

- INTERNATIONAL -

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CORRESPONDENCE

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Important Notice.

The English edition of the "International Press Correspondence" is sent free of charge to all labour and communist organs in England, America, India, South Africa, Australia and Canada. The editors urgently request that the articles be reprinted in the labour and communist press with the least possible delay. The object of the "Correspondence" is to supply the organs of the working class movements in these countries with reliable information and with points of view which are not found in the capitalist press and news agencies.

It is particularly requested that all editors: 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective newspapers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence", and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and enquiries received will obtain immediate attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.

ECONOMICS

Holland's Economic Situation

by A. Friedrich (Berlin).

Holland's economic situation is a good example of the conditions existing in those countries which were neutral during the war and which possess a higher exchange rate and it is furthermore an example of how the industries of these countries are affected by the coolie-wages of the countries possessing a low rate of exchange, especially such as Germany, and the cut-throat competition resulting therefrom. It is also a good example of how the fall of the German mark allows German products to get into the hands of capitalists of politically weaker countries.

In contrast with the state of the stock exchanges of Berlin and Vienna, industrial shares depreciated considerably in the last few weeks on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange.

The financial situation of a large number of big industries has been considerably disturbed. The number of bankruptcies has increased considerably in October, and has surpassed by far those of October of the previous year.

The possibility of competition by Dutch industry has been very much reduced through the depreciation of the German mark. The shipyards especially are complaining of the heavy losses which they are suffering through competition by German capital. They are scarcely receiving any orders for new ships or even orders for ship-repairs. The same is true of the iron-construction works, in which many establishments have shut down altogether and others have transferred their production to Germany. The incandescent lamp industry has again received some orders.

The reason given for this is that the German industry cannot fill all the orders and therefore something remains for Holland. The same reason is given for the slight revival in the paper industry. The situation of the chemical industry is very bad. As a consequence of the higher English and American export duties its market has shrunk very considerably. The soap manufacturers are complaining that their reserve supply of raw material has caused them big losses because of the drop in the world markets of the price of raw materials for soap. The rubber industry which rose rapidly last year has reduced its output considerably this year. Likewise the margarine industry as well as the printing-houses are complaining that the corresponding German industries have made it impossible for them to compete, as a result of the unprecedented low wages of the German workers. The tobacco and glass industries are in an especially difficult situation. The tile factories are almost all at a standstill. The photo-engraving factories have broken up their protective association because they would have had to shut down in order to be able to maintain it.

During the war, Dutch banking capital became concentrated into several immense banks. The position of banking capital has remained intact until now. The fall in the market value of certain bank securities has not been nearly as enormous as in that of industrial capital.

The employers are taking advantage of the present crisis in order to reduce wages which they want to bring down to the level of the German workers' wages if possible. The big employers' leagues of the metal industry wanted to put through a general wage-reduction of about 15 % at the end of October; but the opposition of the organized workers prevented this. The Catholic employers have decided not to reduce wages for the present. But on the other hand, workers have been discharged in large numbers. For example, the big Werkspoor machine factory in Zuilen near Utrecht has discharged one fourth of its workers. The majority of the 2,300 workers in the rubber industry are now without work. Unemployment is growing in all branches of industry. Energetic propaganda is being carried on for the lengthening of the work-day in order to "cheapen" production. In the clothing industry the fight against the 45-hour week is being based on the argument that the workers are working on their own account in their free time.

The International Labor Bureau at Geneva estimates the number of the unemployed in Holland at 9 to 13 % of the entire Dutch proletariat. This percentage has grown much larger during the first half of 1921.

Before the war 100 Dutch gulden were worth 168 German marks and now they are worth 10,000 marks. This drop of the German mark to a fifty-eight of its former value is accompanied by a twenty-five to thirty-fold rise of prices in the German domestic market since 1913. This shows how the low exchange value of the German mark has made it possible to make enormous purchases in Germany, and to buy out the German retail trade. All this has been hindered neither through German prohibition of exports nor through Dutch transit-regulations. But the export of Dutch agricultural products and the export of fish to Germany has almost completely stopped. Holland's foreign trade is therefore on the debit side of the ledger, that is, imports are greater than exports. In September, the value of imports was 197,000,000 gulden and the value of exports 135,000,000. Thus the surplus in imports in September was 62,000,000. In August it had been 44,000,000 and in July 65,000,000 gulden.

As a result of the transfer of the production of various industries to Germany, as for instance the iron industry, because

the German workers are paid much less than the Dutch, the participation of Dutch capital in German enterprises has greatly increased. We note only a few cases here.

The Mues and Baxmann Chocolate and Sugar Factory in Münster was bought up by Dutch capitalists. The Hinrichs Auffermann Metal Works Corporation in Barmen has concluded a working agreement with the Rotterdam metal industry. A part of the shares of the German works is in Dutch hands. The Hubertus Saw and Planer Corporation in Lübben has been taken over by Dutch capital through the agency of the Buitland Commerce Bank in Blaricum. Furthermore, the German margarine industry is controlled by Dutch capital, whose interest amounts to about 75 % in this industry and 50 % in the vegetable oil industry. The Jurgens concern is the controlling power.

In the same way Dutch capital has invested in other countries which have a low exchange. Thus the Wöllersdorf Works which until recently belonged to the Austrian government has now been taken over by a Dutch syndicate for 1,500,000,000 crowns. Dutch capital is also invested in Poland, Hungary and Georgia.

The duty of our Dutch comrades is to serve by all possible means the interests of the proletariat as against those of the employer class. This work is made difficult in Holland by the Social Democrats. The picture we have given of the economic situation shows that the existence of the Dutch proletariat cannot be guaranteed only by the fight for the minimum real wages necessary for existence, or the fight against the lengthening of the work-day. The shutting-down of establishments and the discharge of workers can be checked only when these establishments come under control of the workers. When their own interests are at stake the German workers will immediately become allies of the Dutch proletariat. The struggles for better wage-conditions in Germany, the prevention of the selling-out of goods through prohibition of export under control of proletarian organizations, the establishment of German industry on the basis of the domestic needs of the laboring masses in city and country, rather than on export as is the case now, will render impossible the cut-throat competition which is to-day throwing large masses of workers in foreign countries out into the street.

POLITICS

Present — Day Japan.

by Sen Katayama.

Modern Japan dates from the revolution of 1868, which destroyed feudalism. The growth and development of Japan has been a source of astonishment and wonder to the Occident. Feudal Japan preserved the strictest isolation for three centuries—not until the 1868 revolution did it begin to have intercourse with the West. An idea of Japan's development can be obtained from the appended statistics:

(Units in millions unless otherwise stated.)

