

upon the policeman. If the metal workers strike, and the railwaymen act in solidarity with them, will you blame the railwaymen on that account? Would you agree, that a Commune in Paris, which is victorious, may allow a Commune of Lyons to be butchered? This would indeed be monstrous would it not? But what you have just acknowledged, is the right, nay, it is even the duty of Red Intervention. The Russian Commune cannot permit that the young German Revolution be strangled, if it one day flies its red flags in the face of the Senegalese of Gaurod and Mangin.

The pity is only, that, the practice is not quite so simple as the theory. In practice, Red Intervention may follow under altered circumstances. A workers' government, which is not yet Communist and not yet revolutionary, may invoke it and thereby seal its own fate. Bourgeois governments, in the heat of their mutual rivalries, may subsidize it and thus commit suicide. What, however, stands beyond all doubt, is that armed revolutionists have not the right to look on, while their proletarian brothers in the neighbouring lands are being murdered. I understand. But it is not pleasant, that we have again to prepare for war, even if it is only against the war.

Certainly, it is not pleasant. But neither is the old bourgeois society pleasant. It relies upon its barracks, upon its institutions of stultification, the church and the school, upon its prisons, upon its brothels, upon its gallows, upon its drab towns full of misery and consumption. If, however, we do not wage the revolutionary war in our own interest, tomorrow, this same bourgeois society will compel us all to perish, in order that the 300 robbers of high finance, who today rule the world, may grow still richer.

OUR PROBLEMS

The Proletarian Film

By E. Hoerle (Moscow).

The cinema is a child of modern technics. Within a very brief period it has won a leading place among the ideological weapons of the bourgeoisie. The film possesses the suggestive power of the theatre, without requiring its costly apparatus. It has an advantage over the theatre, in being capable of unlimited and comparatively cheap multiplication. It is thus not without reason that the cinema has been named the "poor man's theatre". And above all the cinema possesses, in common with the church and the theatre, the quality enabling it to gather the masses together, and to exercise mass suggestion.

The revolutionary proletariat has long since recognized the dangers of the film as dominated by the bourgeoisie. We are perfectly agreed, theoretically, that it does not suffice to merely criticize the bourgeois film, and to combat its most provoking forms; it is imperative that the reactionary bourgeois film be opposed by the revolutionary proletarian film. The suggestive power of the film must serve the purposes of revolutionary propaganda, precisely as it has hitherto served the purposes of reactionary propaganda. Why has the revolutionary proletariat, even in Soviet Russia, the land of proletarian dictatorship, done so very little towards obtaining control of this means of mental domination over the millions?

Until the fighting proletariat has won complete power, it can only obtain control of the film in exceptional cases. The technical manufacture of the film requires large capital. The film industry is at the present time in the hands of a small number of powerful and well organized capitalist companies. Even before conquering complete power, the class conscious proletariat may save its pence here and there and call into existence this or that film of a proletarian tendency, but it cannot hope to compete with the bourgeois film, neither in extent nor in technical devices, nor in the dramatic form of representing its world of ideas, its actions, sufferings, and struggles. The dramatic film is the core of every cinematograph performance, and is the sole film capable of attracting the masses to the cinema day by day; it is solely the dramatic film which renders the cinema a paying concern, both as regards finance and propaganda—and it is the dramatic film which remains the exclusive weapon of the ruling class until the proletariat seizes power.

If we now, in the country of proletarian dictatorship, are calling into existence a proletarian cinematograph undertaking, for the purpose of creating, for the first time, the "proletarian film" on a broad basis, then this signifies that we intend to utilize the economic force of the victorious proletariat for creating a film surpassing all first attempts and beginnings, and actually capable of competing with, or even surpassing, the bourgeois film. We shall consciously employ the film as a means

of mass propaganda. We must therefore not content ourselves with the line hitherto pursued, the filming of demonstrations, congresses, Red Army parades, sport performances, etc., or with more or less successful representations out of the lives of revolutionary workers, of their Soviets, their factories, their children's homes,—we must systematically carry our efforts into every sphere of film art, must enter into competition with bourgeois film undertakings, and substitute the reactionary film drama by the revolutionary dramatic film.

With the proletarian film drama as a central piece, other films of a more real character can be grouped around it, as is already done in the case of the bourgeois film. Films informing the spectators on the economic, social, scientific, political, or military events occurring throughout the world. Our revolutionary informative films will differ from the bourgeois informative films, in openly refusing to wear the mask of party political or world philosophical neutrality, and in representing all events from the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat. Ultimately, we may accompany the presentation of our informative films by short explanations from a communist propagandist.

For purposes of educational work in a narrower sense, we shall create the proletarian instructive film. The bourgeoisie utilizes the instructive film to a wide extent at the present time. Even in the elementary schools, for which the worst is generally good enough, the instructive film has been introduced, for its suggestive power has been recognized.

We revolutionary proletarians shall devote special attention to the economic film. The economic instructive films made by bourgeois companies, for bourgeois schools and instructive institutions, are useless for our purposes. All they show is the externals of up-to-date technics and of up-to-date giant undertakings; they say nothing of the real working process, of the inner organization of the factory, of the class struggle going on between workers and employers in every capitalist undertaking. For us, the economic film will be a means of making the spectators at once familiar with the actual working process, and with the organization of the work, the constant struggle between capital and labor.

We must not forget the comic film! The comic is an important medium of suggestive influence. The masses want to laugh. Laughter is equally valuable as a means of releasing tension as weeping. It is true that during the period of acutest class war, of civil war, and of extremest tension, our laughter will be laughter of a very special character, a bitter-sweet laugh, a fighting laugh. It will not be humor which is contained in our films—humor is a specifically petty-bourgeois phenomenon—but satire, ridicule, irony, and the merriment of the conscious victor. The worker must learn to laugh at his enemies, at the short-sightedness and narrow-mindedness of his exploiters, at his own mistakes. The working masses of today are lacking the confident consciousness of victory. And this is possessed in the highest degree by the ruling class. But the working class must prepare to become a ruling class. The proletarian film must bring laughter onto the side of the revolutionists, must use laughter systematically as a revolutionizing medium. We shall also apply to the film the art of revolutionary caricature, which we have hitherto only employed for posters and newspapers.

In conclusion, a few remarks on the relations between art and the proletarian cinema. So far, we have intentionally omitted to mention the word "art" in connection with "cinema". At the present juncture, it is of secondary importance to discuss whether it is really possible for the cinematograph to be art. For the proletarian film this is not the question of the moment; the proletarian film is to be suggestive in effect, true to life, striking. It is to be filled with the warm breath of proletarian revolution, it is to manifest the great ideas and aims of revolution by such means as the cinema has at its disposal. And if it fulfils this object—then it is art. If it remains lame, if it possesses no go and vital energy, then it is not art, not even if our leading writers, directors, and actors take part in its production.

The proletarian cinema requires the zealous and positive co-operation of all revolutionary workers. They must not only visit and criticize the performances, but must co-operate in collecting the material and in drafting the librettos. Only then can the proletarian cinema be really proletarian, not only for but of the proletariat. The revolutionary proletariat must create its own cinema as it has created its own press as it is now creating its theatres, its schools and universities, in a word, its new culture, and it must do this out of the needs of the struggle and the revolutionary propaganda, out of its own powers.

