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POLITICS

England and Genoa

by M. Philips Price.

** Up to the Cannes conference Lloyd George had succeeded in very considerably strengthening his position and that of the ruling classes of England in international affairs. He had made peace with Ireland, averted a struggle for naval supremacy with America and had the prospects of curbing French militarism on the continent of Europe by bringing in German capitalism, newly arisen out of the ashes of the German Revolution, into an international finance consortium for the exploitation of Central Europe and Russia. But the fall of M. Briand and the rise to power of M. Poincare again has put a spoke in his plans. The systematic attempts now made by the French government to sabotage the Genoa Conference, aided by the Northcliffe press in England, and the continued tendency of America to avoid direct participation in European affairs, in order that it may more effectively exert pressure on the capitalist governments to pay it their war debts, has weakened Lloyd George's position once more and brought his government before another crisis.

But if the international position of the British ruling classes has not improved during the last month, its internal position is becoming exceedingly critical. It is up against two problems, which appear, for the moment at least, to be quite insoluble. The first is the catastrophic state of the Imperial finances (a huge but as yet unknown deficit is expected in the next Budget). The second is an unprecedented revolutionary wave in Egypt and India,—these two bulwarks of British Imperialism in the East. In order to deal with the situation Lloyd George's government is obliged to use all the arts of trickery and make-believe.

Let us take the first problem. How is Lloyd George trying to grapple with his financial difficulties. The condition of trade shows no signs of improvement. The figures for export and import for December of last year were the lowest recorded. The number of unemployed shows no signs of abatement. The revenue from indirect taxation, customs and excise are decreasing and America is pressing for the payment of interest and sinking fund on its debt. There is therefore only one thing for Lloyd George to do and that is drastically to cut down state expenditure. The Northcliffe press has been clever enough to understand the position and in the hopes of gaining popularity with the petty bourgeoisie has been running a big "economy campaign" for several months past. The government has appointed a special committee under the presidency of the Canadian financier, Sir Auckland Geddes, to report on the possibility of reducing the national expenditure by 175 million pounds sterling. 75 millions has already been cut down by dissolving certain State departments and reducing the staff of others but there remains 100 million more to cut off, if the budget is to be balanced. So far as is known, the committee has only succeeded in drawing up a plan for reducing expenditure by 75 millions, leaving 25 millions still to be cut down. Of these 73 millions it is proposed to find 45 millions by reducing the expenditure on the Army, Navy and the Air Services. Here one may see the importance of the Washington Conference from the point of view of the financial stability of the British Empire. At the cost of having to bow to the dictatorship of President Harding, accept his battleship ratio and abandon the alliance with Japan, Lloyd

George obtains the possibility of saving a considerable sum of money. As all the clear-sighted labor elements in England saw from the first, the Washington Conference was merely a device to save world capitalism from bankruptcy.

But in addition to the reduction on armaments the Geddes Committee foresees a reduction of 38 millions on various departments connected with the social welfare of the wide masses. Thus it is proposed to cut down 18 millions on education and to force school teachers to accept lower salaries and to increase the number of pupils in each class. The dismissal of large numbers of school teachers will also have to take place, if these plans are carried out. Pensions for war-invalids and the expenses of the Ministry of Health are to be reduced by some 5 millions. Thus Lloyd George hopes to be spared the disgrace of coming before the English electors as the man whose government bankrupted England, by reducing expenditure on armaments and imposing the rest of the burden on the laboring masses by lowering the standard of living and depriving them of those small advantages which they have hitherto been able to acquire under capitalist society. In the first case he will receive the support of the petty bourgeoisie, who are tired of armaments and war; and in the second place he will be able to appeal to them as the man who practiced economy. Here, of course, he may wreck his government. Already there is great opposition aroused by his economy plan among the great spending departments, particularly the Army, Navy and Air Services, whose case is being championed by Winston Churchill. The latter person realises that unless the rulers of England have sufficient aeroplanes and poison gas bombs to throw on the villages of Indians and Egyptians, even the glories of the British Empire, like the glories of Ivan the Terrible, will fade away. Also the mere fact that Lloyd George, in the days of his radicalism, agitated for and achieved considerable social reforms, all of which are now to be thrown on the scrap-heap, in order to prevent the necessity of taxing the landlords and the industry magnates, is likely to increase his unpopularity in wide circles of the population.

Once more he is at wits' end to find some popular cry, with which he can divert popular attention from understanding the true state of England. He still hopes that Genoa will provide one of these diversions and that it may also help to solve some of the problems, with which he is confronted. To ally himself with Herr Rathenau and Herr Stinnes and together to harness the Russian Revolution and the technique of German industry to an international finance consortium—that is still a very attractive project, but one which is no less dangerous to the proletariat of Central and Eastern Europe than the policy of open brigandage, pursued by M. Poincare. And this is really at the bottom of all the so-called "Liberal" tendencies of English politics today. As the Conference of the Liberal Party in Manchester last month showed, the "Free Liberal" opponents of Lloyd George, in spite of all their oratory and invective, had nothing positive to propose as an alternative to the policy, now pursued by the left wing of the Coalition, which Lloyd George now intends to call the "National Liberal Party". In spite of Lord Grey's criticism on foreign policy, everyone knows that it was he who was responsible for bringing England into the war on the basis of a secret treaty with France. In spite of Mr. Asquith's attacks on Lloyd George for the period of terror in his Irish policy last year, everyone knows that it was he who murdered the Irish revolutionaries at Easter 1916 and that he is the man, who has the blood of James Connolly on his conscience. Thus all the fights that are now going on in England between

Lloyd George's National Liberals and Asquith's Free Liberals, between the Northcliffe press and Lloyd George and between the Conservative "Die-Hards" and the Coalition are nothing else than sham fights between various elements of the British ruling classes. The some extent they are based on personal animosities, but to the greatest extent they are staged in order to mislead the masses into the idea that, if Lloyd George's Coalition goes, something more progressive will take its place. The real nature of these conflicts may be seen by the difference of opinion, which has arisen over the question of the reform of the House of Lords. The Conservative "Die-Hards" do not want a General Election, until the House of Lords has been reformed in such a way as to give it back its old privileges, to stop all revolutionary legislation, which may be passed by the House of Commons. Lloyd George on the other hand would fight the danger of a Labor government getting into power in England, by finding a good electioneering cry to throw dust in the eyes of the British proletariat and to prevent it from realising the true state of affairs.

