

as the maximum duration of work for all laborers, including agricultural laborers, would, instead of furthering their interests, be prejudicial to them and would not, we think, be in the best interests of the country."

So much for religious extremism, which, exposed in its true colors, becomes rank reaction. British Imperialism will sit tight for many a long day, while such philosophy is safely indulged in and propagated in India, both by orthodox Gandhists and Mussulman Khalifatists. The little experiment in melodrama has borne rich fruit for the Government; it has found out many things which it might have, but apparently did not know before, —the bogey of Bolshevism blinded its usually keen intuition. "Imperialism, mad with rage, destroys itself." The Vanguard program of mild social democracy, sown like the Dragon's Teeth throughout the length and breadth of India, thanks to the insensate fear and fury of blind Authority, has sunk deep in the soil and will spring forth, one day, in the shape of new leaders, armed with the power of a new Idea, which will sweep the Indian people on to Victory and Freedom.

THE WHITE TERROR

Russia to the Rescue

Arrival of the exchanged Lettish communists in Moscow.

After more than 400 Hungarian communists had been liberated from the prisons of the Hungarian White Terror, an exchange agreement has been carried through between the Soviet government and the government of Latvia. On December 23, ninety communists arrived in Moscow, from the prisons of "democratic" Latvia, where they had been martyred and tortured, and from whence they have now been rescued in exchange for Lettish hostages retained in Russia.

They were received at the Vindavsk station in Moscow by the workers of the former Riga factory "Union", of the railway workshops of Moscow, and by the students of the communist university in Moscow, further by the representatives of the Comintern, of the Lettish section and the Moscow Committee of the Russian CP., of the Moscow Committee of the Youth Union, of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, etc. In their speeches of welcome, the delegates expressed their conviction, that the flames of the world revolution would soon seize even those places from which the martyred comrades came. They conveyed messages of sympathy from the Russian workers to the Lettish comrades, who have suffered so much in the prisons of bourgeois Latvia.

Comrades Krustin, Dermann, and Kliavs-Kliavin replied to the welcome on behalf of the exchanged comrades. Comrade Krustin pointed out that the leaders of white Latvia were building "democratic" Latvia on the dead bodies of the workers who fell in the fight for their emancipation. Comrade Dermann, deputy of the Lettish national assembly, emphasized that to-day in Latvia, the Tsarist code of criminal law is still being used, and that workers are being condemned to death for deeds for which even the Tsarist government seldom imposed capital punishment. The Lettish courts of justice, headed by the social democrat Holzmann, has caused death sentences on communists to be carried out.

The last speaker, comrade Kliavs-Kliavin, who, despite his being a Russian subject, was tortured in the prisons of Latvia, thanked the workers of Soviet Russia for their comradely reception, and declared that the whole of the comrades who had arrived from Latvia were fully conscious that they owed their lives to Russia, whose powerful hand had rescued them from the hangman of "democratic" Latvia. These comrades are united to the workers of Russia by the tie of communism, and will devote their whole work and their lives for the increase of the political and economic power of Soviet Russia.

APPEALS

The Russian Medical Workers to the Medical Personnel of all Countries!

The 4 All Russian Congress of medical employes and workers, representing over 350,000 union members, having held its session recently in Moscow, sends fraternal greetings to the medical personnel of all countries, and imparts the following information:

"The union "Wsemediksantrud" is based on the principle of one vocation one union, and comprises all workers employed in the medical and veterinary profession, or in pharmaceutical chemistry, (Physicians, dentists, veterinary surgeons, ambulance assistants, mid-wives, infants' nurses, pharmaceutical chemists, druggists, etc.) in state, public, or private institutions within the territory of the RSFSR.

The union takes an active part in solving the questions connected with medical, sanitary, and veterinary work; it discusses the most important points in the structure of our health authorities, conjointly with the economic organs, and puts forward candidates for responsible positions in the organs for the protection of public health, hospitals, etc.

During the 5 years of Soviet government the members of the union have stood shoulder to shoulder with the workers of Russia, and have supported the government in all its measures. They have fought against epidemics and served in the field, despite the most frightful deprivations; they have cared for the sick and wounded of the Red Army, and have had faith in the victory of our ideals."

The appeal also contains the following:

"Comrades! Our organization is affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, notwithstanding, we appeal to you, who are in the ranks of other international organizations, and propose that you enter into close relations with us. We beg you to exchange your experiences in the class-war with us."

We for our part will willingly give you the full benefit of the experience gathered in the course of our work, and in this way we may succeed in working out, conjointly with you, a general line of common tactics.

The 4th All Russian Congress of the "Wsemediksantrud" appeals to you, comrades, to enter into the closest connection with us.

Long live the proletarian united front!
Long live the international proletarian revolution!
Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!

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Loucheur, Stinnes & Co.

By Jacques Sadoul.

Before 1914, the exploitation of the two mightiest mining areas of the continent, Lorraine and the Ruhr, ensured the predominance in Europe of the German bourgeoisie.

In order to break this dominion, the victorious Entente had to destroy its foundations. The Versailles Treaty therefore provided for the separation of the ores of Lorraine from Germany, and their incorporation in France, while the Ruhr coal was left to Germany.

But even the most solemn agreements, written in the blood of millions of poor propertyless victims, and protected by armies comprising millions of soldiers, cannot hold good if they contravene economic realities. The Treaty of Versailles, like many other treaties, is nothing more than a scrap of paper, because it attempts to break up the natural unity of the Rhine valley.

The German metal industries are as little able to do without the ore of Lorraine as the French metal industries of Lorraine are able to dispense with the Ruhr coal. The mutual economic dependence of the two areas is inalienable. The Rhine flowing between them must again become what it was before, a connecting line. It is only possible to properly utilize the huge riches of the Rhine valley when the owners work in the closest relationship with one another.

What form will these close relations take?

Three possibilities may be considered:

- the (French) iron submits to the dominion of the (German) coal.
- the coal submits to the iron.
- iron and coal—incapable of dominating one another completely—are forced to make a compromise.

The ore of Lorraine, in the hands of victorious and armed France, will not submit to the Ruhr, that is, to vanquished and

disarmed Germany. But on the other hand England and the United States, after making such great efforts for the overthrow of German dominance, will not permit France to establish her own supremacy on the ruins of Germany, by forcing German coal to submit to the sway of French iron.

Let us therefore examine the conditions for the realization of the third possibility, the only one which appears probable at the present time: an understanding between French ore and German coal.

The men on both sides whose interests are chiefly at stake, and who are therefore best informed—the French and German iron barons—are perfectly aware that such an understanding is inevitable, and that it will be necessary, within a short time, to form a Franco-German syndicate for the exploitation of the mines of Lorraine and the Ruhr. Both parties are preparing for this understanding, and both parties are naturally endeavoring to grant as little as possible, and to gain as much as possible, when entering into the agreement.

In order to fill and defend their cash-boxes—for this is the sole tangible reality in the whole affair—French and German capitalists are resorting to every possible medium of deception and violence.

In the last resort it is a question—and this no communist must forget—of what privileged rights this or that partner is to have over the sweat and misery of the workers, of what proportion of the riches squeezed out of the exploited workers of the Ruhr mines is to be granted to Loucheur, Schneider & Co., and how many millions in return for this are to be accorded to Stinnes, Thyssen & Co., from the no less scandalous exploitation of the miners of Lorraine.

This question, the one most essential for Stinnes, Loucheur, etc., is one which can be solved by corruption or by violence, by milliards of gold or milliards of shells. These knights sans reproche do not shrink from utilizing the national finances, and the national army, for their private interests and for the satisfaction of their own appetites. They drag both nations at their heels. And to be able to do so with more certainty, they carefully conceal their cash-boxes from sight. In France and Germany alike, the cash-boxes vanish behind a drop-scene painted in the national colors and bearing the dazzling inscription: Liberty! honor! fatherland! Words which for many centuries have served only too often to sacrifice the credulous masses to the designs of their oppressors. The feelings of the workers are again to be played upon, their idealism appealed to, and the same trap laid for them. Once more the German and the Frenchman, the workman and the peasant, the exploited tax-payer, is to be converted into a "heroic soldier", ready to sacrifice his life and possessions on the altar of his native country, that is, on the altar of capitalist profit.

Thus the German and French capitalists are in full agreement with respect to the division of the mines of Lorraine and the Ruhr. Four years of war, of suffering, of horror and of murder, ten millions of dead, thousands of milliards of debts—this has sufficed to convince them of the necessity of this agreement. All that remains to be settled is the percentage of profit to be assigned to each of these gentlemen. Hence all these negotiations, manoeuvres, and intrigues, carried on for the last four years between high finance and heavy industry, and aided by the enthusiastic intermediaries at the heads of our democratic republics. Hence the waste of further milliards, the slaughter of more workers.

Germany, like France, has so far placed her military power and her budget, the whole of her material and moral resources, at the disposal of her bourgeoisie, has so far offered resistance in the conviction that this resistance would be supported by the English and Americans "to a victorious end". But the rapacity shown on both sides threatened to prolong these haggling indefinitely. France's power, as compared with Germany's weakness is perfectly obvious. France's political and military dominion on the continent is indisputable. France knows that her powerful ex-allies have no present intentions of taking any serious steps against her. Threatened by bankruptcy, she hastens to bring the matter to an end. Her *coup de main* in the Ruhr area aims at forcing Germany to give way further and more rapidly.

M. Poincaré in his last speeches to the Chamber, could not conceal, that this glorious military advance will bring in very little for the devastated districts of France. That he spoke with comparative moderation arises from the fact that the lessons taught him by reality are forcing him at last to renounce his mad hopes.

In laying hands on the coal fields of the Ruhr district (75 per cent being German undertakings) the French bourgeoisie pursues a tangible object. It is enabled to exercise pressure in two directions.

On one side on England and America, with the object of attaining annulment of the French war debts under the threat of permanently establishing French rule in the Ruhr area.

On the other side on Germany, with the object of inducing her to more rapid and complete submission by the threat of ruining or even completely annihilating her industry.

Despite the protests—though these are discreet enough—and mild threats of the British Empire and the United States, despite the indignation and rage of the German bourgeoisie, its declarations of hate and vengeance, and despite even its gestures of resistance, the Ruhr occupation will have the following effects:

- a) a reduction or cancellation of France's debts to her allies,
- b) the creation of a Franco-German syndicate: Loucheur, Stinnes & Co., for the exploitation of the Ruhr and Rhine areas.

Even should this process be interrupted by complications, it will be inevitably continued sooner or later. Events will take the course they are bound to take.

The French divisions will evacuate the Ruhr district. But the French capitalists will retain it. Extremely significant consequences are bound to follow in the near future.

The occupation of the Ruhr is without doubt the most brutal, but at the same time the most decisive step ever taken to force the formation of a permanent alliance between France and Germany, first in economic, and then in the political and military sphere.

This extremely difficult process of development will be realized in a series of stages.

The economic (class) alliance could be easily realized. The capitalists, as enlightened men, are capable of controlling their patriotic passions most excellently when necessary.

The (national) political alliance—as a necessary consequence of the interweaving and union of economic interests, would on the other hand meet with a comparatively long resistance from the chauvinist prejudices deeply rooted in the masses. But the great press, so skilled in producing public opinion, in using and mis-using its influence, would certainly manage in the course of time to transform the "hereditary enemy", into a good friend, possibly the sole friend, in the eyes of the "man in the street"; at the same time a non-committal attitude would be adopted towards Russia, who would doubtless be granted a place in this anti-English combination.

We must once more emphasize that the state is a tool in the hands of the ruling class, and that the democratic state serves the ends of the bourgeoisie. The logical consequence is, that today the French and German proletariats are incited against each other in the Ruhr area, and to-morrow they will be thrown together as friends, just as it suits the pockets of a handful of industrial magnates.

It must be repeated that the bourgeoisie, once in power, uses the mask of democratic idealism, solely in order to pursue its one aim and object, its own profits.

We have no need to be indignant; indignation is not a Marxist virtue. But we must keep on repeating these elementary truths and never let our clearness of vision on these points become blurred. We must take great care not to underestimate the problem nor regard it as one of personalities. Whether feudal, bourgeois, or proletarian—a government is invariably the agent of its class. Thus we should have nothing to do with the dangerous game of trying to ascertain the various degrees of responsibility to be accorded to different national sections of the bourgeoisie, to their parties, or their politicians. We must not be deceived by appearances. We must learn the lesson, and learn to express it openly, that in this critical phase now being passed through by the whole of Europe, but especially by France, the men of the "left", such as Herriot and Painlevé (the hope of the Blum and Jouhaux party), once in possession of power, would speedily forget their democracy—though this means little or nothing—and would only remember that they belong to the bourgeoisie, which is of great import and significance. In other words, they would continue the policy of Poincaré and Millerand, for their place in the government would be the same as that held by these politicians, they would be the agents of the ruling bourgeois class.

The essential point for the communists is neither the occupation of the Ruhr area in itself, nor the question if the miners of the Ruhr are to be exploited by the French bourgeoisie instead of by the German, or thrown into prison by German gendarmerie or French soldiers during strikes.

If the communists were to devote their energies to interesting, but secondary problems, they would be in danger of neglecting their chief tasks. They would confuse and dull the consciousness of the workers, and thus facilitate the machinations by which our class enemies arouse patriotic Fascism.

We must do nothing calculated to induce the (French or German) workers, under any circumstances, to join the "holy alliance", the united front with the bourgeoisie. The working class must know only one enemy: the bourgeoisie. The sole war in which it is the duty of the worker to participate is the class war, the civil war. The communists must take no sides whatever in open conflicts between the French and German bourgeoisie. They must strike with equal force on both sides of the frontier, the French workers against the French bourgeoisie, and the German workers against the German bourgeoisie.

Out of the numerous problems arising from the Ruhr occupation, we must only devote our attention to those in which the proletariat has a direct interest. We must be prepared for defense against every attack on the rights of the proletariat, against every act of violence perpetrated by the bourgeoisie against the working class; we must be ready to fight for the overthrow of the bourgeois government, for the united front of the workers, and for establishing the workers' government. But we must under no circumstances make common cause with the exploiters, with the nationalists.