	1868	1870	1877	1890	1902	1907	1912	1920	1921
Population	39.0	—	35.0	—	—	48.8	52.5	58.0	—
Foreign trade	15.5	—	23.3	56.6	—	432.4	526.9	4284.5	—
National debt	—	48.0	232.0	—	820.0	2997.0	4113.0	4502.0 (1919)	—
Investments									
No. Companies					83.	133.	—	393 (1918)	—
Capital of Ltd. companies					787.0	970.0	—	8865 (1918)	—
Total capital of companies					897.7	1114.0	1114.2	9424.7 (1918)	—
Grain crops (wheat, barley, etc.) in millions of kokus					19.7	22.8	22.8	22.4	—
Rice-field area in millions of chos		2334.0	(average 1888—92)	2864.0	2960.0	3003.0	—	3104.6	—
Rice crops in millions of kokus		33.8	(average 1888—92)	46.4	49.0	51.7	—	60.8	—
Price of rice per koku in yen					16.55	19.39	—	44.27	19.0
Electric power in use in kilowatts					74,019.	345,737.0	—	798,177.0	—
National Budget									
Income		22.1 (ave 1872—1)	297.3	398.5	—	687.3	—	1335.5	1562.0
Expenditure		19.2 (ave 1872—1)	289.2	602.4	—	593.5	—	1335.3	1562.5

Note 1 koku = 4.9629 bushels.
1 cho = 2.4507 acres.
1 yen = .50 American dollars.

The above figures are taken from the Year Book of the "Oriental Economist", Tokyo. They demonstrate how Japan has progressed in various fields of industry and finance. Fifty years ago Japan was in a semi-barbarous condition—there were no factories, railways or even industries in the modern sense. Japan had to catch up with the Occident in order to be able to do business with it.

Japan has dedicated everything to the altar of capitalism. The laws, the constitution, the government, and the social and political structure were all so constructed that they were specially beneficial to the capitalist class and especially to the employers. The workers were exploited without any restrictions.

The politics as well as the Parliament were controlled by a select few, as is shown by the franchise system. The number of electors for the Imperial Parliament were in 1902—987,193; in 1904—757,788; in 1908—1,582,676; in 1919—1,422,118; in 1920—3,085,628. The periodical increase of the electorate is due to the extension of the franchise. At first the elector qualification was the payment of 15 yen in direct taxes (land, income and business). In 1904, it was reduced to 10 yen, and in 1920, to 5 yen. The ratio of electorate to population has been about the same for the last 20 years, namely, 20.91 per 1,000 in 1913; 25.75 in 1917; but 46.33 in 1920. However, one member of Parliament represented in 1903—121,069 people; in 1920—121,235. Thus Japanese politics are monopolized by the property-owners—the bourgeois classes. The workers have been excluded from the very beginning of parliamentary history.

The Japanese workers have been struggling for the past fifty years under the most autocratic and arbitrary exploiters and inimical police laws and barbarities. Under these oppressive conditions, our workers have had to learn entirely new methods of production, all imported from the West. There are to-day some 1,500,000 factory workers are all trained during the past forty or fifty years. They have been busy with technical training in the use of Western tools and engines. Consequently our workers have until very recently not had time to attempt to break the oppressive yoke of the government and of the greedy capitalists.

Recently, however, especially since the Russian and German revolutions, our workers have rather thoroughly learned to utilize skilfully every point of vantage and to gain and hold their ground. By strikes and sabotage they gained in many cases the right to organize unions and to establish factory committees. The street demonstrations and mass-meetings are successfully held in spite of police opposition and often military interference. Sometimes strikers occupy a factory, not to work but to make it a meeting-place during the strike!

It is true that during the war (1914—1918), the Japanese industries thrived and millionaires sprang up like mushrooms after a rain. But all of them were swept away by the financial and subsequent industrial crisis of 1920. The crisis began on the stock exchanges on March 15, 1920. Tokyo Stock Exchange shares, which are considered a barometer of Japan's financial

Wages

	Government Factories					Factories under private ownership					
	No. of Workers		Wages per hour in Yen		Working days per year	No. of workers		Wages per hour in Yen		Working days per Year Average	
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female		
1912	99,365	30,271	.72	.28	321	272	348,230	476,497	.53	.26	299
1915	128,675	37,167	.70	.30	314	301	350,976	559,823	.56	.26	299
1919	122,484	41,087	1.10	.54	314	302	706,076	814,392	—	—	—

condition, showed great fluctuations, as is shown by the following table:

	Highest	Lowest	Average
1915	309.95	115.95	164.85
1918	248.00	142.00	174.54
1919	483.90	183.10	183.10
1920	549.00	100.50	140.10

A month ago it was somewhere between 130 and 150 at the best. It shows that Japanese financial conditions are very weak if not worse than last year. Wealth has been amassed in the hands of a few very rich men and they are far richer than before the crisis. Before the war, Japan had a gold reserve of 250,000,000 yen; to-day it has more than 2,000,000,000 yen, and, in spite of industrial and trade depression, it has been increasing for more than 20 months.

As already stated, Japan is a capitalist country and everything is built and based upon the capitalists' needs; but they are not at ease. Their days are numbered and they realize it. A great wave of dissatisfaction is making itself felt among the Japanese people. The workers and peasants are complaining about their present condition and are manifesting their demands for an improvement by strikes, sabotage and riots. Economically speaking, Japan is ruled in the most reckless manner. It spends more than half its national budget for armament. It is to spend more than 450,000,000 yen for the navy alone in the coming year. The people are heavily taxed and industries are severely depressed; the employers are trying to exploit the workers still more by cutting wages and maintaining the high level of prices. For instance, to-day rice costs 42 yen per *koku*, higher than any previously recorded price. Cleaned rice costs 50 to 60 yen or more. Foodstuffs, in general, are higher than all other products. Raw material is cheaper, so that with cheap labor the employers are making more money than in the times of prosperity and are exploiting the workers more than ever before.

One of the very good signs for the proletarian movement is the awakening of Japanese youth. The revolution of 1868 was started, carried on and successfully concluded by the youths of that period. They will be a powerful aid to the workers and peasants, already awakened and struggling for power. The history of Japan furnishes sanctioning precedents for revolution and all the revolutions of the past have been the work of the youth.

The imperialists of Japan are stubbornly attempting to maintain their position in spite of the failure of their policies during the past few years. They will not admit their mistakes both at home and in their colonial policies. The Japanese people are loudly protesting against the failures of militarism. They realize that militarism and imperialism will, in the long run, not benefit Japan. This clear understanding of the situation on the part of the people together with the awakening of the workers, peasants and the youth of Japan makes us very hopeful as to the immediate future.

As for Japan's foreign relations, Japan stands to-day in the worst possible light before the world. The brutal, yes, bloody policy of Japanese military rule in Korea and its miserable policy toward China have made Japan the Prussia of the Far East. The Japanese people have, as a result of the war, lost faith in bureaucratic rule and military autocracy. Unrest and dissatisfaction are increasing. Thus, from every standpoint Japan is ripe for the Social Revolution.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Revolutionizing of the Finnish Trade-Unions

by Yrjö Sirola.