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Soviet Russia's Reply to England

The Soviet government has not availed itself of the 10 days respite granted by the English slave holder Lord Curzon. On the 11th of May it handed to the English representative a note which will take its place among the archives of honor in the history of the proletarian struggle.

While the Russian proletariat springs forward, as though stung by a whip, at the news of the English note and of the murder of comrade Vorovsky, the Soviet government remains calmly and steadfastly at its post, the advocate of peace, not only for Russia, but for the whole world. It makes a last attempt to preserve peace. It releases the English ships which were rightly confiscated; it declares itself ready to pay compensation to Englishmen for arrests, if the English government will also compensate those Russian citizens which it has kept imprisoned for years without trial. It practically cancels the note in which it replied to England's interference in Russian internal affairs, and in which Lord Curzon was given the answer he deserved. It accords every consideration to English vanity, and proves that it is superior to all the petty anxiety as to prestige by which the bourgeois governments are influenced. But at the same time it declares with iron resolution that it will not permit itself to be addressed in the language of ultimata, in terms of threats.

"Although the increasing reaction in Europe against the working class in recent months, which is inevitably accompanied by increased enmity against the Soviet republics, gave every reason for fearing that steps would be taken against the workers' and peasants' republic, none the less, in its sharpness and hostility, the ultimatum issued by the English government is a great surprise. To use ultimata and threats is by no means the right way to settle disputes among different states. And in any case it is not the way to attain desirable relations with the Soviet republics."

Thus begins the note from the Soviet government. And it further states:

"In the opinion of the Soviet government, one of the main causes of the constantly recurring misunderstandings between Soviet Russia and the English government is, that the Versailles peace has created relations in which certain sections of the Entente decline to negotiate with other states on equal

ground. Without denying that, during the last few years, a large number of states have actually fallen into a state of complete or partial dependence upon the Entente countries, the Soviet government regards it as its duty to declare that the Soviet republics are not dependent on the will of any foreign government, and cannot and will not be so dependent. If the ruling classes of England would recognize this fact, the chief obstacle preventing the restoration of normal peaceful relations, such as are in the interest of both states, would be removed."

The Soviet government declares to the most powerful state in Europe: Flourish your whip over the capitalist countries which you have conquered, whose bourgeoisies cower before you. But we, the first proletarian state, we do not cower before your whip, however much we may desire peace. We are anxious for peace, and therefore we make concessions, and do not rattle our sabres, but if you lords of the world's capital imagine that you can fasten your yoke upon our shoulders, then just come and try it! Thus speaks a proletariat, which has emancipated itself from its own bourgeoisie, to the victorious bourgeoisie of the world.

The Soviet government does not deny that great differences exist between Soviet policy and English capitalist policy in the Orient. How could it be otherwise? The Soviet government seeks, in all friendship and disinterestedness, to aid the awakening peasant peoples of the East in their struggle against their own and foreign exploiters. England is the slave-owner of the East. Soviet Russia has none the less declared herself ready to discuss England's definite complaints, to attempt to avoid collision. But one thing she says definitely to the English imperialists: if you think you can force us to adopt your policy, you are mistaken. We shall only follow the policy of the Russian worker and the Russian peasant.

The Soviet government proposes to the English government that an Anglo-Russian conference be convened, at which all points in dispute can be settled. If English imperialism rejects this proposal, then it bears the responsibility for what follows. With it lies the responsibility of peace or war, for a state of 150 million inhabitants cannot be ignored. One must either be at peace with this state, or at war with it. There is no third possibility. And the English government will have to decide whether it wants peace or whether it wants war.

If the decision depended on the will of the English landowners and capitalists, then all hope might be abandoned at once. But one hope still remains, and that is, that the English proletariat confronted by the plain question of: Peace or war, will recollect the frightful experiences of the great war, and will put a check on the Junkers ruling in Downing Street. If the English proletariat does not do this, it will mean that the words of that English labor paper, which has compared the English ultimatum to Russia to the Austrian ultimatum of 1914 will be fulfilled. And to this we add: then it is will be the business of the international proletariat to see that the criminals of Downing Street meet with the same end as the criminals of the Austrian foreign office.

The wording of the note

Moscow, May 11, 1923.

Mr. Hodgson.

Dear Sir,

In reply to the memorandum which you sent me on the 8th inst., I take the liberty of requesting you to inform your government of the following:

1. Although the increasing reaction in Europe against the working class in recent months, which is inevitably accompanied by increased enmity against the Soviet republics, gave every reason for fearing that steps would be taken against the workers' and peasants' republic, none the less, in its sharpness and hostility, the ultimatum issued by the English government is a great surprise. To use ultimatums and threats is by no means the right way to settle disputes among different states. And in any case it is not the way to attain desirable relations with the Soviet republics.

2. The Russian Republic has by no means left out of consideration the fact that, of all the great powers, Great Britain was the first to conclude an agreement, even though provisional and imperfect, with Soviet Russia. The Russian Government has taken this circumstance into consideration in its relations with Great Britain, as well as in its negotiations with other countries, although at the same time fully aware that this agreement was not only advantageous to one party, but that Great Britain derived both political and economic advantages from the agreement, and that the establishment of peaceful relations towards the Soviet Republics is the most essential factor for the peace and the restoration of economic well-being in all the countries of Europe. Today there is no-one who contests the enormous significance of the fact that Russian raw materials have again appeared on the European markets; and, though but recently begun, their export has already assumed considerable dimensions, and increases from month to month, with the result that bread, petroleum, wood, flax products, etc. are cheapened for the population of all the countries of Europe, including England.

3. The Russian Government does not endeavor to dispute the abnormal condition of present day relations, nor the defectiveness of the present basis of the agreement mentioned in the British memorandum. The Russian Government, for its part, has invariably striven for a complete regulation of the relations, an open discussion of all questions dividing the two states from one another, and the creation of a more durable basis, by which the possibility of strife and conflicts would have been eliminated to a much greater extent. It is, however, obliged to come to the conclusion that the present unsatisfactory basis of agreement has been chosen by Great Britain herself. And even within the confines of the present agreement, the government of Great Britain has unfortunately invariably refused to subject the whole complex of conflicting questions between the two states to a business-like settlement, and has thus brought about a state of relations which renders the satisfactory solution of the conflicts arising from time to time exceedingly difficult, in many cases impossible.

4. The memorandum sent us by the Government of Great Britain speaks of repeated challenges issued to Great Britain by Soviet Russia, even of deliberate challenges. The Soviet government takes the liberty of stating that such an assertion is entirely unfounded, and regrets that the Government of Great Britain has not found it possible to name a single instance of such a challenge. The Soviet government is prepared, for its part, to recount the actual challenges thrown down by Great Britain's Government to Soviet Russia within the last two years, directed not only against the Soviet Government, but against the whole Russian people, sympathy for whom the Government of Great Britain thinks it suitable to express in its memorandum. It suffices to mention the universally known disregard of the interests of the Soviet Republic shown by the Government of Great Britain in a number of international questions, as for instance the Dardanelles question, the East Galician, Memel District, Bessarabian, and other questions.

