be paid. Firms were absorbed at prices far exceeding their pre-war value. Plant was installed at a cost often three or four times its 1913 price and capital was obtained fully to cover the value of these inflated prices. Finally, existing capital was written up to the then prevailing prices and shares were distributed free to the fortunate shareholders. The result is that now, though the potential output of steel is estimated to be 50% more than pre-war output, the capital has increased by 100%. The position which faces British steel capitalists to-day is described with the utmost candour in an article in the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* for April 26th. 1923. It says:—

"The steel trade has been developed in excess of any likely demands for years to come unless the market improves very considerably. Some firms have even disposed of plant ordered and now found to be excessive, without erecting it, because they could see no return for it. Our total capacity is now 12,000,000 tons of steel a year, against 8,000,000 in 1913 — itself a year of prosperity What has the increase from eight to twelve millions tons cost in money? Taking twenty-five of the largest firms as a basis of calculation, and including bonus shares which must rank with subscribed capital, there is at least twice as much capital in the industry as there was in 1913."

The article then proceeds to show the effect of this situation on prices. Pre-war prices of billets averaged, it says, about £9 a ton. With the present capitalization, to pay a dividend of 7% (which it maintains is equivalent to a 5% dividend before the war) prices on a 10,000,000 ton basis must be £14 a ton or £5 above pre-war prices. Yet, as the writer says, to sell to-day against continental competition prices must not exceed the £9 a ton figure. What is the remedy proposed? The writer suggests a reduction in capital. But that is an impossible one for one of capitalism's basic industries. There has never been a precedent for it and it can safely be said that every other remedy, from further attacks on the workers to another imperialist war, will be attempted before such a form of self-expropriation will be tried.

The old export markets for British steel capitalists are becoming rapidly less assured. India, through the Tata Iron and Steel Group, is developing a production of her own which threatens to absorb a portion of that till now unfilling market for British rails. South Africa and Anatolia too are rapidly developing a manufacturing plant of their own. Canada, owing to an increasing American influence, is practically becoming a closed market for British iron and steel goods What else is there except South America, Europe, China and the near East? In South America, American influence has also obtained a considerable foothold. China too must be shared with America. There remains then the Near East and Europe. What will be the position of British steel capitalism if these markets too are attacked by the competition of a Franco-German trust plentifully supplied, as it will be, with cheap labour?

Lord Furness, head of the Furness iron and steel group of the north east coast, clearly defined the position of British iron and steel capitalism as long ago as November 6th last. In a speech delivered at the meeting of shareholders of the South Durham Steel and Iron Co. Ltd., one of his constituent companies, he said:

"With regard to a general revival in our trade, I think the prospects for steel orders are very uncertain for some time to come because the present productive capacity of existing steel works in this country, both actual and potential, is far too great for profitable absorption."

He then proceeded to draw a parallel with the position in which the American Steel industry found itself in 1900. He described how, after a disproportionate increase in productive capacity and a consequent period of price cutting, 50% of the important steel firms united and formed the United States Steel Corporation, and thus "stabilized prices at reasonable figures". The situation in England demanded, he said, a similar remedy. In advocating such an amalgamation he concluded by affirming that:

"I am taking a long view of the situation, because I feel that our British units are too small and, individually, may lack the strength to combat with success the international competition of the future, and it is imperative that this country should increase its exports if we wish to regain our former prominent position among the industrial nations of the world."

