

WORKER SCHOOL LIBRARY

Vol. 3 No. 21

27th Feb. 1923

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

CONTENTS

The Occupation of the Ruhr and Soviet Russia	159	Unemployment in England. By J. T. Murphy	163
Economics		(R.I.L.U.) From the Woodworkers International	164
Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4th Quarter of 1922. By E. Varga	160	In the Colonies	
The Labor Movement		The Indian National Congress. By M. N. Roy	164
The Miners' Strike in the Saar District. By E. Becker	162	Discussions and Polemics.	
Wm. Z. Foster's: "Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement". By Z. Leder	162	International Strike? By A. Lozovsky	166

The Occupation of the Ruhr and Soviet Russia

By N. Bukharin. *)

The events in the Ruhr bear witness to the fact, that a far more disastrous situation has arisen in Europe than that which existed in the past months. The events in the Ruhr have done much to shaken faith in the belief that stability has been secured in the sphere of international relations between the states, and between the various social forces of the continent of Europe. These events in the first place, confirm the correctness of our assertions and predictions. We pointed out, in opposition to a large number of bourgeois imperialist optimists, that the peace entered into at the end of the world war was inevitably bound to be broken by the course of events. After a few historical deviations, it finally turns out that we were in the right; the happenings in the Ruhr are the proof of the correctness of our forecast.

Strictly speaking, we ought to be grateful to M. Poincaré, for the Ruhr events constitute a powerful means of propaganda against the further development of imperialist and bourgeois tendencies. The imperialist war of 1914 was carried on by the bourgeoisie under an extraordinarily powerful ideological cloud. Every book and paper — the most important instruments of capitalism — asseverated that the war pursued idealistic aims. We orthodox Marxists were obliged to prove by very complicated arguments that the imperialist powers were actuated by economic motives. But the events in the Ruhr lay bare the naked economic interests at stake, expressed in terms of so many tons of coal, in so many square kilometres of foreign territory, in such and such a quantity of gold, to be received by France in accordance with the treaty of Versailles. There is something new in the character of these events, and in so far as the economic roots of the whole Ruhr adventure are exposed in their undisguised and prosaic nakedness, these events are the best possible propagandist instrument for dispelling the illusions still existing in the heart and mind of many a French proletarian. The Ruhr events dispel every illusion cherished by the French working class in 1914. Thus the chief significance of the Ruhr occupation lies in the great campaign of exposure which it represents, implying for us a great political asset upon which we can rely in the future, upon which we can already rely to-day, for dispelling the illusions of the working class.

*) Extract from the speech delivered by comrade Bukharin at the 4th All Russian congress of press workers.

An even greater importance is to be attached to the Ruhr events when considered from the standpoint of their ultimate results, as imagined by bourgeois ideologists. The main question, upon which depends the future destiny of the whole of humanity, is the question whether the bourgeoisie will succeed — through the victory of one bourgeois coalition over another — in healing the wounds made by the war, and whether it will succeed in restoring political balance.

The events in the Ruhr have, during the last few months, considerably altered the form and balance of forces and conditions, especially in the sphere of economics. There have, at times, been favorable conditions of the market permitting a slight recovery. But these partial improvements have been so trivial and inconstant that they could not be regarded as a sign that the capitalist world has entered upon a phase of improvement. The Ruhr events chiefly affect Germany. The German mark fell with a rapidity far exceeding that of the depreciation of the Russian rouble. This depreciation of the mark led to the greatest confusion in the sphere of economics in general, and especially with regard to wages.

On the other hand, the effects of the adventure have also been acutely felt in France itself. Enormous sums are being wasted in occupying the Ruhr area, and in the attempt, somehow, to keep the work going in the Ruhr basin. All this is unremunerative outlay, for sabotage is effectually preventing the French from gaining any profit whatever. Besides this, the whole of Europe and America must realize that the Poincaré government is playing *va banque*, and this game may end with a crash which will be inevitably accompanied by a corresponding depreciation of the French franc.

International financial questions are inextricably involved in the catastrophic depreciation of the German mark and the depreciation of the French franc. In this respect the general economic situation can only be characterized as an abrupt destruction of that equilibrium which appeared to be gradually establishing itself during recent months. This economic confusion is mirrored in the sphere of political relations. If hitherto, it was believed (we ourselves did not believe it) that equilibrium would be restored among the powers of Europe, any such prospect has now completely vanished. Political relations have reached a most critical point, and we may regard the political equilibrium as completely overthrown. However we may consider the conditions within the Entente, there is no combination which

will afford the possibility of effecting a balance, having regard to Germany's further development. A potential power must arise from within to break through the ring.

With regard to the relations between French capital and Germany, it is perfectly clear that the situation is bound to become more acute. This is also the case within the Entente itself, in its relations to the Near East. No agreement was reached on the most important points, and we are fully aware that we are standing on the brink of a fresh war between Turkey and Greece, each country backed by certain groups of states.

This confusion and aggravation of the situation is of advantage to the proletariat, for the restoration and establishment of the capitalist order in western Europe would have been most dangerous for us. It would have meant that the starving working class would have become more passive by some slight alleviations, and reformism would have flourished. Under the present circumstances it is quite impossible for this to happen—the events in the Ruhr have helped us greatly. Whatever turn events may take, they will result in the relative strengthening of our forces, for it will be accompanied by a weakening of the total forces opposed to us.

Perhaps France will be able to surmount all difficulties; perhaps she will go further after vanquishing Germany. It may be, she will recognize the necessity of according some compensation to England and Poland—and perhaps the dividing up of Germany will become an actual fact, and as a result of all these events,—an attack on Soviet Russia. But it is equally possible that France will find herself unable to cope with the economic tasks presented by the Ruhr area. Perhaps she will go further without having digested what she has already swallowed. The result will be Poincaré's downfall, and the displacement of his government by that of the so-called Left Bloc. Thirdly and finally, it is possible that France will not undertake any special initiative, but enter into a compromise. Should the first possibility turn out to be right, then France, with Poland and her other vassal states, will fall upon us; but we have struck deep roots, our position is extraordinarily secure. We for our part would be extremely foolish to plunge into any adventures. We by no means desire war, but we must openly admit to ourselves the possibility of a treacherous attack, and must enlighten the masses as to the possibility.

The second possibility is the most probable. In consequence of the weakening of the bourgeoisie, its realization would involve a general revival, and create favorable conditions for us. Should the third possibility come to pass, the solution of all problems will be retarded. But during this period our strength will grow, while that of the bourgeoisie will weaken.

When we take all this into consideration, we must realize that for us, the point of essential importance is our economic reconstruction, and the emphasis on our will to peace, as mainly exemplified in the considerable reduction of our army. But at the same time we must emphasize that we have no intention of permitting the enemy to seize us by the throat as the French troops have seized the republic of Mr. Ebert.

ECONOMICS

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

By E. Varga.
VIII. Norway.

The economic situation of Norway had improved during the year 1922, but appears to have suffered a decline during recent months. The unemployed statistics are as follows:

Beginning of 1922	47,000
End of August	19,000
End of October	24,000

The unfavorable condition of the freight market strongly affects the economic life of Norway, for seafaring is one of Norway's chief sources of income.