5. That the Russian Government sent no protest note with regard to the violation of the Anglo-Russian agreement is not to be attributed to a lack of adequate material for substantiating such a protest, but to the hope still held by the Russian Government that a mutual understanding can be reached on all contested and unsolved questions. The Russian Government, however, finds itself obliged to mention that it is in possession of numerous statements and documents relating to an extremely intense activity on the part of the Government of Great Britain against the interests of the Soviet Government in the Caucasus, and especially in districts lying on the frontier of that part of the Soviet Republics situated in Asia Minor:—to support lent to the Baschkmanian bandit movement in Turkestan and East Bukhara; to the support given not so long ago to White Guard generals by English Consuls, by enlisting officers and sending them to Vladivostok when the town was occupied by the Whites. When the Soviet Government now points out these facts, it is not with the intention of employing them as judgment material against the Government of Great Britain, but with the intention of proving that, being anxious to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain and to provoke no conflicts, the Soviet Government does not consider it possible to base its protests on the statements of informers and on accidental documents, the reliability of which is invariably doubtful in such cases. All governments have such material at their disposal, and should this be employed not merely for purposes of information, but for bringing about conflicts and as a foundation for protests, no friendly relations could exist between any two states whatever.

6. Unfortunately, the Government of Great Britain has considered it possible to make use of such doubtful material against the Soviet government in an official exchange of notes. It must be mentioned that the Foreign Office, as early as the year 1921, scarcely 5 months after the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian agreement, published a lengthy memorandum containing accusations against the Russian Government, and based solely on information of the above character. The Russian Government at that time succeeded in proving that the British Government had been misled by prejudiced, irresponsible, and malicious information, and was able to point out the dark sources from which the apocrypha (false documents) compromising the Russian Government had been brought to the Government of Great Britain. The Government of Great Britain obviates the possibility of a rejection of that new material upon which it bases its new indictments, and thus deprives the Russian Government of the possibility of analysing in detail the facts contained in the memorandum. As the Russian Government does not wish the interpretation put on its silence to be that it recognizes, even indirectly, the credibility of these statements, it considers it necessary to declare that the extracts and quotations cited by the English Government are a combination of portions of deciphered telegrams, altered in accordance with desired tendencies, and supplemented at will. The Russian Government declares definitely that the quotation referring to Persia is pure invention, and bears no relation whatever to any official document known to the Russian Government. A characteristic example of intentional misrepresentation of information is the reference to Raskolnikov's telegram, in the matter of aiding Vasiristan with 3000 roubles and 10 cases of cartridges. If the English government really has this telegram in its hands, and the same is not maliciously distorted, then the English Government may convince itself that this aid was given, not by Raskolnikov, but by another person in no way connected with the Soviet Government, but whose name the Soviet Government cannot disclose, being bound by the generally recognized rules of international forms of intercourse. These examples throw a bright light on the remainder of the information.

7. To pass on to matters of lesser significance mentioned in the memorandum, the Soviet Government does not consider it necessary to deny that it actually sent money to its representative in Persia, quite openly, through London Banks. The Government of Great Britain must be extremely suspicious if it thinks that the Soviet Government cannot expend money in the East for any other purposes than anti-British intrigues. The Government of Great Britain knows better than anyone else, if it is rightly informed, that the Soviet Government is not trying to attain good relations with the Eastern peoples by means of money and intrigues, but by really disinterested and benevolent action, and that these means are successful.

8. It would scarcely serve any purpose to enter in detail into the accusations made in the memorandum with regard to the so-called propaganda in the East. The essential of these accusations lies obviously—apart from their groundlessness—in a misapprehension of the duties assumed by Russia with regard to the Orient. These accusations appear to be based on the assumption that, in the opinion of Great Britain, the Russian

Republic is not to pursue a policy of its own with regard to the East, but that it must everywhere support English strivings. The Soviet Government never undertook any such engagement; up to the present there has been no agreement made between it and Great Britain on this point. The maintenance and development of friendly relations with the peoples of the East, based on a sincere respect for the rights and interests of these peoples, is something which the Soviet Government cannot regard as a violation of the Anglo-Russian agreement. If the English Government considers such a policy to be thoroughly anti-British, then the misunderstandings which have arisen are fully comprehensible. It is to be regretted that the Government of Great Britain invariably omits to specify its demands from the Soviet Republic with respect to Eastern policy, and that it left unanswered the note sent by the Russian Government on the 27th of Sept. 1921, proposing a friendly conference on the ways and means to be adopted for removing the possibility of further similar misunderstandings. Even when a favorable opportunity offered for such a conference, at the time of the sole meeting of the leaders of the foreign offices of both countries at Lausanne, Lord Curzon confined himself to the repetition of general reproaches, and refrained from explaining and discussing these.

9. The Government of Great Britain has held it to be necessary to refer in its memorandum to the activity of the Third International, despite the frequent declarations made by the Soviet Government, that it cannot by any means be identified with the Third International. This question having been frequently debated, the Soviet Government is not inclined to return to it, as little as it occupies itself with debates on the declarations and actions of those political parties and other political organizations, members of which are in the English Government. As to the reference to the participation of the People's Commissar for Finance, M. Sokolnikov, in one of the financial commissions of the Third International, which is alleged to have subsidized communist parties, the Soviet Government declares this report to be untrue from beginning to end, and that the English Government has in this case again been misled by malicious informers.

10. As to the question of so-called propaganda, the Soviet Government is able to state with much satisfaction that in this case the English Government has not brought up any concrete accusation of propaganda in Great Britain itself, although of recent months the English press has been severely attacking the Soviet Government on account of the propaganda which it is alleged to be carrying on by means of its commercial delegates and other representatives.

11. The Government of Great Britain substantiates the necessity of the ultimatum to the Soviet Government, and the threat of a rupture of relations, by pointing out cases of the violation of the interests of British subjects by the Russian Government. To this the Soviet government can only reply that the English Government, apart from the fishing boats, to which we refer later, is not able to adduce a single fact as to the violation of the interests of British subjects during the whole period of the Anglo-Russian agreement. The shooting of the engineer Davison, mentioned in the memorandum, in connection with the activity of the spying organization of the notorious Paul Dux in Russia, took place in January 1920, that is, 16 months before the conclusion of the agreement, and before the end of the period of English intervention and blockade. The arrest of Sten-Harding, accused of spying, partly on the information of the American journalist Miss Harrison, also fell within this period. It would be futile to repeat all the explanations so frequently given by the Russian Government in the course of the exchange of notes. It must however be mentioned that during this period an incomparably larger number of Russian subjects had to suffer from the actions of English authorities in the North and South of the Soviet Republics, and within the sphere of influence of Great Britain. One of the numerous cases of this nature is the shooting of the 26 Baku Commissars during the exchange of notes in this matter. If the question of compensation is at all brought up, justice demands that it apply to all cases that occurred during this period, and thus to the case of the family Kolomizev, the case of Bakushin, Karaganian, and other citizens, kept imprisoned for years in English and Indian prisons without trial. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The Russian Government is ready to provide for the family of Davison, and for Mrs. Sten-Harding, if the English Government undertakes the same with respect to the above mentioned Russian subjects.