Some of our comrades do not seem to properly appreciate the great danger which I am endeavoring to emphasize. They must be warned. The energy of the working class should not be exhausted in unnecessary or dangerous demonstrations.

Despite the outcries, the shrieks of rage, the rattling of sabres, and the warlike gestures both real and sham, the actual effect of the occupation of the Ruhr is to bring the French and German capitalists closer together, and consequently to lessen the danger of war between bourgeois France and Germany.

Yesterday, the possession of Lorraine and of the Ruhr secured for Germany the industrial domination of Europe. To-morrow, the exploitation of these areas by the combined forces of French and German capital may establish a Franco-German hegemony.

We must keep these gigantic processes of political change before our eyes, we must follow the great economic alterations which bring about this change, and must foresee the effects to be expected from the union of the capitalists of these two countries on the position of the Franco-German proletariat, and on the development of the European revolution.

POLITICS

Hullo, Fimmen, Vandervelde & Co. What has become of your International Strike?

By A. Lozovsky.

Three weeks after the representatives of the Amsterdammers and of the Second and 2½ Internationals, together with the bourgeois pacifists swore that they would prevent a war at any price, French troops marched into Germany. The far-sighted apostles of peace had thought of every possibility of war, only this one had never occurred to them.

At the Hague we heard many speeches on *Red militarism*, and on the imperialist intentions of Soviet Russia. Every time that the leaders of the socialist and trade union movement—these leaders whose tonguing for the ministerial port folio is passionate—happened to speak of Russia, they adopted a particularly pathetic attitude. *Vandervelde* boiled like a samovar. *Jouhaux* exposed the *Red militarism* in fragmentary but powerful terms (he has a very loud voice). *Abrahamovitch* wept on the bosom of the pacific professors; pacifist ladies wiped his tears with their aprons, and were for their part plunged into the deepest sorrow because Soviet Russia is not built up on the pattern of their magnificently democratic and liberal fatherlands. When the Russian delegates made the proposal to consider the question of the Lausanne Conference and the impending occupation of the Ruhr, the reformist and pacifist gentlemen saw in this proposal only a despicable trick of the Bolsheviks against liberty-loving France, and found it more convenient to put our proposition under the table-cloth.

How many beautiful speeches against war were made! All the terrors of war were vividly reviewed, and painted in the most glaring colors. Radek, Rothstein and myself, were so touched that we wiped our tears away with our fists. "Now there will be no more war," we thought; "it is no joke when Vandervelde, Jouhaux, Huysmans, Renaudel, Thomas, MacDonald, and the other Grumbachs flourish their hands about like this! Mars will certainly be frightened away by these long-winded phrases and astronomical gestures!" After having wept with emotion for four days, we proposed to the speechifiers of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals, on the fifth day, that we cease flourishing and really get to business in the matter of war against war. But our proposals wounded their finest feelings. When we were leaving the congress hall, one of the leaders of the reformist French C.G.T., Dumoulin, asked me: "How many renegades are there, in your opinion, at this congress?" To this I replied: "You will be able to ascertain the exact number of renegades at the first military conflict." You can now draw up the list, citizen Dumoulin, and do not forget to let us know what you personally have done towards organizing the international strike.

That which every body could see was going to happen, that which should have been energetically counteracted at the Hague, has happened. The French and Belgians, creators of peace, who swore to prevent any bloodshed in the future, are sitting at home and praying to the League of Nations, but do not breathe a syllable about a general strike! The only real protest against Poincaré's adventure, the only serious attempt to hold back the wild beasts of war, came from the Communist parties of France and Germany, and from the revolutionary unions of both countries. The printer's ink is not yet dry on the pacifist resolutions of the Hague, and the leaders of this congress, the leaders of the reformist and socialist trade

union movement of Belgium and France, have already proved what anyone could foresee, namely, that the interests of the bourgeoisie are nearer to their hearts than those of the proletariat. Dumoulin can now make a count of the number of renegades in his own organization. And if he goes on to count the renegades in Belgium and in other neighbouring countries, he will find many old and familiar faces, the same who at the Hague raved against *Red militarism* and against the representatives of Soviet Russia.

Once again the reformist workers have been deluded, once again they have experienced an unheard of betrayal, another victory of class peace. How often will the European workers have to be rudely awakened from these delusions before they cast aside the reformist pacifist anaesthetic? How often? It is difficult to say. But what is certain is, that in the period between the Hague conference and the Ruhr occupation the workers have grown not merely three weeks wiser, but have gained the experience of years.

Hullo, Jouhaux, Henderson, Fimmen, Vandervelde, Dumoulin, and all the peace apostles of the Hague! What has become of your international strike against war?

The Amsterdammers and the Occupation of the Ruhr

By F. Maçon.

According to their own representations, the Amsterdam leaders are the greatest collection of 20th century heroes. What have they not done already for the proletariat. How they have defended the interests of the proletariat tooth and nail in every emergency! . . . All the newspapers are full of their heroic deeds. At the meetings at which speeches are delivered by Messrs. Fimmen and Oudegeest, they relate to their astounded audiences the histories of the many battles in which they successfully fought against the class enemy, and of the battles they are going to fight in the future. Their one aim and object in life is to fight against the Versailles treaty and its consequences. Even in their dreams they are occupied with the problem of emancipating the proletariat from the disastrous effects of the Versailles treaty. They are well aware that the Versailles treaty brings no peace, but is a constant danger for all, a seething volcano.

When, in April 1921, after the London ultimatum, it was feared that the soldiers of the allies might march into the Ruhr area, the Amsterdam International issued an appeal to the allied governments begging them, "to abstain from new sanctions, as the offers made by the German government, offers whose fulfilment was guaranteed by the German labor organizations, pave the way for a peaceful solution." The German trade unions, on their part, were placed under the obligation of doing their utmost to induce the German government to pay. At that time no occupation of the Ruhr area took place; perhaps the guarantees of the Amsterdammers sufficed for the Entente governments.

On September 14, 1922, the German Amsterdammers in the *Neue Welt* called a demonstration in Berlin, at which Fimmen, secretary of the Amsterdam International, spoke to the following effect:

"I may remind you that when the occupation of the Ruhr area was proposed before, we did our utmost to prevent it, and went so far as to be ready to reply with a general strike in the case of occupation; to-night I declare, on behalf of 25 million organized workers, that, should an invasion of the Ruhr area be again threatened, the International Trade Union Federation will do its duty."

This declaration of Fimmen's might lead us to assume that the Amsterdammers would really proclaim a general strike. But the cautious Fimmen provided for the necessary reservations by violent polemics against the German trade union leaders and the organ of the German Trade Union Federation whose nationalist attitude renders any action of the world proletariat in favor of the German workers extremely difficult!

On November 27, Edo Fimmen wrote in the *Vorwärts*:
"The most visible evidence of the will and determination of the trade unions to wage war on war, was evinced at the trade union congress held in Rome in April of this year. This congress was attended by 107 delegates representing a total of about 24 million organized workers, and imposed on the workers organized in the International Trade Union Federation the duty of counteracting all wars threatened in the future, by every possible means at the disposal of the Labor movement, and of

preventing the actual outbreak of a war by the proclamation and carrying out of an international general strike... The International trade union federation assumes the leadership in the war against war... The world peace conference convened for December 10 at The Hague will gather together all the organizations claiming adhesion to the resolution passed at Rome."

The Hague conference, which has meanwhile taken place, only succeeded in manifesting the complete hollowness of the Amsterdam promises. The motion proposed by comrade Radek, to unite all the forces of the proletariat into one united front against the danger of war threatened by the impending occupation of the Ruhr district, and call a 24 hours protest strike against the belligerent intentions of the bourgeoisie, was answered with chilly silence. The Amsterdamers swept the motion aside. In the *Metal Workers Journal*, Fritz Kummer rightly points out that the attitude taken by the Amsterdam trade union leaders towards Radek's motion gave every reason to fear the worst. But the Amsterdamers at the Hague, left no room for doubt, that should the danger of war arise, they would behave precisely as they did in 1914. This was expressed most clearly of all in the speech of Vandervelde, who maintained the right of national defence against armed attack; on this point he received the most lively support from the chairman of the German trade union federation, Grassmann.

The occupation of the Ruhr has become an actual fact, and the Amsterdam International has the opportunity of convincing the whole world of its heroism. The German Amsterdamers are waiting on tenterhooks for the International trade union federation to rush to their aid, and perform some miracle having for its main object the removal of all necessity for exertion on the part of the German trade union leaders. The *Vorwärts* triumphantly reports that on January 16 the International Trade Union Federation consulted on "organizational measures for the energetic combating of militarism and the danger of war." But in the official communication of the I.T.U.F. we read:

"It was unanimously resolved to enter into immediate communication with all affiliated national bureaus, in order to consider the possibility of decisive action, and to adopt preparatory measures for the steps to be taken, so that the workers of all countries may be in readiness to answer any summons made by the International Trade Union Federation and its affiliated organizations, so that the resolutions passed at Rome and the Hague may, if necessary, be converted into deeds. At the same time the bureau warns the workers against any attempt from this or the other side to induce them to plunge into ill-considered and unprepared actions. Above all, the bureau urgently warns the German workers against permitting themselves to be misled for nationalist and chauvinist actions."

The warning to the workers, not to allow themselves to be persuaded by others to plunge into "ill-considered and unprepared action", appears to be the reply of the Amsterdamers to the open letter of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, in which these two organizations appeal to the Amsterdamers, and to the 2 and 2½ Internationals, to prepare a joint action in the form of a protest mass strike. The warning to the German workers, not to let themselves be misled for nationalist and chauvinist actions, is the counter-assurance of the leaders of the International Trade Union Federation that they will undertake nothing against the occupation of the Ruhr, for they will prove to the German Workers by hundreds of examples that the workers have let themselves be misled for nationalist and chauvinist purposes by their party and trade union leaders, that they have fought on the side of Stinnes and company, instead of carrying out their promises, made in April 1920 to the Amsterdam trade union international, of fighting against Stinnes for the purpose of fulfilling the reparations.

Meanwhile the proposals of the Communists and revolutionary trade unions for joint action against French and German imperialism have been insolently scoffed at by the German Amsterdamers. The action taken by the revolutionary leaders of France against the Ruhr encounters a conspiracy of silence. In the appeal issued by the German Trade Union Federation, in which the workers are summoned to resistance against the Ruhr occupation, the united front with the bourgeoisie is openly preached, and the attempt was made to obtain the signatures of great industrial magnates to the appeal. Instead of a joint fight of the whole proletariat against all war mongers and exploiters we are offered a united front with them, with workers and employers joint protest demonstrations, and 2 minutes "standing still in the street, to meditate on the disastrous consequences of the war". This is the fight put up by the German Amsterdamers. The French Amsterdamers have also issued an appeal, and in

this we read that the occupation of the Ruhr district is a dangerous error,

"an error, because the burden of reparations will be increased by considerable military burdens, by the maintenance and provisioning of a thickly populated district, without there being any possibility of showing what advantage is to be gained."

In the Belgian Chamber on January 10., Vandervelde set the tune for the light of the Amsterdamers against the occupation of the Ruhr. His words were as follows:

We are unanimously agreed, that our claims and those of the French and Italians, are sacred claims, and must be paid by Germany. France has given her blood, and there is no responsibility greater than that borne by Germany; the great German industrial undertakings remain a constant threat against peace."

Vandervelde's words were emphasized by his colleague Georges Hubin, who then continued:

"I regret that the *Vorwärts* has recommended the workers of the Ruhr area to call a protest strike. The German Social Democrats, who have done nothing to prevent Stinnes and his like from enriching themselves, recommend the general strike as soon as it is a question of working for payment of the reparations."

On January 20 we read in the *Vorwärts*:

"Whether the devastations involved the property of the poor or of the rich, whether the men who have been dragged to prison for resisting illegal violence have acted as friends or foes to the labor movement, is all the same! The worker's instinctive feeling for right and human dignity fully recognizes that all these questions are not of paramount importance at this moment. We could almost wish that among the arrested, on whose behalf the workers sprang forward so courageously there had really been an open opponent of the labor movement." The attitude taken by the workers would then appear in a clearer light, and the respect in which they are held by friends and foes would be increased."

The attitude thus adopted by the German Amsterdamers will doubtless give Mr. Fimmen the opportunity of ceasing the preparations for a defensive action on the part of the workers. And this will be an opportunity for the Amsterdamers to prove, as the Germans, Belgians, and French have already done, that the Amsterdam International is merely a society for misleading the proletariat and entertaining the capitalist wolves. In the whole of the German trade union press there is only one voice to be heard which not only holds aloof from the national humbug of the German trade union federation, and of the Social Democrats, but calls upon its members to take action against it. In the organ of the Butchers' Union we read:

Let us beware of the agitation against foreigners, provoked by nationalist circles; no colleague should participate in this swindle. We must not forget that the French workers are just as little satisfied with the proceedings of the French rulers, and are raising loud protests. We warn all colleagues to keep clear of all nationalist jingoism."

In the hour of the occupation of the Ruhr, the whole of the active elements of the Amsterdamers have become reconverted to nationalism. They follow the same path as in August 1914. The passive elements, on the other hand, send telegrams of petition to the League of Nations, that this may appear on the scene as the Angel of Peace, and bring salvation to all countries from the evil of capitalism. The demi-gods of the Amsterdam league of heroes cannot endure the common struggle of the proletariat of all countries against Versailles and capitalism. In such struggles they cannot deck themselves in frock coat and silk-hat, cannot strike upon their perfumed shirt fronts. The fight against Versailles and against the Ruhr occupation will be carried out by the revolutionary masses alone, without setting the Amsterdam heroes into motion.

Open Letter

To the Executive Committee of
The British Labour Party,

Gentlemen:

London.