The Norwegian crown is still much below par, but shows a tendency to improve of late. This improvement is probably due to the circumstance that the Norwegian government has received a loan of 17 million dollars from America; the greater part of this goes for building railways. The food prices have fallen somewhat of late. This gives a good pretext to the employers for an offensive against wages. Recently the bourgeoisie formed a union under the name of the *Tax Payers' Union*. This association is alleged to be non-political, but in reality it bears the character of a bourgeois bloc, and is a form of reaction against the successes of the Communist Party at the last municipal elections.

Denmark.

Denmark's economic situation has also somewhat improved of late. In March 1922 there were 103,000 unemployed; at the beginning of October this number fell to 31,000. It must, however, be recollected that even then 11% of the organized workers were out of work. Unemployment decreased among unskilled and field laborers, as a result of the seasonal work during the summer.

The situation of Danish industry is still very unfavorable. The government has attempted to protect Danish industry by damming the imports, especially of shoes and tobacco. Duties have been increased all along the line. It is a characteristic fact that in August 1922, although the imports were 20 million crowns below those of the preceding year, the customs revenues were 2 millions higher.

The failure of this year's crops is chiefly to be blamed for the unfavorable condition of Danish industry. As is well known, Denmark is mostly an agrarian country. For export purposes especially, the products of cattle breeding are of the greatest importance to Denmark. For this reason the foreign trade balance is considerably more adverse this year than in 1921. This has led to a lower rate of exchange of the crown. More than 22 Danish crowns were paid in December for 1 English pound, instead of the parity of 18.16.

Prices show a tendency to rise accordingly. But in spite of this, a census taken of the wages of 100,000 workers showed these to be 16% lower than they were a year ago. The high cost of living bonuses granted to Civil Service employees have also been considerably reduced. It can be seen from this that the real wage of the worker sank considerably after the defeat of the workers in the general lock-out.

Italy.

The development of Italy's economic situation deserves special attention, for the seizure of power by the Fascisti has placed power in the hands of the industrial bourgeoisie—for the first time in the history of Italy! For this reason the capitalist press abroad greeted this seizure of power with great joy. The Exchanges reacted with a higher valuation of the lire.

The Fascisti have been too short a time in power to justify any judgment as to the results; particularly because the Italian economic statistics are miserably kept and published late. It is, however, obvious that Mussolini is trying very energetically, not only to stabilize his own power, but to reconstitute Italy's economics on a purely capitalist basis.

The general conditions confronting Mussolini at his accession to power are extremely difficult. The corn crop fell nearly a million tons below that of 1921; the rice crops were also poor. It is calculated that it will be necessary to import about 2 million tons of grain involving an expenditure of over 2 milliard lire. The general industrial situation is very bad; the textile industry could report some improvement during the summer, but the crisis remains unaltered in heavy industry, ship-building, and shipping, and in the sulphur industry. The number of unemployed, in thousands, is as follows:

1. August	1. September.	1. October.	1. November
304	316	321	334

The increase is to be mainly attributed to the decline in agricultural work. In the year 1921-22 nearly 10,000 workers emigrated, one half to the United States.

The statistics showing the investment of capital are still more characteristic for Italy's economic situation; the diminution of the total capital of the corporations due to bankruptcies, dissolutions etc., is greater than the investment of capital,—an actual dis-accumulation. The data are:

	Fresh investments	Diminution	Net fresh investment
		<i>in millions lire</i>	
June	477	656	-179
July	208	300	-92
August	185	91	+94
September	299	37	+262
October	432	460	-28

The constantly increasing number of bankruptcies confirms these figures; the monthly average for the first half of 1922 was 279, in October there were 339, in November 336.

State finances are also in a critical condition. The inner debt amounted to over 93 milliards in September 1922; to this must be added the debts owed to France, England, and America. The fiscal year 1921-22 closed with a deficit of 8 milliards. It is characteristic for the distribution of the taxation burden that, during the first 5 months of the current fiscal year, the revenues from direct taxes were 140 millions less than the year before, the revenue from indirect taxes 390 millions higher.

The sole factor showing a somewhat better line of development is the rate of exchange; measured by the English £, the value of the lire has taken the following course:

End of 1921	19. April 1922	26. Oct. 1922	End of 1922
98.24	80.12	114.12	91.24

In the course of the year, the lire followed the whole improvement of the £, even overtook it. The lire has improved 80% since the Fascist coup.

Mussolini's economic policy.

Mussolini's economic policy is based on the typically capitalist fundamental assumption, that the output of the individual worker, and of the collective population, is too small. There is no doubt whatever that production has decreased in Italy since the war, as it has done everywhere else. The following interesting statistics have been compiled regarding the railways:

	1913/14	1921/22	
Total number of employees	147,289	204,425	= 39% increase
Cut-in of train kilometres (mill.)	153.7	129.5	= 15% increase
Number of Working hours	—	—	= 29-38% decrease
Working days lost	—	—	= 25-105% increase

Increased production is to be attained by reducing the number of employees and lengthening the working hours. On the other hand, state finances are to be balanced by an increased taxation of the non-capitalist strata of the population.

So far the following concrete innovations have been introduced:

1. The wages of the workers and officials employed by the state, the municipalities, the railways and tramways, etc., are taxed to the amount of 10%. The tax is deducted from the wages.

2. A new census is being drawn up, in order to estimate the proceeds of the soil (last estimate 1891). Income tax, hitherto required from tenants only, is now required from those tilling their own land.

3. In order to facilitate the reduction of wages on the part of the capitalists, the corn duties have been reduced from 11 gold lire to 4; a reduction to 1½ lire was even mooted. These last two reforms are plainly directed against the agrarians and peasants, and are in the interests of the capitalists.

4. Working hours have been lengthened on the railways, and 17,000 workers discharged; further discharges are expected, in part among Civil Service employees.

On the other hand, the political necessity of finding jobs for the Fascisti has thwarted the efforts to restore equilibrium in the state finance. 100,000 Fascisti are to form a militia; the term of obligatory military service has been lengthened from one year to 1½.

When we take a general survey of Mussolini's economic policy, the line he takes is perfectly clear: for the bourgeoisie, against the workers, against peasants and agrarians.

France.

The reparations question was dealt with in the general section. Here we shall only touch on the agreements on deliveries in kind. First of all, it must be pointed out that the great hopes set on these agreements, especially on the *Stinnes-Lubersac* agreement, have turned out entirely deceptive. The quantity of goods received by France under this agreement is ridiculously small. According to the official statements given at a session of the French committee for deliveries in kind, Lubersac, representing the minister of the liberated territory, reported as follows:

The success of the agreements on deliveries in kind can be designated practically at zero, as the total amount of the goods delivered has not reached the value of 15 million francs. What is the reason for this failure?

According to the periodical mentioned, an organ of French heavy industry, the cause lies on the side of the Germans.

"It must be observed that if the deliveries in kind have had such poor results up to now, the fault does not lie with the French industry, but with the German, which has demanded much higher prices from the claimants than the German inland prices, thus appropriating the difference between the German and the world market price."

But that the influence of the French industrial magnates has also played a part, may be seen from the fact that the representative of the minister for commerce was opposed to the extension of the minimum tariff to other articles required for restoration purposes. It appears that German and French capitalists alike have co-operated to prevent the agreements

¹) *L'Usine* of 6. 1. 1923: According to the statement of the *Economist* of 2. 12. 22, goods to the value of 12 millions only had been ordered up to then, while the goods actually delivered were to the value of 1 million francs only.