As regards the second problem before the Coalition—the question of India and Egypt—it is very difficult to say anything positive. No reliable information has come from these countries for some weeks. The censorship has stopped the publication of telegraphic despatches from Bombay to the "Daily Herald", because "their publication is considered undesirable by the authorities." All that is known is that India is in a state of rebellion against British rule. The pacifist Ghandi has now complete control over the Nationalist movement and is organising a gigantic general strike, which includes the non-payment of taxes. The British authorities are considering whether to arrest and deport him and meanwhile have filled the prisons of India with thousands of revolutionaries whom they are treating with their accustomed barbarity. Meanwhile a pleasant young gentleman, called the Prince of Wales, is led like a prize ox round the towns of India and is duly photographed, receiving the homage of intimidated Indians, announcing their loyalty to England at the rate of 5 rupees a day, and the photographs are produced by the Northcliffe and other boulevard press as proof of the loyalty of India to the British Empire. Thus the Genoa Conference and the "storm in the tea-cup" over the Reform of the House of Lords are thus convenient excuses for covering up the financial situation of the British Empire at home and the rising tide of revolution in its Asiatic dependencies.

Stinnes

by Adolph Mayer.

I.

** Today the whole world is talking about Stinnes. His name represents an economic and political program. And therefore it is necessary to be fully enlightened as to who Stinnes is, what "Stinnesization" means, and what the Stinnes government represents.

Hugo Stinnes is one of the greatest captains of industry of Germany. To become acquainted with his economic power, one must merely count what he has. Of course, whether all of it can be counted is another question. We can judge only by the compilation which has been completed by a panegyrist of Stinnes and his spirit of speculation, a certain Herr Brinkmeyer.

II.

The power of Stinnes is based on concentration, trust-formation and alliance with finance capital. The development of the Stinnes trust is the typical development of the modern trusts expanding anarchically in the economic sense despite their apparent systematic arrangement.

First of all Hugo Stinnes inherits enterprises which were established by his grandfather, Mathias Stinnes. The latter, a sailor, comprehended the "Signs of the Time" (beginning of the 19th century). He began his business with a coal barge; in 1843 he transferred to steam transportation and in addition was interested in the mining and the coal industries, as side lines. Even the old Mathias Stinnes did not limit himself to one field of profit, but carried on combined undertakings. These were converted into a corporation which possessed already at that time 60 coal barges on the Rhine and in the Ruhr, warehouses in four Rhine cities, four mines with a significant and to some extent greater interest in 38 other mines. This "solid foundation", as the biography of Stinnes expresses it, even in those times of such young undertakings (conceding that the development of industry and the lack of competition were favorable) could never have been accomplished by methods which are fragrant with rose water. Nevertheless, the biographies remain silent about this, as well as about the wages paid by Stinnes.

The firm developed extensively, absorbed other undertakings—the means employed in such fights of competition need not be gone into here—and in any event in the course of 100 years developed to the stage of big shipping, large commercial houses, and extensive mine management. Thus Hugo Stinnes, the present big man, inherited this "most solid foundation"—the "Rhine-Westphalian Coal Syndicate", "The Rhine Coal and Shipping Company", and the older "Association for the Mining Interests of the Board of Mines district of Dortmund", over which his family did and still does exert a powerful influence.

III.

If Herr Brinkmeyer, the biographer of Stinnes says of the American trust barons:

"Only absolute control of stocks, unscrupulous breaking up of competition and unbridled speculation helped these magnates to attain their control over billions", he corrects himself when several lines after he adds discreetly, that "the American methods of finance, of participation, and of alliance, have today been adopted by us and are even further developed".

A typical representative of these methods is Stinnes. And when the same Brinkmeyer says a few pages after:

"Whoever has influence and wants to carry out an idea, can do it today in the economic field, more readily than ever before. Whoever has power and wishes to misuse it, can do likewise."

He says this speaking in general, but in the particular case of Stinnes, this excellent saying also holds good (with the addition, that not only on the "economic" but also on the "political field", he who has "influence" and wants to "misuse his power" (i. e., to use his power) will find the doors and gates of Germany wide open to him, for reasons which need not be discussed here. Everybody knows that a very small group controls our economic life. The influence of Stinnes within this group plays such a big role, that it is useful to become acquainted with it.*

IV.

Hugo Stinnes begins as a coal baron (with the above-mentioned influence in the existing syndicates), a coal merchant in oversea trade and a shipowner. He immediately embraced another important branch of production; that of steel and iron.

The "German-Luxemburg Mine and Smelting corporation", under his influence, developed as follows:

| | |
|---|---------------|
| 1901 founded, capital | 1,000,000 M. |
| 1901 capital increased to | 25,000,000 " |
| 1910 capital increased to | 60,000,000 " |
| amalgamation with "Dortmund Union" capital from then on | 100,000,000 " |

Now they are working for export (in Luxemburg) as well as for inland trade. It is evident that the undertaking is developing. In the Dortmund district mines have been added, in the Saar district (where there is coal) blast furnaces and steel works. Consequently, we have a combined-huge trust before us. (The individual works and mines remain to be counted). This trust feeds its furnaces, its iron and steel works with its own ore, its own coal; and transports the raw product and the finished goods to some extent with its own ships.

5,000,000 tons of coal and 1,300,000 tons of coke were produced yearly (about 1905) and in addition the allied products (such as ammonia, tar, benzol, etc.) and enormous quantities of steel, iron, etc. In addition comes the "Rhine-Westphalian Electricity Works Corporation (founded 1898) which supplies gas, water and electricity and owns a big shipping line. Even before Stinnes had gone so far that he, as Brinkmeyer says, "as a member of the board of directors, was intimately connected with all the important enterprises in the industrial field". If the earlier quotation ("whoever has influence") is recalled, it can be comprehended what Stinnes was even before the war.

During the war, "Stinnes served his fatherland honorably", as people usually say. The fabulous boom of the Stinnes trust after the war, shows that he himself did not fare badly through this service to the fatherland.

* Brinkmeyer writes, "the present prevailing system of preferred stock, with the right to many votes, strengthens the potentiality of influence. Thus in spite of making a smaller capital outlay, the owner of these shares has a decisive voice in the decisions of the company. In this way, a small group can without difficulty exercise mastery without a great expenditure of capital".

Nothing new, it is true, but good because it is expressed cynically.

"Not so soon and perhaps never, can a clear light be brought behind the scenes of war economy", says our guarantor Brinkmeyer. And he adds to it:

"It is well known that the war, for many contractors and especially for big industry, was synonymous with an economic boom."

This "boom" began with the famous "liquidations" in Belgium i. e. with the taking over of the Belgian industries by the German agents and manufacturers who possessed "the influence and an idea". Today the hardworking German people must pay "reparations" for these "ideas".

Naturally Herr Stinnes found himself in Belgium among the men "full of ideas", who sought to ruin Belgian industry in order to make Germany prosperous. In the meantime, Stinnes extended his sphere of action; he entered into various German shipping companies (Woerman, Hapag, Lloyd), took over importing firms, took active part, in 1918, in the German-American Petroleum Company, bought hotels and also forests to produce wood for his mines. In short, since 1918, he is master in the most diverse fields.

V.