Such is the feeling of British Steel Groups. They see a period of international competition ahead. They, therefore, combine at home in order to try to meet it. "Exports", said one of them in an interview with *The Financier* of January 11th, 1923, "must be increased by a 100% if the present productive capacity is to be fully employed." But competition, if temporary international agreements are possible, must be eliminated. It is significant, for instance, that the Secretary of the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers, who is now editor of the *Economist*, should think it necessary to contribute to the *Nation* (9th. June 1923) in which he is now interested, an article advocating an international Trust of French, German, Belgian, English and United States steel capitalists. He first scouts the idea that the English have been endeavouring to prevent the foundation of a Franco-German trust, though all the world knows that it was Lloyd George who, at the Versailles Treaty Conference, insisted on the artificial division of the Ruhr coalfield from the Lorraine iron-field. He refers to the fact that before the war, Lorraine iron was combined with German coke but he does not say that the imperialist war and the Versailles Treaty tried to separate them. He says:

"British steel masters during the last two years have been in touch with Continental metallurgists, and the discussions have made it clear, that both the German and French industrialists recognize the difficulty for political, personal and economic reasons, in coming to any agreement unless the British Steel makers are a party to it. Lorraine and Westphalia will not exchange coke and ore unless they are certain of being free from internecine competition in the sale of their products."

The true meaning of this rush to negotiate a combine at home and an international agreement abroad, is seen in the fact of a 50% increase in the output capacity of the British steel industry, a 100% increase in the capital and the necessity for a 100% increase in exports to employ the output fully. Capitalists do not negotiate unless they want a share of the swag, or, as that excellent book of quotations the Bible puts it, make haste to agree with their enemy while it is not too late, lest a worse time befall them. But in this case the agreement can only be but temporary, can only vary according to the strength of the national units and will break down again when further variation is impossible without a further war. Meanwhile to obtain a profit from the present production, the workers have been reduced to starvation level, while the capital and therefore the real profits of the undertakings have remained not only intact, but ever increase their burden on the workers.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Letter from Soviet Russia.

Where do the children suffer more — in Germany or in Soviet Russia?

In the *Frankfurter Zeitung* Mr. Georg Popoff is serving up to his readers ghastly tales, on the "Children of the Moscow streets". All journalistic effects are being employed, and the blackest hues are laid on, in the style which makes such reading matter an agreeable accompaniment to the coffee of the well-to-do bourgeoisie at the breakfast table. The tale is unfolded of how Bolshevism has converted Russia into a children's graveyard.

It would not be worth while to make any detailed reply to this capitalist journalist, were we not aware that there are many social democrats who will eagerly seize on this trashy scribble in order to retail it to the working class, and thereby try and deceive the ignorant.

Mr. Popoff's effusions are a medley of journalistic search for sensationalism, political imbecility, and pure invention. For instance, Mr. Popoff speaks, of children who work in the service of the *Tscheka*. "The *Tscheka* seeks out the most intelligent street children, and instructs them to follow persons who have fallen under the suspicion of the *Tscheka* and to beg continually of these in order to gain the opportunity of overhearing their conversation, or to inform the *Tscheka* of any words which they may accidentally hear from the lips of perfectly strange people". (!) This report does great credit to the Sherlock Holmes imagination of the writer. But with regard to the *Tscheka*, Mr. Popoff has made an unlucky guess. He relates, for instance, that the destitute children picked off the streets are handed over to the *Tscheka*. Has the world "*Tscheka*" not led Mr. Popoff into an error? "*Tscheka*", that is, the initial letters "Tsch" and "Ka" of the words "*Tschevischannaya Kommissa*", signifies "extraordinary commission". The commission for combatting counter-revolution was thus designated. But now there is a "*Tscheka*" or "extraordinary commission" for combatting the misery among children, and this humanitarian institution receives all the orphaned and vagabond children picked up from the streets of Moscow. That there are such children is no secret. Mr. Popoff speaks of 15,000 orphaned and destitute children in Moscow. The official figures, upon which we ourselves have issued a report, state 20,000. Truly an appalling number! The newspapers of Moscow do not preserve silence on the misery and wretchedness of these children. On the contrary, in the Mayday edition of the *Rabotschaya Moskva*, the organ of the Moscow committee of the C.P. of Russia, one read that in the centre of the city, in a crowded thoroughfare, children were living in a receptacle for street sweepings, and spent the nights there until discovered and taken to a children's home by a patrol sent out by this commission for combatting misery among children. Whilst these lines are being published, a mighty campaign will be carried on in Russia in favor of the children. The press cannot do enough to expose the destitution of the children. There is not the least doubt that there is much misery among children in Moscow. That is perfectly obvious to anyone who spends but half an hour in the city. But what is the cause of this misery? Only a political infant or a bourgeois journalist sees things as Mr. Popoff does. A year ago the press was full of the most frightful reports of the famine on the Volga. Cases of cannibalism were often reported. Today, a year later, the famine catastrophe has been overcome. But not its consequences. And what else is the misery of the children in Moscow but one of the legacies of the famine catastrophe in Russia? Moscow is the central point to which stream, the children and young people, from every part of Russia. Only 4% of these children are natives of Moscow, the rest come from the distant Volga, from the Tartar republic, from the Bakhur steppes, from the East, the South, from all parts of Russia.