²) According to the *Economist* of 9. 12., bricks were offered by Germans, loco St. Quentin, in the middle of November, at 150 fr. The French price was at that time 125 fr. "The French observer believes that the German government, which is responsible for these prices, is deliberately seeking to sabotage the Wiesbaden agreement."

respecting deliveries in kind from being carried out. It is as actual fact that all the combinations connected with the *Stinnes* agreement—involving deliveries to the value of hundreds of milliards—have come nothing.

Real accumulation and growing state debts in France.

It is extremely difficult to judge of France's economic situation. We are confronted by two apparently contradictory facts:

Gigantic increase of the national debt and.

Real accumulation.

The main data of the French state finances are as follows:

According to the latest official statement,¹) the national debt amounted on 31. March 1922, to:

	milliards of francs
Inner consolidated debts	155.1
Inner floating debt	87.0
Total	242.1
Consolidated foreign debt ²)	41.4
Floating foreign debt	33.4
Total	74.8
Sum total of inner and foreign debts =	317 milliard of francs.

France's present financial position is as follows—if we abandon that senseless differentiation between ordinary, extraordinary, and other expenditure (expected from Germany):

	1921	1922	1923 (Estimate)
	in milliards of francs		
Expenditure	52	52.3	54.5
Revenue	21.5	20.9	19.3
Deficit	30.5	31.4	35.2

Though these figures are alarming enough, it must be taken into consideration that a great part of the state deficit corresponds to a real accumulation, and that a great part has actually been employed for rebuilding factories, houses, roads, railways, etc. This part of the deficit must be accorded an entirely different valuation, from the standpoint of political economy, to that of the German deficit. Since the end of the war, about 20,000 factories have been rebuilt, 220,000 new dwelling houses built, and 180,000 temporarily restored, railways, bridges, etc. built. The sum actually expended for restoration purposes is estimated at 60 milliard francs. The increase of the national debt corresponding to these 60 milliards is by no means to be regarded as an impoverishment of the French people. It merely signifies that the cost of restoration is advanced to the immediate sufferers by individuals in the state through the intermediation of the state; the state shifts the cost on the whole population by means of taxation. The fact that French political economy has been able, after the war, to accomplish such an extensive real accumulation, substantially out of the surplus of its own production (electrification and canal building also come under the heading of accumulation), shows the soundness of French economics.³) Although the position of French state finances is very bad, it cannot by any means be compared with that of Germany. The German deficit is a result of the real impoverishment of the country, whereas a great part of the French deficit represents an actual accumulation!

It would also seem that French finances are improving.

The following is in milliards of francs:			
1918	51.3	18.2	6.8
	Increase of national debt ⁴)	military expenditures ⁵)	State revenue ⁶)
1918	—	—	6.8
1919	51.3	18.2	11.6
1920	42.8	7.6	19.8
1921	31.1	6.3	21.5
1922	21.0	4.9	—

These data have probably been trimmed for presentation to the public—the final results of French financial operations being published only after 4 or 5 years—none the less, we believe them to show the general tendency of the curve

¹) The above data are from the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* of December 1922.

²) Reduced to francs at the rate of exchange then prevailing.

³) We shall endeavor to ascertain how much of the real accumulation falls to the German consignments, how much to foreign loans, and how much to the surplus of French economy itself.

⁴) All these data are obtained from the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*.

correctly?) This is further confirmed by the fact that though the French franc tends to depreciate, it does not fall in proportion to the deficit in state finances.

The state of the market

has much improved in the last quarter of 1922. Since the disturbance brought about by the great mining strike in America, the competition of English coal in the French coal market has noticeably diminished. This effect is enhanced by the circumstance that the high rate of exchange of the English pound holds English coal more and more from the French market. The total coal output in 1922 was 4 million tons more than in 1921, but was still only 32 million tons as compared with 40 millions pre-war output.

The steel and iron industry has gradually improved in the last few months. But the manufacturers constantly complain of a coal shortage. The production of crude iron reached 5.1 million tons in 1922 as compared with 4.1 in 1920, but it has not yet attained the pre-war level of 5.3 million (without Lorraine).

In the vehicle building industry, and in the manufacture of agricultural machines, aeroplanes, etc. much business has been done, but at unfavorable prices. The textile industry is also working satisfactorily.

The prices show a corresponding upward tendency. In 1922 the wholesale trade index was as follows:

I. quarter	II. quarter	III. quarter	IV. quarter
357	368	360	407

The improvement of the franc must be taken into consideration.

Foreign trade has developed as follows:

first 11 months, in milliards of francs

	Imports	Exports
Foodstuffs	5,171	1,672
Industrial raw materials	12,144	4,258
Finished manufactures	3,662	10,740
Parcel post	—	1,193
	20,977	17,863

Foreign trade is thus passive to the extent of 3 milliard francs as compared with only 1½ milliards in 1921.

Taking all in all, it may be said that the last quarter of 1922 shows a moderate improvement in France's economic situation, despite the shaken condition of state finances.

The decision of the American Senate, that 4% interest is to be paid yearly, stands in the way of a final reorganization. The English are anxious for a graduated rate of interest and amortization: first 2%, then rising to 6%. There is scarcely any doubt that the Senate will accede to England's wishes. And although the old rivalry continues to exist between the two Anglo-Saxon world powers in the petroleum question, in South America, and in China, and although the English capitalists complain that the new high protective duties render it difficult for England to pay her debts to America in goods, it is still probable that in the coming period, close co-operation of the two Anglo-Saxon powers may be expected.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Strike of the Miners in the Saar District

By E. Becker (Saarbrücken).

On the 5th of February, a conflict of far-reaching significance for the international proletariat, broke out in the Saar district. The miners have taken up the fight against the continuous provocations of the French mining management. The mountains of gold which were promised to the Saar miners on the seizure of the Saar mines by the French state, have not materialized. The situation was endurable until the introduction of payment of wages to the miners in francs. From this point onwards the mining management attempted to utilize the apparently higher wages for their reactionary purposes. In order to increase output, premiums were paid to the officials, and a speeding up system created, which put everything hitherto practised completely in the shade. The miners had a great deal to suffer from what is known as the material saving system. A great number of accidents must be attributed to this system.

*) At the same time French capital has been exported abroad. "Hundreds of millions of francs were sent abroad for Royal Dutch Shell and other enterprises. . . Small French savers have suffered enormous losses in German and Polish marks. . ." (*Economist*), 16. 3. 1922.

Hand in hand with this, the management proceeded to disregard the social provisions made for the miners. Holidays for recuperation were no longer permitted. Lengthy negotiations were required before an extremely limited holiday was finally granted. Two reductions in wages, amounting together to 7 francs, raised indignation to the boiling point. House rents in the miners' settlements rose to an exorbitant height. Even the social legislation, defective enough as it is, was partially abolished. The assistance given by the sick clubs was further reduced shortly before the strike broke out. All these things created an atmosphere among the miners, that was bound to lead to an explosion sooner or later.

Almost the same state of affairs has been developing in the adjoining coal area of Lorraine. It may be safely assumed that the managements of the Lorraine coal mines and of the Saar mines have been working hand in hand. State capitalism and private capital have been using every endeavor to reduce the miners of the Saar district and Lorraine to docile slaves.