The National Executive of the Finnish Trade-Unions decided, in Spring 1921, after a referendum, not to rejoin the Amsterdam International. Tactical reasons as well as considerations of legality prevented the open discussion of the question — Amsterdam or Moscow. However, it was clear to revolutionary proletarians that this decision could only be a temporary one.

A movement immediately arose among the organized workers with the slogan "Toward Moscow!" The revolutionary groups in the trade-unions were represented at the First Congress of the Red Trade-Union International. The question of international orientation subsequently gave rise to a lively discussion in the trade-unions.

The Congress of the Metal Workers' Union last summer aligned itself on the side of Moscow. Subsequently the Leather Workers, the Food Workers (hotel employees, etc.), bakery workers and the teamsters passed similar resolutions.

A very important event was the Congress of the "Triple Alliance" — the saw-mill workers, the transport (dock) workers and the unskilled laborers — which took place in October and in which the three unions were joined into an organic unit. The new union has declared its adherence to the Red Trade Union International and instructed the Executive to hold a referendum of the membership in the matter.

The Central Committee of the National Office has passed a resolution that the referendum take place in January and February. Since this union, with 22,000 members, represents 50 % of Finland's organized workers, its action is significant of the attitude of the Finnish proletariat. The social-traitors will naturally do all in their power to hinder this process of revolutionization with the assistance of the bourgeois white dictatorship. The bourgeois press is already calling the attention of the government to the "danger" and is of the opinion that there is no room in Finland for an organization "that is subject to the orders of a foreign revolutionary organization".

Several of the red trade-unions in Finland have decided to sever or not to resume relations with the international federations under "yellow" leadership. They are waiting for the establishment of a red federation. Of course, it would be better if they had remained in the international federations, in order to transform the old trade-unions into revolutionary organizations. The corresponding organizations in the West should get into connection with the Finnish comrades in order to work together with them.

A process of reorganization is under way in Finland. The old trade-unions are being amalgamated and new industrial unions being created. The transformation is being facilitated by the fact that in many factories workers' councils are in existence, which have already joined together into local associations.

A minor wage movement is making its appearance in many localities (tailors, dock and metal workers). The employers in the metal industry have decided upon a general lockout in order to bring the workers of a single factory to terms. About 7000 workers have been thrown out of work. The lockout began on the 3rd of December.

The question of unemployment is a very pressing one. More and more workers are being dismissed every day and the resulting misery is appalling. Huge unemployed mass-meetings are being held everywhere, which are making demands upon the government and the municipalities.

The fight for workers' control of industry is beginning to assume concrete shape. A commission of the National Executive has drawn up a plan for factory and district committees. The report emphasizes the principle of direct independent workers' control; it is not very clear however upon the question of expropriation. The proposal is therefore being severely criticized, as well as for its programmatic, unreal content. The revolutionary workers, and above all the Communists, insist that the workers should take up the matter without hesitation and set up concrete demands in the factories for control. Only then should the election of factory committees as battle organs be placed on the order of the day.

The process of radicalization is proceeding at a high rate of speed in Finland. One year after the White Terror in spring 1919, a left opposition arose against the social traitors and the trade-union bureaucrats, who had seized the positions of power, while the fighters in the class-struggle were starving in the concentration camps. One year later the Socialist Labor Party was established with the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in its program, and the trade-unions movement obtained a new, more radical leadership. Another year, and the majority of the proletariat now stands on the platform of the Red Trade Union International. The proletariat which untrifled faced the bourgeoisie in civil war will not let itself be deceived any longer.

The Australian Trade Union Congress

by T. Wilkinson (Adelaide).

The All Australian and New Zealand Trade Union Congress, representing 700,000 trade-unionists, convoked by the Federal Executive of the Australian Labor Party and held at the Trades Hall Melbourne, June 20-25, 1921 marks an important point in the development of the working-class movement in that country. The intensification of the class-struggle and the sharpening of class antagonism due to the industrial depression throughout the world is felt to a marked extent in the Commonwealth and resulted in a wave of dissatisfaction in the official policy of the Australian Labor Party—the dominant party within the working-class movement—relying principally on trade-union support for its position as a strong political force. In many of

the large unions revolutionary currents have manifested themselves and threats of withdrawal of support of the ALP. by cancelling their affiliations were the prime factor that led to the convocation of the Congress.

In New South Wales, the premier State of the Commonwealth, the Trades and Labor Council was definitely opposed to the reformist program—the policy of the ALP.—and repeated efforts were made to smash the revolutionary faction that controlled the Council and install in office an Executive favorable to the reformist body.

The Federated Seamen's Unions of Australia adopted a distinct revolutionary policy and withdrew its affiliation; it rejected the policy of industrial arbitration in favor of the strike-weapon and generated a revolutionary spirit throughout its membership. Everywhere it was seen that the rank and file were getting ahead of their official leaders. The impotence of the Labor Government in New South Wales and Queensland—their failure to cope with the problem of unemployment and ameliorate the prevailing distress in the ranks of the proletariat—resulted in a very strained relationship within the various bodies constituting the ALP. organism. The NSW. Labor Party Executive was in constant conflict with the Labor Ministry under the leadership of the late John Storey, the labor Premier. The failure of the Labor Party in office was responsible for a great wave of apathy amongst its supporters. At the by-election for West Sydney, one of the greatest labour strongholds in the Commonwealth, to fill the vacancy in the House of Representatives caused by the death of the deputy-leader of the A.L.P. T.G. Ryan a record low poll resulted. It was only by a small majority that the A.L.P. candidate was returned. The South Australian Labor Party was defeated in the recent elections by the failure of the workers to exercise their franchise. In the principal support of the A.L.P., the Australian Workers' Union — the largest and most influential in the Commonwealth and the prototype of the American Federation of Labor — great dissension manifested itself and on repeated occasions their members out on strike had to fight their officials as well as the exploiters of their labor-power, through the unions' support of arbitration. The A.W.U. was a great antagonist of the principles of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism and repeatedly checked the attempts to form a One Big Union for the whole of Australia. All these influences resulted in a liquidation of the strength of the A.L.P. and seriously undermined its foundation by leading to the extreme apathy of its supporters, who at the same time were not rallying to the support of the Communist Party (the CP. is still in the stage of endeavouring to win the support of the vanguard of the working-class — this problem can only be solved by definite communist political strategy, and the liquidation of the influences of "Left doctrinarism" found within sections of the revolutionary workers).

The Premier of Queensland, Theodore, issued a call to all "sane unionists" to expel the "I.W.W. destroyers" and to purge their ranks of revolutionaries — a call which met with a very cool reception. The increasing influence of the proletarian workers and thinkers in the trade-unions and their incessant agitation finally influenced the calling of the conference.