12. The question of territorial waters was exhaustively dealt with in the note sent by the Russian Government on May 7th. In this note it was pointed out that no international standards imposing obligations exist at the present time, that the different countries take different courses of action in this matter, and that it is entirely unjustifiable to demand that Russia accept a regulation which is not even followed by Great Britain for its whole territory. The Russian Government again declares its

readiness to take part in an international conference on this matter, and to submit to its decisions. The note above mentioned already states that the affair of the arrested fishing boat "James Johnson" has been passed on to the Supreme Court, and that the verdict of the Murman court of justice has annulled the arrest of the captain and the confiscation of the vessel. The fishing boats had penetrated into the territorial waters, violating the laws of the country. But despite this fact the Russian Government, wishing to avoid increased friction, has taken steps enabling all British fishing boats, even the "Lord Aster" held up a few days ago within the four mile zone, to be regarded as free. It cannot however hold itself responsible for the fishing boat which sank in consequence of a storm, together with the Russian guard. The Russian Government is willing to place the question of the loss of the fishing boat thus caused before a board of arbitration.

13. Although the question of the position of the Church in the Soviet Republics has nothing whatever to do with the relations of these republics to Great Britain, the Soviet Russian Government holds it to be necessary, in the interests of the correct information of the public, to deny categorically the assertions that there is any religious persecution in Russia. Soviet justice is applied solely to those clerics who misuse their position as servants of the Church for purposes of activity against the internal or external security of the Soviet Republics. The Soviet Government is ready to acknowledge the unaccustomed tone of Mr. Weinstein's first note. It is nevertheless necessary to recollect the indignation and excitement called forth among the working and peasant population of Russia by the attempt, made by a neighbouring country, to interfere in this internal affair of Soviet Russia's, for the purpose of utilizing the trial of the Catholic prelates for aggressive political action. The excitement aroused must be known to the British Mission. The British representative, Mr. Hodgson, tried to negotiate privately on this matter with the representative of the People's Commissary, Mr. Litvinov, and received from him the categorical reply that he did not think it possible to negotiate with Mr. Hodgson on this subject either officially or unofficially. Mr. Hodgson should have been able to judge from this what attitude would be taken by the Soviet Government towards an official step on his part, and it is to be regretted that he did not take this circumstance into consideration, but held it to be possible to send off his note, which was regarded by the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs as a direct challenge. When Mr. Weinstein referred to the Irish Republic in his note, his intention was to make it clear how very inconvenient it is for both parties when there is interference in internal affairs, and that an interference in the Cieplak affair would be regarded in Russia in precisely the same light as Russian interference in the Irish question would have been regarded in Great Britain. It must be remembered that, with the exception of the above mentioned neighbour and Great Britain, no other government made any official application to Russia in this affair. In the light of these circumstances the unusual tone of Mr. Weinstein's note is easily comprehensible. In any case this note was returned by Mr. Hodgson; it has not been handed to the British Government a second time and can therefore be regarded as non-existent, just as the second letter which followed it, and which contained nothing offensive.

14. In the opinion of the Soviet Government one of the main causes of the constantly recurring misunderstandings between Soviet Russia and the English government is, that the Versailles peace has created relations in which certain sections of the Entente decline to negotiate with other states on equal ground. Without denying that during the last few years a large number of states have actually fallen into a state of complete or partial dependence upon the Entente countries, the Soviet government regards it as its duty to declare that the Soviet republics are not dependent on the will of any foreign government, and cannot and will not be so dependent. If the ruling classes of England would recognize this fact, the chief obstacle preventing the restoration of normal peaceful relations, such as are in the interest of both states, would be removed.

15. Despite the repeated misunderstandings, the Soviet republics hold the present relations with Great Britain in high esteem, and are anxious to maintain these in the interests of general peace, of the economic restoration of devastated Europe, and of the peoples of the Soviet federation and of the English people alike, and are therefore willing to enter into the friendliest and most peaceful settlement of the existing conflicts.

16. The step taken by the English government has obviously been prompted by the incorrect estimation of the position of the Soviet republics, an estimate formed under the visible influence of White Emigrants who never distorted reality so much as at the present time. The Russian Government takes into consideration the international situation, the events in Central Europe, the information received as to the growing activity of militarists in countries adjacent to the Soviet Republics, the journeys taken by

Entente generals to these countries, especially the recent inspection of the Roumanian frontiers by an English commission, and has come to the perfectly logical conclusion that a breach of relations would involve new dangers and complications threatening to peace, and that, in case of a rupture, the Government of Great Britain takes upon itself an immense responsibility in the eyes of history. The Russian Government declares that no reason exists for the rupture of relations, that the majority of the points of dispute between the Soviet Republics and Great Britain are so insignificant, compared with the possible consequences of a rupture, that good will on both sides would suffice for satisfactory solutions to be arrived at, without great difficulty at a conference of competent representatives of both states, and within a very short time. The Soviet Government, for its part, is sincerely desirous of arriving at an understanding, and it is convinced that the Government of Great Britain will also express the same wish.

17. The Soviet Government therefore proposes to the Government of Great Britain that it accept the proposal of a conference, and arrange the time and place of this conference, in order that the authorized representatives of both parties may not only consult on and solve the secondary questions in dispute, but may also settle the Anglo-Russian relations to their fullest extent.

I have the honor to remain,

Yours truly,

The Representative of the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

POLITICS

The Struggle between Lorraine Ore and Westphalian Coke

By Emil Heillen (Paris).

1. The marriage between the iron of Lorraine and the Rhine coal.

If we examine more closely the bloody and tragical events we have for a number of years experienced, we finally arrive definitely at the conclusion that the real causes of the Franco-German conflict are by no means identical with the reasons publicly put forward on both sides of the Rhine, but have rather developed out of the antagonisms necessarily arising from the artificial distribution of the iron ore and coal occurring in the northern plains of West Europe among various national capitalisms.

As early as May 1915 the Pan German circles, maintained and led by the German heavy industry, carried on a violent subterranean campaign for the annexation of the Minette stores in Lorraine and the coal of Belgium and North France.

"The security of the German realm in a future war"—thus runs the much discussed memorial issued by the six great economic federations—"imperatively demands the possession of the whole of the Minette ore beds, including the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun, without which this area cannot be held.

The possession of large quantities of coal, especially of such rich bituminous coal as occurs in large quantities in the coal basin of northern France, is at least equally as decisive as iron ore for the issue of the war."

We find this language clear enough, unequivocal, brutally candid. German imperialism has invariably been frank about its aims and about the reasons why it pursued them: It was desirous of uniting the iron of Lorraine with the coal of the Ruhr basin, of Belgium, and of North France, as this would convert it into the dominant power in Europe and in the whole world.

French imperialism, acts entirely different. Its tactics are deception, treachery, hypocrisy. Although it pursues the same plans of world domination as German imperialism, and does so with a like greed and energy, it never ventures openly to confess its secret endeavors, it has even the brazenness to deny them officially with the most incredible impudence.

2. Poincaré's annexation policy.

Ever since the armistice, French large capital has never for a moment ceased its efforts to establish a hegemony over Europe and the world, and has continued to set every mechanism in action which can possibly gain for it the possession of that Westphalian coal, which is simply indispensable for its blast furnaces and iron works, the sole real and actual basis of every imperialism founded on force and war.

It was solely for this reason that Field-Marshal Foch maintained with such obstinacy the thesis of the direct annexation of the Rhine by France. "Our troops must remain on the Rhine under all circumstances."