Out of the 228 men sent up for trial in connection with the riots in the village of Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces, 172 have been sentenced to death by imperialist justice. The history of the case may not be unknown to you. In the winter

*) It seems that Fritz Thyssen is not an open opponent of the workers in the eyes of the *Vorwärts* people; all he wants to do is to abolish the eight hour day, in which aim he is aided by Schippel, Cohen, and Kalitzky,—good social democrats... Ed.

of 1920—21 the discontent among the poor peasantry of the United Provinces, where Feudalism reigns supreme under the protection of the British government, was very acute. In many a place this discontent broke out into open revolt against the oppression of landlordism. The British government, which always poses as the protector of the tenant and has given some legal shape to this pretension in order to secure the "loyalty" of the peasant masses, however, did not hesitate a moment to send armed forces as soon as the "life and property" of the loyal landowners were menaced by poor cultivators driven to revolt by hunger. Thus the traditional illusion of the Indian peasantry about the "benevolence" of the *sirkar* was shaken and they found themselves face to face with the forces of State coercion allied with tyrannical landlordism. This combination of forces led up to the incident at Chauri Chaura, which was brought about by Police provocation.

The men, arrested after the Chauri Chauri riots and after the outbreaks that subsequently spread in the surrounding districts had been suppressed by unrestrained use of bayonets and other forms of terrorism, were charged with the "murder" of a number of policemen at Chauri Chaura. 22 policemen were killed in the affray; but the dispensers of imperialist justice conveniently overlooked the facts that the affray was begun by the policemen firing on peaceful demonstrators, and that the number of men killed and wounded in consequence of firing volleys on a crowd of several thousand must have exceeded the casualties on the government side.

One hundred and seventy-two men, many of whom were hungry peasants and who were so hungry because they had been forced to contribute too heavily to the fund for helping the "war for democracy", stand sentenced to be "hanged by the neck until dead." This legal murder is being perpetrated in the name of "law and order" and "good government". The real crime committed by these was to rebel against unbearable economic exploitation and to demonstrate the desire to fight for their rights. In doing so, they had to challenge the feudal absolutism which flourishes in India under the benign protection of British Democracy. These men will legally be murdered for having spontaneously expressed the noble principles that inspired the glorious Peasant Revolt of Great Britain and other European countries. In order to defend the rights of landlordism, which constitutes its most loyal support, British Imperialism is committing a barbarous deed which will even surpass its own none too admirable records in India. This prostitution of justice will be unparalleled in its majestic vindictiveness and brutality.

On behalf of the toiling millions of India, and in the name of "justice and fair play", in which you believe so implicitly, we call upon you to lead the British working class to intervene and demand the reprieve of the condemned champions of the Indian peasantry. We call upon the British Labour Party to exert pressure upon the government by means of Parliamentary action, as well as by strikes and demonstrations in case parliamentary action fails to bring about the desired effect. You must take these steps if you want to prove that you are not a party to the imperialism of the British bourgeoisie. If you fail to act in this tragic moment, you will go down in history with the blood of the Indian peasantry on your head, and you will stand charged with the betrayal of those principles of "freedom and democracy" that you claim to advocate. At the same time we appeal directly to the British proletariat to repudiate your leadership in case you fail to act and thus condone this legal murder by infuriated Imperialism.

Zurich, February 2, 1923.

M. N. Roy,

For The Communist Party of India.

The International Situation in 1922

By M. I. Maisky (Moscow).

During the year 1922 the wave of revolution ebbed. This ebb-tide had already set in during 1920, so that last year brought nothing fundamentally new or interesting.

The receding tide of revolution is synonymous with the rising flood of reaction. This was very clearly expressed in the course of the past year in the sphere of politics. In both large and small countries, in victorious and vanquished lands, in England and in Estonia, in France and in Albania, the same tendency of evolution is everywhere to be observed.

The political attack of capital assumed its acutest form in Italy. The governments of Bonomi and Facta showed a

complete paralysis of official state power. They scarcely had the intention of doing anything, but if they had had any such intention, they would not have been able to carry it out, for the Fascisti ruled the country, and have now made themselves actual masters of Italy, after two years of fighting against the proletariat.

In the other great countries of Europe events have not been so dramatic as in Italy. But there have been many vacillations and changes, differing only in degree but not in quality from the events in Italy.

Let us take England. The most important political occurrence in this country last year, was the change of government and the new parliamentary election. Lloyd George, the cleverest and most elastic leader of European capitalism, was overthrown, and his place taken by that petty-bourgeois simpleton Bonar Law. Conservative liberalism has been replaced by liberal imperialism. The results of the new elections signify a move to the right, and a step towards the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The attitude adopted by the new government with regard to the most important question for the English proletariat—unemployment—may serve as an example. Lloyd George talked a great deal about unemployment, and even did something (although by no means as much as he talked) to relieve it. Bonar Law will not even grant an interview to the representatives of the unemployed. This is the first snow-drop. It will soon be followed by other harbingers of bourgeois Spring, a Spring which may be more terrible to the working masses than the severest winter frost.

Let us take a glance at Germany. This is a republic without republicans. The state constitution is adorned with republican garb, but the whole administrative apparatus, and the whole military mechanism, are in the hands of the monarchists. The government commands—the army and the officials do not obey. But even this powerless government of powerless republicans does not suit the capitalists. Stinnes presses the button, and the scene changes. Wirth resigns, and the social democratic president calls upon the industrial magnate Cuno to take his place. But even the Cuno cabinet cannot satisfy the growing appetite of the industrial magnates. It is not energetic enough, not sufficiently permeated with the spirit of feudalism. The Cuno government is only regarded as a stepping stone to a full-blown cabinet of the capitalist dictatorship. We see that the hands of the political indicator have turned considerably to the right. But the hour has not yet struck for reaction in Germany.

And in France? In 1922 the black reactionary bloc ruled also in the land of the third republic, and as time passes the reactionary elements of this bloc ascend higher towards government. Briand was displaced by Poincaré. To-day even Poincaré is too weak. To-day he is suspected of sympathy with the "left". A new government is appearing on the horizon, headed by Tardieu, whose head is completely impervious against the penetration of any statesmanlike idea or political conception.

In France the scales were already heavily weighted with reaction, and 1922 not only brought no relief, but rather added fresh weight.

The line of political development of the four largest European countries thus shows the same fundamental tendency; an abrupt move to the right, towards open bourgeois dictatorship. We can observe similar developments in the smaller countries, as in Belgium, Holland, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Scandinavian countries.

In the United States, where united capital has still firm ground beneath its feet, where the bourgeoisie is not yet threatened by any immediate danger of revolution, we observe the same "Fascist" evolution. But we observe here at the same time the growing resistance of the proletariat, a temporary slackening in the capitalist offensive, and a re-grouping in the camp of the bourgeoisie, as shown by the defeat of the republicans at the last election.

The political attack made by capital has been accompanied everywhere by an economic attack of equal violence. The year 1922 was a year of falling wages, of strong pressure on the trade union organizations.

The past year saw many severe conflicts between capital and labor in all large and small bourgeois countries, conflicts which in most cases, ended with the complete or partial defeat of the workers. These defeats were, in almost every case, to a great extent due to the treacherous attitude of the reformist leaders. This was seen in Germany in the strike of the South German metal workers and railwaymen, in England in the engineering struggle, which affected about a million workers, and in the strike of the American miners, etc.

The move to the right may also be observed in international relations. The three great questions—Germany, Russia, and the Near East—have become extraordinarily acute. The capitalist world, or, strictly speaking, the Entente, made an attempt towards a solution of these three questions. But the attempt ended in a great fiasco. This failure was due to capitalist reaction getting the upper hand of the more cunning capitalist liberalism.

Lloyd George wanted to solve the Russian problem by means of a compromise acceptable to both sides, and for this purpose convened the conferences at Genoa and The Hague. Capitalist reaction, chiefly represented by the French government and by the City of London, got the upper hand, and now, after Genoa and The Hague, the Russian question is farther from a satisfactory solution than it was a year ago.

Lloyd George was also anxious to solve the German question on the lines of liberal-capitalist reason. For a time it seemed as if Lloyd George had overcome Poincaré's resistance. But here again capitalist reaction defeated capitalist liberalism. When the German question will be solved is still quite uncertain, more uncertain than a year ago.

The solution of the third question, that of the Near East, now being attempted at Lausanne, deserves the greatest interest. England—supported by France, Italy, and a whole troop of lesser vassals—is trying to create another treaty of Sevres. In August 1920, the great powers, without consulting Turkey or Russia, "decided" the fate of the Near East by a stroke of their official pens. They converted Turkey into a colony, and completely excluded Russia from the solution of the Straits problem. But they reckoned without their host. And the host speedily showed that he was not to be trifled with. The events of the year 1922 tore the treaty of Sevres to shreds. The conference of Lausanne was intended to solve the problem in a new manner, that is, in agreement with the host. But what do we see actually? Not only does Lord Curzon not even seek a way of compromise with Turkey and Russia, he actually throws every possible obstacle in the way of such a compromise. If Curzon remains master of the situation, he cannot attain, under the most favorable circumstances, more than a new Sevres treaty, with the same organic defects and the same inevitable results. What does this signify? One thing only: Even in the Near Eastern question capitalist reaction has won the upper hand over capitalist liberalism, and the noble lord in Lausanne is merely the mouthpiece of British Fascism.

As regards the prospects for the future, in Europe, revolution is at the ebb-tide. The bourgeoisie is increasing in power. The proletariat has passed over to a defensive attitude. Capital attacks, and the working class defends itself, but not always successfully. A sad picture! And yet pessimism was never more out of place than to-day.

The upward movement of reaction cannot and will not last long. European capitalism has received its death wound. It is not dying rapidly, its death agony is protracted, but it cannot rise again. A Fascist dictatorship may throw the proletariat to the ground for a time, Mussolini and Curzon may cause the masses much unnecessary suffering, but they cannot save a bourgeois economy which has gotten into a blind alley.

But even in the matter of a dictatorship the bourgeoisie has but poor prospects. Two great obstacles bar the way. In the first place the Comintern, which, though still not sufficiently strong, is none the less of immense significance. This great organism, which at present has but little flesh on its bones, gathers new strength from the supply of fresh proletarian blood, so soon as the situation assumes a revolutionary character. And the Fascist terror is bound to lend the situation such a character. The second obstacle in the way of a capitalist dictatorship is Soviet Russia. The fact that a gigantic state, actually ruled by workers and peasants, really does exist, weighs like a nightmare on the consciousness of the European bourgeoisie.

As long as the Comintern and Soviet Russia continue to exist, European reaction cannot raise its head very high, Fascist possibilities are limited, and every grade of bourgeois dictatorship obtained under such circumstances furthers the revolutionary education of the workers. The Italian Fascism will not annihilate the Italian proletarian movement, but it will certainly annihilate the reformist opportunist delusions of this movement. It will be the same in other countries. The epoch of reactionary offensive brings much suffering and sorrow to the working masses of the west, but it steeles their heart and strengthens their will. And thus the bourgeois dictatorship of to-day paves the way for the proletarian dictatorship of to-morrow, for the all-European socialist revolution. And there are many signs that this day is not so far distant.

The Rulers of Lithuania and the Occupation of Memel

By A. L.-r, Lithuania.

The rulers of Lithuania, this young "democratic" republic, have learnt much during the few years of their political independence. They know very well that the maintenance of the god-dedged "order" in their country, that is, the maintaining and securing of democratic powers of exploitation and oppression in the hands of the large agrarians, profiteers, clergy, and ambitious soldiers, requires as a first premise the ruthless crushing of the class war movement among the proletariat of town and country, and among the landless peasants. The theory and practice of this knowledge have been learnt by them in the hard school of Tsarism, where the blows fell on their own shoulders. The Lithuanian reactionaries have even improved on these methods by a few genuinely Lithuanian variations—corresponding to the level of culture.

Hundreds and thousands of revolutionary socialists and communists have been languishing for years in the prisons of the republic, awaiting indictment and trial. A few weeks ago the comrades in the fort of Kovno carried out a hunger strike on the occasion of the death of comrade Yanusvskis, due to tuberculosis contracted in prison. The Lithuanian labor press of all languages (with the exception of the tame *Sozial-demokratas*), even the purely trade union organizations, are exposed to continual persecutions and reprisals, and are kept fighting for their very existence. All strike agitators are severely punished. The clergy, on the other hand, are not only permitted to carry on with impunity their well organized system for crushing out every spark of natural intelligence in their followers, but enjoy the fullest support of the authorities. The profiteers flourish and carouse, the workers sink deeper and deeper into want and misery. In such wise acts the Lithuanian bourgeoisie, so it and its accomplices protect the sacred principles of democracy.

So much for the policy with regard to internal affairs. The politicians and diplomats of reactionary Lithuania were not spectators of the diplomatic performances of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles, or of the "actions" of d'Annunzio in Fiume and Zeligovsky in Vilna without profiting thereby. With great acuteness they recognized the main principle on which the policy of the present rulers of Greater Europe is based, and these are the footsteps they follow.

Lithuanian troops (the "Iron Wolf" is not a "band", but an organized and equipped division of troops) have occupied the Memel district.

The Lithuanian government, which has been continually protesting against the robbery since Vilna was occupied by the Poles (it is characteristic that at that time Zeligovsky's troops were designated as "bands"), and appealed to the "conscience and justice of humanity" as incorporated in the League of Nations, this same government of human conscience and justice now shields the conquerors of Memel, and lends them support.

There is no doubt but that the whole Memel enterprise is favored by England. It is one of the many moves in the game being played by the great imperialist powers since Versailles. England (England's bourgeoisie) is anxious that—for the time being at least—Lithuania should not be subjugated by Poland. Naturally it is commercial interests of various kinds which play a leading part here.

In addition to this, England is in any case entirely opposed to the fulfilment of Poland's wish to incorporate the Memel district. Poland is for too much the servitor of Poincaré and of French capital, and this would signify a fresh strengthening of French, that is, anti-English influence.

But the Lithuanian rulers, who are willing to aid English capital by pushing the working masses of Lithuania, Memel, and East Prussia, about the board like pawns, have overlooked one point in their calculation towards realizing their imperialist designs: that the day is approaching when the international proletariat will seize power, and put an end to the imperialist policy of international capital. And then the Lithuanian proletariat, at the present time intimidated by the treachery of the social democrats, and shrinking from any revolutionary action, will be strong enough to burst its chains, and to set up a dictatorship which will change the republic of profiteers and parsons into a republic of the proletariat.