The Soviet government is exerting every endeavor to remedy this evil as rapidly as possible. But Russia is a mighty country, of vast extent. Even the best will and intentions cannot change such mass phenomena in a moment. Despite the enormous material difficulties against which Soviet Russia has to contend at the present moment, the Soviet government is expending immense sums for children's homes and children's institutions. I have seen dozens of such institutions in Moscow. But nowhere have I seen such wretched conditions as those described by Mr. Popoff. Mr. Popoff takes good care not to state the address of the children's home in which such frightful conditions prevail. Mr. Popoff speaks of a "troop of dirty and half naked children, rolling about on the floor, or hiding half frightened in the corners". I have seen children's homes which were by no means perfect, which left much to be desired in material respects; but I was invariably surprised to find the children in these homes looking happy and satisfied, quite content. And this is easily understood when one sees the love and self-sacrifice of the staff and teachers. A sight of the Russian homes and the Russian children, compels one to make a comparison with those in Germany. Whether in the streets, at meetings, etc., on private occasions, or in the homes,—one thing always strikes the eye: the general run of Russian children look much stronger and healthier than the children in Germany. Let us cite a few facts.

Tuberculosis and ill-nourishment increase the mortality among children in Germany to a frightful extent. In an appeal issued in Gotha on October 24., we read the following statement by the the privy councillor Professor Dr. Alt: "The committee of the chamber of physicians of the province of Saxony considers it its sacred duty to make a most emphatic appeal to all those

who are competent and willing to take up immediate battle against profiteering and forcing up of prices, that the ghastly spectre of death by starvation may be banished, and the disastrous increase of tuberculosis prevented". Mrs. Adele Schreiber declared, at the children's Relief Congress held at Geneva in 1922, that in Germany there are annually, 2½ million children condemned to death, and a 6 further millions seriously endangered. This was ascertained three quarters of a year ago. What will now be the fate of these 6 millions? The German bourgeoisie, in whose service Mr. Popoff and his like are working, troubles itself much less about the fate of these child victims than the Soviet government cares for the fate of the destitute street children of Moscow.

The Russian famine catastrophe claimed many victims, and there have been many children among them. But in Russia, the children are none the less better off than in any bourgeois country. By this we naturally mean the children of the poor, the children of the workers. In Germany we are witnessing the tragic drama of a whole generation being ruined by ill-nourishment and starvation, and growing up stunted and degenerated. No one stirs a finger on this account in the bourgeois camp. In Russia, on the contrary, though we witness frightful individual cases, we also witness the fact that a whole people is putting forth Titanic efforts, is mastering difficulties, is pursuing its own path despite all its enemies, and building up its own brighter future. The children of Russia will enjoy the fruits of what their fathers are now sowing. In Germany, however, the cemeteries and hospitals will bear witness to the consequences of the decay of capitalism, of the inhuman greed for booty among the bourgeoisie. In Berlin, too, there are plenty of children hanging about the streets, begging or selling cigarettes.