And for the same reason French imperialism, after England and America had struck this annexation weapon out of its hand, continued to fight with every means at its disposal to accomplish at least a temporary occupation of the Rhine country, and has utilized the pretext of its permanently threatened national security for this purpose. It cherishes the hope that during the period of occupation it will find it possible, by means of a variety of intrigues and manoeuvres, to gain direct or indirect possession of the coal of Westphalia: "The terms according to which the territory is to be evacuated in accordance with the treaty of Versailles, do not begin to apply till the day on which Germany has really fulfilled her obligations." (An utterance of Poincaré's.)

It is the same reason which has induced, and is still inducing, imperialist France to insist on Germany's paying reparations which have been unanimously declared, by all really sincere and impartial financial experts, far to exceed her actual paying capacity. Even the deputy Dariac had to admit this in his secret report to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies: "We cannot demand that Germany pay these gigantic sums for 35 years."

The same reason was at the bottom of the action taken by the French general Mangin, the sinister mass butcher, and executed the notorious coup d'état on the west bank of the Rhine, which was to have led to the establishment of a free Rhenish republic, independent of Germany. That this putsch turned out a miserable failure was entirely due to the energetic and indignant intervention of the American president, Wilson.

And again it was this same secret reason which caused the French chauvinists and 100 per cent patriots to reject, with truly Berserker rage, the offer made by the German workers organized in trade unions, to help rebuild the war-devastated districts as rapidly as possible.

And M. Poincaré, in his capacity of legal adviser to the French iron-works committee, is forced by this same concealed reason literally to exhaust himself in a convulsive search for fresh German shortcomings, by the help of which he may attempt to justify all possible and imaginable acts of violence against Germany to the outer world.

And the same reason was at the back of M. Dariac's action, when, in his capacity of chairman of the finance commission of the French Chamber of Deputies, he worked out—at Poincaré's orders—that notorious secret report on the Rhine country, which, after making the mouths of the great sharks of French heavy industry water by the recital of all the natural and industrial riches of Rhenish Westphalia, closed with the following characteristic conclusion: "Above all, there is one question which must never be raised again: We cannot think of giving up this pledge (that is, the three Ruhr ports, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort)."

For the same reason Dariac demands in his report that France should make a declaration, once and for all, that she will not withdraw her army from the Rhineland, and that she, as the creditor of a Germany which is loth to pay, will retain this province as a valuable pledge for the reparations. Dariac demands further that the Rhenish population be emancipated from the "Prussian fist", and from the fear of its return to power, in order that the population may gather courage to shake off the German "yoke", to separate the Rhineland from Germany, and to establish its own Free Rhenish Republic under the military protection of France and Belgium.

This same reason caused Poincaré's government, after its foreign policy had suffered a series of diplomatic defeats, to give a benevolent consideration, under the immediate pressure of the Comité des Forges, to the idea of utilizing the Ruhr area by means of a friendly understanding and co-operation between French and German heavy industry.

These same reasons then led to tedious and detailed separate negotiations between the French and German iron and coal barons. These negotiations had already made great progress, but in the end they were ship-wrecked on the reef of the proportion of profit to be accorded to the two contracting parties, as the Comité des Forges, actuated by purely imperialist motives, demanded an unqualified hegemony for French capital in the gigantic Franco-German mining trust to be formed, that is it demanded 60% of the joint stock capital whilst the Stinnes group was only prepared to bargain over the Ruhr proletariat if assured of equal profits.

Actuated again by the same reason, and with the intention of securing for French heavy industry a decisive influence in

the Franco-German mining trust, M. Poincaré contrived, with the aid of a thousand juristic tricks and artifices, to discover some fresh small "shortcomings", and thus to create a pretext for an armed invasion of the Ruhr area. The disastrous "results" of this military coup are sufficiently known to the whole world: The rapid disorganization of the extremely complicated and delicate economic system of this highly industrialized district, the almost complete paralysis of all railway and river traffic, the almost entire cessation of all consignments of coal and coke to France, the milliards of unproductive expenditure in both countries, growing unemployment in France and Germany, depreciation of the franc in France and simultaneous steady increase in cost of living, retention of the army class 1921 in service after the expiration of the legal term, premature calling up of the army class 1923, and, finally, the frightful over stimulation of nationalism and chauvinism in France and Germany alike, necessarily leading to every kind of bloody collision, such as the bloodbath among the workers of Krupp's works at Essen on Easter Saturday.

And these same imperialist reasons are the source of the persevering efforts made by Dr. Dorten, that contemptible object bought by the French secret funds and despised to the uttermost by everyone in the Rhineland, down to the last workman, who has any conception of honor—efforts which he continues, despite every failure, up to the present day, which aim at separating the Rhineland from Germany, and of creating a Rhenish buffer state subordinate to the Comité des Forges.

And despite the obvious collapse of Poincaré's Ruhr adventure, this same reason is still powerful enough to bring the hireling Dorten, this pitiful spy, this favorite child of all French sabre-rattlers and annexation politicians, back to Paris during the last few days, for the purpose of preparing secret coups d'état against the Rhineland in consultation with his paymasters.

Though these imperialist reasons are transparent enough, the French occupation generals clumsily masked with communist fighting slogans, repeatedly approached the revolutionary Ruhr workers, and suggested that they should occupy the works, etc., promising them active support from French bayonets. But the Communist Party has rejected with proper contempt this double-dyed hypocrisy, which is only intended to smooth the path for French imperialism finally to take possession of the Ruhr area.

And finally, these same criminal reasons have induced the whole French bourgeois press, now that it recognizes that the Ruhr adventure must inevitably end in failure, to begin a systematic campaign for the creation of a Rhenish buffer state, the express object of which is the securing of the economic and administrative dominance of the Comité des Forges in the Franco-German mining trust now being formed, despite all nationalist commotion on both sides of the Rhine.

3. The tasks of the international proletariat.

These are the real causes of the imperialist confusion which has kept the world breathless for nearly eight years, and shaken international economics to its foundations. These are, further, the true causes of the mass misery of the German proletariat, a proletariat literally collapsing under the force of an exploitation carried to extremes. These are the real causes of the growing deprivations of the French working population, and of the mighty danger of war once more obscuring the political sky.

For whatever may be the issue of the Ruhr adventure, which now appears to have entered a phase of abatement, in any case it will lead to further intensification of the exploitation and oppression of the Franco-German proletariat by united Franco-German capitalism, and, simultaneously, to the preparation of the ground for the inevitably pending and frightful armed conflict between imperialist France, mightily strengthened in power by the conquest of the Ruhr coal, and British imperialism, which cannot tolerate the hegemony of French militarism in Europe and the world if it is to maintain its own power.

And this new impending war will possess a character even more cruel, murderous, and destructive, than the frightful carnage of the peoples in the years 1914—18. It would signify nothing more nor less than the decay of European civilization and culture.

The international working class must face this situation cold-bloodedly and determinedly. It must set to work today to arm itself with every available weapon. It is the task and duty of the working class to destroy the capitalist system of exploitation which is the eternal source of the murder of the peoples, and to set up its own state and economic order, giving to the world the real peace it has so long desired, and assuring bread and a certain livelihood to everyone who will work.

Shop Stewards Conference of Ruhr Miners

A shop stewards congress for the mining and smelting industry was held in Essen on April 25th, for the purpose of consulting on the measures to be adopted, and imperatively necessary, in the interests of the proletariats of Germany and France. The militant spirit which dominated the congress was clearly expressed in the discussion, in which participated the representatives of all parties.