148 organizations and sections were represented and it was with a serious and determined mind that for 5 days the best students from the four corners of Australia concentrated all their economic knowledge upon an analysis of the outstanding characteristics of the present capitalistic system and evolved a new policy for the A.L.P. The Congress endorsed the principles of Industrial Unionism. At the outset it resolved itself into a struggle between the Communist faction elected through the trade-unions and the Right Wing of the A.L.P., who disliked the revolutionary atmosphere the discussions generated. The proceedings from the first resolved themselves into a discussion of Communist tactics and principles due to a motion submitted by M. P. Considine, of the House of Representatives, and drawn up by the Communist Party Executive, to the effect the Trade Union Congress rejects the policy of the A.L.P., viz., bourgeois parliamentarism and endorses the use of the Parliamentary Institution only for the purposes of revolutionary propaganda, to point out the character of the Class State and its institutions and the necessity for its destruction and the establishment of a Proletarian State Power, the Proletarian Dictatorship. The motion was ruled out of order by the chairman, Holoway, secretary of the Victorian Labor Council, which ruling was fought by the Communists and provided the basis for the day and a half discussion of the principles of Communism, this being of great value to the Communist Party and resulted in winning a lot of the delegates over to the Left Wing of the Congress. A motion moved by one of the Left Wing, that the old objective of the Labour Party be scrapped and a definite plan for the socialisation of the machinery of production, distribution and exchange

was carried after discussion. The Communists on the Committee to devise Ways and Means for realising the objective fought hard for the clear-cut position of the Third International, but were defeated and the following adopted; —

- 1) That, for the purpose of realising the Objective, industrial and Parliamentary machinery shall be utilised.
- 2) That, in recognition of the fact that this is an era of social production, this Conference declares that craft organisation, as a working class weapon, is obsolete, and pledges itself, and all its future representatives to organisation of the workers along the lines of industry, as shall be decided by the Organisation Committee of this Conference.

The Congress passed resolution demanding the nationalisation of banking, and of all the principal industries and the establishment of a Supreme Economic Council for all nationalised industries. The Communist faction moved that a Revolutionary Industrial Union for the whole of Australasia, based upon the principles of class-organisation and consciousness be endorsed by the Congress and machinery evolved for its establishment; much discussion over the Preamble took place and determined efforts to water down the revolutionary passages were made without success.

The A.W.U. delegates supported the proposal to the surprise of both the Communists and reactionaries and moved a minor amendment as to the name which was accepted by the Congress. The influence of the American organisation, the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World), can be seen in a comparison of the two Preambles. The Australian Administration of the I.W.W. until being outlawed by the Illegal Associations Act, did splendid work in propagating the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism and a few ex-members were at the Congress;

The Industrial Union is to have six departments, each to consist of as many Divisions as may be necessary to meet industrial requirements, and the highest authority to be the plebiscite vote of the members. All matters of vital interest will be determined by ballot.

A Council of Action was elected by the Congress to give effect to all matters agreed upon relating to industrial organisation, to co-operate with the A.L.P. and New Zealand Labor Party Executives with regard to all other decisions of the Congress for the purpose of putting into operation the principles adopted by the Congress, and in the event of any fundamental disagreement on any of the principles decided upon, the Council to have power to call a further Congress.

A very important motion was carried to the effect that the Council of Action confer with the Australian Political Executive to achieve political unity of all working class parties on the basis of affiliation. This opens the door to the Communist Party and provides the means for it to exercise and wield a powerful political influence in the working-class movement.

It also gives it political recognition. An acquaintance with the history of the Labor Party in Australia will emphasize the progress being made by the revolutionary workers in getting that body to agree to the decisions of the Congress. Many of the tactics contained in Lenin's "Left Communism" are applicable to the political conditions of Australia. Much disagreement is rife as to the position the Communist Party should adopt towards the Labor Party. The problem is complex and upon its solution depends the success of the Communist Party in gaining a position of influence and power amongst the working-class and building itself up to be a revolutionary instrument capable of directing and leading the masses in an era of Social Revolution. The reactionaries of the A.L.P. are opposed to anything of a revolutionary character and are using their power to liquidate anything of a revolutionary nature in the Labor Party policy. Part of the report by the Military Committee states, that as the Pacific is likely to be made the cock-pit of the next great war, the Council of Action be instructed to get into communication with Labor organisations generally, and particularly with those in Countries bordering upon the Pacific for the prevention of future wars. The New South Wales Trades and Labor Council Executive issued a manifesto stating their attitude to the decisions of the Congress which, while accepting the decisions of Congress in favour of the Nationalisation of banking and all industries and the establishment by the workers of a Supreme Economic Council for the control of all nationalised industries, *nevertheless insists that such functions cannot be established for the Benefit of the workers under a capitalist order of society.* If established under capitalism, it would tend to stabilise the capitalist order and confer more solid benefits upon the bourgeoisie than upon the workers. *A pre-requisite for any effective institution of nationalisation, of labor control of industry is the conquest of political power through overthrow by the revolutionary proletariat, of the capitalist state machine (which, by its structure,*

can only function in the interests of the employing class) and its replacement by a workers' state which is the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." At the Congress the necessity for first overthrowing the capitalist state (Press, Police, Naval, and Military) which rests upon the economic foundations of capitalism and functions directly in the class interests of the capitalists and the establishment of State forms resting upon the economic foundations of the political supremacy of the working class, i. e., Soviet Power were clearly shown. The manifesto finished with the slogan of "Long live the World's Revolutionary Proletariat". At the State Conferences of the A.L.P. which immediately followed the close of the Congress efforts were made to water down the revolutionary matter in the Preamble of the proposed Industrial Union but New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania carried and endorsed the decisions of the Congress and assured their Ratification at the Congress held in Brisbane on the 10th of October. The socialisation Objective definitely puts the reactionaries advocating the co-operation of labor and capital and the Single Taxes in a back position in the A.L.P. and is a step towards Communism—a small one but still a step. The endorsement of the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism is a positive move in the direction of Communism and is in accord with the policy of the Communist Party. The work of the Congress is bound to create a split in the A.L.P., to bring a big section to the support of the Communist Party, force the Right Wing to show themselves as direct agents of the bourgeoisie and lead to their exposure.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

The International Relief Conference at Berlin

E. S. On the 4th of December, 1921, there took place in Berlin an international conference of all the committees working for the relief of the famine-stricken in Russia. Representatives were present from organizations as varied as the Foreign Committee for Workers' Relief to Russia, Nansen's Committee, the Children's Commission of the International Red Cross at Geneva, the London "Hands Off Russia" Committee, the Foreign Relief Committee of the Dutch Mennonites, the Bureau of the International Trade Union Federation (Amsterdam), the German Red Cross, the All-Russian Hunger Relief Commission (Moscow), the Quakers, and the Russian Red Cross. The delegates of the American Friends of Soviet Russia were refused passports by the American government, as was the visé of Henrietta Roland-Holst by the German authorities.