The task of the Lithuanian proletariat is to make it clear to the rulers of Lithuania that the working masses are not to be trifled with. This first urgent duty of the Lithuanian proletariat, that is, unrelenting class war against the national Lithuanian bourgeoisie, must be carried out in a common fighting front with the proletariat of East Prussia, now engaged in the sharpest conflict with the East Prussian bourgeoisie.

The Situation in Sweden

By H. F. Spak (Stockholm).

The international economic crisis, which was greatly felt in Sweden in the course of 1921, became exceedingly acute during the first half of 1922. The most important line of export of the country—the timber and saw-mill industry—was almost paralyzed. The stock of stored wood has been accumulating for some years, but the abnormally high rate of Swedish exchange has rendered it impossible to sell abroad. The reports of the stock market show the shares of the leading saw-mills to have sunk by 90 per cent. The other industries show the same tendencies. The stone quarries, another of the most important sources of Sweden's export trade, have not been worked since the beginning of the war as Germany was the chief buyer. The iron works are comparatively busy, but the special manufacture of separators, ball bearings, agricultural machinery, and the like, which constituted a great part of the economic strength of the country, has gone back considerably. All shares have sunk by 60 to 70 per cent. It is remarkable that this time the crisis—for the first time for a considerable period—has had a disastrous effect on agriculture, and is mirrored in a 50 per cent fall in the value of land. The extent of the agricultural crisis may be seen in the greatly increased number of mortgages of land. Here, as in all branches of industry, the necessary improvements and repairs have been completely neglected.

The unemployment naturally resultant on these conditions, and increasing mightily at the beginning of the year, had by the beginning of the winter, reached the total of 170,000 officially registered unemployed, so that the actual figure—at the lowest computation—can be estimated at 200,000. If we estimate the number of members of each family at the lowest possible average, it follows, that in a country of 5½ million inhabitants, at least half a million workers are directly or indirectly suffering from unemployment. The C.P. of Sweden has made great advances towards gaining the confidence of the masses by energetic activity against unemployment—a confidence demonstrated by the growth of the party, and by important election victories in the municipal and rural council elections at the end of the year.

At the commencement of the warmer season industry took a relative turn for the better. One disadvantage was, that some of the banks—above all the leading *Swedish Commercial Bank* had so over-capitalized a part of the undertakings, and carried on industrial speculation to such an extent, that a severe banking crisis arose, and the undertakings were granted less and less credit. But at the same time an improvement was observable in the export market, especially in the wood industry. This improvement is probably only temporary, but it has led to a reduction of unemployment. The actual number of unemployed at the end of the year was—at a low computation—80,000 the number officially registered being 37,000.

The increased opportunities for work offered to certain groups of the proletariat are neutralized by the colossal reductions in wages, and by the threatened attacks on the standard working day, which was made law with such infinite pains and trouble, after the world revolutionary crisis of 1918-19. Wages in all trades have been reduced by 60%, while the index figures of food prices show no corresponding fall. While the index figure for Sweden, is still 190 per cent as compared with 1914, wages have so fallen that they are now but little higher than at that time. But the agricultural laborers, whose wages never amounted to more than half those of the industrial workers, are the worst off. For the first time for centuries the supply of labor in the agricultural districts exceeds the demand. Up to 1920 the reverse was the case.

Besides the unemployment question, there was another matter which assumed a position of pressing political importance last year, the question of total abstinence. The party was much occupied with this question, the more so as the total abstinence organizations, with their hundreds and thousands of members, are composed of workers and peasants. The party adopted a perfectly unequivocal attitude towards the question of prohibition.

The C.P. of Sweden, the overwhelming majority of whose members are organized in total abstinence societies, threw its influence on the side of prohibition. Somewhat more than 49 per cent of the participants in the plebiscite voted for prohibition (about 900,000, mostly workers and peasants). The unequivocal attitude of the party has proved to have been right. We have won by it the sympathies of the best elements of the proletariat.

The party is also much occupied with the measures of inner organization recommended by the IV. World Congress. The nuclei and working groups have not yet attained as much success as might be wished, but still we have made good progress in this direction. Intensification of work has increased in proportion to the improved communist training of the party com-

rades, and despite our tremendous financial difficulties, we have succeeded in appointing organizers in several party districts. Within the party itself there have been no great conflicts, and joint work with subordinate organizations, above all with our youth union, has been excellent. The executive committee of the youth union and the women's groups on the one hand, and the working committee of the party on the other, have maintained excellent contact and understanding between their organizations by means of mutual representation.

The position of the Communist Party with regard to the His Majesty's social democratic government has been particularly difficult, for this government has on no occasion attempted to pursue a socialist policy, scarcely a really radical bourgeois policy. The majority of the all-Sweden party conference of the C.P. considered the most advisable tactics to be, not to give the social democrats any pretext for accusing us of serving reactionary interests, that is, we should not demand the resignation of the government. The qualified support of the social democratic government by the Communist Party was further justified as being a line of tactics calculated to force the social democrats themselves to open the eyes of the hitherto uncritical masses by putting their social democratic policy into actual practice. The minority of the party representatives, after pointing out the dangers attendant on such an attitude, loyally submitted to the resolution and have contributed to its being carried out. The severe and candid criticism of the government, always exercised by the C.P., has become much more severe, both in the parliament and outside of it. The party has utilized every opportunity to force the government, by action outside parliament, to either pursue an exceedingly radical policy, or to unmask itself before the working class.

Work for the proletarian united front is closely related to this. Repeated public appeals have been made to the social democratic leaders to join in common work on the basis of proletarian demands and actions, but these have invariably been refused. By these means the Swedish C.P. has succeeded in unveiling the real nature of social democratic policy before the eyes of the thinking proletariat.

The obligatory union of the social democrats of the 2 and 2½ Internationals cleared the political situation in a manner most favorable to us. The small centrist group, which separated in 1921 from the Swedish C.P., was at that time exceedingly diminutive, and consisted in the main of a few moderately gifted journalists. But thanks to a few semi-revolutionary phrases, and to a leader whose personality was popular in certain circles, this group succeeded in confusing a few small uncritical sections of proletarians. The confusion thus caused among certain circles of the proletariat, vanished at once when the centrists fused with the social patriots. The masses are now beginning to grasp that they have no alternative, but to choose either the social democratic petty-bourgeois policy, or the straightforward class war of the communists, with its goal of social revolution.

"The Communist Danger"

Poincaré's government appears to be contemplating an extensive state action against the communists. The preparations made against the "inner enemy" are equal to those undertaken for attacking the "outer enemy" in the Ruhr area.

The existence of the joint committee of action of the CGTU and the French CP has caused the government much anxiety. After the decision regarding the occupation of the Ruhr Valley had been reached in the French ministerial council, it was decided at the same time to attack the communists. As may be seen from an official communiqué, the government wanted to prevent a sitting of the committee of action at which the delegates to the Essen conference were to give their reports. A special session was convened for this purpose by the ministry for internal affairs, and was participated in by: the minister of justice, the minister for the interior, the state attorney and the attorney general, and the head of the political police. This session resolved on the arrest of the following communists: *Moumousseau*, general secretary of the C.G.T.U., *Maranne*, district secretary of Seine and Oise, *Pietri*, secretary of the Youth Union, *Gourdeaux*, member of the executive of the C.P.F., *Treint*, secretary of the F.C.P., *Lartigue*, secretary of the C.G.T.U. These comrades were accordingly arrested in their dwellings in the early morning hours of Wednesday, January 10. Their apartments were searched at the same time.

Further, in St. Quentin three trade union leaders were arrested: *Massot*, secretary of the Paris metal workers union, *Jacob*, secretary of the textile workers union, and *Semard*, secretary of the railwaymen's union. They were arrested on

their return journey from Essen. Another secretary of the C.G.T.U., *Cazals*, has been imprisoned, according to the *Humanite*.

At the same time the premises of the *Humanite* and the C.O.T.U. were searched. In the *Humanite* office the room and cupboards of comrade *Cochin* were broken into, despite the "immunity" assured by the laws of the French "democratic" republic to the deputies of its chamber.

At the first hearing the arrested were informed that they were charged with "plotting against the inner and outer security of the state". According to the news which we have received up to now, the arrested comrades have selected the following Counsel for their defence: *Monmousseau* the barrister Torr's, *Maranne* the editor of *Humanite*, *Delhay* and *Treint*, comrade *Maurice Paz*, *Pietri* the deputy, *Vaillant-Couturier*, and the international secretary of the union of ex-service men, *Albert Fourier*. The cause of our comrades thus appears to be likely to develop into a great trial for high treason.

This violent coup on Poincaré's part has stirred the workers of the whole of France to the profoundest depths. The *Humanite* breathes a splendid fighting spirit. The most important unions have already protested against this act of brutality, in their central committees, and everywhere the same will be expressed: Now or never! The joint committee of action continues to meet, it summons the workers of the whole of France to hold mighty protest demonstrations against the policy of interior and exterior violence pursued by Poincaré's government. Fresh committees of action are being formed all over the country. The centrals of the C.G.T.U. and of the Communist party of France are making appeals to the French working class.

Poincaré has sown the wind, and will reap the storm. The government of Loucheur and Schneider, the government of the Iron Works Committee, imagines that it can destroy the communist movement. Communism in France will emerge stronger than ever from this its first great combat. In the *Populaire*, the paper of French social democracy, Leon Blum complains that the French government is doing the work of the communists. "It really looks", he writes, "as if all the governments who follow one another have resolved to impart life and vigour to communism. In giving way to the threats of the royalists, the governments play into the hands of the communists."

Every French workman can now clearly grasp the connection between Poincaré's inner and outer policies. The French comrades have thoroughly realized that the whole object is the common enslavement of the French and German workers. Let us reach out across the frontiers, and join in the common fight against international capitalism.

ECONOMICS

Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4th Quarter of 1922

By E. Varga.

The Reparations Question and the Anglo-French Antagonism

At the present moment (beginning of January), the main point of interest is the break which has taken place in Paris between France and England. This event cannot have caused any surprise to our readers. In our report on the London conference in July 1922 we had already stated our conclusions:

"The Entente still exists. But the English Parliament recently granted an extraordinary subsidy of £100,000 for the study of means of defence against poisonous gases, and further two million pounds for the building of 500 new war aeroplanes. And when the member of the Lower House, Wedgwood, addressed the question to Lloyd George, whether these aeroplanes were necessary in view of France's extensive armaments, Lloyd George replied: "In adopting these measures we have taken all circumstances into consideration".

If we study the documents of the January conference in Paris, we arrive at the conclusion that the breach in the Entente is to be attributed to the same causes which had already rendered the first London conference in July, and the second conference in December of last year, so lacking in tangible results. The cause is the conflict of interests of the two European imperialist powers: England and France. The reparations question is only a small part of this world wide antagonism.

It is not our task here to recapitulate the whole entangled history of the reparations question. We shall merely touch-upon the main tendency of its development. At the time of the con-

clusion of peace, the victors were of the opinion—without in the least examining Germany's paying capacity—that Germany had to pay for all the damages suffered by the allied states during the war. After a time the decisive question became one of arriving at a correct estimate of what Germany was able to pay. And as Germany's paying capacity is very small, every succeeding phase of the reparations negotiations reduced the figure of Germany's obligations. In January 1921, the total obligation was fixed at 226 milliard gold marks. In the ultimatum of May 5, 1921, the reparations were fixed at 132 milliards gold marks. But at the same time it was obvious that this sum was not to be taken seriously, for interest bearing bonds were issued only to the amount of 50 milliard gold marks, while the remaining 82 milliards remained without interest and undistributed until further notice.

Nothing but the fear of public opinion in England and France kept the allies from stating candidly that they did not hope to get any more than 50 milliards out of Germany. As Keynes predicted, Germany proved incapable of paying even the sum fixed in the London ultimatum: 2 milliards gold marks and 26 per cent of the export. A moratorium was thus granted for the year 1922, according to which Germany's obligations for that year were fixed at 720 million gold marks and 1450 millions in kind. But in 1922 Germany could not raise even this sum, and a fresh moratorium had to be granted for the last 5 months; the payments due to Belgium were covered by treasury notes to be paid later.

As we have seen, no agreement could be reached between England and France on the question of this moratorium. Already Poincaré had produced his demand that no moratorium be granted to Germany without a "productive pledge". At that time the question was passed on unsolved to the Reparations Commission, and as the demand concerned was a special one of Belgium's, France had not the possibility of pressing forward to the breaking point at that time.

A circumstance playing an important rôle here, is the existence of two antagonist tendencies in French politics. While the great peasant masses, pensioners, and officials, desire a peaceful policy, and only wish for the stabilization and possible improvement of the rate of exchange of the franc, there are, on the other hand, wide strata of heavy industrial undertakings striving for a military and imperialist policy. This policy is dictated by the necessity of combining French ores with German coal; the attempts to bring this about by peaceful negotiations with the German bourgeoisie have so far been without avail. It must here be taken into consideration that the consequence of a policy of violence—the further depreciation of the franc—is by no means undesirable to the French capitalist. Depreciation of the franc signifies an automatic reduction in wages, and French heavy industry, rendered dependent on extensive exports (by having gained Lorraine, and by the combination with the iron industry of Luxemburg and Belgium), would find its struggle for the world markets facilitated by the low value of the franc. It must finally be taken into consideration that France's finances are on the verge of ruin, and that she has already expended 100 milliards of francs for the restoration of the devastated regions, without having received any large cash payment from Germany. It is thus comprehensible that, despite the fear of war like adventures prevailing among wide strata of the people, the whole of bourgeois public opinion nevertheless firmly supports Poincaré in the question of "productive pledges". The antagonism which has split the Entente is not a new one. At the London conference of last summer, England refused to accede to the measures demanded by France, demands in all essentials the same as those now formulated.