Their numbers are perhaps fewer than in Moscow, but the country is also much smaller. But in principle there is a mighty difference: The neglected children in the streets of the capitalist countries of Europe are mercilessly condemned to a wretched fate, while in Russia the misery being undergone by the children is a passing phenomenon, the last echo of a storm already past. And this misery will be speedily overcome, as Soviet Russia has overcome all other difficulties.

The Archives of the October Revolution in Moscow

By M. Dobramitsky.

Since the year 1920, there has existed in Moscow an institution of a unique character and importance: the Archives for the study of the October Revolution, containing all the valuable documents of the Russian Revolution, the periodicals etc., (manifestoes, pamphlets, placards), illustrated material, such as photos and posters, as well as works of art, in short, everything that may serve the future historian as material for his studies of the Russian revolution. The idea is that anyone studying the question of the Russian revolution shall be able to carry through his work without leaving the building of the Archives of the October-Revolution.

For the time being, the work principally consists in collecting the historical raw-material, that so quickly disappears or is destroyed. This work has been very successful in many ways, but there are some spheres, for instance, that of the rapidly changing every day life of the revolution, of revolutionary art, etc., where the Archives have attained hardly anything worth mentioning yet.

Hand in hand with the collection of material there proceeds the more complicated work of systematically registering it in various catalogues. The work is largely being conducted by the so-called "Istpart".

In 1918, the principle of consolidated state funds for the archives was already decreed, and in 1920, the Archives of the October Revolution were founded as a component part of the Central Archives of the R.S.F.S.R. According to this decree, the Archives of the October Revolution constitute the only institution having the right to retain the materials for the epoch of the revolution, five years after these documents have ceased to be of current importance.

To this end Archives of the State Institutions are being founded, in addition, the archives of the revolutionary as well as the counter-revolutionary governments are being collected and also those of trade-union and cooperative institutions. Thus there are archives of the All-Russian Central Executive Com-

mittee, of the Soviet of the People's Commissaries, of the Commissariats and other central institutions, as well as the archives of the Provisional Government, the Koltchak Government and other counter-revolutionary governments, of the Central Committee of the C.P.R. and of other parties, besides private archives of certain eminent personalities at the time of the revolution. The archives of provincial institutions, being of local importance, are kept in the provincial sections of the Central Archives.

The Archives of the October Revolution are particularly rich in newspapers of the Revolution. In a comparatively short time a great number of newspapers have been collected, and though the work of systematizing them was only commenced in the fall of 1922, catalogues containing 2,500 numbers have already been compiled.

Among the number are the metropolitan papers side by side with those from provincial centers. The White Press of the different counter-revolutionary movements is completely represented, especially the papers of the Koltchak period. The emigrant papers published and being published in almost all quarters of the world, are represented in 150 numbers. There are a number of papers that appeared only for a few days, others actually upon the march, in railway trains, and with names and places of publication that changed daily.

There are papers to be found in the collections, printed on cigarette paper, others on paste-board or on the back of paper used to wrap up candy and cigarettes, an illustration of the great shortage of paper from which Russia was suffering during the years of the Revolution, and at the same time of the powerful energy with which the Revolution expressed itself in the press.

Among the newspaper catalogues, one of the most interesting is the chronological-geographical catalogue, by the aid of which one can easily ascertain when and where any particular paper was published.

The book-department has a different object in view, in the first place to collect the whole of the books on the history of the Russian revolution in the widest sense of the word. In addition, this section seeks to show how the revolution is reflected in literary form, how the political book supplants the pamphlet, the propaganda literature of the first years, how mere politics, in their turn have to yield place to science, agronomy and technical questions.

The Emigrant-books of the time of the revolution are likewise being collected, as well as books in all languages, dealing with the Russian revolution and published in various countries. The department of Illustrations of the Archives of the October Revolution comprises a rich collection of revolutionary posters, containing about 700 printed posters and 3,500 placards done by hand. Among these, the most interesting are the posters that from day to day were being exhibited in the shop-windows during the years of 1918-1921. The very best artists of Russia have been working upon these posters. These posters deal with manifold subjects: the politics of the Entente as well as the repairing of agricultural implements, satirical verses on the Polish gentry etc., etc. It is not only Russian posters that are being gathered, but communistic posters of all countries are being collected.