The resolutions passed were to the following effect:

1. The miners must determinedly fetch away the coal due to them as payment in kind, without begging permission from the officers. Coal Distribution Committees must be formed immediately at all collieries for carrying out this measure. The coal must be sold to all workers, employees, and officials, craftsmen, etc., at a price amounting at most to one and a half times the average hourly wage of the miner,—per hundred-weight.

2. No work under French bayonets. So long as even one representative of French or Belgian militarism is present in a colliery, the whole plant counts as occupied, and only absolutely necessary emergency work may be done. The demand made by German capitalists, that work be continued under bayonets, despite occupation, is to be strictly refused.

As the French military authorities prevent the transport of coal even from collieries not yet occupied, not a single fragment of coal must be raised so long as there is any probability of its falling into the hands of French militarism. It is synonymous with helping Poincaré to tip coal onto heaps which may shortly be seized by him.

The congress appointed a delegation which is commissioned to apply at once to the Miners' Union, to the Union of Hand and Brain Workers, to the Christian Miners' Union, and to the other mining organizations, as well as to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Germany, for the purpose of inducing all these organizations to join in the common struggle.

This delegation is also commissioned to obtain an audience with the German government, in order to demand the fulfilment of the above demands.

Impending Changes in Poland

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

In Poland it is no longer merely a crisis; it is the crash itself. The social patriotic press, which has hitherto spread the mantle of Christian charity over the thievishness and deceptions of the Agrarian Party politicians, has now launched a campaign of unmasking. This signifies that the "Socialists" have abandoned the hope of keeping their coalition brothers of the Agrarian Party on the track they would like to have them.

The proportion of parties in the present Sejm is such that there is practically a governing majority composed of the Centre and the Right. For the Polish Centre and Left parties have no majority in the Sejm without the support of the national minorities. And in consideration of the chauvinist, and especially the anti-semitic, prejudices which extend in Poland deep down into the social democratic party, a government which leans on the non-Polish Sejm fractions is impossible for any length of time. The National Democratic right has understood excellently how to manage, and has never ceased for a moment to terrorize the Vitos parties with such catchwords as "Jews government", "Jewish majority", "Jews' president" and the like.

This terror has been the more effective in that the majority of the Left and Centre is also unable to govern without national suppression. The land-greedy Vitos party (the Right Agrarian Party) has to carry on a colonization policy in the White Russian and Ukrainian border districts, in order to find room in the East for the surplus peasant population. The agitation against the Germans is indispensable, if only for political reasons, and anti-Semitism—well, even the social patriots fighting against the revolutionary movement cannot altogether do without that. And as this majority will have to pursue a nationalist policy, willy nilly, it has no firm prop in the national minorities, and is kept in constant alarm lest these desert it at a decisive moment.

For this reason the Sikorski government is forced to seek an extension towards the Right. Sikorski's last speech in Posen, in which he, the one-time vassal of Germany, now turned on Germany with drawn sword, and demanded a ruthless policy of extermination against everything German, was perhaps no more than a competitive trick opposed to the wild nationalist Right (at least the German press in Poland consoles itself with this idea), but at the same time it was an attempt to curry favor with the Right. And it remains to be seen if Sikorski

will really refuse the honor of remaining, even in a semi-Fascist cabinet, at least as minister of war.

With regard to the political business men of the Vitos Club, these would be pleased to enrich themselves under any government whatever. They have as little objection to a Fascist cabinet as to a socialist one—all they want is to retain their portfolios and their fat earnings. As to the land reforms which brought them the enmity of the capitalist and junker Right at one time, these no longer form any insuperable obstacle. The Vitos Party has bought up as much land as it could. And the Right is willingly agreed to a further "sensible" division of land. The landless or land-poor peasant masses are by no means as hungry for land as they were 4 years ago, for the restoration of industry has permitted the surplus country population to find an outlet in the cities. The colonization of the East also remains as a safety valve, and finally, emigration to America, France, etc. has again become possible.

But the Vitos Party, to its regret, is obliged to have some regard for its constituent masses. And though these masses violently resist a "Jewish majority", they are none the less vehemently opposed to any co-operation with the Junkers. The Vitos Party must present its peasant masses with very considerable conquests, if it is not to lose their favor. But the Junkers are no complaisant parties to contract with. Their fraction (the Christian National Club) replied to the demand made upon them by the Vitos Party, to put 400,000 acres of land at their disposal annually for dividing up into holdings, by granting 120,000 acres. Vitos, with the pride of a Lucifer, broke off all negotiations—but of course only for a few days.

Thus the latent government crisis has been heaving and sinking for a month. Mr. Vitos, with the craftiness of the peasant, takes his time; but in the end he will have to admit that it is absolutely impossible to get any further with the aid of a government dependent on the national minorities.

It is alleged that the crisis is still dragging on because—the generals Foch and Lerond are presently expected to visit Warsaw. The national democrats still consider that it will make a more respectable impression if these great visitors are received by General Sikorski than by the worthy Vitos, who is still going about without a neck-tie, in greased top-boots, and who does not understand a word of French. But after the Frenchmen are gone, everybody will draw a breath of relief, and the game can start quite differently.

The Polish Socialist Party laments in its press, and casts its "jaccuse" before Vitos who bargains with the Fascisti for the sale of the Polish republic. These lamentations will be the first and the last weapons raised by the social patriots against Fascism. The real fight against the complete throttling of the proletarian movement in Poland will of course continue to be the task of the communists only.

Political Crisis in Italy

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

The Italian National Party was founded in 1919. It was the first official party of the Italian Catholics, and until the end of 1921 it was the only real fighting organization of the Italian bourgeoisie against the Socialist Party. True to the traditional tactics of Italian reaction, the party sought to organize the great masses of backward and superstitious peasantry, and to oppose these to the revolutionary industrial proletariat. When Fascism gradually developed as an open reactionary movement for the defence of capitalism, when it commenced its violent offensive against the red enemy, the Catholic Party became its natural ally. Besides their political party, the Catholics have also created an excellent trade union organization, known as the *General Labor Federation*. The power of the Catholic Party grew as that of the socialist party diminished. Every time the Fascisti set a labor exchange on fire, and the red socialist forces were again weakened, the strength of the whites (Catholics) increased correspondingly, and every victory won by the National Party was a simultaneous victory for Fascism.

But as soon as Fascism was organized in a party of its own, and resolved to found its own trade union movement, then the alliance between the Fascisti and the National Party, hitherto a perfectly natural union, became artificial and difficult to maintain. It was now solely the leaders of the National Party, whose interest was devoted almost exclusively to the parliamentary struggles, who set much value on an understanding with the Fascisti. The socialists had 126 deputies in Parliament, the National Party 102. But the mass of small holders belonging to the party and to the Catholic Trade Unions shared the tragic fate of the socialist working masses, beneath the anti-proletarian pressure of the Fascist bands, and were speedily obliged to choose between submission to Fascism and open violent struggle against it. The great mass of the members of the National Party

would have doubtless decided in favor of fighting, had their leaders not prevented them. The leaders preferred to submit to Fascism, not only in their own personal interests, but also in the interest of the great Catholic bank, the *Bank of Rome*. Thus the peculiar situation was developed under which the National Party has carried on its existence in the course of the past year. In the country the masses of the National Party joined the parties of the Left in the struggle against Fascism, but in Rome the deputies of the National Party took every opportunity to save the pro-Fascist government. The local organizations voted against any election agreement with Fascisti, but the party leadership forced them into a marriage entirely against their will, as for instance at the municipal elections in Milan. The parliamentary fraction of the National Party has supported Mussolini's government from the very beginning. But the party organizations in the country have demanded that the party enter the opposition. There is no doubt but that the will of the masses would have long since been victorious, had it not been that *Don Sturzo*, the secretary of the party, a petty cleric who has played shieldbearer to all Italian ministers from 1920—1922, preferred to wait before coming to any final decision against the triumph of Fascism.