During 1918 and 1919, Stinnes did not permit himself to be disturbed. After the Treaty of Versailles, a part of property in the German-Luxemburg Corporation was liquidated—he received cash (and probably none too little). Stinnes bought instead of works which had been "lost", new ones in westphalia (Bruninghaus Steel Works, Fried. Thomas Corporation, Karl Mining Corporation, Meggener Rolling Mills, Karl Schlieper Chain Works, Knipping brothers rivet factory) and forced Kirdorf to amalgamate his Gelsenkirchen Mining Corporation (1912-1914) with 55,000 workers, a yearly coal output of 10,000,000 tons and a colossal expansion during the war, with the German-Luxemburg Corporation. In this way, the Stinnes trust gains an immense new branch (mining concerns bound to one another until the year 2000, by contract, *despite Hitlerding's Socialization Commission*).

Only now is Stinnes really beginning to spread out on all sides. He has already a highly-developed combined trust, and is adding to it one more field, that of electric machinery. Stinnes got hold of the Rhine-Elbe Union, and the Bochumer Association for Mining and Cast Steel Manufacture, became identified with the Bohlen Steel Corporation bought peat-coal works in Central Germany and Brunswick and finally united his mining concerns in 1920 with the Siemens-Schuckert Electric Concern into one Electro-Mining-Concern (Siemens-Rhine-Elbe-Schuckert-Union). This concern employs about 200,000 workers, is again contracted until the year 2000 and lays the corner-stone of the foundation of German production.

Now we have the Stinnes' pillars of support in West Germany, through Siemens-Schuckert in South Germany, and through his shipping companies in North Germany; in order not to neglect the East, Stinnes has taken in hand in East Germany the coal importing and coal business, machinery and the fertilizer business, and assured himself the control of all the celluloid factories in these well-wooded regions.

Thus Stinnes has embraced all of Germany.

Now Stinnes is beginning to spread out in two other directions: toward the interior by the purchase of newspapers (for which he bought the paper factories), among which papers as big and important as the "Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung", the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", the "Weserzeitung", and also the "München-Augsburger Zeitung" are Stinnes sheets. He then bought in Austria (1921) the "Oesterreichische-Alpine Montangesellschaft".

That he incidentally acquires hotels, meeting-halls, etc., is self-understood. He takes advantage of an opportunity whenever it presents itself (and fights without any consideration whatever competition stands in the way).

Whether this summary brings to light the whole economic power of Stinnes, must be questioned. For his successes affect many "politicians" and "economists" as narcotic poison, and all the channels through which he lets "his influence and his ideas" flow, are not to be discovered or enumerated.

It would be useful to investigate how far the concentration movement of the Stinnes Trust is beneficial to political economy, and to a future Socialist economic program; in how far it is harmful because of its anarchy. That, however, is not the object of this simple and rough outline, which only has the purpose of showing a part of the power that Stinnes has in his hands. The German "Kaiser and Stinnes Socialists" believe that he, who christened his ships "Hindenburg", "Tirpitz"

and "Ludendorff", would in a government with them, the miserable Scheidemanns and Bauers, listen to their squeaking voices.

He will destroy them as he does his competition, if before that time the working-class does not take him by the collar with its unrelentless fist.

The Capitalist Offensive in France

by Paul Louis (Paris).

** The capitalist offensive has broken loose in France in all its fury. It is asserting itself on the question of salaries and working hours.

Very recently the miners of the North and of the Pas de Calais, that is, of the largest coalfields of France, had their daily pay greatly reduced. It will be reduced by 3% francs in two stages. Yet the companies have for the present renounced the extreme measures which they had originally planned, and which permitted a reduction of 6 frs. However, in a few weeks, nothing is to prevent them from backing out of the compromise agreed upon yesterday.

It is quite unnecessary to call up memories of the big textile strike of the Roubaix-Tourcoing region. Although the workers had fought bravely for a long time, the owners succeeded in cutting their salaries. It has been thus from one end of the country to the other, and in all trades. Asserting that there was a reduction in the cost of living (which is wholly imaginary, and which daily statistics belie) the employers wished in reality to throw the whole burden of the economic crisis on the proletariat. And it must be confessed, the proletariat either through faulty organization, or for some other reason, could only accept willy-nilly.

Today the eight hour working-day is at stake and the struggle which commences on this account in France resembles, step for step, those which have taken place in other countries.

Immediately after the armistice, the eight-hour working-day, formerly very much discussed, and demanded by the working-class since the 80s of the 19th century, was suddenly voted upon by Parliament. It was adopted under unusual conditions of speed and readiness, which were truly astonishing. What a contrast between the opposition of former times, the sarcasm which was cast at the partisans of the eight-hour day, and the ardor which the wildest reactionaries now displayed in its behalf.

In reality, during this period several considerations influenced the possessing classes.

1— They feared a revolution, and even judged it to be impending. The influence which the Russian revolution exercised throughout Central Europe, in Germany, Hungary, and Austria, aroused the most profound fear in France, England and Italy. The proletariat everywhere were imbued with hatred for capitalistic institutions. The workers' parties and trade-unions grew with unprecedented celerity, while the most active elements therein gained a majority over the timorous and reformist elements.

2— The prosperity of the world—more specious than real—due everywhere to the inflation of currency left enormous margins of profits to the capitalist class, and thus the latter could make concessions to the proletariat without imposing any appreciable sacrifice upon itself. Besides it regained most of the expenses thus incurred, from the prices which it fixed, almost at its own will.

3— The capitalist class discerned that it would be both opportune and politic to reinstate the demobilized men into the ranks of the working-army. The presence of hundreds of thousands of women who had been drawn into industry during the war, seemed to involve grave danger to public order. The introduction of the eight-hour day assured jobs for large numbers of these elements.

4— Moreover, in the eyes of the possessing class, the eight-hour law was only temporary and uncertain like so many other laws protecting labor, which it had no difficulty in breaking, such as the law on the weekly day of rest.

Today, in the eyes of the possessing class, the time has come to overthrow the law. After having reestablished, whenever possible nine hours, nine and a half hours and often more per day, it called upon the intervention of the state which broke any trace of resistance on the part of the workers.

For two months bills have been accumulating in the offices of Parliament. The Chambers of Commerce, which represent big capital, are carrying on a sustained propaganda. That of Lyons, one of the most reactionary of all, demands purely and simply that the law should be suspended for five years.

It is alleged that England and America accepted the eight-hour law with bad grace. Only it is forgotten that in these

countries, the eight-hour day was in force in a number of trades before 1919; besides, it is true that there as everywhere else capitalist reaction reigns. Reference is still made to the loss of men that France suffered from 1914 to 1918; but this argument falls to the ground because the nine and ten-hour day would first of all result in increased unemployment, and then would add to the crisis by reducing the means of consumption of the working-class.

The proposal of the *Bloc National* is that the government can abrogate the eight-hour day by decree and by virtue of the law of 1919 itself. That is their ideal goal, but the whole capitalist press — “Temps”, “Débats”, “Figaro” — are leading the campaign with this program.

It remains to be seen if the working-class, with its most vital interests menaced, will submit to the capitalistic offensive without rising against it. Those who are depending on its apathy may perhaps be mistaken.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Norwegian Labor Movement

by Smohlan.