But they have miscalculated. The leading aim of the Miners' Union of Alsace Lorraine, which is affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions, is to maintain and further in every respect the feeling of solidarity and the international idea between the miners of Lorraine and the Saar. This circumstance will be of decisive importance in the struggle now taking place. For months, the Lorraine miners have been agitating over the wage question. The employers, headed by the coal baron, de Wendel, are implacable. Notice has been given terminating the existing wage agreement, and reductions in wages have been announced.

The miners' movement in the Saar district has led to the mobilization of the miners of Lorraine. To this must be added that considerable unrest is to be observed among the miners in the interior of France.

The Executive Committee of the French Mining Union is now meeting in Paris, in order to take up a position with regard to the situation. It is hardly likely that the reformist leaders of the French Mining Union will succeed in curbing the fighting spirit of the miners.

The occupation of the Ruhr area has led to a considerable increase of activity among the miners of Lorraine and France. The miners have perceived the favorable situation created by the occupation of the Ruhr, so that they are saying, *now or never!* Never again shall we have such a favorable opportunity for pushing our demands. Now is the moment for action! The cessation of supplies of coal from the Ruhr district has practically exhausted France's coal reserves. There is no reserve stock of coal now in the colliery districts.

In view of these circumstances, the Lorraine Miners' Union has again approached the mine-owners with its demands. The owners attempted to pacify the miners with a 2 francs a day rise in wages, but flatly refused to negotiate with the organization. This was the last straw. On February 4th the delegates of the Alsace-Lorraine Miners' Union met and decided on a strike. Communication is to be immediately opened with the colliery districts of the interior of France. An agreement for fighting unity will be made with the Saar district.

Should the struggle prove unexpectedly long, the solidarity of the Ruhr miners will be called into action.

All these occurrences show the intimate connection between the occupation of the Ruhr district and the international labor movement. The measures taken by the capitalist rulers of France here threaten to break down. The miners of the Ruhr district, who were sensible enough not to strike for the sake of their exploiters when the Ruhr was occupied, will perhaps have to decide, within the next few days, whether they are willing to stand for their own interests, and for the interests of their fellow sufferers in the Saar, in Lorraine, and in the interior of France. We have every confidence in the sound common sense of the Ruhr miners, and have no fear that they will succumb to the attractive offers of the French rulers.

A decisive international fight has broken out! The eyes of the miners of the whole world will be centered on Germany and France during the next few days.

Wm. Z. Foster "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement"

By Z. Leder.

A prominent champion of our movement, comrade Foster*) describes in his pamphlet, what he calls "the bankruptcy of the American labor movement"; he deals with the symptoms of this bankruptcy, its causes, the ravages caused by dual unionism (competitive organizations), and then passes on to the means which promise to place the movement on a sound basis capable

of further development: the birth and growth of the "new radicalism" in contradistinction to the "old Utopianism", and the activity of the Trade Union Educational League. From this it will be seen how interesting and opportune is this pamphlet of comrade Foster's. It gives us the possibility of informing ourselves on the latest development of the American trade union movement, at least in its main features.

And yet I am inclined to question much in the pamphlet—even its whole historical outlook!

To begin with, the title of the pamphlet seems to me to be badly chosen. Why speak of the "bankruptcy" of the American labor movement? It is not the labor movement which has gone bankrupt in America, but its traditional forms. Indeed, even this last term appears to me to be hardly correct. The whole tendency of Foster's pamphlet is in accord with the resolutions passed by the CI and RILU, to the effect that we revolutionists must join the unions affiliated to the mass organizations of the proletariat—among these being the American Federation of Labor—because we expect before all, from these organizations, that the pressure of the left wing of the labor movement will enable them to withstand the offensive of capital during the era of capitalist collapse, and to play a leading rôle in bringing about and maintaining a revolutionized state of society. It is not the trade unions themselves, but the old trade union leaders and methods, that are bankrupt.

The reader may perhaps be of the opinion that the terminological inexactitude which I here emphasize is of trifling importance. That it is a mere inexactitude in terms I already stated when I pointed out, that Foster's work, in tendency and spirit, is entirely at one with the RILU. I do not however agree that the inexactitude is unimportant. This is not the case, for this inexact mode of expression supplies an easy argument to those against whom Foster is striving—the exponents of dual unionism. However simple minded the line of argument may appear, still there is something to be said for it: if the old trade unions are bankrupt and dead—why galvanize the corpse?

Further, I hold it to be historically incorrect when Foster seeks to explain the "bankruptcy" of the American labor movement, as an effect of the canker of dual unionism gnawing at its roots. He denies the importance of the immigration of foreign labor as a factor which may be considered as a partial cause of the backwardness of the American labor movement, and he likewise denies the effect of economic prosperity; for him there is only one "real cause", the dread spectre of dual unionism. We maintain—without being able to substantiate the assertion within the scope of a short discussion—that Foster's thesis and his substantiation are both erroneous. To deal with only one point: For Foster, America appears to be the sole exception to the rule,—laid down by Marx—that the country with the greatest industrial development has the most developed labor movement. I believe that the alleged exception is, in reality, no exception at all. It is true that before the war the United States already took a leading place in industry as regards technical equipment, financial concentration, and social development. But still the country was not greatly industrialized. It is extremely difficult to draw any international comparisons in this respect. But if we glance at the statistics of occupations before the war, for Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, France, and the United States, we see that the social structure of the United States resembled much more that of France than of Great Britain, Germany, or Belgium. And in this matter it is not a question of the absolute number of great undertakings and plants, but of the part these play in the whole economic life, of the degree of industrialization of the country.

On the other hand, it appears to me that Foster does not perceive the obliquity of his politico-historical outlook. The IWW and other revolutionary organizations, though cherishing the principle of dual unionism, none the less played a revolutionary part in the pre-war epoch. To maintain the contrary is equal to making them responsible, like the conservative leaders of the A.F. of L., for the fact that the A.F. of L. has not achieved greater success in the fight against capital. Foster's greatest error lies in his complete disregard of the essential difference between pre-war and post-war epochs in the development of world capitalism—of American capitalism as well—and in his forgetting that tactics suitable in one epoch may be unsuitable in another. At the II Congress of the CI, this fundamentally determinant factor was pointed out by Radek in the course of a discussion with the American opponents of our trade union tactics. At that time, in the middle of 1920, he cited the evidence of the *Times* and Sydney Webb (both of whom unanimously declared that "Gompers' throne was tottering and

*) Wm. Z. Foster, "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement". The Trade Union Educational League. Chicago. 62 pp.

his day over") in favor of the view that the A.F. of L. can be won over. This phenomenon—quite apart from dual unionism and cell tactics—was to be attributed to nothing else than to the effects of the revolutionizing events, of the collapse of imperialism in the world war. All honor to the activity of the Trade Union Educational League! But we must not forget that human beings and organizations alike, are merely the instruments of history.

To sum up, I repeat the opinion already given, that Foster's historical outlook is much too one-sided. But just as an incorrectly painted picture may give an excellent representation, or a profound impression, despite its disregard of the rules of perspective, in the same manner can we learn much about the latest developments of the American labor movement from Foster's booklet.