Comrade Victor Kopp, as the representative of the Russian Red Cross described the famine in Russia, the measures being employed for combatting it and the problems before the conference. He pictured in moving terms the devastation of the Volga fields and the frightful sufferings of the population. He stated that the American Relief Administration now active in the hunger region together with the expeditions operating under Nansen could at most feed 2,000,000 children. *13,000,000 children are without aid.* And not only these children but their parents are starving and must be fed. The work of the medical expeditions of the German Red Cross is seriously hampered by the fact that the spread of hunger typhus can not be stopped without a sufficient supply of food, as otherwise the people are too weak to resist the scourge. And what is no less important, sufficient quantities of seed for the March sowing must be provided if the unfortunate peasants are not to be condemned to another year of famine. In this connection it is necessary that *powerful pressure be put to bear upon the various governments to force them to remove all restrictions upon commercial intercourse with Russia.*

The reports of the committees of the various countries demonstrated the singleness of will for an energetic continuation and extension of the relief work for the famine stricken.

A. J. Cottrell of the Quakers, just returned from the Samara famine region, described the harrowing scenes in the stricken villages and paid tribute to the Soviet officials who were doing all in human power to relieve the suffering. However, it is absolutely necessary that we realize that unless we come to the rescue at once, millions will die. Hundreds of thousands will die, be the aid ever so speedy.

The Executive of the Conference, Comrade Clara Zetkin, of the Foreign Workers' Relief Committee, Comrade Kopp of the Russian Red Cross, Comrade Krestinski of the All-Russian Relief Commission, Mr. Grassmann of the International Trade Union Federation, Comrade Magdeleine Marx of the French

Workers' Relief Committee and Comrade Coates, secretary of the British "Hands Off Russia" Committee, were instructed to issue a manifesto in the name of all the delegates at the conference to all the peoples of the world, calling upon them for a more intensive relief action and demanding that all organizations put increased pressure upon the governments of all countries to enter into commercial relations with Russia.

The conference was marked by a spirit of unity before the political differences of opinion which distinguished the various problem facing the relief organizations. In spite of the sharp groups represented at the conference, they were at one in their readiness to co-operate in rendering the relief more extensive and more unified than in the past.

Aid for Soviet Russia.

G. G. L. Alexander (Berlin).

In the course of the relief work for Soviet Russia one fact stood out clearly, namely, that very little is to be expected from bourgeois circles. Most of those few forces which promised to co-operate with us dropped off after a short while. There are only a few organizations whose sympathy and aid can be counted upon.

In his pamphlet entitled "Starving Russia and Well-Fed Europe", Trotzky writes that through such philanthropic organizations as those of Nansen, the Quakers and Hoover, a new attitude is being assumed by the capitalist governments toward Soviet Russia. This, he says, is due to the fact that the keenest imperialistic leaders are clearly beginning to realize that there is no other power in Russia outside of the Soviets and the leading Communist Party, which could even hope to attain success in establishing order and organization, or to undertake the economic reconstruction of the country. This realization, Trotzky claims, is due to the very famine which Russia is now suffering from. But nevertheless, until the necessary aid comes from these governments, Russia depends chiefly upon the contributions of the world-proletariat. This means that the proletariat must be alert in creating new possibilities for aiding Russia, and in developing and utilizing the aid already furnished in the most efficient manner.

In order to make the various individual forms of relief work possible it seems to us that our main task will be to raise all the relief activities into a sphere of solidarity which will be permeated by a great will to aid and which will fire every one with enthusiasm, so that the thoughts and deeds for Russia may become a daily duty. Every individual must become conscious of his duty to undertake a complete work with all his heart and soul, and not consider a single small contribution as sufficient. In order to fire this conviction for a general and lasting duty to aid in the hearts and minds of all, we must first of all *launch a more extensive and permanent campaign in our press.* We must carry on a lively political agitation and extend our influence by contributing articles to all supplements and independent organs of the trade-unions, the Woman's, the Youth and the children's movement. It is not sufficient that the papers print corresponding articles in the interest of Russia only during the special propaganda weeks. We must carry on our propaganda daily. Not a single day is to pass without in one form or another reminding the reader in the entire press that Russia is starving, and that millions of children are exposed to cold and hunger without clothing or shelter and that they are undergoing an infinite torture! Our other task is to reiterate incessantly that it is a question of life and death for the Soviet Republic and the World Revolution! It is furthermore of great importance to enlighten the worker on the necessity and significance of Russia's concession policy, which the proletariat does not yet fully comprehend or appreciate. Is there any other alternative but that every feeling heart and every proletarian mind will be stirred to new aid, however slight, when they think daily of the danger which confronts a work as gigantic as the one which the Russian proletariat has undertaken in the transformation of the system of production; is there then any other possibility when they think of the untold misery brought down upon immense masses of people by the famine catastrophe?

The fact remains however, that the proletarian relief work must be recognized chiefly as a political action and not as a philanthropic one, notwithstanding the element of sentiment attached to the detailed parts of it. In his pamphlet, the further distribution of which is a matter for the literature commissions, Trotzky speaks of "the universal mobilization of social forces which is at present taking place because of the Russian famine", and which have the Russian emigrants at their extreme sight wing. But the emigrants do not unite and organize themselves in order to aid the starving. No! their greater purpose is to furnish aid to the counter-revolution. For this purpose they make use of

the press in which they spread false reports. "The data and figures which are before me are inexhaustible", writes Trotzky, and he gives a series of illustrations. *Let every proletarian editor ask himself whether it is also true of his paper or of the proletarian press as a whole that the material used by them the interest of Russia is inexhaustible, or if the proletarian world-organization compares with that of the counter-revolution.* Be it remembered that the reaction seeks to destroy the relief work for the Soviet Republic by spreading venomous lies and slanders, thus hoping to weaken the Soviet Power. And what are we doing in our press against it? Let every editorial office get the "Bulletin of the Foreign Committee" in which plenty of material will be found for propaganda, and for articles and reports about the famine-regions, which make one's hair stand on end. But first of all we must report in our press about the political and economic situation in Russia, and throw light upon the material contained in the pamphlets of Trotzky, Lenin, Radek and others.