** More rapidly than in most other countries the labor movement in Norway developed towards class struggle and Communism. Before the war this was already apparent at the great Inter-Scandinavian Congresses where the Norwegian delegates or at least a considerable number of them represented the Left opposition while the Danes formed the extreme right. Ten years ago in winter, a strong oppositional group, under the able leadership of Comrade Trømmeol, the present leader of the Communist Party, began an agitation for the revolutionizing of the trade-unions. A special organization “Fagoppositionen” was called into life, which—similar to the Communist nuclei—developed an intensive propaganda. In Christiania, Trømmeol outlined his views to the trade-union and Party leaders. He criticized the hitherto existing trades organizations of class struggle: the various federations should be replaced by a united national organization, based upon local unions comprising all the workers of a locality irrespective of their profession. He declared that all possible means be employed to carry on the class struggle. Not the moral point of view but that of fitness should decide which means could be utilized. If a strike does not sufficiently serve its purpose, sabotage should be used and in a miners' strike, for instance, the workers need not clear the bore-holes of dynamite, for a scab who betrays the militant workers should run the ensuing risk.

Jepessen, editor of the central organ “Social-Demokraten”, impetuously fought this conception, denouncing it as an appeal to assassination. When Trømmeol's conception was accepted by the majority of the Party, Jepessen resigned, declaring that he could represent the interests of the workers with sufficient authority after the majority of the Party had rejected his point of view. This attitude must be respected and may be recommended to all social-patriots and Amsterdamers. Supported by a strong youth movement, the opposition developed rapidly and during the war gained the majority of the Party and the trade-unions. Only a small number of officers without soldiers left the Norwegian Labor Party, when the latter openly declared itself in favor of the Third International and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those who left the Party are to-day as insignificant as the French Dissidents.

As in Sweden, the Party, which numbers about 100,000 members, is built on the system of collective affiliation of trade-unions, which system, however, has drawbacks. Many of the old leaders have remained in the Party and subordinated themselves to the decisions of the majority; among them the Nestor of the Norwegian labor movement, the former chairman of the Party, Holtermann Knudsen and Olc. O. Lian, the president of the Trade Union Federation for many years. The latter belongs to those few labor leaders who do not stick to old inflexible formulas, but know how to adapt themselves to new conditions and who do not attempt to split the movement after the majority has voted against them. Formerly Lian held other views but now he has been convinced by the opposition and has accepted the conception of his late opponent Trømmeol. In a series of very interesting articles in “Social Demokraten” Lian recently outlined his opinion on the conflicts within the trade-union movement. His words deserve to be read far beyond the Norwegian frontiers.

After having given a detailed review of the international trade-union movement before the War, Lian continues in his second article as follows:—

“The insignificant successes were the result of the fact that the Trade Union International existing before the War was no truly international organization. It was not built upon solid ground. It was no international militant organization. It was nothing but a bureau. That this bureau could boast of having millions of inscribed members, could not alter this state of affairs. This International could not accomplish more than it did. But not we all know that a new international proletarian organization must be built on another basis, inspired with another spirit than that which existed before the war. Our Russian comrades are making attempts in this direction. They are endeavoring to create a truly active and energetic International. We may discuss whether their attempts are right or wrong. I am convinced, however, that we must consider their conceptions. They have had experiences which we lack. They have proved that they are ready to sacrifice all for the workers' cause. It is nonsense to accuse them of attempting to split the movement. We must deal seriously with the problem of creating a truly active and strong International.”

Moreover Lian treats of the London Congress of the Amsterdam International in 1920 and mentions the decision to elaborate a plan on the distribution of raw material “which should be presented to the International Labor Bureau in order to carry it out immediately.”

“The trade-union leaders seem to be blessed with a nearly incredible ingenuousness. They deliver one of the most important functions of economic life to a Bureau, headquarters of which consist of bourgeois representatives and in which the workers of Russia, Germany and America are not represented at all.”

“Irrespective of political tendencies, the entire Norwegian labor movement has declined to collaborate with the League of Nations. With one exception, all labor representatives in the Storting (National Parliament) voted against affiliation to the League of Nations. And after that we were to elect (in London) a representative to one of its most important institutions!

“The political and trade-unionist labor movement of Norway has refused all compromise with bourgeois conceptions. In the trade-union movement we are waging a class war and decline to follow roads which do not lead to our aim. Let us consider the conditions in England, France, Germany, Austria. What is going on there? Millions of workers who have undergone the horrors and the sufferings of the war are now forced to maintain bourgeois society and to reconstruct capitalist economics. In Germany the workers are bending their backs in order to help Capitalism to get on its feet again; on their broad backs they are again carrying like slaves the burden of production. The Trade Union International, however, leaves it to the League of Nations, the International of Exploiters, to abolish the crisis which is spreading over the entire world. The old opportunism becomes apparent. They want everything to be as it was before the war. The problem of socialization is postponed to the distant future; the system of Shop Councils is only a caricature of what it was intended to be. What is the matter with socialization in Germany? Ten millions of organized workers were not able to enforce the first step towards it. The Shop Councils in Germany and Austria deal with but insignificant matters. If they will not be able to fight for higher tasks, they will perish like useless rudiments, like a great dream. They will suffocate in large amounts of paper and in insignificant quarrels between workers and bosses.

“We must consciously build up a Labor International which does not on account of its system develop into the contrary of what it was intended to be. We must fight the conception of political neutrality of the trade-unions, for every economic struggle is in reality also a political one.”

The Situation in France

by A. Rosmer.

** With the new year has begun a new phase in the labor movement in France. Jouhaux and his clique with the patronage of the bourgeoisie have at least succeeded in shattering what was up to now the united working-class. The leaders of the C.G.T. have long hesitated to commit this crime; they have never ventured to place the problem of the cleavage freely and openly before a congress. Even at Lille in July of last year, they never ventured to speak of expulsion; on the contrary, the expulsions which had already been pronounced against some federations were cancelled and the expelled members and unions were rein-

stated at the Congress with full rights. But what they were not able to do at the Congress, they have accomplished in committee. After the first sitting of the National Confederation Committee, which was convened after the Congress, they have adopted the policy of expulsions. The Committee, which was composed entirely of trade-union officials, carried out this policy, however, with great difficulty. When it came to the vote, they only obtained a majority of one.

Notwithstanding this feeble support, which best reveals the composition of the Federation Committee and the hostility of the organized working masses to a split, they have proceeded with their project.