The religious policy of the Fascist ministry finally induced Don Sturzo to take the decisive step, and the National Party passed into the ranks of the opposition. This may appear strange, for Mussolini made the greatest concessions to the Catholic Church in religious matters. But the object of all these concessions was merely to prove that the existence of a political Catholic Party in Italy was completely superfluous, as the Christian views of the Fascist movement assured the realization of everything which such a Catholic party could strive for. It is thus comprehensible that the National Party turned against a Fascism which was aiming at its annihilation. In this moment the opposition between the leaders and the masses of the National Party disappeared. *Don Sturzo* became the embodiment of the new unity in the party.

The congress of the National Party, lately held in Turin, signified the union of the party under its old leaders on the basis of an essentially anti-Fascist program. The right wing of the party, which took sides with Mussolini, was defeated in the discussion—despite the support lent it by the government. The left wing was also apparently defeated; it had demanded the withdrawal of the ministers belonging to the National Party from the government, and an open struggle against Mussolini's government. In reality the victorious Centre is permeated with the same bitter hatred of Fascism, with the only difference that the left wing was anxious to reveal this openly at once, while the centre was in favor of a gradual development along the same line, under the skilful guidance of Don Sturzo. The Turin party conference stood for the support of the Fascist government with certain reservations; on the condition that the "revolution" of last November be adapted to the program and ideals of the National Party. The congress emphasized the justification of the existence of the National Party, in contradistinction to the amalgamating intentions of the Fascisti. The congress prevented the deputy Pestalozzi from speaking further after he had said that: "Mussolini is the man sent by Providence!" The congress commissioned the National Party to defend to the utmost the proportional representation whose abolition is threatened by the resolution passed by the Great Council of the Fascisti. This party conference was the first political defeat suffered by Fascism.

The *Popolo d'Italia*, Mussolini's organ, designates the speech held by Don Sturzo at the party conference as the speech of an enemy. And the news agency *Volta*, the mouthpiece of the government, opines that in the future the National Party must be regarded as an anti-national organization, and must be treated with fire and sword like all other anti-national groups. Fascism has thus begun to fight against two fronts at once, against the free-masons and against the Catholics. This is an extraordinary waste of strength, and a sign of political shakiness.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The 12th Party Conference of the Russian CP. and the Foreign Political Situation

By Non-diplomatist (Moscow).

The whole of the foreign press is once more filled with rumours on changes in the relations between the Entente powers and Soviet Russia. The sources of these rumours are Warsaw on the one hand, London on the other.

The Polish land-owners and the capitalists require the commotion of a war to conceal the bargaining going on behind the scenes in the Sejm, among the parties of the land-owners, the capitalists, and the big farmers, at the expense of the poor peasantry. They require a "foreign danger" upon which they can rely when they seek a pretext for the military skirmishing now being initiated by the Polish government at the behest of France. They are preparing for the possibility that French imperialism may order them to attack Germany, an event which, in the opinion of Polish military circles, might also lead to complications on the Eastern frontier.

With this object in view, the landowners drag the corpse of the prelate Butkiewitz through all the streets of Poland—with the idea that the priestly cowl is the most popular ensign among the peasantry. The wildest rumours about Soviet Russia are being spread from Warsaw. It suffices to mention that in the course of one day, the following reports on the situation in Russia were telegraphed from Warsaw to the foreign press: In Russia, great conspiracies are going on. Practically the whole of the military staff of the republic has been arrested; Trotzky is in a dying condition; Chicherin as well; a fight is going on in the Kremlin between the different fractions of the communists.

All this, of course, is nonsense, and there is not a single foreign government which believes it for a moment, as there are more than 10 foreign missions in Moscow, who keep their governments informed as to the absurdity of these inventions. But the *English government* needs all this nonsense. Its prestige has been seriously damaged by the failure of its attempted intervention in the trial of the Roman Catholic prelates, and even more damaged by the sharpness of the reply sent by the Soviet government rejecting all interference. Bonar Law's government, which pursues a foreign policy arousing the greatest dissatisfaction in wide circles of English society (this policy has been dubbed by the old liberal leader Asquith as a policy of "well-meaning impotence"), seeks to exercise pressure on the Soviet government by means of threats, and by means of spreading all these idiotic rumours. It is not the fault of the Soviet government that the English government, which—in defiance of English law—delivered the Irish revolutionists over to the vengeance of their political enemies in Ireland, is now attacked with a fit of virtue finding its special expression in feelings of humanity towards the instigators of civil war in Russia. The sharp reply of the Soviet government was provoked. There is not a single country which would permit another country to interfere in matters which concern only the courts of justice of the country, in accordance with the laws of the land. But when the Soviet government replied to the English in a tone worthy of its dignity, it did not wish to stir up strife, it did not seek less friendly relations with England. And with regard to the threats, the best answer to these is the 12th Party Conference of the Russian C.P., with its resolutions on foreign policy.

The Belgian Cardinal Mercier recently wrote an article which is nothing more nor less than an appeal to all "civilized" countries to organize a crusade against Soviet Russia. Cardinal Mercier is a highly venerable old gentleman, but he has obviously been asleep for some years. These crusades in the name of Christianity, of civilization, of the liberation of women from nationalization, in the name of the export of Archangel wood, Kubanian bread, and Baku naphtha, are now things of the past. They came to an end most lamentably for the worthy crusaders who embarked upon them. And when Cardinal Mercier threatens a new crusade, he merely supplies us with fresh material for laughter. This does not mean that we feel ourselves once and for all secure, against such crusades. Russia is an attractive tit-bit. And should international capitalism succeed in healing its own wounds, and in creating a united capitalist front, it would in all probability attempt a new crusade. But the capitalist world cannot think of crusades against Soviet Russia during the immediate future. It has to be thankful if it can steer its way past the danger of a fresh world war, between the capitalist pirates. It is quite possible that the Entente will send out its vassals against us. But the consequences will be disastrous to themselves only; they will not find us unprepared.

The 12th Party Conference of the Communist Party was so little disturbed by the war-cries of the London Stock Exchange, and of the Polish parsons that it did not deem them worthy of a reply. On the contrary, the conference reminded the capitalist powers of the questions actually on the agenda at present. These are questions respecting the basis upon which it is possible for Soviet Russia and the capitalist powers to come to an agreement, respecting the *modus vivendi* between the first proletarian power and the rest of the world still beneath the yoke of capital.

At the Party Conference, all differences of opinion prevailing in various circles of the Soviet republic on these questions were brought clearly forward. The Party is so powerful, the republic so strong that these can allow themselves the luxury of discussing questions of foreign political tactics openly before the whole world,—questions which are settled behind the scenes of governmental cliques in "democratic" capitalist countries.