Trotzky writes: "A new epoch is being registered in the relations between Russia and the capitalist world". He believes that the bourgeois organizations of the Quakers and the like are not only philanthropic organs, but that consciously or unconsciously they fulfil a certain function in the struggle for existence of their class and its rule; he also thinks that, independent of all personal and individual will, these organizations are performing emissary work on a large scale and are furnishing support and creating an atmosphere for good will. Upon this supposition and these observations, the Foreign Committee called a general International Conference of the Relief Committee for starving Russia; this conference took place in Berlin in the beginning of December, and effected the co-operation of the Workers' Committee with the Relief Committees of private philanthropic organizations, such as the Quakers, Nansen's, Hoover's, etc., on the ground that certain co-operative actions are admissible which will accelerate the relief work. Such cooperation will undoubtedly simplify the purchase and transportation of food and other articles but the sources of relief will hardly benefit by this. The proletariat must therefore continue to remain on duty. If as Trotzky says, all the aid furnished by philanthropic and proletarian organizations can only be used as weapon of defense, it is certain that there is *only one radical means* of saving Russia from the famine visited upon it, and that *one means is*: The untiring and most extensive political propaganda, the propagation of the uncompromising proletarian revolutionary class-struggle, and recruiting for the world-revolution and for Communism, which must culminate in the Revolution.

As far as the practical relief work for Russia is concerned, we must above all concentrate our energies upon the furnishing and completing of homes for children, and upon the activities carried on the sewing sooms and in collections. Then, lists must be posted in all relief offices, containing the names of those who at the time of the first relief call, were ready to take care of one Russian child. These should therefore regularly contribute a monthly sum which should correspond to that required to support the child. Every one who is able to do so must in this manner undertake to save a child. A permanent home for children could thus be kept up.

A new proposal is the organization of an "International Subotnik"—Saturday Volunteer Work—which the Communists must create and organize in all factories. The German workers' Relief methods of instituting the raffling of books and art-magazines, and of making art and poster-exhibits must be imitated; the moneys thus taken in are to be given over to the relief organizations.

The Proletarian Relief Work in Austria

by Paul Friedländer (Vienna).

1. The Communist Collections.

The workers organized in the Communist Party have on the average given more than a day's wages for Soviet Russia. The members of the Austrian Communist Party, who are surely among the most miserable wage slaves in the whole world, and who nevertheless must make the greatest monthly sacrifices for the Communist Party, have through this achievement taken the lead in the relief work for Soviet Russia among the Communist Parties of the whole world.

The work achieved by those participating in the proletarian relief work in Austria, namely, that of the Communist Party, the Workers' Council, the Trade-Union Commission, and of the Social-Democratic Party respectively, may be summarized as follows:

The independent Communist Relief has thus far gathered 2,500,000 crowns. 2,100,000 crowns of this fund have for some time already been incorporated into that of the Workers' Council. Outside of this, the collections made by the Workers' Council contain at least another million crowns contributed by Communists. Then, there are various large factories, in which the communists have considerable minorities, consisting on the average of one third of those employed in these industries, which have handed in considerable contributions to the Workers' Council. Of these the following are examples: the largest Austrian co-operative factory—the "Arsenal", the largest factory in the Ottakring district of Vienna—"Wachalovsky", also the largest chemical factory—the "Semperit Rubber Factory". This happened only because the Communists insisted most energetically upon handing over the moneys collected in common by the Communist and Social-democratic workers, to the common body of the Austrian proletariat—the Workers' Council. This was done in other factories also.

Then, there are at least 2,000,000 crowns of Communist contributions, contained in the collections made by the Trade-Union Commission, and by the Social-Democratic Party; this being a conservative estimate. This came about because most of the collections in the factories were made by the council through wage-assessments. The refusal on the part of the workers to have this assessment made, was considered a breach of union discipline. In various large factories of Vienna, in the Floridsdorf locomotive factory, for instance, or in the industrial districts of Lower Austria, as in the Wöllersdorfer Works, the Daimler Works, the Traisental Factories, as well as in the other Austrian industrial plants, in which the Communists constitute a considerable minority, the contributions which in some large factories often amounted to 200,000 crowns, were handed over completely to the office of the Social-Democratic Party, which takes care of the collections made by the Trade-Union Commission.

Indeed, in one of the largest iron-works in Austria, in the "Schöllwerke von Ternitz", where the Communists are in the majority the contributions amounting to 190,000 crowns were likewise handed over to the Trade-Union-Commission.

The organized workers of the Communist Party have thus contributed at least 5,500,000 crowns for Soviet Russia. When we consider that out of the 18,000 organized Communists, only about 12,000 were able to contribute, the share that falls to each comrade amounts to 460 crowns. This contribution is bigger than the average daily wage of a worker on the 1st of September of this year.

2. The Collections of the Workers' Council.

The contributions gathered by the Workers' Council amount to about 5,500,000 crowns, 2,100,000 of which came from the independent Communist aid (as were shown above), and 1,000,000 of which is also to be attributed to Communist workers, the rest being contributed by Social-democratic workers.

3. The Collections made by the Austrian Trade Union Commission in common with the Social-Democratic Central Committee.

According to the latest report on the total receipts, made on the 16th of October, their collections amount to less than 17,500,000 crowns. Since then, another 500,000 crowns have been collected. Two of these eighteen million come from Communist sources, as was pointed out before; the rest of the money comes from Social-democratic workers.

4. Various collections made in August and in the first half of September.

All together the total result achieved by all of the Austrian proletarian relief organizations is:

24,000,000 crowns.

The uses which the proletarian moneys are put to.

1. According to the decision of the National Labor-Council, a large quantity of important medical supplies, with a total weight of 6625 kilograms was purchased 3 weeks ago. In the next few days these goods will be sent directly and unconditionally to the Soviet Government, through the local representative of the Red Cross, that is through the representative of the Soviet Mission in this country.

2. Medical supplies were also bought for a large part of the trade-union collections, that is for over 6,000,000 crowns. These are soon to be sent from Amsterdam to Soviet Russia. How the remainder of the trade union collections are to be spent is not yet known.

3. In case the Communist fraction in the Workers' Council should be discontinued, the moneys, amounting to a total of 400,000 crowns, which have recently been collected by the Russian Relief Committee of the Party will be handed over to the Berlin Foreign Committee for Workers' Relief to Russia.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

On the "Dutch School".

by Anders and Vauter (Amsterdam).

The name is indeed appropriate. It does not refer to the fighting Dutch Party, but rather to a few of its former teachers, who at present have very few followers in Holland; they still make an attempt however, to teach — in Germany.

Hermann Gorter, doctor of classical philology, was in 1880 one of the most distinguished representatives of the modern individualistic school of poetry which then made its appearance in sleepy Kolland. His work of that period is now considered as classical nature poetry of a glorious freshness. His socialistic activities of the later period were less agreeable to the bourgeoisie.

Gorter acquired a general influence among the workers through the pamphlets which he later published together with several translated works, (Lenin's "State and Revolution" being one of them), in a series of ten volumes. Due to the astounding clearness with which they were written, his works continue to be a foundation in theoretical instruction. His later work on the world war, which was translated into several languages, marked the birth of the Dutch Communist Party, and proved a very effective means of propaganda. It is true that in this work he already dwells upon generalities a little too much; he speaks for instance, of "united world capital" surprising the world proletariat through the declaration of war. But at the time of its appearance the little book was a deed. At that time Gorter was still the spirit of the party.