In order to avoid a failure they have by an arbitrary act of their own-will fixed the date for the convening of the Congress two months earlier, for it is quite certain that after the regular and steady growth of the minority, the Congress of the year 1922 would have meant the collapse of the trade-union bureaucracy. One after another the National Unions broke away from them. But a few months more would have meant their debacle. These ardent democrats, these enemies of dictatorship, tried to prevent this with all their power. Against this they wished to set up their dictatorship of the trade-union bureaucracy with the support of the Geneva League of Nations and Amsterdam. They were determined not to submit to the trade-union majority, which would pronounce its will at a Congress. On the day when they saw that the majority was against them, they decided rather to break the organization than budge from their posts and go back to the workshop or the factory, which they had left for too long a time. Driven from the leadership of the C.G.T. they would become insignificant, it would mean the end of direct cooperation with the bourgeoisie, the end of the participation of Albert Thomas in the work of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, and in the League of Nations itself. Naturally they did not desire this, and if they had actually agreed to this, their masters, the bourgeoisie and Albert Thomas, would not have allowed it. If France had left Amsterdam and Geneva, it would have meant an important event with great consequences.

In order to avoid this there was only one possibility; the brutal splitting of every trade-union and this they have done. And today we see two C.G.T.s existing in France; the C.G.T. of those who stand for the unity of the trade-unions and the C.G.T. of Jouhaux, Fimmen, Albert Thomas and the bourgeoisie. France has never had, like other countries, trade-unions with a big membership running into millions, but on the other hand, it always had complete unity of the trade-unions. The Catholic and yellow trade-unions have never, in spite of repeated attempts, been able to take part in this development and for this reason the C.G.T. was able before the war, in spite of its numerical weakness, to organize the whole working-class. These conditions, so favorable for activity, are now lost.

But the working masses, who realize the danger, will know at whose door lies the guilt. The revolutionary minority has made the greatest efforts to avoid the split. They convened a Congress to be held on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of December, which was to have been a great demonstration for the unity of the trade-union movement. To this end they issued an appeal, not only to the minority trade-unions but to all trade-unions without distinction of tendencies. Their end was fully and entirely accomplished. 1528 unions, the majority of the C.G.T., replied to the appeal and among them were more than a hundred of the majority unions. They again attempted to influence the C.G.T. of Jouhaux. Jouhaux himself had left Paris and instructed his representative to answer in the same manner as the Amsterdam International, which had scornfully replied to the wireless of Lozovsky on behalf of the Red Trade Union International. The revolutionists therefore could show the assembled masses who are solely responsible for the split. Jouhaux and his friends already feel that their action was too clumsy, for not only have the revolutionists affiliated to the Unity C.G.T., but a portion of the reformists, who are opposed to the split, have decided that their organizations shall remain autonomous. They will not go over to the new C.G.T., but they will break with the C.G.T. of Jouhaux. That was a severe blow for the friends of Albert Thomas, for the well-paid agents of the bourgeoisie. Without doubt Jouhaux reckoned upon help on the part of the government. He is convinced that the capitalist state will undertake an intensive persecution of the revolutionary trade-unions by arresting their leaders in order to terrify the working masses and to persuade them that things are much more peaceful in the trade-unions of Jouhaux. The employers also will use the opportunity to lock out the radical elements. The Unity C.G.T., which is the actual C.G.T. in France today, must bring all its skill and wisdom to the fore, in order to thwart all these manoeuvres, to avoid all obstacles and traps, which are laid for it.

If it rallies all the forces of the working-class, it can hope with the support it can obtain from the autonomous organizations—which are not altogether revolutionary but stand unconditionally for unity—to become in the eyes of the French proletariat the real center of the working-class. It is not too venturesome to think that it will be able in the not too distant future to accomplish the reconstruction of the united trade-union movement over the heads of Jouhaux and his associates, who then will finally be hounded out of the ranks of the workers of France.

The Revolt of Labor in India

by Shramendra Karsan.

** When the revolution comes, its spirit penetrates into every sphere of activity. India's life today is rocked by the forces and potentialities of the thought-processes and action of all-embracing revolution. The revolutionary flame is sweeping nearly every field—political, social and economic. The labor movement in India cannot therefore remain untouched by its manifestation.

Labor in India has more reason to revolt than any other class. Though the Indian proletariat cooperates with all those who are perfecting plans for the overthrowing of British rule and control in India, they are becoming conscious of the future program which they themselves will have to carry out with vim and vigor in the period of transition.

In order to understand the laborers' part in the Indian independence movement, it is necessary to bear certain facts in mind.

India is as big as Europe without Russia, and has one-half of the area of the United States of America. It has a population of nearly 320 millions, 90 % of which belong to the working and peasant classes. Eighty to eighty-five per cent of the people of India live on agriculture. The industrial workers, just as in any other country, live in the big cities. It is estimated that there are nearly twenty million industrial workers including those who work in the home industries.

This huge mass of humanity is being exploited by the ruling class and by those who support it.

This exploitation has caused the reduction of the average income of an Indian *per annum* to 28 rupees. Now if a person has to live simply on cereal like rice, having one meal a day, it costs *per annum* at least 36 rupees. Out of that petty income of 28 rupees, one has to pay proportionately higher taxes than any other country in the world. It is then no exaggeration to say that *half of the population of India lives below the starvation mark*. This half is the laboring people.

The state of semi-starvation becomes more evident when the rate of wages is compared with the cost of living. In accordance with the government and employers' reports, a man with his family in an industrial city like Bombay for instance, requires at least 50 rupees per month to live. But the wage of a skilled textile worker is not more than 25 rupees a month. Women and children get much less and it staggers imagination to determine their desperate condition. The steel workers receive approximately 20 rupees, miners from 10 to 20 rupees. The wage of the plantation workers is 6 rupees and in many cases much less.

The so-called bourgeois classes in India, who constitute a very insignificant number, of course do not share such sufferings of the proletariat. When the land-holding classes, for instance, are taxed by the British government, they "pass the buck" to the poorer peasantry, who are compelled to provide for the proprietary classes. Any time the government holds a durbar or entertains the parasitic prince; the expenses are paid indirectly by the poorer people.

It is not surprising then to find that already in some parts of India the *ryots* (small tenants) are refusing to pay taxes to the *Zemindars* (big landholders). Particularly it is noticeable in the district of Rungpur, Bengal, according to a despatch in the London "Times" of January 12, 1922. There is also revolutionary activity among the peasants in the Rai Berrily district (United Provinces), where the Peasants' Associations have been formed to checkmate the evil system of the *Faluquaders* (landholders). These *Zemindars* together with the princes, who number no less than 700, still maintain some sort of feudal system in this twentieth century. The action of the *ryots* gives a hint as to the possibility of the future distribution of land, which is a moot question in Indian economics.

It is thus clear that the two classes—exploited and exploiter—have lined up for battle in Indian society. Though the

castes, sub-castes and creeds play an important part in the social organism, the demarcation of the class lines is distinctly determined.

A Moslem rich man exploits his poorer co-religionist just in the same manner as the Hindu, Parsee, Christian or Jew does. Thus suffering becomes the common badge of the exploited. And although owing to superstition and ignorance, they do not practise eating in common and do not advocate intercaste marriage, they are at heart comrades-in-arms. The pinch of hunger binds them together.