In this regard Foster finds an excellent supplement in the pamphlet written by comrade Loaf**). He teaches us to recognize the importance of mass fighting, and no longer of organizations and organizational forms, for the development of the trade union movement. There is no doubt that the great miners' strike of last year, exercised a great influence on this development, and will continue to exercise it in the future. Undoubtedly the "amalgamation" of the railwaymen's organizations, propagated and carried out by Foster's League, is to be attributed to the summer conflicts.—The 37 pages of introduction to the actual account of the coal miners' strike, is a valuable portrayal of the American trade union movement, a portrayal which is only roughly outlined in Foster's pamphlet, owing to its purely political aim. I only regret that the author has not dealt in greater detail—as the matter deserves—with the attitude adopted by the Amsterdamers with regard to the American strike; that he has not more thoroughly detailed the settlement of the strike, nor shown the importance and results of the movement as evidenced by the bourgeois press. This completion of the pamphlet would have been the more appropriate in view of the fact that the fight may possibly break out again this year, for the compromise of 1922 was a mere postponement of the conflict, on the part of capital.

The Unemployed Movement in England.

By J. T. Murphy.

The Hunger Marchers have returned to London. They have marched and marched. Now whither shall they turn? For months they have tramped from city to city and town to town declaring that they will "see Bonar Law". And Bonar Law will not meet them. This is a serious situation of which we must take stock. The problem of unemployment finds no solution in Europe. Indeed everything points to this problem becoming of primary importance in all the countries of Central and Western Europe.

This is the third year of acute unemployment in Britain. Throughout the whole period there have never been less than 1,500,000 unemployed. At one time they totalled nearly 2,500,000. At an early stage efforts were made to organize them. It was exceedingly difficult to make headway at first. The trade union unemployment benefits plus the state insurance cut away the grounds for agitation. This was especially the case with the skilled workers. It was only the poorest sections of the proletariat, often those who had never been in the trade unions and lacked organizational experience that were approachable. These of course were hit severely right from the early days of the slump. When the call was issued "Go to the Guardians", they were the first who made response. There was no other course for them to take. They were thus thrown together in large masses with nothing else to do than ponder on their misery and listen to the voice of the agitator. Out of these and the rebel elements who had been active in the "unofficial" shop stewards movement, there sprang up the organization of *Unemployed Workers Committees*.

Success attended their early efforts. The Board of Guardians gave way under the pressure of the mass agitation that developed all over the country. Better terms than had ever been granted to those in distress were now established. The methods adopted by the Guardians to divide the forces only served as a means to more efficient organization. The guardians made it a condition of relief that the applicant should put in so much work, and sent the unemployed to the outskirts of the towns to clear the ground for parks or bowling greens, etc. Each of the centres to which these groups of workers

**) T. Loaf, "Der Kampf der Kohlenarbeiter in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika". (The coal miners' struggle in the United States. Published by Viva, Berlin SW. 61.)

were dispatched served as a centre for organization during the summer months. Out of the summer agitation grew the strength and organization to demand halls for shelter in the winter. In this they were successful during the first year. But the whole movement remained segregated from the unions, and the unions and the official labor movement practically ignored its existence.

It was not until union benefits began to give out, and the State insurance benefits got into difficulties, so that large numbers of trade unionists, including the skilled workers, were compelled to resort to the Guardians for relief and were brought into more real contact with the unemployed workers' committees, that the strong prejudices of the craft unionists were broken down. Even then it was only these who were actually unemployed and suffering all the misery of their position, that listened in any other than a pious way to the pleas for united action. Every union was a bulwark of conservatism safeguarding the financial interests of its members, as an insurance society, and thought this was not the time for fighting and simply ignored the agitation of these masses. The union leaders pleaded the difficulties of the slump and the futility of strikes, but the revolutionary fervour of the unemployed prevented blacklegging during the lock-outs while the union leaders negotiated the retreats. The unemployed pressed for action by the employed. The trade union leaders permitted the unemployed leaders to appeal to the Trade Union Congresses and the Labour Party Conferences, passed resolutions, interviewed Ministers of the Government, but never took a single step to join the forces of the employed and the unemployed for united action of any character.

Meanwhile, the funds of the unions were being depleted and wages fell. Discontent with the leadership found its echo in the loss of membership. The unemployed became tired of their appeals to the unions, and discontent fastened on to the fact that the unemployed organization was the only organization which would do any fighting, and an agitation sprang up to make of the unemployed an all-inclusive organization. This was an exceedingly grave danger for the trade union movement, and, had it not been for the prompt action of the Communist Party, the unemployed would certainly have taken steps along these lines and become a rival organization to the unions. The union leaders would have had themselves to blame.

The continued isolation of the unemployed and their vital question right from the beginning of the slump, has become the central problem of the movement. For a period of four months the sharpness of this issue was modified. The danger just mentioned had caused alarm. Then came the general election and the Hunger March well timed for the effect on the election campaign. Right from the north of Scotland and all parts of the united Kingdom, the marchers roused the constituencies. Neither the Trades Union Congress nor the Labour Party could ignore them. The unemployed broke down the barrier between the union headquarters and the Unemployed Workers Committees. All joined in great demonstrations on Unemployed Sunday.

The Hunger Marchers had demanded to see the Prime Minister. He refused. As a result of the demonstrations, he met the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. The General Council did not put forward the demands of the unemployed, the victory of the unemployed had not gone so far. But in true parliamentary style, at which the leaders of the Second International are adepts, they "drew attention to the serious position etc.", and there the matter rested for the moment. The labor leaders were at a dead end. The Unemployed set off to repeat the Hunger March with the cry "We will see Mr. Bonar Law", intending to make a big show at the opening of Parliament. The Trade Union leaders and the Labour Party simply sat tight waiting to make a Parliamentary protest, while the leader of the Amsterdam International, Mr. J. H. Thomas, condemned hunger marches and "such sensational exploiting of the distresses of the unemployed".

The Hunger-Marchers returned to London several hundred strong. After the police had turned a few demonstrators back from the route of the procession at the opening of Parliament, a large protest meeting of the unemployed was held in Hyde Park. They have not seen Mr. Bonar Law. And so, what next? All the months of agitation, of sacrifice and endurance, of marching and hungering seem to have gone for nothing. The men in the factories seem to think the unemployed problem is an unemployed workers question. The labor leaders consider parliamentary speeches to be the only fit and proper form of agitation.

When the lock-outs were in progress the unemployed acted again and again in the interests of the employed workers. In town after town they marched on the union committees and into the factories in thousands to present a united front of the locked-out and unemployed workers. It is the only line that can be pursued now if the unemployed organization is not to fall to pieces.

From the Wood-workers' International

(RILU). After the international conference of wood-workers, held in connection with the 2nd RILU congress, the secretariat of the International Propaganda Committee has endeavored to make the results of the conference known as widely as possible among wood-workers. The whole material has been submitted to 29 revolutionary wood-workers' unions, and 9 centres of revolutionary minorities, so that it may be safely assumed that the work accomplished by the conference will not be without influence on the movement. At the same time the Propaganda Committee is endeavoring to spread our ideas among the wood-workers by issuing a bulletin. This is published in Berlin, in three languages. No. 3 has already appeared.