This is not the place for discussing *Dr. Pannekoek's* position in the astronomical world. We need only recall the fact that a few years ago, after he had returned from Germany, *Dr. Pannekoek* was considered by the scientific world as the only person fitted for a certain important astronomical post. The government however, disregarded him, because of his political principles (as if it were afraid of his propaganda among the stars). At present however, he is employed as a municipal academic instructor. But he has also done something important in the field of scientific socialism. Besides some pamphlets which he wrote ("Ethics and Socialism", "Socialism and Religion", "The Nationality Question", Darwinism and Socialism", etc.) we may mention his famous newspaper articles which were totally disregarded by the German Marxist press before the war. At that time he was active as a teacher in the party school in Bremen. His debates with Kautsky are also well known. These appeared in 1912, in the "Neue Zeit", where he answered Kautsky's theory of "Exhaustion Strategy" with his theory of mass action.

Both Pannekoek and Gorter belonged to the founders of the old party. Besides being theoreticians they were also two of the practical pioneers of the old party. Arch-reformists like Troelstra, and other traitors, seeing that they were unable to stifle the propaganda, proceeded against Wynkoop, Van Ravensteyn and Ceton who were the editors of the Marxist organ. When these were excluded from the party, Gorter and Pannekoek also resigned, and helped in founding the new party in which they continued to be active. This split saved Marxian principles in Holland and retained the theoretical purity which most of the other heterogeneous parties of the Second International so unmistakably lacked. At the same time however, the split threatened the break of all contact with the masses and with reality on the part of those who did not continually participate in the everyday struggle. This is exactly what happened to Gorter. Due to the bad condition of his health which he ruined through his propaganda work, he withdrew more and more from practical politics. Pannekoek's was a similar case. He did the same soon after his return from Germany. Their forte, which was their comprehensiveness of view, became their weakness which led them to inconsequent abstractions.

As long as the struggle was confined within national boundaries, their teachings were clear. They taught that instead of letting a capitalist group drag us into a war against their competitors, as they did with the reformists, we should rather seek to effect the revolutionary unity of the proletariat, or at least to propagate it. But when the war broke out, the Dutch bourgeoisie based their entire policy upon Germany. The party was therefore compelled by the daily struggle, to direct all its weapons, including the theoretical ones, against German imperialism. In its fight for the immediate interests of the Dutch proletariat, as for example in its fight against the increased prices caused by profiteering, the party sought support among the masses who were certainly far from "pure" in theory. At

this time Gorter stepped up, and in his purity, he demanded an equal fight against both imperialisms. He did this without showing how and what was to be done, and without being able to point out any strategic mistake, outside of a few incidentals. Of course, the party leaders, representing the great majority of the party, could not accept this continual long-winded criticism. Gorter became more and more irritable, until in recent years his criticism reached a stage of fury; indeed he went as far as to join some lesser malcontents who were shameless enough to accept the bourgeois fable of a war against the Entente by our leaders. This rage against our leaders may have been nothing more than an expression of his general condemnation of leaders. . . . He finally left the country in rage. Thus the poet and propagandist who at one time roused sincere admiration in the heart of every Socialist, has now turned slanderer of Soviet Russia. Like Pannekoek, he is even against aiding Soviet Russia in overcoming the famine catastrophe. This was correctly stigmatized by Roland Holst, who until recently was their intimate comrade, as a disgrace. Now that a hand-to-hand fight is near, Gorter and Pannekoek are still preaching "Purity", and are in this way betraying the brave attackers.

Their ideas still belong to the time when the *big thing* was only taught, not done; not formed from the rather unclean clay of this dirty world.

Hence, their stupid contempt for the rise of the Eastern peoples, and their complete misunderstanding of the historical significance of Soviet Russia and of the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. Instead of adopting their theory to the facts, they want the facts to adopt themselves to their theory. To them it matters not *what is*; it should be—out of nothing. The trade-unions are not good. "There should be"—the factory organizations. These, according to them, "rouse the fighter". So states (God forbid, we state something quite different!), *decrees* Gorter in a pamphlet. This is to be an "organization of many millions of conscious Communists", which "is necessary". At any rate, if he does not completely disregard reality, he must himself admit, that the factory organization is always exposed to the danger of sabotaging the revolution in return for a few small reforms, and for an increase in membership by some doubtful elements. It follows therefore, that according to them the distilled "pure" is to undergo another distillation for the forming of a political party which would then consist of pure angels. And in spite of all this they designate this double leadership of the proletariat, through the party and the union, as "Communism without leaders". They wish to deprive the proletariat of its leaders, with the platitude, "the workers must help themselves". No wonder then that among their few followers were those who on any pretext at all would form an opposition against the Dutch leaders, because the latter were too powerful to suit them. They disregarded the fact that this power and influence was due to the enormous work accomplished by these men in the interest of the movement, whereas most of the opponents stood aside, inactive and shouting. In sectarian Holland, the petty-bourgeois and the intellectual were always accustomed to having everything done in an orthodox manner, and to seeing that every one should have his little church. The workers however, particularly the revolutionary workers are not at all concerned with these few sectarians. To the revolutionary proletariat these men appear like preachers in a dry desert; preachers who fear to undertake the revolutionizing of the inactive masses, and who therefore worship *pure unreason*, and desire the *impossible*. The workers do not understand these few intellectuals and quacks who claim that it is impossible to revolutionize the trade-unions, but who nevertheless consider it possible to create new, all-powerful, economic organizations out of nothing. "Tg get out of the trade-unions?", they say. Why not straightway get out of Capitalism? According to them we must *just go through*. The fear of disintegration in the unions can in these times be entertained only by those who actually believe in the recovery of capitalism. Whoever really recognizes the miserable state of the capitalist economic system, can entertain no doubt whatever that the present situation is, and is constantly becoming, more and more objectively revolutionary, and that no lasting relapse into opportunism is to be feared. What is to be expected however, is a constantly increasing advance on the part of the masses, who can be shown the way only by the Communists and only through the struggle. And here we are told that the Communists should leave the mass-organizations and isolate themselves in sects!

As early as in 1909 Russia became acquainted with the "Otsoviki", who sought to "recall" the Bolshevik Duma faction under the blackest reaction. In practice however, some of them went over to the reaction, some of them were cured of their errors, but all of them were soon extinguished. In Germany we see how the fastly vanishing KAP. (Communist Wer-

kers' Party) opposes Russia, the bulwark of the world Revolution. We also see how it tends towards a bourgeois pacifism, which is even based upon a capitalist reconstruction. Of course, not a single member of the KAP. believes in Trotzky's "insane" prophecy of a new world war!