It may be assumed that the events of the last quarter of 1922, are in general known to our readers. After the Reparation Commission had visited Berlin in the beginning of October, Bradbury produced a plan for a 5 years' moratorium. To this Barthou replied, on the 25th of October, that a moratorium could not be granted without pledges, and that the reparations question would have to be solved together with the question of the interallied debts. The same was repeated by Poincaré, in his Senate speech of November 9. He said:

"On behalf of the French government, I declare that we will not tolerate a further reduction of French demands, and Parliament and country alike support me in this. . . . I have shown that German industry is enjoying actual privileges behind a show of misery. A great part of the revenues of the country are free from any taxation whatever, and enrich the treasuries of the great industrial magnates or of their foreign banking accounts."

He repeated the demands he had formulated in London, as follows:

"A 60 per cent participation in the proceeds of certain industries, erection of a customs line around the Ruhr area,—collection of taxes in the occupied German territory, and collection of the proceeds of the state mines in the Ruhr area and of the forests in the various provinces of Germany."

There then followed, on November 14, the official note of the German government to the Reparations Commission, requesting a moratorium for three or four years for all payments, whether in cash or kind, and further, a foreign credit of at least 500 million gold marks. In return for this, Germany offers: action towards the stabilization of the mark; the German *Reichsbank* is to place 500 million gold marks, in gold or securities, at the disposal of this action. As soon as the rate of exchange of the mark will have regained confidence at home, the German government will raise an inner gold loan. Even during the period of the moratorium one half of the proceeds of the internal loan, and the whole of the foreign loan, are to be used to pay reparations.

This measure is to bring about a stabilization of the mark. Essentially the same plan is contained in the letter sent by Cuno, representing the new government, to the English prime minister, on December 9. Both German propositions were rejected.

It was under these circumstances that the London conference met. Here the conflicting interests of England and France clashed. While France maintained that the German state was depreciating the mark and steering towards bankruptcy intentionally, in order to avoid paying the reparations, Britain was of the opinion that Germany's economies were actually ruined. "According to all information which I have received," said Bonar Law, "Germany is on the brink of collapse. I regret having to say this, but I believe it to be true. The tragical thing about it is that there can doubtless be no improvement for Germany until the mark is stabilized, but that the experience of the whole world, our own experience during the past year, and the opinion of every political economist, go to show that precisely the attempt to stabilize the mark will lead to the breakdown of industry which we ourselves have experienced. We must keep all this in view."

He formulated the question as follows: "What is the best method of getting out of Germany the amount which it should pay?" The Allies could not agree on the method, for France demanded *productive guarantees*, that is, the occupation of German territory, while the English were of the opinion that such a procedure would bring about Germany's complete economic ruin without gaining the hoped for payments for France.

The unbridged chasm between England and France having thus become apparent, France set to work in the Reparation Commission, in agreement with Belgium and Italy, to create the legal premises required for an invasion of Germany. It was decided on December 27, against the vote of the English representative, that Germany had become guilty of a voluntary default by the incomplete delivery of the wood ordered. This verdict was delivered in spite of the fact that Germany offered to deliver the shortage by March 31, 1923. It was further decided that the oft-mentioned difference between a "default" and a "voluntary default" does not exist, that the two terms were synonymous. After these preparations the conference of the Allies began on January 2. England as well as France brought ready-made solutions to this conference. We shall briefly outline the substance of these two propositions in the next section.

The French Reparations Plan

"The French government declares that it is unwilling to accept any reduction of its share of Germany's obligations. In actual practice, this share is already insufficient to cover the expenditures for the restoration of the devastated regions. A reduction of the French share could only be taken into consideration by the French government if some of its allies would agree to modify their demands on Germany, or to give priority to the restoration of the devastated regions. The French government will not be in a position to pay either interest or principal on its debts to the allies, until it has at least been compensated by Germany for the expenditures which it has borne and which it has yet to bear in the restoration of the devastated area."

France is however prepared to discharge her debts by renouncing the bonds of *Series C*, provided that this procedure is accepted by all European powers. These lines show France's fundamental standpoint as opposed to England. The measures with regard to Germany then follow.

Reorganization of German Finances.

The French program provides for:

1. Stabilization of the mark.
2. Immediate measures for balancing the German budget.

3. Discontinuation of discounting treasury notes by the Reichsbank.
4. Prevention of flight of capital and of the hoarding of foreign securities in Germany.

In order that these measures may be carried out, the Guarantee Commission is to take over the control of German Finances.

The exact wording is as follows:

"The Guarantee Committee is to be enabled to observe the execution of this program, and especially to inform itself at any moment regarding every detail of financial management of the *Reich* and of the separate states; the committee must be accorded the possibility of exercising every description of control which it considers necessary for this purpose; it can prohibit any expenditure which it holds to be inopportune, and prescribe any method of increasing revenues which it considers possible."

The headquarters of the Guarantee Committee were to be in Berlin.

It is obvious, that were this program accepted, German Finances would actually no longer be in the hands of the German government, but completely in those of the Guarantee Commission. Germany's financial dependence would be much greater than that of Turkey before the war.

Moratorium and Pledges.

The French government would not be inclined to grant a moratorium for longer than two years. This moratorium would not include the costs of maintaining the army of occupation, and the various commissions, nor the payments in kind as prescribed by the existing agreements.

"But as the three years just past have shown that it is impossible to rely on Germany's meeting the obligations which she has taken upon herself, the French government considers it imperative to take pledges. The French government is of the opinion that the realization of the pledges named below does not exceed Germany's paying capacity, and the pledges are not of a nature preventing Germany from placing her finances on a sound basis."

The guarantees demanded are of two categories:

1. Pledges guaranteeing deliveries in kind.

a) *Coal*. An inter-allied commission of engineers, headed by a chairman, is to be sent to Essen to superintend the management of the coal syndicate. The strict execution of the coal deliveries is to be ensured by orders to be issued by the president to the coal syndicate and to the German transport service.

b) *Wood*. Additional felling of trees in the state and municipal forests of the occupied territory in order to ensure the deliveries of wood.

c) In case of non-fulfilment: Requisitions in the occupied territory or in the Ruhr basin.

2. Pledges guaranteeing payments in cash and kind.

a) Export licences from the occupied territory and from the Ruhr district are to be issued by the interallied commission of the occupied districts, against payment in foreign securities; the amount of this payment to be determined by the commission. The proceeds are estimated at about 400 million gold marks annually.

b) Confiscation of the customs revenues of the occupied territory and of the Ruhr Valley. Revenue estimated at 200 million gold marks.

c) Confiscation of the coal tax in the occupied territory and in the Ruhr Valley. A part, for instance 30 per cent, to be paid in foreign securities, the remainder in paper marks. Estimated proceeds—400 million gold marks. In conjunction with the deliveries in kind, the pledges are to yield 1 milliard gold marks yearly. The sums collected are to be used for securing Germany's payments after the expiration of the moratorium.

3. Sanctions.

Should the German government fail to execute every point prescribed by the commissions, as provided for in the program, the following sanctions come into force:

a) The military occupation of the districts of Essen, Bochum and all parts of the Ruhr area determined upon by Marshall Foch.

b) The drawing of a customs line east of the whole occupied territory.

The English reparations plan.

The plan submitted by Bonar Law to the Entente conference provides for a joint regulation of the reparations and of the inter-allied debts of the European states. Unlike the French plan, which is based on the assumption that Germany does not want to pay, the English plan assumes that Germany would pay if the payments lay within the limits of Germany's paying capacity, and if the terms of payment were so arranged as to make it desirable for Germany to liquidate her debts as quickly as possible.

The provisions of the English plan are as follows.)*

Moratorium.

Germany is to be free for a period of 4 years from both payments in cash and in kind. During the four years then following Germany is to pay:

2 milliard gold marks annually; during the 2½ years then following,—

2½ milliard gold marks; and from then onwards Germany is to make constant payments of at least 2½ milliards, possibly 3½ milliards, of gold marks.

The instalments exceeding 2½ milliards, amounts which may be designated as the variable instalments, are not finally fixed; their payment or non-payment is to be determined by special commission, which is to examine the state of Germany's economics.

5% bonds are to be issued in two series:

the first series for the 2½ milliard gold marks,

the second series for the additional 1 milliard gold marks.

Amortization is not provided for, but Germany is to be granted large deductions; the debt will be discounted at a very high rate of interest, provided Germany begins to pay off the debt rapidly.

The bonds can be redeemed by Germany:

at 50 per cent until the end of December 1923,

at 56 per cent until the end of December 1924,

at 62 per cent until the end of December 1925,

at 68 per cent until the end of December 1926 etc.

An earlier redemption would bring Germany an annual gain of interest amounting to 8—10 per cent. The bonds can be redeemed on the same conditions by payments in kind during the stated periods.

This plan is to be submitted to Germany on condition that it undertakes:

1. To stabilize the mark (in the course of about 6 months) and to balance its budget (in the course of about 2 years).
2. To submit to every financial control which the allied powers deem necessary for the punctual execution of this reform.
3. To submit—should it not be able to convince the control organs that it has done everything possible to execute these financial reforms—to all decisions unanimously adopted by the allied powers, including the confiscation of income and property in Germany and the military occupation of German territory beyond the zone at present occupied.

The inter-allied debts.

England is prepared to annul all the inter-allied debts, on the following conditions:

1. The sums in gold paid by the allied powers (France and Italy) to England, as security for their loans, will be used to settle their debts to England.
2. France pays to England, from the bonds of the first series, that amount which it receives on its counterclaim on Belgium; Italy pays 1½ milliard marks to England.
3. The allies are to place the bonds of series 2 in a common fund, which is to be divided among the powers having claims on the United States, in proportion to the amounts of these claims. The bonds are to be distributed in accordance with the key fixed at Spa.

We may further emphasize the following points of the plan:

From the 1st of January 1923 onwards the costs of the army of occupation and the inter-allied commissions are to be credited in the reparation payments.

As regards the choice of representatives in the control commissions, England proposes 1 representative each from England, France, Belgium, Italy, America, and one neutral European power. The German minister of finance is to be chairman of the commission, with no right to vote, except to give a casting vote. He would have to carry out all the

* The English plan has been technically worked out to the smallest details; here we shall only outline its essentials.

instructions of the council. The council is entitled to hold meetings without the German minister of finance in cases concerning the exercise of rights already possessed by the Reparations Commission or the Guarantee Commission.

It is obvious that this plan would signify a radical modification of the reparation policy hitherto pursued.

French criticism of the English plan

In the French criticism of the English reparation plan, after it was submitted to Poincaré, it is claimed that the English plan signifies the annulment of the Versailles peace treaty, for the allies would no longer decide on the German obligations, and on their possible reduction, but a foreign commission, in which France, Belgium, and Italy, whose collective claims on Germany amount to 70 per cent of the German debt, might be placed in the minority by the casting vote of the German minister of finance.

The cancellation of the obligatory deliveries of coal is another violation of the Versailles treaty, etc. But the main objection raised is that a moratorium is to be granted for four years without any pledge or guarantee whatever. But no guarantees give perfect security that Germany would really pay after the moratorium expired.

But France's main objections are of a political nature. The following is the exact wording:

"The English plan is illusory; its dangers become even more apparent when we examine the alleviations accorded to Germany, which enable her to shirk an easily borne debt.

At the present time Germany has no foreign debts; the collapse of the mark has proportionately reduced her internal debt, so that it does not amount to more than a few milliards gold marks, and would be reduced still more by the next fall of German securities. Were Germany's burden to be thus reduced to a single debt only, that of its reparation obligations, and were this debt to be reduced to about 20 milliards by the discounting device provided for in the British plan, a debt which could be redeemed in about 15 years, and which amounts to less than one third of the French national debt, then, within a few years, Germany would be the only country in Europe without any foreign debts; with its increasing population, its healthy industry, which would not cease to take advantage of the exceptional situation, with its untouched natural treasures of coal, wood, and potash, it would become the ruler of Europe, and would confront a France reduced to one half of its population, and which would have to bear the continued and tremendous burden of the restoration of the devastated regions.

The German hegemony in Europe, which was to be destroyed by the war, would be restored and consolidated by the allies."

It throws an interesting light on the confused situation when we see that this same train of thought, in almost the same words, was expressed at one time by Lloyd George in the English House of Commons.

The new English prime minister, Bonar Law, expressed himself similarly in one of his speeches. The import of the English plan was that the proximate danger from France, is much greater than the distant danger that may be occasioned by the possible economic reconstruction of Germany. Poincaré's criticism shows with perfect clearness that the French attach less importance to obtaining large sums from Germany in the near future (which would be rendered possible by foreign loans, were the English solution adopted), than to the political subjugation of Germany.

Poincaré proceeds to point out that, as the redemption of the bonds of Series B, provided for in the English plan, is quite uncertain, and as the greater part of the payments to be made by Germany will be used to pay the costs of occupation, commissions, etc., Germany will not have to pay more than 20 milliards in actual reparations, and of this sum, France would not receive more than 11 milliards. He then makes the following calculation:

"In the balance sheet, England and France would be found to emerge from the war as follows:

France would owe the United States 14 milliard gold marks. Her remaining burdens for pensions, and for the restoration of the devastated areas, after deducting the 11 milliards which she would receive as reparations, would amount to 59 milliards, making a total of 73 milliard gold marks.

Letter of C. I. and R. I. L. U.

To the Bureau of the International Trade Union Federation and to the Executive Committee of the Second International.

Dear Colleagues,

Moscow, Jan. 15, 1923.

You are informed of the present tragic situation of the Italian proletariat. Fascism is destroying the labor organizations with fire and sword, is killing hundreds of the proletariat of Italy. The Italian working class is being defeated in the struggle against the black reaction let loose against it. If the international proletariat, no matter to what political tendency it belongs, does not spring forward into action, and take energetic defensive measures against the Fascist robbers, the Italian proletariat will be led to death. The Communist International, and the Red International of Labor Unions, propose to join with your representatives for the purpose of jointly considering as to the best practical measures to be adopted in the conflict against Fascism, and for working out a number of practical measures adapted for aiding our Italian brothers in their struggle against reaction. We for our part beg you to constitute jointly an international committee of action which will call upon the labor organizations of the whole world, and of every tendency, to fight against Fascism. If the workers of all countries do not break the power of Fascist reaction in Italy, they themselves will fall victims to the Fascism which already hangs over their heads in their own countries. We are prepared beforehand to accept all your proposals which are adapted for the fight against Fascism, and to aid the Italian proletariat in its struggle for emancipation from black reaction.