Lack of education is, however, to an extent responsible for the fact that Indian labor is not organized as it should be. The laborers and peasants have little chance of receiving any education. Over 90% of the people do not know how to read and write. The entire educational system is inadequate and imperfect, and consequently it has arrested the intellectual development of the masses. There is no universal education in India, as there is no universal suffrage. In spite of the desire and solicitation of the people for the introduction of free compulsory elementary education, half of the revenue is spent for military purposes. Education is a luxury in India and the means to enter the government service. Only the privileged and property classes can afford to give such expensive education to their children. The present political system stands in the way of spreading education among the masses. Some of the friends of the writer have started in Calcutta and elsewhere "Workingmen's Institutes", where night classes are held for the adult workers, but the organizers are often harrassed and hounded by the British secret service. Nearly fifteen years ago, the writer himself established a small school in a country town to impart elementary education to the children of the laborers and peasants. The school had to be closed, for the British police scented sedition and a plot to overthrow his Majesty's rule in India by the children six to twelve years old. The readers may compare this state of affairs with the Czaristic regime in Russia. The Bombay Social Service League which claims to have been working among the workers in Bombay is directly or indirectly connected with the servants of India society. Its members are social reformers, and mostly consist of all those who support the bourgeoisie and the government. Their methods of work are similar to the church workers maintained by the Rockefeller. It is therefore not unnatural that the workers hesitate to trust them. Their work may help mitigate a portion of the immediate suffering, but do not create any self-consciousness among the working people, and do not strike at the root of the miseries of maimed humanity.

Indian labor may be illiterate, but *not necessarily unintelligent*. It at least understands its economic interests, if not its rights. Indian labor sees that fifty per cent of the industries and nearly all the plantations are controlled by the British. It is inveigled into slavery on the British plantation colonies. They feel, in every moment, the lash of the exploiters. Torture and stomach pangs are enough to awaken them to class-consciousness.

The beginning has been made in organizing unions in every field of labor. For the last two years, All-Indian Trade Union Congress have been held to direct the forces of labor and to map out the program of action. The last session was held at Jharia in the coal mine districts of Behar.

Indian labor has shown its intelligence in organizing strikes and in effectively using sabotage. The strikes of the textile workers, coal miners, dockyard workers, tramway conductors and motormen, plantation workers and jute-mill hands have been admirably carried out in many cases, and they have used this weapon no less creditably than their comrades in Europe. The strike not only unites the laborers for their economic ends, but it also serves political purposes. The laborers gain their increase in wages and at once realize their potential strength in forming unions. When a strike breaks out in Bombay, Madras or Calcutta, the British government sends out militia to suppress the laborers, and use the soldiers as strike-breakers. When the postmen in Calcutta refused to work unless their demands for higher wages were granted, a number of the leading postmen were imprisoned by the British court. When the workers on the Assam tea plantations revolted against their heinous criminal treatment by the tea planters, the British government supported the planters and no railroad was allowed to carry the workers to a place of safety. On the other hand, the political workers and volunteers helped them in every possible way.

The laborers have therefore allowed themselves to be guided and organized for the present by the political workers. The leadership thus no doubt remains in the hands of those intelligent men and women who are familiar with proletarian psychology and have identified themselves with the interests of the proletariat.

Political and labor questions are inseparably linked together. Economic adjustment is extremely difficult without the settlement of the political questions. It is a happy augury for India that labor is taking a leading part in the political movement. *For, it is they who will make India free.* Mahatma Gandhi, "professor of paci-fistology", has been able to become the leading figure in India today due to the masses' confidence in him. The moment he betrays them in the attainment of their *political, economic and social aspirations* he will at once lose his influence over them. Beneath the political agitation is concealed the weapons of labor, which will be used at an opportune moment for the emancipation of masses.

The study of Indian labor problems then suggests that it the principal object of the labor movements in the world today be collective bargaining with the capitalists, then their only recourse is a "molly-make-believe" method to force arbitration. But if labor is conscious of the fact it produces all wealth and it should dictate the methods of distribution, then there can be no other way to establish that principle but the seizure of the control of the government. The government in such cases will undoubtedly be controlled by the majority, which is the laboring masses. That is what the revolt of labor in India means. It is positive, real and full of meaning. And as the cause of labor is one, its international significance is quite evident.

Japanese Labor during the Last Six Months.

(From Our Correspondent in Tokyo.)

I.

**Important events in the Japanese working-class movement during the last six months are, firstly, the Congress of the Japanese General Federation of Labor (Yuai-kai), secondly, the Special Congress of the General Federation of Government Workers, thirdly, the growing movement for the unity of the labor unions, fourthly, the left wing movement inside the unions.

The Tenth Annual Congress of the Yuai-kai, the oldest and the most powerful confederation in Japan, took place in Tokyo from the 1st to 3rd of October. Held after the great July strike at the Kawasaki Dockyard in Kobe, and during the strikes at Yokohama, Akabane, and other places the Congress was unusually animated throughout the session. 118 delegates representing 35,000 members came together direct from the field and shops. President Suzuki (reformist) was in the chair, the left wing on the floor, the leaders of the Communist Party and the secret police in the gallery.

Among others there were three important resolutions put forward. Firstly, the Congress unanimously demanded the "abolition of armaments" against the bourgeois slogan "reduction of armaments". Secondly, it passed the customary resolution thanking and encouraging the members of the Federation who have been arrested or imprisoned during strikes and other industrial conflicts. There were 174 victims during a single year up till October last. This resolution afforded the authorities an opportunity to punish the chairman and the general secretary later on a charge that the Congress had praised the criminals. The third resolution was moved by the revolutionary Metal Workers' Union; it read "inserts a clause advocating the general strike into the Preamble of the Federation and, on the other hand, strikes out from the Preamble the old clause demanding universal suffrage — that is, the complete recognition of Direct Action against Parliamentarism. In principle all delegates agreed; but the Right wing opposed the proposition fearing the attack of the government if such a resolution were adopted; the Center offered a substitute motion agreeing with the Right in opposing the insertion of general strike the clause and with the left in striking out the universal suffrage clause. After a long and heated discussion the original resolution was rejected by a very small majority. This result shows that the revolutionary element is steadily gaining strength inside the Federation while it is still largely under the influence of the moderate leaders. It must be also remembered that the Congress decided to drop the historical name "Yuai-Kai" (Fraternal Society) and to call the Federation "The General Federation of Labor of Japan". The Federation aims to become One Big Confederation including all unions in Japan. Suzuki, the Japanese Gompers, resigned his post and became Honourable President, an office of little actual importance.

II.

Meanwhile the Japanese workers and especially those employed in the munition factories and big shipyards have been threatened by a new period of unemployment which may be caused

by the decisions for the reduction of armaments at the Washington Conference. In order to discuss this difficult problem the General Federation of Government Workers held special Conferences from the 11th to the 13th of November in Osaka and on the 18th of December in Tokyo and passed a resolution demanding unemployment benefit equivalent to two years' wages from the government. As to realising this demand the Left demanded the general strike while the Right was satisfied with peaceful negotiations with the government and the latter finally won.