In Holland, a country which, as yet, has hardly been affected by the great world events, this exploded doctrine has very few followers, most of whom are ignorant. A mere handful of men who left the party for the pettiest reasons, together with a few members who were ejected from the party because of breaches of disciplines, formed a special group, which fortunately seceded from the Third International. These together with Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, the gigantic ranks of the KAP., and with a few smaller groups of Bulgaria and Jugoslavia founded a so-called "International". a "Fourth", which resembles the fourth dimension in its reality.

The Results of the Geneva Conference

by W. Lada.

The Third Labor Conference which lasted almost four weeks concluded its work on the 19th of November. Let us analyse its social and political significance.

The Conference was faced with important social and political problems. It had to consider almost the whole complex of problems which form what is termed the agricultural laborers' question, i. e., the question of working hours, measures against unemployment, protection of women and children, insurance against accidents, sickness, invalidity and superannuation, housing conditions, safeguarding of the right of organization for rural workers and education. Further it had to deal with the question as to the free time to be accorded on week-ends to employees of trade and commerce, the use of lead in the painting trade, the disinfection of anthrax-infected wool and the protection of the labor of minors on board of ships.

The result of the conference shows that it tried to avoid all those questions which involve strong antagonism of interests or to pass over them by adopting a miserable compromise; only on those questions which do not affect very seriously the interests of the employers did the conference manage to adopt a convention or quite harmless recommendations.

To the second set of questions the conference had to deal with belong the problem of unemployment and its consequences, the extension of insurance against sickness, invalidity and superannuation, the protection of women, special agricultural instruction, protection of minors, the housing question, the right of organization of agricultural laborers. Regarding all these questions recommendations have been adopted, which for the affiliated countries mean nothing but a repetition of what has already been preached by various social reformers. The same applies to a number of projects which have been carried in reference to some of these questions. Thus, for instance, in the question of compensation of agricultural workers a scheme has been adopted which simply requires the states ratifying the convention to extend their existing Workmen's Compensation Acts to agricultural laborers. It is obvious that only those states where a sufficiently strong organization of agricultural laborers exists, that will force them to carry it through, will act upon the recommendation. The moral authority of the International Labor Convention will not suffice to attain this end, seeing that the French and Swiss governments have declared from the outset that they do not recognize and will not act upon the respective decisions of the Conference and that they generally dispute the right of the International Labor Convention to deal with rural problems. The representatives of the British and Japanese governments declared—with regard to several decisions and recommendations adopted by the convention—that their respective governments will not ratify them. In their efforts to reduce this part of the convention to nothing, England and France at times found support from Luxemburg, South Africa and Belgium.

The characteristic feature of the decisions of the convention is that they were carried while a considerable number of members of the Conference refrained from voting. Out of 109 members only between 70 and 90 voted on a number of questions. Experience has shown that those who refrain from voting opposed after the Conference in their respective countries the carrying out of the decisions. Further at Washington and Genoa representatives of many governments voted in favor of certain resolutions but their governments declined afterwards to ratify them.

Amongst the most important questions and especially those in which class antagonism is most apparent are the questions of the working-day in agriculture and of the prohibition of the use of lead in the painting trade. As is already known the first of these questions had been stricken from the agenda as a result of

the opposition of France. It is true it was decided to consider it at one of the next conferences but this actually means the burying of the question.

On the second question the Conference met with the opposition of Great Britain. England possesses a great lead industry, and therefore opposed by all means the proposal to prohibit lead in the painting trade—as a Canadian delegate expressed it, "here the interests of Capital were struggling against those of humanity." The representatives of Labor in this question as well as in all other questions agreed to a weak compromise; thus an agreement was reached.

Generally the lack of ability to do anything real exhibited by the Third Conference of the International Labor Bureau in all social questions is its most characteristic feature. That found the clearest expression in the concluding speech of the chairman, Lord Burnham. After having praised the role of the Labor Convention as a tie between different classes, which assists the states in overcoming the present crisis, he declared: "On the other hand allow me to express the hope that the principle on which your work will be based may be *festina lente*—be slow in progress—there is no panacea, against the evils under which humanity is suffering; there are no remedies against earthquakes. If you put a machine under too strong a pressure it will go to pieces." Further Burnham indicated that it will be necessary to work out in agreement with the League of Nations "a more practical method", which would permit the adoption of decisions in a different form and the application of concluded agreements to existing conditions. Taking into consideration all that took place before and during the Third Conference of Labor, it may be said that *capitalism which in 1919 in the International Convention on Labor desired to create an instrument for exhibiting to the proletariat its willingness for great social reforms, at present tries to reduce these reforms to a minimum.*

As to the political results of the conference they can be seen from two important facts. In the first place it is obvious that the leading powers of the League of Nations, France and England, desire at present to keep the social activity of the International Convention on Labor within narrow limits, and that they are trying to rob it of all political significance as a factor of international legislation. On the other hand the political importance of the Geneva Conference consists in the fact that it has once more shown to what extent the Amsterdam Trade Union International is bound up with the International Convention of Labor and consequently with the League of Nations. The representatives of Labor at the Geneva Conference i. e., the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, tried to avoid sharp conflicts with the bourgeoisie in all questions. Whenever it was impossible to adopt a decision they agreed to a recommendation in order to get a resolution adopted, which was unacceptable by the bourgeoisie in its original form. They deleted from the proposal all the parts objected to in order to buy in this manner the votes of the representatives of the governments and the employers. They were only interested to show to the workers that so many decisions and recommendations have been adopted by the Geneva Convention! However, they reconciled themselves with the fact that governments and employers were sabotaging the work of the International Convention of Labor. In a long speech of indictment, during the discussion of Albert Thomas' report, Jouhaux declared: "Although the workers have not attained in all points the satisfaction they could expect, they will nevertheless leave the Conference without embitterment or resentment, for they know that what have not got to-day they will obtain at the next conference". In approving of the advice to act cautiously which Burnham gave the Conference, Jouhaux insisted on the need of seeing things as they are, being inspired by the feeling of responsibility needed for firm decisions. Mr. Jouhaux concluded by declaring that Labor is co-operating in the International Convention of Labor exclusively in the common interest and that in this sense they will support it in the future.

Thus spoke the vice president of the Amsterdamer Trade Union International according to the report of the organ of the International Labor Bureau and M. Jouhaux's own paper. The Amsterdam leaders very well reconcile themselves to the retarding of social progress by capitalism and to the subordinate position accorded to them by the bourgeoisie by the side of their Christian servants. Neither the clear intention of the world bourgeoisie to abandon the "great social reforms" commenced in 1919, nor its apparent striving to rely not only upon the Amsterdam but also on the Christian traitors of the proletariat can induce the Amsterdam labor leaders to sever their alliance with the world bourgeoisie.

It is high time for the workers to understand this and to bring the leaders to book for their policies.