Hoping to hear in your prompt reply that you are prepared to take up joint action against the Fascist bandits, we beg you to accept the assurance of our sincere international sentiments.

The Presidium of the Communist International
The Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions.
(signed) A. Lozovsky.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Amalgamation Movement in America

By Wm. Z. Foster (Chicago).

The United States and Canada have long been classic lands of craft unionism. To indicate the extreme condition of separatism prevailing in our labor movement, all that is necessary is to compare the American Federation of Labor with the A.D.G.B. (Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, i.e., General German Labor Union Federation). The A.F. of L. has less than 3,000,000 members, yet it is divided into 117 national unions; whereas the A.D.G.B., with approximately 8,000,000 members, has only 49 national unions. In other words, the average membership of the unions in the A.F. of L. is but 24,000, as against an average of 163,000 in the A.D.G.B.

The workers have long realized the weakness of the trade unions, but no real work for industrial unionism was accomplished in the old unions until 1920-1921. The Trade Union Educational League, the representative of the R.I.L.U. in America, is carrying on a most active campaign for amalgamation of the old craft unions into modern industrial organizations, with surprisingly effective results. Fully half of the American labor movement has been led to declare itself in favor of industrial unionism. The movement first took shape in a resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 300,000 workers. Then eleven State Federations, including Minnesota, Colorado, Utah, Washington, Oregon, Nebraska, South Dakota, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin, declared in favor of combining all the existing unions into a series of industrial organizations. Seven national organizations, including the Railway Clerks, Railway Trackmen, Butchers, Firefighters, Typographical, Mens Clothing Workers, and Food Workers, took the same course. Besides this there were thousands of local unions and central trades councils.

In the principal industries the situation is about as follows: The railroad men are taking the lead generally in the amalgamation movement. They have organized a national rank and file committee to carry on the propaganda. This committee has issued a plan of amalgamation to combine the sixteen railroad unions. This was sent out to 12,000 local unions in the railroad industry. As a result, at least 4,000 sent in endorsements of it. Encouraged by this response, the National Committee called a conference to

England, on the other hand, would owe the United States 15½ milliards (after deduction of the German payments ceded to England by France and Italy), and would have further obligations of 30 milliards for pensions, that is, a total of 45 milliards, or only 62% of the burden falling to France."

With regard to the cancellation of France's debts to England, Poincaré makes the following bill:

"In order to obtain 11 milliards of war debts from Germany, France would renounce:

38 milliards of the obligations C,

26 milliards of her claims on Belgium,

1 milliard in gold, deposited in the Bank of England. And all this apart from the sacrifices entailed by France in the obligations A and B."

We may further observe that Italy and Belgium are essentially on France's side.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

No Instructions from Moscow — No War against the Bourgeoisie

(R.I.L.U.) The revolutionary miners affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions consider it necessary to convert into deeds the words spoken by their representatives at The Hague. They have made a proposal that the Miners' International affiliated to the Amsterdam Trade Union International should join forces and call a 24 hours protest strike of the miners in all countries, against the occupation of the Ruhr and against the dangers of war. This proposal, signed by Comrade A. Kalinin on behalf of the Russian Miners' Union, the Union of Hand and Brain Workers of Germany, the United Miners' Federation of France, the Miners' Union of Alsace-Lorraine, the Bulgarian Miners' Union, and the Federation of Chilean Miners, and addressed to the secretary of the reformist international, Frank Hodges, reads as follows:

"The occupation of the Ruhr area is an attack on the German and French miners. The international situation has become so acute that the outbreak of war is imminent. In accordance with the resolutions of the Frankfurt Congress, the miners are bound to fight against imperialism and against the Spa agreement. The undersigned organizations therefore propose to you to call a 24 hours protest strike of the miners in all countries against the occupation of the Ruhr and against the dangers of war. We await an immediate reply."

The following reply was received to this telegram:

"The Miners' International takes no instructions from Moscow. Hodges, International Secretary."

Another fact that reveals the treacherous tactics of the Amsterdamers. When the Red International of Labor Unions proposed to the Amsterdam International, in March 1922, to have with joint aid to the locked-out British engineers, the heroes of Amsterdam declared that their hands were full with the relief work for starving Russia. To-day they reject the proposal of the revolutionary miners' unions, to join them in a common struggle against war,—with the stupid impudent excuse that the Amsterdamers take no instructions from Moscow. Sassenbach himself, the 3rd secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and the mainstay of the German Amsterdamers, pleaded that no international mass strike against the Ruhr occupation be proclaimed.

The Amsterdamers warn the German workers against nationalism and chauvinism. But at the same time, the Vorwärts favors a national strike, because it considers such a strike to be the only means by which the proletariat can save the German nation. The poor simpletons have entirely forgotten that in 1848, Marx proclaimed that the nation can only then be saved, when the proletariat constitutes itself as the nation.

The situation is clear: The revolutionary workers want revolutionary class war against imperialism. The Amsterdamers do not want class war; once more they seek to save capitalism from the inevitable abyss . . .

consider ways and means to bring about the amalgamation. The officials of many unions denounced this Conference, warning their members to have nothing whatever to do with it. In spite of this opposition, however, the Conference was held in Chicago on December 9-10th and was a great success. There were present 425 delegates from all over the United States and Canada. The Conference mapped out an active campaign to popularize amalgamation and to actually bring it about. The National Committee was instructed to try to organize a general amalgamation convention of all the unions, and is now in correspondence with them upon this matter.

In the printing trades, a strong amalgamation movement is also going ahead. The organization to take the lead in this was the International Typographical Union, which at its last convention, went on record for one union in the printing industry. The Typographical Union comprises about 50% of the organized workers in the printing trades, and is a very powerful organization. Its officials are now negotiating with the heads of the other organizations looking to a general consolidation. The Bookbinders have gone on record in favor of the proposition, but the Photo-Engravers, the Electrotypers, and the Pressmen, have declared against it. The heads of the latter organizations are trying to have adopted a system of federation, to forestall amalgamation. In order to hasten the movement and to lend real power to it, the left-wing militants, under the guidance of the Trade Union Educational League, are organizing nationally to carry on an active amalgamation propaganda in all the five principal printing trades unions.

In the clothing trades the amalgamation movement is also strong. The leading union of the industry, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, declared at its last convention in favor of one union in the clothing industry. It is an independent union. The rest, including the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Capmakers, the Furriers, and the Tailors, are affiliated to the A. F. of L. The latter four organizations favor federation, and at the present time are working to establish that rather than amalgamation. The clothing industry is the best organized of any in America, and the left-wing elements are the very powerful in the organizations. These have formed a National Committee, one of the principal objects of which is to bring about one union in the clothing industry. They refuse to be satisfied with the substitute of federation, but are going ahead demanding a complete amalgamation throughout the industry.

In the metal trades, the amalgamation movement is also making headway. This movement, likewise one of the rank and file, goes hand in hand with the amalgamation movement among the railroad workers, the two industries being closely related. About ten years ago the International Association of Machinists (machine builders) declared in favor of one union in the metal trades, but their officials never made any campaign in favor of it, contenting themselves with accepting refusals from the officials of the other metal unions. The metal trades are very poorly organized in the United States and Canada. Of a grand total of approximately 4,000,000 employed in the metal industries, not more than 300,000 of them are organized, and most of these are employed in the railroad shops. The great steel industry, employing 450,000 men, is almost completely unorganized. The metal unions are divided into 24 principal organizations, which have not even a federation among themselves. The new rank and file movement hopes to put an end to this incredible confusion and weakness by drawing all the organizations together, A. F. of L. and independent alike, into one powerful body.

The textile industry is another that is badly broken, not so much because of craft unionism, as because of dual unionism. There are several principal unions in the industry, nearly all of which are industrial in character, but none of which have any considerable strength. Of a grand total of 1,000,000 textile workers in the industry, not more than 100,000 are organized. Recently, several of the independent unions, which are mostly of a mildly socialistic character, combined in a federation. The Trade Union Educational League is now organizing a left-wing movement in all these unions, A. F. of L. and independent, to bring them all together in one body. There is a strong sentiment among the rank and file for consolidation. But as usual the officials of many of the unions oppose the bringing together of the organizations into one union.

The coal mining industry of America is fairly well organized, there being some 300,000 out of a total of 750,000 in the unions. There is one union in the industry, the United Mine Workers of America, which, strangely enough, has probably the most complete industrial form of any miners' union in the world. It includes in its ranks not only the actual coal miners, but also all mechanics and laborers of every description working in and around the mines. In the Food, Building, Boot and Shoe, and other industries, amalgamation movements are also developing.

In the Boot and Shoe industry, particularly, several independent unions amalgamated their forces recently. Combined, they equal in strength the A. F. of L. union. The Trade Union Educational League is working to bring about a combination between this independent amalgamation and the A. F. of L. union.

In view of this wide-spread movement for amalgamation that is going on, the trade union officials are very much alarmed. They can readily see that many of their easy jobs are about to be eliminated. Consequently, they are showing great hostility. But the rank and file are aroused and are determined to put an end to craft unionism. In the recent convention of the Railroad Trackmen, which was made up of 1,500 delegates representing 200,000 members, the officials tried to defeat a resolution calling for amalgamation. In consequence, 19 of them, including the General President and the General Secretary, were swept out of office, and new ones were elected. This event, unparalleled in American labor history, has caused consternation in the ranks of conservative trade union officialdom. It has made them very cautious in fighting the amalgamation movement. The rank and file are aroused. Ruthless American capitalism has taught them the futility of craft unionism. The slogan of the new movement is "amalgamation or annihilation". In spite of the opposition of the officials, most important consolidations of American trade unions are bound to occur in the near future.

The Trade Union Movement in Italy after the Fascist "Revolution"

By Luigi Repossi (Milan).

The trade union movement in Italy has suffered much through the "revolution" of the Fascisti. The railwaymen's trade union has lost one half of its members, the Federation (C.G.L.) now comprises no more than 200,000 to 300,000 organized workers; the Italian Trade Union Alliance (*Unione Sindacale Italiana*) practically no longer exists, apart from a few small groups in certain places; the *Popolari* (Christian), although affiliated with the Fascisti, also reports a reduction of membership. Only the membership of the Fascist trade unions has increased.

These circumstances make it particularly necessary for all those who meet on the common ground of class war to unite. But the reformists, who are much worried over the influence gained by the communists among the organized masses, and are besides anxious to find a possibility of alliance with the Fascisti, while talking of the unity of the trade unions, in reality utilize the political situation for avoiding the convocation of congresses in which they would inevitably suffer defeat. They are making use of their position as leaders in order to dictate alterations in the organization and in the fundamental program of the trade unions, alterations in complete contradiction to the whole line of development of the unions. They seek to unite with the nationalists, and launch a campaign for driving out the communists. The Fascisti have never had better allies, the proletariat never more efficient betrayers. The program of the "Committee for Trade Union Unity" (*Comitato per l'Unità Sindacale*) now formed in Italy, bears witness to the truth of this statement. In this committee we find Rinaldo Rigola, Ettore Gaetani (reformists), Alceste de Ambris, Olivetti (national syndicalists), Ronzani (d'Annunzio syndicalist).

At the meeting at which this committee for trade union unity was founded, they laid down their programmatic principles by proclaiming above all, adherence in the most decisive form to the principle of nationalism; the trade unions must never act against the nation; the trade unions wage the class war for the improvement of the position of the proletariat, but only on cultural lines. Co-operation with the bourgeoisie, where this is in the interests of the proletariat, was also emphasized as a fundamental principle. Silence was preserved as to international relations, as also on the organizations of the Fascisti. But on the other hand the program distinctly declares that those who decline to recognize the nationalist principle and the cooperation of the classes, cannot belong to the trade unions. Trade unions as such must have no connection with any party; besides this, it is prohibited to form nuclei within the trade unions.

From all this it may be seen that the main endeavor is to exclude the communists from the trade union movement. The official leadership of the C.G.L. raises no objections to this policy; in the last number of its organ, the *Battaglia Sindacale*, it is clearly stated that only "pure criticism" is permitted in the free trade unions; if the communists intend continuing their struggle for the revolutionizing of the movement, they will be driven out. And while all this is being undertaken against us, every effort is being made towards unity with the Fascisti. At one time the Fascisti pretended to be willing to join a movement

towards unity, but now they set difficult conditions, and demand that the whole organization declares itself for Fascism, and abandons all connection with the Amsterdam or any other international. Will the reformists refuse to do this? Yes, to-day they will refuse. But later? They have already made many concessions. The trade union movement has been stripped of all idealism, nothing remains but the business side, and it is to be feared that the leaders of the C.G.L., for the sake of being permitted to remain at the head of the movement, will accept everything the Fascisti choose to dictate.

At the time when the Fascisti commenced their offensive, they invariably insisted that they had nothing against the proletariat, on the contrary, they would always defend the legitimate interests of the proletariat. The methods employed by the Fascisti for obtaining members are well known; to these they have now added fresh methods; state assistance, the state appointing them to all positions in the commissions, and granting state contracts solely to cooperative societies founded or managed by Fascisti. The labor exchange, for instance, has been left to them, by which a large part of the proletariat is forced to enroll in the Fascist trade unions in order to obtain work. This is the reason why the membership of the Fascist trade unions has so increased, and is now alleged to approach a million. Edmondo Rossoni, general secretary of the Fascist trade unions, declared a few days ago that he has distributed 250,000 new cards of membership. It must be further observed that the Fascist trade unions not only count workers among their members, but the owners of industrial undertakings, so that they are not trade unions at all in the strict sense of the term.