Other large organisations, such as the Trade Union Federations of Tokyo and of Osaka and the General Federation of Labor of Japan have joined in this movement declaring against the international imperialist war, for the limitation of the army and navy, for complete support of the unemployed by the State, etc. Active agitation has been carried on in Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, and other important towns from the middle of December on, causing the Japanese militarists and imperialists, who have for the first time in their history found their enemy within their own holy land, utmost uneasiness. Moreover this joint action has given a fresh impetus to the movement for the uniting of the various unions. A plan is now in progress of realization to hold a Parliament of Labor, early this year, calling together all delegates from the unions, the local councils, the workshop committees and directly from the shops for the reduction of armaments and decisions upon the future action of organized labor against war between capitalist countries.

III.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the Japanese working-class, in spite of the hesitancy and betrayal of its reformist leaders, is slowly but steadily proceeding towards the social revolution and further, that the Communist elements are gradually obtaining a firm hold inside the mass organisations. Our future action is to organize and unite those revolutionary groups on a national scale and then internationally under the banner of the Red Trade Union International.

The Crisis in Denmark

S.M. Though in Berlin and the north German cities buyers for Danish business houses are found, who, thanks to the rate of exchange, are doing a profitable business in Denmark more and more workers are sinking into misery and want. "Arbejderbladet", the Communist journal in Copenhagen, writes: —

"During Christmas week the number of unemployed rose 7080, so that the total reached 78,893. Last week the increase was not so great, "only" 3932; but an increase of 4000 per week is certainly cause enough for reflection. The unemployed are distributed over the country as follows: Copenhagen, 36,673; the Islands, 19,022; Jutland, 27,825. This gives a total of 83,000. How really enormous this amount really is, is first seen when one considers that the total number of organized workers in Denmark is roughly 325,000. This means that over one-fourth of the organized workers of Denmark are without work, shut out of the factories, and with hunger and want staring them in the face. If we assume that the average worker has three others dependent upon him, then 330,000 people are affected by unemployment, and are dependent on the miserable support of a few kroner a week. This is the condition prevailing in a country whose warehouses are overflowing with food and clothing, and where there is enough fuel to heat the cold ovens for the freezing women and children.

"Therefore, workers, the sooner you start action, and take over the factories and operate them to produce what you need, so much the better for you, for a delay only means a prolongation of your misery".

THE WHITE TERROR

The lot of the Political Prisoners in Poland

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

** In the illegal paper "Glos Komunistyczny" (Communist Voice) there appeared a warm appeal to the workers calling on them to come forward and be more active in vigorous opposition against the ill-treatment of the political prisoners in Polish dungeons. The article contains statements which deserve wide publicity, because they clearly characterize that "civil-

sation" which Poland pretends to defend against those wild Bolsheviks.

"The information which comes from these dungeons", says the "Glos Komunistyczny", "is truly staggering. The working-class may as well know that the Polish bourgeoisie in its general offensive against the working masses has also commenced and offensive against the political prisoners. The prisoners have too good a time in the prisons! In unheard-of desperate struggles against the prison officials, the political prisoners had often at the price of their lives and the frequent use of the most desperate method, the hunger strike, succeeded in obtaining certain alleviations. Thus they had longer periods of exercise, they could receive visitors without the usual intervention of iron bars, and had the right to educational employment. Now all this is to be withdrawn. The political prisoner is to be reduced to the status of a criminal, a brigand, a thief!"

In the Warsaw jail for prisoners awaiting trial the malicious persecution of the prisoners (they even covered the windows with so-called window baskets in order to deprive them of daylight) led to a hunger strike which was broken by shifting the prisoners into three different prisons. But conditions of life became so unbearable that in the course of two weeks a new hunger strike broke out. Its outcome is not yet known. How hard must be the conditions in a prison, where the prisoners in the course of two weeks, twice decide to adopt the suicidal weapon of the hunger strike.

In Cracow the political prisoners are confined in the prison of the District Court, indiscriminately mixed with criminals—from 10 to 20 persons in dirty unheated rooms only intended for 5 to 10 persons. They are never given clean underwear, have scarcely any straw sacks, and only one small blanket to every two persons. The diet is absolutely inedible, and food from outside is only very rarely admitted.

In Lemberg conditions are just the same. The Communists arrested at the Lemberg Party Convention have had no open air exercise for a full month.

What is yet worse, cases of ill-treatment of the prisoners in the dungeons become more and more frequent. The Communists arrested at the East Galician Party Convention were on the occasion of their examination beaten until the blood flowed. One war invalid had to undergo the vilest ill-treatment. Particularly had was the treatment meted out to one Ukrainian, Ivan Kuryluk, from whom by means of ill-treatment they sought to force the confession of his membership in the Ukrainian Young Communist League.

In Warsaw the chief of the political secret police Snarski personally took part in the ill-treatment of the arrested. On the 1st of December in extremely intoxicated condition he participated in the ill-treatment of arrested juvenile workers.

There are persistent rumors about, according to which the Government intends to abolish the category of political prisoners altogether (which at least in Congress Poland had been heretofore officially recognized) and to place the political and criminal prisoners on exactly the same footing. In Cracow this idea is already being realized. Even those condemned for offenses against the Press Laws, who all over the world enjoy a position of favor, are going to be treated as ordinary criminals. Thus the editor of the "Mysl Robotnicza", Andrzejczak, who is awaiting trial is placed together with common criminals; he has had his head shaved and must wear prison clothing. Even under the government of the Czar things were different in this respect. But the Minister of the Interior Downariowitsch recently gave expression to the opinion that the Czarist exceptional laws were much too mild.

Finally, they now begin to persecute the "Rote Hilfe" (aid for political prisoners). Recently the offices of the "Rote Hilfe" in Lodz were searched and was then closed. So the bourgeois offensive against those pining in prisons is being pushed on more and more energetically. An offensive against the defenseless! Thus have the noble champions of capitalistic culture a task in hand, which promises them really cheap and safe laurels.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The International of the Nationalists

by W. Łada.

** The pre-war leader of the International Trade Union Federation, Legien, extolled the great advantage of the Trade Union International, as compared with the political International, in that the first preserves the principal that each country is able

to follow its own method and its own tactics as it will. By this means, he declares, it has succeeded in uniting the most divergent elements in the trade-union movement, such as anarchistically tinged or altogether anarchist groups in one country with so-called national, or more correctly, reactionary groups of trade-unions in other countries.

After the war, conditions have undergone a change. The Amsterdam Trade Union International no longer unites the anarchist or anarchist tinged groups of one country with the reactionary trade-union groups of another. The leaders of the Amsterdam Union take care that their International shall be uniform as regards their political standpoint; uniform—that is to say, purely reformist if possible. All revolutionists, communists or revolutionary syndicalists and industrialists are expelled, in order, they pretend, not to disturb the unity of the movement. Yet *one* item of the old muddly mixture of the pre-war International Trade Union Federation remained over in the Amsterdam Trade Union International: the new, as was the old, is an *International of Nationalists*.