Among the events of interest to our industry in the different countries, special mention must be made of the strike of 20,000 wood-workers which broke out in North Sweden in December. It is a singular fact that no union affiliated with us received any notice concerning this strike from the Swedish wood-workers union. This union is in the hands of the reformists, and these do not seem desirous of having their quietness disturbed. The Propaganda Committee communicated with our Swedish friends for the purpose of learning the details of the strike, and if possible of rendering aid to our class comrades left in the lurch by the reformists.

From France we have to report that in Lower Alsace there exists an autonomous union of cabinet makers, not affiliated to the national federation, and possessing 2,000 members, while the national federation numbers, in all, 8,000 members. The Propaganda Committee has taken steps towards securing the affiliation of this union to the federation.

In Great Britain there are also differences between the English Cabinet Makers' Federation and the Amsterdam Wood-Workers' International, although a representative of the former body belongs to the executive committee of the International. The Propaganda Committee has placed itself in communication with the Cabinet Makers' Federation, and will endeavor to bring about closer relations.

In Finland work is proceeding for the fusion of the two wood workers' unions existing in this country—the Wood-Workers' Union with 3,541 members, and the Wood-Cutters' Union, with 5,426 members; both unions stand on our platform.

The Deutsche Holzarbeiterzeitung (German Wood-workers' Periodical), reports as to the situation in its international which is affiliated to the International Trade Union Federation. From this we learn that the representatives of the American Wood-Workers' Union, numbering 325,000 members, are visiting Europe for the purpose of entering into relations with their colleagues in the old world. The results of this attempt are not yet known. In France the reformists have found it necessary to form a rival union as the French cabinet makers and wood cutters do not want to have anything more to do with the Amsterdamers. In Holland the reformists are preparing to facilitate the capitalist attack by offering the feeblest possible resistance. In Italy the wood-workers received financial aid from the reformist international central, to assist them in their economic struggles. What attitude is the reformist central adopting towards the necessity of helping their Italian colleagues in the struggle against Fascism?—The reformists preserve silence on this point.

THE COLONIES

Indian National Congress

By M. N. Roy.

In the last week of December, the thirty-seventh Annual Session of the All-India National Congress was celebrated at Gaya, an old pilgrimage town in the heart of the Province of Bihar. It is one of the most backward provinces of the country, being the seat of powerful landlordism. Except coal-mining and several small iron works and Railway workshops, the entire province is predominantly agricultural. The great Tata Iron and Steel Works are geographically situated within the boundaries of this Province, but hardly affect its social-economic life, being at the farthest southern end. In short, the Province of Bihar is industrially backward, and therefore, lacks on the one hand a progressive bourgeoisie, and on the other a newly created proletarian mass in the throes of a spontaneous social upheaval. The peasantry is extremely exploited, and supplies the labor forces to the far off Tea Plantations of Assam, as well as the Jute and other industries around Calcutta.

Such was the social atmosphere in which the National Congress met this year, a year which has been the period of the

acutest crisis in its whole history. The social elements, that control the Congress and that had to fight in the last session to maintain its domination, could not choose a better place. The reactionary and politically bankrupt petty bourgeoisie, the standard-bearer of "pure-Gandhism"—was very anxious to go away from the dangerous influence of the two revolutionary factors behind the National movement, namely the progressive bourgeoisie and the militant proletariat. They took the Congress to Gaya and placed it under the hospitality of, and tied it to the purse strings of the landlords wearing Gandhi-cap, which symbol alone is enough to cover their sinister economic character before the sick vision of the degenerated and semi-intellectual lower middle class controlling the destinies of the National Congress. The Reception Committee (a body entrusted with the organization of the Congress) was composed of these landlords and their relations at the Bar. The Chairman of the Reception Committee was one of the richest landlords in the Province. Under such auspices did the Thirty-seventh Congress meet. The result has been precisely what can be expected from those seeking such eminently reactionary patronage. "Pure Gandhism" has held its own against the onslaught of the Radical Intellectuals from the Right and of the Utopians from the Left. The petty bourgeois religionists are so much encouraged by their victory at Gaya that the next annual session of the Congress will take place at Andhra, the stronghold of Brahmanic reaction.

Objectively however, Gaya marks the beginning of a new period in the Indian National Struggle. The apparent victory of petty bourgeois reaction is in reality its last gasp of life. Though the great political questions confronting the Congress still remain unsolved, the confusion reigning in its ranks ever since the fateful days when the mighty mass demonstrations during the visit of the Prince of Wales, as well as the revolutionary agrarian uprisings, were disowned and denounced under the personal leadership of Gandhi, is nearing its end. Social readjustment outside is reflecting itself upon the Congress, in which class demarcation can no longer be kept confused by sentimental effusions. The events of the last twelve months proved that the Congress could not continue as a heterogeneous body united not by political expediency, but on the treacherous ground of sentimentality. What happened during the last twelve months has crystallized at Gaya in the form of a split which is the forerunner of the growth of cohesive political parties, reflecting the interests of the several social classes objectively antagonistic to British rule, and forming a fighting coalition inside the National Congress, which can only be the Organ of national struggle. So, the process of political regrouping begun at Gaya sounds the death-knell of the non-political Gandhites, in whose hands the Congress lately came to be more of a prayer-hall and conclave of theologians than the leader of the national struggle. It can be predicted in the words of C. R. Das, the defeated president at Gaya, that "the minority of today will be the majority of tomorrow." That is, those who have at last raised the standard of revolt against the quietism of "pure-Gandhism" may appear to be beaten today, but the future belongs to them. They will initiate a new period of action in the national movement, and thus will capture before long the leadership of the Congress. This very welcome eventuality was indicated by the split at Gaya, which therefore marks a step forward in the Indian national struggle, the temporary victory of the petty bourgeois centrists notwithstanding.

Three social elements went into the composition of the Non-cooperation movement from the very beginning, namely, the middle class intellectuals with a radical tendency, the petty bourgeoisie in a desperate economic condition, and the masses of workers and peasants in the initial stages of awakening. Taken as a whole, the Non-cooperation movement was a petty bourgeois movement. Fundamentally, it was not so much a struggle against Imperialism as a revolt against the big bourgeoisie. The gradual clarification process is proving it to be so. Towards the close of the Great War the situation in India came to such a state, the national struggle objectively became of such potentiality through the awakening of the proletariat and the wide-spread discontent among the peasantry, that Imperialism found it imperative to accommodate itself to the aspirations of the native bourgeoisie. The Montague Reforms were conceded and the big bourgeoisie, which had so far been the leader of the national struggle, was placated and won over. The Non-cooperation movement was initiated with the avowed object of wrecking the Reforms which had given the native bourgeoisie a place in the sun. Divested of its metaphysical phraseology and sentimental effusions, the Non-cooperation movement politically meant: "the Reforms have left the middle and lower strata of the bourgeoisie in the lurch; we won't have anything to do with them, until they are so extended as to make provisions for us." The *Swaraj* of the Non-cooperators, to which many a revolutionary interpretation has been attributed, never stood

for anything more than such measures of self-government, which would transcend the limits of the big bourgeoisie. During two eventful years this petty program was kept shrouded in bombastic phrases, and the movement was carried on, not on account of the attractiveness of the program, but by a spontaneous revolutionary upheaval with which the petty bourgeoisie had not only nothing to do, but of which it has always been in deadly terror. In the course of a movement, which was essentially an opposition to the big bourgeoisie coming to power, the class consciousness of the petty bourgeoisie went on developing till it discovered the danger of playing with fire. Consequently it severed all connection with the revolutionary workers and peasants, which separation however, proved its own political impotency. Non-cooperation became a moral creed, a religious dogma, a metaphysical abstraction and anything else that goes to strengthen the hand of social reaction, thus hindering the development of the political consciousness of a nation.