The Soviet of the People's Commissaries has lately published a decree, asking the Central State Institutions to put a suitable edifice at the disposal of the Archives of the October Revolution, and to facilitate the work of collection by allowing the most favorable conditions possible.

An Example of Workers' Solidarity in Russia

(R. I. L. U.) The following report, issued by the Russian union of theatrical workers, is a characteristic example of how Russian workers hasten to the aid of their fighting brothers:

The strike in question broke out among the workers belonging to a circus, and was proclaimed by the union of a remote Siberian town (Semipalatinsk). The strike was caused by the proprietor of the circus, Ferroni-Willy, flatly refusing to enter into a collective agreement with the union.

Ferroni-Willy declared to the strike committee, that he would continue to work with the aid of his own family, consisting of seven persons; at the same time he began to persuade the less class conscious circus workers to act as scabs. But all Willy's attempts to break the strike were in vain, as every proletarian organization supported the union in every possible way. Thus the printers' union called upon its workers to bring out handbills and suitable appeals, free of charge, in favor of the

strikers. The union of postal, telegraph, and telephone workers removed the telephone apparatus from the circus, and delivered no letters to the circus proprietor. The general meetings held by the members of the woodworkers' union, of the food suppliers' union, and of various undertakings, passed resolutions on measures for the support of the strikers. The circus was boycotted by the public. The strikers were granted pecuniary aid right throughout the strike.

The obstinate employer was thus finally forced to give way. Proletarians of all countries, learn something from these workers of far away Semipalatinsk!

THE COLONIES

A Great Political Strike in Java.

By P. Bergsma (Amsterdam).

A great political strike has broken out in the island of Java, one whose issue will be of great significance for the revolutionary movement in the East Indies. The bourgeois press already reports that 8000 railwaymen are on strike, 20% of these being engine-drivers.

This movement did not arise unexpectedly. The conference of the Railwaymen's Union, held in February in Semarang, showed that almost all the delegates were in favor of the strike.

Since then, the government has feared the influence of the communists more than ever, and accordingly resolved to condemn our Comrades Semacén and Darsono to banishment. Semacén was arrested in order to prevent his being able to prepare a railwaymen's strike. Thereupon, the railwaymen struck at once. This strike will disorganize the whole transport service. Probably the most important factor is the almost complete stagnation of sugar transport. As this means that the large factories cannot continue work, enormous masses of sugar cane will rot in the fields, involving a loss of millions of guilders to the Dutch capitalists.

In Java the trend of feeling is revolutionary, the population is excited to the highest pitch.

Since 1918, the government has persecuted the revolutionary leaders, nationalists and communists alike, with the utmost ferocity. The law has no regard for the so-called rights of the inhabitants, the right to hold meetings is simply disregarded. False reports of meetings were sufficient to cause speakers to be arrested, and retained for years on remand. The leaders who appeared to be most dangerous were banished, interned, or deported to Holland. The reactionary policy pursued by the government led to the formation of a bloc of all the parties of the left against it; this bloc is known as the "Radical Concentration". The communists have exercised a powerful influence, and they succeeded in inducing all parties belonging to the bloc to adopt the slogan: Separation from Holland!

The social democrats, who are only represented by some few intellectuals, are thus placed in a difficult position, for the Dutch Social Democratic Labor Party is known to support the maintenance of Dutch rule in the East Indies. A manifesto recently issued by the "Radical Concentration" was not signed by the social democrats.

But the revolutionary parties are winning followers, and the sympathy felt for the communists increases. The government is seeking salvation in a well-planned system of espionage against the communists.

Comrades Degan, Gondhmcwono, and Assor, from the island of Ternate, who have already been imprisoned "on remand" for almost a year, have now been sentenced, the two first named to 2 years, and the last to 18 months imprisonment. Fifty other comrades have been imprisoned on remand for more than 6 months because they will not betray other comrades. During this time, they have been subjected to every kind of torment and insult.