The program and methods of the Fascist organizations are as follows: To the class war they oppose the struggle of "individual capacity"; an individual in order to be spurred on to work must not be paid in accordance with a wage scale, but in proportion to his performance. This is the whole basis of their program, whose identity with the theories of bourgeois capitalism is perfectly obvious.

In the Fascist trade unions the members have no voice whatever; the episode of the seamen is characteristic of this. In the treaty of alliance entered into between d'Annunzio and Giuletta for the "socialist" seamen, and Mussolini for the Fascisti, it is expressly stated that every demand and action of the seamen must first receive the approval of the Fascist party!

At the present time the situation of the workers in Italy is one of political and economic slavery. No liberty, no justice, no rights. Imprisonment, blows, starvation wages—this today, is the fate of the Italian proletariat. And despite this the social traitors dare to say that we are the enemies of the proletariat, and must be driven out. And with regard to the Fascisti, d'Arragona states that their program is not antagonistic to that of the trade unions

The Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees in Spain (C. S. R.)

(R.I.L.U.) While the Amsterdam trade unions of Spain (*Union General de Trabajadores*) are in a state of complete dissolution, the work of the trade unionists sympathizing with the R.I.L.U. gains continually in clearness and influence. On December 24, delegates from Asturia, Biscaya, Burgos, Catalonia, and the Levante, met together in Bilbao, and founded the "Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee" (C.S.R.). The meeting adopted the following declaration of principles:

1. The C.N.T. (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, syndicalist trade union federation) must not become a sect, but must be a strong class organization, in which all workers permeated with the spirit of revolution can participate, no matter what other ideological conviction they may hold.

2. The C.N.T. must avoid evolutionist talk, and once more enter into the class war by means of revolutionary action, by means of confronting all opportunism and "cultural" formulas with the theory of collective force.

3. Formation of the proletarian united front against the capitalist concentration which is exerting its utmost endeavors to abolish the eight hour day and to reduce wages.

4. To strive after the union of the whole Spanish working class in one single revolutionary organization.

5. Affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions, and defence of the Russian revolution threatened by the international coalition of capital.

In order to carry out these principles, revolutionary syndicalist committees are to be formed within all organizations, and these are to support all efforts towards affiliation with the R.I.L.U. Comrade Andrés Nin is entrusted with the representation of the C.S.R. in the R.I.L.U. The C.S.R. intend to under-

take the defence of the above principles at the next congress of the C.N.T. They will appeal to the autonomous organizations to join the C.N.T., and will at the same time attempt to induce the whole of the labor organizations of Spain, whatever their tendency, to aid in the formation of the united front, and in demanding a general amnesty.

The organ of the C.S.R. is the weekly *La Batalla*, published in Barcelona, in which is incorporated the periodical hitherto published in Lerida (*Lucha Social*) and Valencia (*Accion Sindicalista*). There is every hope that the activity of the C.S.R. will restore the Spanish trade unions to useful instruments of class war.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Factories in Russia and Factories in Europe

By J. Larin (Moscow).

The turn of the year invariably gives rise to all manner of comparisons, statistics, and reminiscences. The figures most often adduced are those relating to production: what was the percentage of production before the war, what is it to-day, etc. It appears that we are still far behind Europe, that we approach but slowly to the Russian pre-war level; in a word, when we write about Russian factories to-day, we generally speak of the quantity only, and forget to mention the qualitative type of the factory—our state factory as a social factor.

A short time ago I received a visit from two German communist workers, who had come here to see the conditions in Russia with their own eyes, and who had already inspected several large state factories in Moscow. (Both understand some Russian.) What they related of their impressions is highly characteristic.

When visiting a factory, the first thing to be done is to apply to the management. In a European factory the management belongs to a caste having nothing in common with the workers, it belongs to quite another class in society than the proletariat. Intercourse is strictly official, and stiff. An ordinary worker can seldom penetrate into the manager's room, that holy of holies of capitalism. As a contrast to this, the German comrades were chiefly surprised at the simplicity and freedom of intercourse between the management and the workers, whose relations to one another are those of two parties with equal rights. The manager himself is frequently a workman, frequently even a workman in the same factory. And in other respects the manager's room does not resemble that hostile stronghold against the working class, surrounded by high walls, to which the German comrades are accustomed to at home. The first point which attracted their attention therefore was something which is new and does not exist in Western Europe, the intimate, comradelike, united regime of the Russian state undertaking. Within the walls of the Russian Soviet factory there is no rule of a class of masters over a class of servants, the system on which all bourgeois factory administration is based. We have been living in the revolution so long. We have become so accustomed to the new manner of intercourse, worthy of human beings, which prevails in the Soviet factory, that we can only correctly estimate the extent of the change from the impression it makes on the foreigner. The entire social type of our factories has changed.

Our guests pass from the management to the workers, and converse with these on various matters. What surprises them here is the entirely new relations of the Russian workers to their factory. In Europe the workman regards his factory as something entirely strange to him. When his work is done he thinks no more of the factory. Work finished, the German workman goes to his union, his party organization, his sport club; he occupies himself with questions of every imaginable description, but never with any relating to his factory, to the successes or failures of its production, etc. While speaking with their Russian comrades, the German comrades were chiefly surprised at the way in which the Russian workers take an interest in everything pertaining to the state factory in which they work. The Russian Soviet worker is proud if he is able to tell a stranger that the production of his factory is increasing instead of falling, that the average productivity is rising, that it amounts to so much and so forth. In one word, the fact of the existence of the proletarian dictatorship entirely changes the inner relations between the workers and their work.

Work ceases to be something alien, dead, indifferent: The workers know that they are working for the whole country, not for the private profit of some blood-sucking bourgeois leech.

And this consciousness, which no worker in a capitalist or bourgeois state undertaking can have—this consciousness, works miracles. Often enough the Russian worker continues working under circumstances which would be unbearable to his Western European colleagues. It is thanks to this characteristic, which extraordinarily increases the elasticity and power of resistance of Soviet economics, that Russian industry has been able to overcome the unheard-of difficulties of the last few years, and to work up into its present easier situation.

This changed relation with regard to work is most clearly to be observed, when a workman receives some distinction for especially successful or self-sacrificing work (he is for instance declared a hero of industry, etc.). It may also happen in Germany that a workman receives some distinction from his chief. But here he is almost ashamed of it, he attempts to hide the fact of having been thus distinguished by adopting a sort of condescending irony with regard to it. The etiquette of the European working class demands that no worker earn special distinction from the chief, for such doubtful honors are likely to bring him into suspicion of being an opportunist, a renegade, etc. But if a workman becomes a "hero of work" in a Russian Soviet factory, he is held in special honor, he is not ashamed

of it. Another point which surprised the foreign guests, in the Russian state undertaking, was the highly developed social life in the factory itself. The German worker also lives much in society, but quite outside of the undertaking in which he simply discharges his obligation to work. The Russian worker, on the other hand, has taken possession of his factory in this respect as well, he feels himself at home there. He holds all meetings in the factory, whether these be general meetings, or ones relating to vocation, delegations, etc.; and in the factory itself he has his premises for his club, shop stewards' consultations, etc. This possibility of feeling himself master in his own house is chiefly due to the fact that the worker can exercise the most far-reaching control over the administration of the undertaking; with the aid of the communist nucleus and the shop stewards, he can have any manager removed from his post whose actions are disadvantageous to the working class. Indeed, it is bound to be so in a land of proletarian dictatorship, and these personal observations of our foreign guests have made the difference between the European (and our pre-revolutionary) order of things and the proletarian dictatorship clearer to them than a hundred lengthy pamphlets could do. New life is springing up on the soil of free work, a new regime. To-day it is only germinating, the best is still to come.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

Conference of the International Workers' Relief in Berlin

The executive of the International Workers' Relief convened its Committee of Seventeen to a conference in Berlin on January 18. Comrade Münzenberg opened the session. Among those present were: representatives of the Comintern, a representative of the Profintern, a representative of the Russian trade unions, and one representative each from America, Scandinavia, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia, Japan, and the Balkans. Münzenberg proposed that the Committee of Seventeen be increased by three further members, i. e., a representative from Japan, South America, and Austria. The comrades elected to the chair for the conference were: *Klara Zetkin*, Germany, *Roland Holst*, Holland, *Kameneva*, Russia, *Rosa Blanchet*, France, *Katayama*, Japan, *Whitehead*, England, and *Nexö*, Denmark.

Comrade *Krestinsky*, as representative of the Russian government, welcomed the delegates, and expressed thanks for the aid already rendered. He asked that the proletariat of Soviet Russia be further supported, and the economic aid continued, by international solidarity.

Comrade *Kameneva*, as representative of the All Russian Committee for combatting the results of the famine, greeted the congress. She expressed her confidence that the international solidarity of the workers, working through the economic relief movement, will help to wipe out the consequences of the famine, and aid reconstruction.

Telegrams of greeting were received from the All Ukrainian Soviet congress of Kharkov, and from the 3. Soviet congress of the Tartar republic. These telegrams expressed thanks to the foreign comrades, and appealed for further productive help.

The agenda was as follows:

1. Loan questions; speakers: Münzenberg and representatives from the various countries.
2. The undertakings in Russia and the utilization of the loan; comrade Kameneva.
3. The question of children's relief; speaker for Russia, comrade Kamenev, for the other countries comrade Johanna Dörfel.
4. The parcel service.
5. The activity of the International Workers' Relief.
6. General propaganda.
7. Organizational questions.
8. Joint work with other Workers' Relief Organizations.

Comrade *Münzenberg*, in his report on the loan question, spoke of the good prospects opened out for the IWR. by the new economic policy of Soviet Russia. He was glad to be able to report that the leading circles of the Russian government are supporting the IWR. by word and deed, that ever-widening circles of workers are placing themselves at the service of productive relief, and that the floating of the international workers' loan to the value of one million dollars, guaranteed by Russia, has created a basis upon which the International Workers' Relief can further aid in building up the Russian Soviet republic. In spite of unfavorable economic conditions and severe depression in most of the countries of western Europe, and after having to overcome legal, financial technical, and organizational difficulties, the loan has already been floated and is being subscribed to in many countries of the world.

Münzenberg reported a conversation with *Krassin*, who had expressed himself as follows in the question of the Workers' Relief: "You may be assured of my support in every respect, for I am convinced that under present conditions the greatest result can grow out of the smallest effort. During the short time in which work has been done for the loan, 80,000 dollars have already been subscribed. The "Industrial and Commercial Corporation, International Workers' Aid for Soviet Russia", founded for carrying out the work of the loan and for running commercial undertakings, is one among many mediums towards securing and carrying out the proletarian revolution. The International Workers' Loan is not only a bold financial transaction, it signifies an equally splendid propaganda for Soviet Russia among the workers of the whole world, not only in communist circles, but among the broad masses of trade unionists, social democrats, members of cooperative societies, etc."

The representatives of the various countries reported on the state of their activity. *Nexö* on Denmark, *Martin* for America. In America the 1 million dollar loan floated by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is receiving our support, but the prospects for the IWR. are favorable. *Goldschmidt* reported on Argentina, where the Relief action is spreading; *Linderot* reported on Sweden, where successful work is being done for the loan. *Kruyt* reported on Holland, and in conjunction with this on Norway. The Dutch committee is occupied in work for the loan, the results are excellent, and it may already be seen that in Holland at least 100,000 guilders worth of loan bonds will be sold. With regard to Norway the speaker reported that internal difficulties have retarded work for the loan, but that this has been successfully begun. A brief report on Switzerland was given by *Siegrist*; here work is also going on. *Katayama* reported on Japan, where the reaction prevented Workers' Relief work from being commenced until June of last year; since then it has done excellent propaganda work among the workers, and has also contributed to the establishment of the united front between the syndicalist and communist parties. Collections of money have also commenced. *Julian* gave the report on Italy, where Mussolini's white dictatorship prevents open work. *Kohn* reported on Czecho-Slovakia, where no great preparation has been required to interest numerous workers and labor groups in the loan, and from where the first cash instalments have already been sent to the Berlin committee. It is intended to work on the broadest possible basis in Czecho-Slovakia, in order to include all sections of workers. *Matthieu* reported on Belgium, *Alkaley* on Bulgaria, *Rosa Blanchet* on France, *Whitehead* on England: work has been started in all these countries. Many countries have formed special loan committees, in which non-communist and even bourgeois circles are represented; this is the case in Sweden, England, Denmark, Holland, etc.

After the reports, comrade *Klara Zetkin* addressed the meeting. She again laid down the principles of the International Workers' Loan, and admonished all comrades to exert every endeavor towards rendering the International Relief really effectual, to march determined forwards without hesitation or faltering, and to keep the goal of proletarian development before their eyes.

In his concluding words, comrade *Münzenberg* again referred to the reports from the separate countries; he stated that despite the existing difficulties, and despite the economic impoverishment of wide strata of the working class, the loan had been successfully started, and the goal, 1 million dollars, would be attained.

"On the second day the sitting was opened by comrade *Whitehead*, who submitted the following resolution to the delegates on the International Workers' Relief:

The executive of the International Workers' Relief is glad to ascertain that the appeal made by the International Workers' Relief, to help Soviet Russia by means of a far-reaching relief action and by a workers' loan, has found an enthusiastic echo in wide communist and non-communist circles of the international working class.

The executive of the International Workers' Relief Aid binds its committees and co-operators in the separate countries, now that the legal and technical organizational difficulties have been overcome, to undertake great activity for the rapid realization of the loan in all countries.

The executive of the International Workers' Relief especially emphasizes the necessity for agitation for the loan among the broad non-communist circles of the co-operative societies, trade unions, and the masses of indifferent workers.

In order to draw the attention of the whole working class to the necessity of economic relief action and of the workers' loan, the executive resolves to carry out an especially well-prepared agitation week before March 15, 1923."