This degeneration of the Non-cooperation movement naturally failed to win the approbation of the radical intellectuals within its ranks. The latter revolted and demanded that "the object of the Congress should be material". They called for "political activities" as against the ethical vegetation of the petty bourgeoisie. So the Congress became the stage of battle between the two strata of the middle class, which originally had started the Noncooperation together. This battle was fought at Gaya. The 37th annual session of the National Congress was engaged in deciding whether the radical upper middle class or the reactionary petty bourgeoisie, would lead the national movement in the next period. This otherwise harmless battle was, however, fought on an extremely revolutionary background where were arrayed the mighty forces of the workers and peasants, awakened, but still unconscious of their historic role, without leadership, advancing with faltering steps. The presence of these revolutionary forces standing in the background was felt in the Congress through the medium of a Left Wing which, however, had a very hazy outlook and was actuated more by sentiment than by understanding. The voice of the workers and peasants was raised through the program published by the Communist Party on the eve of the Congress, a program which burst on the situation like a bombshell, created great consternation in the congress and helped very much the process of class-clarification. We sought to strengthen the hand of the Left Wing, but only succeeded in frightening it. It is, however, a gain. It has proved how unreliable is the sloppy sentimentality of those who talk glibly about "the masses" without breaking away from their lower middle class moorings.

C. R. Das, a renowned lawyer who gave up his extensive practice at the Bar, who was clapped into jail on the eve of the Ahmedabad (1921) Congress, to whose presidency he had been unanimously elected, and the president-elect of the Gaya Congress, unexpectedly put himself at the head of the incipient Left Wing. Four months before the Congress met at Gaya he came out of jail, and to its great surprise the country came to know that the man raised to the pedestal of Gandhi was advocating the abandonment of the path marked out by Gandhi. The evolution of Das in his post-jail days was rather interesting. It appeared that in order to feel the pulse of the country, he kept on talking vague generalities in the first months. Suddenly he came out with a statement couched in such phrases as: "we do not want bourgeois democracy", "brown bureaucracy will not be any better than the white bureaucracy", "the middle classes have failed to carry on the Non-cooperation", "the masses want *Swaraj* more than the middle classes" and similar other sentiments which outraged the sense of propriety of the Congress and brought upon Das' devoted head the epithet of "Bolshevik" from the ruling class. Many of the sentimentally revolutionary elements within the Congress, who had been smarting under the ethical dictums imposed upon them by Gandhism, enthusiastically welcomed the leadership of Das. Thus, in addition to the radical intellectuals, who had been for a long time demanding a change in the congress program, there came into existence another factor advocating a change in the congress activities.

This latter had the appearance of a Left Wing Party and in fact its rank and file did contain left wing, that is, revolutionary elements. But the leadership of this incipient Left Wing Party proved lacking in revolutionary vision. At Gaya, they identified themselves with the radicals of the Right Wing, the change advocated by whom would mean practical repudiation of the method of Non-cooperation and would lead the National movement back to the impotent tactics compatible with constitutional agitation. Both the wings wanted a change and joined forces on this identity of issues. This tactical mistake proved suicidal for the growing Left Wing which, thus forfeited the adhesion of a considerable section of the lower middle class

sentimentalists, who mean well, but do not possess the courage and vision to carve out a revolutionary path for themselves. The make-believe talk of the "pure-Gandhites" about Civil Disobedience proved more fascinating for these elements, who therefore remained attached to the Centre. The Left Wing forces failed to assert themselves on the situation and when the split came, they were found with the radicals of the Right.

The split, which ought to have taken place on the issue of petty bourgeois politics versus mass action, was diverted to an internal quarrel for power between the radical liberals and the lower middle class reactionaries. The latter have won, because the Left Wing was not yet developed enough to take the field alone. The new opposition party is a combination of two diametrically divergent forces which cannot be expected to operate in harmony. Therefore, a second split is inevitable. This split will happen as soon as a sufficiently strong nucleus of a Mass Party is formed. The materials for such a nucleus are there. They are already in the process of accumulation. The publication of our Program has on the one hand exposed the real intentions of the petty bourgeois politicians, and on the other, opened up an inspiring vision to all the revolutionary elements. Hopeful signs were to be seen even at Gaya, where reaction reigned supreme. In spite of the obstruction of the bureaucratic machinery of the Congress, the resolution calling for complete independence as the aim of the congress received more support this year than the last. More than 30 per cent of the delegates voted for it. A great majority of the delegates came back disgruntled, looking for a new lead which can alone be given by a truly revolutionary Left Wing Party, whose rise is imminent.

POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

International Strike?

You don't want much, do you!!

(Reply to the barbarians of Moscow.)

Free interpretation of Amsterdam by A. Lozovsky.

We were not surprised at your inquiry about an international strike, for the simple reason that we are already accustomed to every description of demagoguery from Moscow. You must know that the resolutions passed by the trade union congress at Rome, and by the international peace congress at The Hague, made the strike dependent on a large number of conditions. How very far wrong you are in seeing any connection between the occupation of the Ruhr basin and an international strike, may be seen from the following statements, the correctness of which you will not question.

1. Neither in the resolutions passed by the trade union congress at Rome, nor in those passed by the international peace conference at the Hague, is there a single word to be found against the defence of one's fatherland; and this appeared as a matter of course to all participants in the congresses; the leader of the II. International, Vandervelde, declared this quite openly at the Hague.

2. The peace conference at the Hague did not pass any resolution regarding an international strike in the event of the Ruhr being occupied. A special resolution was formulated on this question, and was submitted to the French CGT., the French Socialist Party, the Belgian trade unions, and the Belgian Labor Party. As you will be well aware, this resolution raised a protest against violence, but it contained not a single word as to the above named unions and parties having recourse to strikes should violence occur.

3. The resolution submitted by the pacifist committee proposes, that all questions be decided by international arbitration. The same resolution desires the present statutes of the League of Nations to be altered, so that the League shall settle all international disputes. The Amsterdam International proposed that disputes be submitted to the League of Nations, but with regard to the statutes, the sub-committee appointed by the congress for their alteration could not finish this work in the short time at its disposal.

4. The resolution submitted by the political committee also expressed the desire that all disputes be laid before the League of Nations for arbitration, and raised the most energetic protest against the possibility of acts of violence. But this resolution does not mention Germany or the Ruhr area, and it would be a very strange thing if we were to extend this resolution to a given concrete instance.

5. The resolution passed by the International Congress at the Hague on the educational question provides for the commencement of serious work among the youth, in order that young people may be educated in the spirit of hate against war. You are fully aware that this is a task which cannot be accomplished in three weeks. The trade unions and parties participating in the Hague congress are just beginning this work, and we hope that when the coming generation grows up, its attitude towards war will, thanks to our work, be quite different, from that of the present generation, which took part in the last war, and still feels its consequences.

6. The resolution moved by the trade union committee — the only resolution mentioning the general strike — provides for an international strike in the event of war. We can state with satisfaction that the occupation of the Ruhr has not led to war, a circumstance which must undoubtedly be attributed to the spread of pacifist ideas, and to the influence of the recent Hague conference.