The best proof of this is furnished by the strife that has been going on for the last few years in Upper Silesia between the German and Polish Amsterdammers. The Germans as well as the Poles have placed themselves entirely at the service of the imperialistic and nationalist aspirations of their governments. They have with all their power stimulated the national hatred which the worst bourgeois nationalists are sowing among the people in Upper Silesia. The leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International have found themselves compelled at various times to interfere in this quarrel in order to prevent the hostile brothers from coming to actual blows. Before the Council of the League of Nations announced its decision regarding Upper Silesia, both sides took all possible pains to push the cause of their government, of their country to victory. Thus the Polish and German allies from the Amsterdam Trade Union International were standing in two different and hostile camps; the Poles linked closely arm in arm with the Polish nationalists and imperialists, the German Amsterdammers in one camp with the Christian and Liberal Unions and the German nationalists.

Now the decision of the Council of the League of Nations has been pronounced. As Jouhaux's organ boasts, this decision was to correspond on broad lines to the proposals of the International Trade Union Federation. One might now think that the Polish and German Trade Unionists would bury the hatchet, and that the trade unions of both nationalities would begin to work in harmony and peace. Indeed, the Polish and German Trade Unionists did issue a joint manifesto inviting the Upper Silesian proletariat of both nationalities to peaceful collaboration. The "Freiheit" immediately praised them as being such good boys and good internationalists, but hardly have a few weeks elapsed and here the belligerent brothers are tearing each other's hair again.

In compliance with the decision of the Council of the League of Nations, the German and Polish Governments are obliged to recognize the Federations of Employers and of Workers, which are active in the plebiscite areas, for a period of fifteen years. These federations have the right to conclude collective bargains for the whole of the plebiscite area. So states the decision of the Council of the League of Nations. But the Polish Government intends to interpret this decision in such way that it be only obliged to recognize the Federations of Employers and Workers that do *not* spread *beyond* the limits of the plebiscite area. In this it is actuated by the consideration, that in its opinion the German trade unions, whose executive is in Germany, would play German politics in Upper Silesia which is in the process of becoming Polish; that in Polish Upper Silesia general strike orders emanating from Berlin would be carried out. In short, the reactionary Polish government is in awe of the revolutionary temper of the German working class and it intends to take the appropriate steps for the Polonization of Upper Silesia. For obvious and analogous reasons the German Governments opposes the demand of Messrs. Pilsudski and Korfanty. And again as previously the two governments find willing support in the "united" and "uniform" camp of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The standpoint of the Polish Government is being supported with the greatest energy by the Polish Amsterdammers, whilst the German trade unionists declare that they could by no means adopt this standpoint. In the Upper Silesian "Gazeta Robotnicza", the Central Committee of the craft unions of Poland recently published a manifesto to the International Trade Union Bureau in Amsterdam in which it asked Oudegeest and Fimmen for their support in this matter. The Polish Amsterdammers declare that the German trade-unions in Upper Silesia ought to link up with the Polish ones and must join the Polish Trade Union Executive. The German trade-unionists resist this proposal, according to the Polish Amster-

dammers, on purely national grounds. They (the Poles) protest most energetically against the Berlin Executive's activity, as an "irresponsible factor" in the area covered by the Polish Executive. They accuse the German federations of disloyalty to the Polish trade-unions, maintaining that the Germans only supported the principle of an united central national trade-union executive so long as the workmen of other nationalities were concerned. The moment, however, when German workmen came within the domain of other states, the German trade-unionists out of purely national considerations no longer recognize these trade-union principles. At the same time the standpoint of the Polish Government is put forward, according to which organizations on Polish territory which are "being directed by foreign elements and very often are being exploited for political purposes" cannot be allowed. On the other hand, the demand of the German trade-unionists to be left under the existing conditions with the German Executive, they claim to be a dictatorial one, that it does not involve any trade-union necessity, but only a political notion. The Polish Amsterdammers warn of the consequences which would ensue from a decision in accordance with the desire of the Germans. They threaten constantly growing animosity in the relations between Polish and German workmen, finally declaring that that, "without taking into consideration whether the dispute is on the way to settlement, or whether the Polish government recognizes this state of affairs—advocated by the German leaders—the Polish organizations will consider the groups of German trade unions as separate organizations and as such will ruthlessly combat them as tending to destroy proletarian solidarity".

The German heroes of the Amsterdam International answer this recklessly bellicose challenge to the German trade-unionists, in a rather pitiable tone appealing to the legal standpoint of the Council of the League of Nations. The logic of the Polish Amsterdammers they assert to be untenable. The insinuation that the German comrades resist the Polonisation of the trade-unions in Upper Silesia purely for national considerations and that the German trade-unions directed by foreign elements are being exploited for political purposes is, they assert, intended to reinforce the Polish Government in its attempts to create difficulties for German trade-unions in Polish Upper Silesia. On the whole they say, the contest of the Polish Amsterdammers against the German trade-unionists is a twofold infringement; firstly, from the standpoint of the rights of the citizen and secondly from the standpoint of the International Trade Union Federation which is unreasonably requested by the leaders of the Polish trade-unions to begin a forcible infringement of the right to self-government of the German trade-unions. And the organ of the German Amsterdammers closes its reply to the Poles with the words: "It would be the most flagrant repudiation of its own principles were the I.T.U.F. to yield to the terror of the Poles. The German trade-unionists do not demand any decision from Amsterdam, neither through flattery nor threats; they only stand for their just rights, that have been adjudged to them for the next 15 years". Thus the German Amsterdammers are by no means willing to recognize the jurisdiction of Amsterdam. They rather stand by the decision of the League of Nations! Their friends in the German Social Democracy, however, appeal rather to the more congenial German Government, and the "Vorwärts" declares in a leading article concerning the Upper Silesian dispute "The happenings in Upper Silesia remind us of the events at Cannes. What has been brought about by the exercise of goodwill and painstaking discussions is being shattered by one clumsy blow from those who are not able to see further than their own miserable national egoism, which is in fact a national crime.... Should the obstruction from the Polish side continue, we shall have to deliberate, whether it would be of any avail to take upon ourselves the Danaids' task which according to the decision of the League of Nations is left to our good will". Thus speaks the Stampfer-organ, this model of internationalism, regarding Polish nationalism.

We Communists, naturally, can concern ourselves with neither the nationalistic Polish nor the nationalistic German arguments and motives in this matter.

"But after all I can but think,

That Monk and Rabbi both do stink."

The material reasons which the one as well as the other party are bringing forward would in our opinion, only be relevant, if the two sides were standing on the ground of the revolutionary class-struggle. Then a solution of the conflict would easily be found. This conflict, however, shows once more that the Amsterdam Trade Union International is an *International of Nationalists*. Within the limits of such an organization there is no solution to national differences.