The resolution was passed unanimously. Comrade *Klara Zetkin* then welcomed the People's Commissar for Health, comrade *Semashko*, who addressed the delegates as follows: "The wounds inflicted by the Tsarist regime on the body of Russia are still visible, but we have none the less been successful in combatting the epidemics and pestilences caused by the former capitalist régime, by the blockade, and the famine. The plagues and epidemics are almost exterminated. But Russia has the sad reputation of a high rate of infantile mortality. During the famine infantile mortality rose to 35%! We have succeeded, despite many difficulties, and despite lack of medicines, in reducing this mortality. Tuberculosis and syphilis are still raging, but the government is organizing comprehensive campaigns for the eradication of these social evils. The number of children left orphans by the famine and the civil war may be estimated at 2 million. The IWR. can give, and has already given, help. The IWR. will also help Soviet Russia by supporting the hospitals and infirmaries; in the Crimea there is special opportunity of rendering this relief productive, by aiding the sick working men and women in the many sanatoriums of the Crimea. These sanatoriums are connected with farms and vineyards, in which convalescent comrades can be occupied.

After *Semashko's* speech, the following resolution was passed:

The conference having heard the report of the People's Commissar for Health on the results of the famine in its relation to health, resolves to carry the fight into this sphere as well, and to authorize the central committee to work out concrete measures for this purpose.

In THE COLONIES

A Letter from South Africa

By Tom Mann.

I have put in three months in South-Africa, endeavoring to stimulate the workers to further efforts in spite of the exceptional difficulties that surround them.

Readers may be aware that the Gold Mine Magnates of the Transvaal determined in the early weeks of 1922 to introduce low paid native labor, and did so, replacing over four thousand whites by blacks; the blacks being paid about one fifth of the amount paid to the whites. The determined resistance displayed by the whites to this lowering of the standard, brought about the activities generally referred to as the "revolution". It resulted in much shooting, a number were killed on both sides, over 5,000 were arrested. After a few weeks many of these were released, and the others placed on trial, many being tried for treason by a special Treason Court, consisting of three judges, against whose decision there was no appeal. These judges sentenced four to be hanged, and notwithstanding protest and appeals they were hanged. Since then they have sentenced eleven others to death, but these have since been reprieved. Some four hundred others have yet to be tried.

Seeing that among those arrested and those already sentenced, are some of the most capable and loyal militants, it is natural that a spirit of depression has come over many who feel comparatively helpless in the absence of their more courageous workmates. As a result, the Unions are seriously weakened, leaders are in prison, rank and file are out of work and boycotted.

Although the output of the mines is said to be nearly normal, there are eight thousand adult male white miners unemployed on the Witwatersrand, and there is no hope of these obtaining employment again in South Africa; in addition there is a similar number of young men, sons of these whites, for whom there is no prospect of employment. Then there are the young Dutchman, who, in increasing numbers are seeking to get into industry, including the mines, as there is no land for them, and economic pressure compels them to seek some occupation other than farming. Many of these drift about and become part of what is known as "the poor whites", a body of men, mostly Dutch, with little knowledge of how to work, and very little opportunity of work of any kind, other than relief work, at a cheap rate, on railway or other public work.

Then there is the great problem of the colored men, not so pressing in the Transvaal as yet, but a most serious problem in the Cape, Natal and Free State provinces. The term "Colored", means those who have some white blood in them—not the Natives. These colored men show great aptitude in learning trades; also in organizing themselves and holding their own; but among the Whites there is yet much prejudice.

Below these comes the almost universal laborer, the native. My endeavor has been to promote a sound method of industrial organization, inspired by Communism. I have sought to discourage old time sectional methods and tried to bring into existence a broader and better system based on industrial working class solidarity. All my meetings have been successful, and I have always carried resolutions for industrial solidarity and for Communism, by an eighty five per cent majority, but although I have held over fifty meetings, it is only a small section of the proletariat that I have been able to reach.

The political Labor Party here has just decided, on the advice of its petty-bourgeois leader, to eliminate its plainly declared Objective calling for the "Socialization of Industry", as being quite unnecessarily outspoken and causing fear and alarm as to what the Labor Party intends.

The Communists are not numerous. There is a group in each industrial centre, and in Johannesburg and Cape Town they carry on a regular educational campaign. Internationalism is kept well to the front by the Communists; in Durban there is a group of Social Democrats who try to be loyal to old associations but who find themselves nearer to the Communist camp than to any other.

A keen interest is shown as to developments in Russia. The capitalist press never tires of besmirching Russia and it has here, as elsewhere, published malicious statements served up hot for the occasion, utterly oblivious to truth. This I have been able to deal with effectively at all meetings, but naturally the press reaches those I cannot.

The Social Revolution is not able to assert itself in a country like South Africa till some really representative European country sets the pace; but as soon as this takes place I shall count upon the workers of South Africa finding ways and means of travelling on the high road to Communism. Meanwhile an increasing number are qualified to be of service in the right direction when the crucial hour arrives. From my recent experiences here I am satisfied that when Sovietism is accepted by Germany or Britain, South Africa will go the whole way also. The Capitalist system is as big a failure here as anywhere on earth. Speed the day when it shall make way for another regime worthy of a true civilization, one that shall afford ample scope for men of all colors, subject to one stipulation only,—every able bodied man to do a share of work.

FASCISM

In Fascist Italy

By A. B. (Rome).

Officially Fascism dominates life in Italy. Fascism wishes to appear as a renovating factor in every sphere of social life.

After the hesitations and uncertainties of the past democratic governments, we have now in Italy the strong government, the state, the authority regarded by every single individual as something sacred. This is the official formula. It has been

inscribed on every wall, so to speak. The atmosphere is saturated with it. A regime of iron.

But anyone who happened to enter within the sphere of influence of the Fascist state at the beginning of the new year, could suddenly observe a typical incident, which is the more novel, in that it would not have been possible before the establishment of this strong government: The "Royal Guards", that is, the agents of the state police, were dissatisfied with the decree for their fusion with the Carabinieri, and in Turin, Naples, and other places they mutinied and set fire to the offices of the Fascisti quite in accordance with Fascist methods. The Turin newspapers reporting these events were confiscated. But one fact is known which only shows what a really strong government is capable of: The troops of mutinying Royal Guards forced their way into the cafes of the centre of Turin, compelled the high society visitors to rise to their feet, and forced them at the point of the revolver to shout "Down with Mussolini".

On this occasion the Carabinieri and the Fascist troops succeeded in getting the upper hand again for the government. The "Fascified" police will proceed on very different lines in the future. In anticipation of the organization of the Fascist national militia, which organizes the Fascist troops under Mussolini's commands, groups of black shirts have commenced doing duty in the most important towns, as a support to the Carabinieri and the police officials. They perform the duties of the political and criminal police, as well as of maintenance of order and public morality. Fascism is also going to abolish crime. The first deeds of the Fascist patrols, forcing their way into houses and beating and arresting peaceful citizens, are so scandalous, that General De Bonno, chief of police and enthusiastic Fascist, has been obliged to adopt prompt counter measures. He disavows the actions of the Fascist troop police, and states they can only be permitted to work when accompanied by an authorized state official. The Fascist methods of controlling the cafes are particularly sensational, for here the police assume the right, as guardians of public morality, of acting like customers — but without paying.

Thieves and criminals of every description will be dealt with by the Fascisti. The traditional system of investigation is replaced by a more up-to-date procedure: for instance torture. Either confess or have your bones and limbs broken by the servants of justice. Recently the whole of Rome was thrown into a state of excitement by the kidnapping of a child. The Fascisti declared that they would find the kidnappers immediately. Nobody had any idea who these were. Meanwhile some suspects had been arrested, and several of them admitted their guilt under the influence of Fascist brute force. The child has not been found, but justice has been done.

An efficient government must be well informed of everything, and keep an eye on the enemies of the fatherland. In Milan the Fascist election committee considered it necessary to carry out a political control of the inhabitants. The committee did not apply to the chief of police for this purpose, but to the landlords, who are close friends of the Fascisti, as the latter have done away with the state limitations to rents. Every landlord received a question form in which he had to fill in all particulars regarding his tenants, including their political opinions. These were quite innovations.

There is also the censor for letters and newspapers. Officially this control does not exist. The government denies its existence. The sole communist paper, the *Lavoratore* in Trieste, published the truth regarding the mutiny of the Royal Guards.

The police immediately appeared and confiscated the page, and the paper appeared with a large blank. The workers fought for a copy of the paper, the whole edition was sold out at once. Great rage on the part of the president of police, who warned the chief editor the next day: "You are not permitted to publish your paper with blank spaces. The government does not desire it". We have decided on the next occasion to fill in the censored space by publishing a folk song: "Poor Theresa". The song is not new, but we are not inventive as the Fascisti.

Fascism liquidates old officialdom. Fresh forces are wanted, young forces, qualified workers! And Mussolini's followers occupy every high state position. A new life has begun. . . .

When drinking his coffee one morning, Mussolini — "after a moment of sharply concentrated deliberation" — appointed the deputy Edoardo Torre, pharmaceutical chemist by profession, to the position of minister for railways.

We shall not speak of the reforms announced by him in an interview. After many declarations and promises about clearing out the red railwaymen, a courageous journalist ventured to ask Torre what he thought of the great deficit in the railway budget. But the new minister is a Fascist; he answered fearlessly: "I shall state my opinion after the accounts have been calculated". Great admiration.

All the newspapers reported the following episode: The new minister travelled about. He occupied himself with instructing the staff with regard to discipline. Suddenly he sprang out of the train at one station, made a tremendous fuss, and threatened the most frightful punishments. Why? The train was not heated. A diffident railwayman ventured into the compartment which had been occupied by the minister, and ascertained that . . . the handle of the heating regulator was turned over to "cold". Technical knowledge triumphed Fascistically!

We will not speak here of the persecutions of the revolutionists, nor of the new principles of justice coming into force. As for instance the amnesty. All punishable acts committed on the occasion of political conflicts are to be amnestied on one condition: that these deeds were committed for national purposes. In this naive manner, the few Fascisti actually condemned for arson and murder are liberated. But the cruellest sentences continue to be passed on the workers who dared to defend themselves.

The printing offices of our newspaper have been invaded and destroyed. There is one office where the Fascists come every time they require anything; they complete the destruction, and take away anything they find useful, typewriters and the like. Legally, we occupy the premises. But if we want to save our property, we must do so by night and by the aid of a master key. To-day I received news that the comrades have "stolen another setting machine". This is actually the case. We have "stolen" the machine, which belongs to us. Another Fascist success.

In Rome the Fascisti set fire to the business premises of our publishers' bookselling establishment. They then accommodated one of their clubs on the premises. We were insured against damages caused by riot. The insurance company informed us that they will not pay: The loss, so they say, has not been occasioned by riot as stated in the contract, but by the revolution. Article so and so excludes this from claim to compensation. . . . Revolution! We cannot define the Fascist revolution theoretically and politically as such, but it has probably created so many new occasions for insurance that we shall lose the lawsuit against the insurance company. Fascist Italy is interesting.

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The Federation of Soviet Republics

By J. Stalin.*)

The correspondent of the Inprekorr in Moscow interviewed comrade Stalin on the union of the Soviet republics; comrade Stalin expressed the following opinions:

The alliance of the independent socialist Soviet republics into a unified federative state, consummated at the first Federative Congress at the end of December 1922, represents a new phase in the development of the movement towards union, already begun in 1918.

During the years of civil war and intervention, as the existence of the Soviet republics was in deadly danger, these republics were obliged to form a military alliance in order to secure their very existence. This phase of *military alliance* is now, at the end of 1921 and the beginning of 1922, passing into a new phase of development, for the great capitalist powers have lost faith in the power of intervention, and are attempting to re-establish capitalist property in Russia by diplomatic and not by military methods. At Genoa and at the Hague the *diplomatic united front* of the Soviet republics acted as a counter force to the diplomatic pressure of capitalism. The agreement of the 8 independent Soviet republics, and the Republic of the Far East, formed on this basis after the Genoa conference, must be designated as a creation of this united front. But later on the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic proved insufficient; the necessity was felt for a closer alliance.

Among the factors pressing the Soviet republics to union, one of the most important is the internal *economic situation* of the republics: the great dearth of resources resulting from the 7 years of war; the insufficient financial means at their disposal for proper utilization and development of the fundamental branches of production. Another factor is the natural division of work historically originating in the economies of the republics, and the uniformity of the traffic network covering the whole federation.

The alliance was further dictated by the position of the Soviet republics with regard to other countries. The danger of attacks on the part of the capitalist powers demands a *united army* and a *united military front*,—especially now that the Red

Army is reduced to 600,000 men. Besides being liable to military attacks, the Soviet republics are exposed to the danger of economic isolation, of being boycotted by the capitalist great powers. The events that preceded the conference of Lausanne, and those of Genoa and The Hague, show the endeavour of the Entente to *isolate* the Soviet republics. Unity with regard to foreign relations is thus a necessity.

Finally, the formation of a united federation of socialist Soviet republics is actually dictated by the *nature of the Soviet* as opposed to that of any bourgeois government, in that it is *international* in its essence, and brings every pressure upon the working masses of the separate nationalities to unite into one socialist family.

The combination of all these factors has prepared the soil for the alliance.

The initiative towards the alliance has been taken by the republics themselves. Three or four months ago the republics of Azerbaidshan, Georgia, and Armenia, brought up the question of forming an alliance of republics; the Caucasian republics were joined by the Ukraine and White Russia.

On December 10, the alliance was decided upon by the Soviet congress of the Caucasian Federation; on December 13, by the Soviet congress of the Ukraine; and after this decision had also been accepted by the last All-Russian Soviet Congress the *First Federative Congress* of the Soviets was held in Moscow on December 30, and the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics was formed.

This Union was joined by: the R.S.F.S.R. as a united federative body, the Trans-Caucasian Republic, also as a federated whole (Azerbaidshan, Georgia, Armenia), the Ukraine and White Russia. The 2 Soviet republics, Bukhara and Khiva which are not socialist but people's republics, are not included in the federation. The R.S.F.S.R. forms the greater part of the federation.

The fundamental principle of the Federation is that the republics are voluntarily affiliated, have equal rights, and retain the right of leaving the federation of republics.

The supreme organs of the Federation of the S.S. republics are: the Federative Central Executive Committee, based on proportional representation, and the Federative Council of

*) Member of the C.E.C. of the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics, and People's Commissar for Nationalities.