7. The resolution passed on the suggestion of the French and Belgian delegations contains — as you know — a solemn declaration on the justice of the reparations. It must be clear to all that when justice is not done voluntarily, force must come to the aid of justice.

8. Everyone knows the despicable part played by the German bourgeoisie in the reparations question. It openly sabotages the reparations, although the German workers are anxious to fulfil the obligations. This desire for fulfilment has often been expressed in the declarations of the representatives of the German Social Democracy, and of the German trade unions, at all international trade union and socialist congresses. We, as sincere representatives of the working class, cannot tolerate this despicable course of action on the part of the German bourgeoisie, which is solely to blame for the fact that Europe has not been able to return to a normal condition in the five years which have elapsed since the end of the war.

9. A strike at the moment when the troops are marching into the Ruhr district, might lead to the sabotaging of the war operation, although not a word about sabotage was mentioned in the resolutions passed. It should also not be forgotten that we have brothers in the army, and that the sabotage of the war operations might have an exceedingly disastrous effect upon them.

10. Of course, we condemn the acts of violence on the part of the French government. This we have already declared in quite a large number of resolutions. But from an international point of view the occupation of the Ruhr area may even be highly useful, in that it puts a final end to the imperialist and military longings of the German bourgeoisie, which is still possessed by the spirit of the ruling class of that country. The occupation of the Ruhr area will undoubtedly also lead to an increase in wages, as the French rate of exchange is much higher than the German.

11. The international strike could not take place, because we were not sure whether the German workers would strike from international or purely national motives. The past of the German proletariat makes us distrust its international feeling. Under such conditions an international strike would mean a deception of the French workers, and would only be of service to the German imperialists.

12. Another reason why the international strike could not be carried out is, that we have not yet received a single proposal from the pacifists to declare a strike, although we agreed with them at The Hague that we neither should nor could undertake any action without them. But on the other hand, should the pacifists strike just at the moment when there is danger of war, that is, should they cease propaganda against war, this would only increase the war danger.

13. The united front and joint action which you proposed has not been accepted by us, because the united front was rejected at the Hague conference, and the conference tacitly accepted the standpoint taken by Troelstra: not to join a united front with the communists until these have undergone quarantine. We know that you have not yet completed quarantine: Soviet Russia is not yet recognized by all states, and thus the question of the united front does not arise.

14. In conclusion we must energetically protest against the insolent demagoguery with which the Comintern and Profintern agitate against us among the workers. We have always fulfilled our international duty, and we do not permit the agents of the Russian government to throw the vanguard of the international proletariat into confusion.

On behalf of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals:
Vandervelde, Martens, Jouhaux, Renaudel, Henderson, J. H. Thomas, and Fimmen.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 3 No. 22

PRESS

1st March 1923

CORRESPONDENCE

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III
for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

CONTENTS

Politics

The International Situation. By G. Tchicherin 167
French Militarism and the Chemical War. By M. Fourrier 168
Germany and the end of the Entente. By E. Pavlovsky 169

Economics

Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4th Quarter
of 1922. By E. Varga 170

The Labor Movement

The Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria. By Dimitroff 172

In Soviet Russia

How is the Russian Worker housed. By Frida Rubiner 173

In the Camp of Our Enemies

Frossard in the footsteps of Levi. By A. Lozovsky 174

POLITICS

The International Situation

By Comrade Tchicherin.

The concentration and trustification of capital.

If I am to sum up the results of my recent observations of foreign affairs, I must first say, speaking generally, that the most important feature of our period is the concentration and trustification of capital on an international scale. In some countries the process of concentration was already greatly advanced. Now we find, behind the scenes of events, a constant motive force consisting of a struggle towards the international alliance of the national trusts, towards the international extension of national trusts and their growth beyond national frontiers. This process of international concentration of capital, is being carried out within the post-war crisis and collapse. Consequently, it frequently assumes degenerated forms, and its gradual progress is accompanied by many morbid symptoms. The ruined middle and petty bourgeoisie, and the increasingly impoverished bourgeois intelligentsia plunge into the extreme chauvinism, and create a heated political atmosphere. In France these elements support what is left of the National Bloc; in Germany they join the Orghesh organizations or simply vote for the extreme right; in Italy they form one of the motive powers for the complicated phenomenon of Fascismo. Their furious activity keeps war ever near, and within certain limits, even leads to direct military action. But there is no immediate danger of a new world war: The motive forces of a world war can only be fundamental antagonisms between leading economic groups, and these last have still to undergo a long period of development before their relations become so acute as to provide the possible conditions for a world war. Before the war the situation was different; at that time, large industry supported militarism, while the petty bourgeoisie supported pacifism; but now, large industry is, as a rule, the upholder of pacifism, and the petty bourgeoisie, at least its ruined section, is becoming the main prop of military and ultra-chauvinist tendencies.

France and Germany.

Diplomatic life in Western Europe is based on the triangular relations between England, France, and Germany. The Anglo-French world-antagonism is by no means fully developed. And yet this antagonism permeates all present day diplomatic relations. Among the questions at present existing between France and Germany, the most important is that of their economic approach, of the understanding to be reached between the industrial capitalists

of the two countries. This interesting example of an endeavour towards international trustification deserves close attention. In the sphere of the reparation question, this endeavour assumed the form of economic agreements regarding payments in kind. But it has much more important aims. The France of to-day differs very much from pre-war France; developing industrial capital is gaining an ever-growing influence over the politics of the country; it requires markets, it requires the development of economic relations with other countries. Thanks to the treaty of Versailles, France possesses a surplus of iron, and needs material from Germany for working up this iron. Negotiations are already being carried on between a number of French and German industrial undertakings with regard to contracts, trusts, and cartells. These efforts on the part of industrial capital, and its growing influence, were the cause of France seeking, particularly towards the end of last year, to resume official commercial relations with Russia.

The leading representative of the new policy of French industrial capital is the *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas*, headed by one of France's best economic functionaries, the banker Finati. These elements belong to that political grouping at present in course of development, if not in Parliament, at least in leading French political circles. Among this group one of the most talented French statesmen of the new generation, Loucheur, must be counted; he has connections with the industry of the North.

The Ruhr adventure.

The Ruhr adventure, which has shaken the political and economic life of the whole of Europe to its foundations, and has also much injured Soviet Russia, who needs economic relations with other countries, is bound up in a most complicated manner with various tendencies within French industry itself. The bourgeoisie of course preserves the customary sacred unity against the national enemy, but already the industrial periodical *Journée industrielle*, is openly expressing its dissatisfaction with the Ruhr policy. This policy, which leads to the impoverishment of Germany, brings no advantage to France, who is unable to utilize the riches of the Ruhr area without the aid of Germany. The indirect result is, further impoverishment in France, and injury to her industry. The main object of this adventure was to pacify the shrieking chauvinism of the masses. And it is possible that the idea occurred to some members of the governing group, that it would be good to carry out the chauvinist desires of these masses to a point of absurdity, and to prove, by actual demonstration, their utter nonsense; but this would be a very dangerous method of giving an object lesson. The Ruhr question is, at the same time, bound up with one of the most important points of contact between French and German industry. It is a well-known fact that the French heavy industry,