The present strike meets with special sympathy among the state employees, the government having deceived these workers by first promising a rise in wages and then not keeping this promise.

Everything now depends on the rôle which the great "Sarekat Islam" will play. If the leaders of this people's party side with the strikers, the chances of winning the strike are great. Unfortunately, these leaders, Tjokroaminoto and August Salim, are still too much under the influence of the social democrats, so that it is possible that they may betray the strikers, the more so seeing that the leaders of the communists and

of the left wing of the Sarekat Islam (the Red Sarekat Islam) have been arrested. All our experience of the government leads us to believe that it will seize the present moment as a suitable opportunity for attempting to destroy the railwaymen's Union, the most powerful labor organization in the Dutch East Indies. The railwaymen of all countries—especially of Holland—must use every endeavor to prevent this.

THE UNITED FRONT

The Russian Trade Unions to the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation

The presidium of the All Russian Central Council of the trade unions has addressed the following communication, signed by the Chairman M. Tomski, the Secretary Dogadov, and the members of the Presidency Andreyev, Melnoczansky, Lutovinov, Artipov, Senyuschkin, Lozovsky, Rudsutsk, Lepse, Sevekimov, and Kassior, to the "International Trade Union Federation, per favor of Com. Oudegeest, Amsterdam":

"The All Russian Central Council of the Trades Unions, after having duly noted the resolutions passed by the Bureau of the Amsterdam International in connection with the creation of a united front among the Transport Workers, declares that:

The bureau of the Amsterdam International expresses its perfect readiness to enter into relations with the Russian trade unions, and even to establish the unification of trade unions all over the world. But the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions must regrets to observe that, as soon as the Transport Workers themselves took the first steps in this direction, the bureau of the Amsterdam International rejected for its part the initiative taken by the Transport Workers, and thus followed in the footsteps of the German Railwaymen's and Transport Workers' Unions, which have undermined the agreement come to at the cost of so much trouble. The Russian trade unions have already furnished ample proof of their readiness to co-operate with the trade unions of different party tendencies. They sent their delegates to the International Peace Conference at the Hague, and much regret that the resolutions moved by them were not accepted. Had the International Peace Congress passed the resolutions proposed by the Russian delegates, the French imperialists would never have ventured to invade the Ruhr area.

After the occupation of the Ruhr valley, the Russian trade unions repeatedly proposed that joint action be taken against the danger of war, against Fascist reaction, and against the capitalist offensive. If the Amsterdam International be honestly of the opinion that "special and general action for the emancipation of the working class is both possible and necessary", then it appears to us that it should have brought pressure to bear on those of its organizations which made the attempt to break up the united front of the Transport Workers, a front which signifies the first step towards the establishment of unity in the international trade union movement.

The All Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions once more calls upon the Amsterdam International to convene a conference of the representatives of the trade union centrals affiliated to it, and of the representatives of the independent trade union centrals affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions, for the purpose of drawing up a program of action for warding off the danger of war and Fascist reaction. The All Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions attaches tremendous importance to joint action against world reaction, and declares in advance its readiness to participate in such joint action, even should you suggest that the conference be otherwise constituted. But all the Russian trade unions — including, of course, the unions of the railwaymen, water transport workers, and local transport workers, who took part in the transport workers conference in Berlin — most emphatically protest against any attempt at breaking up the agreement come to by the International Conference of Transport Workers; they would be very pleased if it should prove possible for like agreements to be concluded for the whole international trade union movement.

The All Russian Central Council of the Trade Unions expresses the conviction that the Amsterdam International on its side, will do everything possible to facilitate the understanding to be arrived at among the workers of all parties, in the struggle against world reaction. The All Russian Central Council considers it to be quite possible and desirable to convene a preliminary conference in Berlin at the beginning of June."