Before an audience of fifteen hundred, and in the presence of representatives of the Party press of the whole country, the people's commissary for foreign trade, comrade Krassin, delivered the speech in which he showed that the rapid reconstruction of our industry demands that we make considerable concessions to foreign powers. It goes without saying that comrade Krassin, in speaking of these necessary concessions, emphasized at the same time with the greatest decision that these concessions must not go so far as to convert the country into a colony, or in any way to detract from the sovereignty of the Soviet government. But the essential point of comrade Krassin's exposition was his accentuation of the urgent necessity of an agreement.

Comrade Krassin was replied to clearly and precisely by several speakers: Yes, Soviet Russia needs foreign credits. Without foreign credits she must content herself with a *slow* reconstruction based on the means supplied by the country itself, means which can develop but slowly. The Soviet government must be prepared to make concessions. And that it is prepared to do so, it declared both at Genoa and at the Hague. But on these occasions Soviet Russia not only declared her readiness to make concessions, but simultaneously laid down the conditions on which she is prepared to make the concessions. The essence of these conditions was that the capitalists help us to accelerate the reconstruction of our country. We have no intention of putting even the slightest burden on our country for the sake of a recognition *de jure* and similar formal concessions. In return for our concessions we demand credits, credits which will really enable us to reconstruct our economy within a shorter term than we can do with the means at our own disposal. Should the allied governments reply to this by saying: "in this respect we can do nothing, for governments do not dispose of credits", then the Soviet government can only reply: "if you will give nothing, then we too will give nothing."

The Party Conference did not paint the situation in more rosy colors than the reality justifies. The thousands of communists who assembled from every part of the country are fully aware that Russia is still in a difficult position. But they also know that the position of the country will not be improved merely by hanging the medal of West European *de jure* recognition upon Soviet Russia's sheepskin mantle, if we have to pay for the medal. And at the same time they know that our difficult position is beginning to improve, and that Soviet Russia, though she can only begin to reconstruct her economy at the cost of great exertions, is none the less in a position to withhold the granting of concessions until her opponents are ready to grant some too. The Party Conference unanimously approved of the attitude thus taken by the central committee. The Party Conference approved the declaration of comrade Zinoviev, that: "The longer the capitalist powers postpone coming to an agreement, the fewer will be our concessions." This decision of the Party Conference is of supreme international significance. It is the expression of the firm conviction of the Communist Party, the leader of Soviet Russia, that the hardest times are past, that Soviet Russia confidently faces the course of historical events, that no reason exists for her to fear the threats of the capitalist lords of Europe.

This united and steadfast resolution, passed by the Party Conference at a moment when the whole world is being incited against Soviet Russia, may serve as a useful lesson to the governments of Western Europe. If they cannot recognize the fact that these warnings are to be taken seriously, so much the worse for them.

The Russian Church unfrocks Tikhon

By D. Ivon Jones (Moscow).

Just at the time when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the capitalists are raising a fury about the persecution of the Church in Russia, the All-Russian Synod of the Russian Church meets and declares that Tikhon is no longer Patriarch, derobes him of his priestly cassock for allying the church with counter-revolution, and says that he shall henceforth be known as plain "Mr. Belavina".

The Synod further declares the office of Patriarch abolished, as a relic of Tsardom.

Just as the Protestants of England sought salvation from

defeat by seeking to reconcile "religion and science", so the All Russian Synod declares the task of the church to be the "reconciliation of religion with revolution, preserving the dogmas of the orthodox Russian Church, and at the same time sincerely accepting the great Russian revolution with its world consequences."

What about religious persecution in Soviet Russia? Here is the Synod's declaration:

"According to the Soviet Constitution, freedom of thought in religion is the right of all citizens. The decree on the separation of church and state guarantees this right. Freedom for religious propaganda (side by side with the right to propagate anti-religious ideas), gives a possibility to believers to defend their religious convictions. For that reason it is not possible for the church to regard the Soviet Power as anti-Christian; on the contrary, the Synod draws attention to the fact that the Soviet Power, by its methods, is the only State power in the world which is able to realize on earth the ideal rule of God."

The Synod was attended by 350 delegates and in its varied composition reflected the enormous change that has come over the Russian Church, precisely because of the freedom of religious discussion. Under the Tsar there was no such thing as freedom of religious thought. Now the church is moving away from orthodoxy; in fact there is far more freedom of discussion now than would please the Archbishop of Canterbury;—he will soon be excommunicating the Russian Church for heresy.

The Church is dividing into various groups of thought. Of the 350 delegates composing the Synod, there were 150 from the group which calls itself the "Living Church", and about an equal number from the "Union of Communities of the Early Apostolic Church"; six representing the group "Resurrection", of which the Metropolitan Antonin, honorary president of the Synod, is a member. The question now is: can the old bottles hold the new wine?

The Synod traced the history of Tikhon's counter-revolutionary activities for the past five years. It accuses him of deceiving the faithful in the interests of the White Guards. "Tikhon is not the leader of the church, but a leader of the counter-revolution" says the resolution. "The Patriarchate was established for counter-revolutionary purposes. The primitive church had no Patriarch, but administered the church by Synods. It is therefore abolished". And so the Pope is a thing of the past.

"Patriarch Tikhon committed a crime against the Russian church in making the church an ally of the counter-revolutionary tribunal. At this moment the Russian Church must declare before the Revolutionary Tribunal on which side it is: in the dock with Tikhon—or with the prosecution on the seat of judgment. We say—on the seat of judgment."

—So says the group "Resurrection" in its meeting held before the Synod.

And what is the attitude of the Synod towards the proletarian revolution? Here is the resolution. What does "my lord of Canterbury" say to it?

"The All Russian delegated Synod bears witness before the whole church and humanity, that the world is divided into two classes: capitalist exploiters and the proletariat, on whose blood the capitalist world builds its well being. In all the world only the Soviet Power of Russia has entered upon a struggle with this great social evil. Christians cannot be indifferent in this struggle. The Synod denounces capitalism as a deadly evil and the struggle against it is a holy duty for Christians. In the Soviet Power the Synod perceives a world leader for fraternity, equality and peace among the nations. The Synod denounces, with all its religious and moral authority, the international and national counter-revolution.

The Synod calls upon every true Christian citizen of Russia to a united front under the leadership of the Soviet Government, to enter into the struggle against the world evil of social injustice."

Bishop Blake, representing the American Methodist Episcopal Church, was a specially invited guest at the Synod and greeted it in language that would make Rockefeller strike him off his subscription list.

Does all this mean that the attacks of the Communists upon religious superstition are going to cease? The *Pravda* points out that the church, like other social groups, is arranging itself on the side of the proletariat, in order to preserve its existence. In the arena of full freedom of religious discussion the sale of the "anti-religious" papers of the Party is being pushed with greater vigor than ever. The Church has capitulated to the Revolution. The proletarian revolution has forced it to declare for some of the early ideas of social justice for which the Christian Church was supposed to be founded. It has followed; it has not led.

The *Pravda* concludes an article on the "Regrouping of Social Forces" thus:

"It goes without saying our Party will not give its blessing to religion, even when the church tries to bless the Party. But the inevitable conflict is carried up into a higher plane and changes its form. For with us there is a fundamentally new social equilibrium, under the direction and hegemony of the victorious proletariat."

The fury in England at the execution of a counter-revolutionary priest, has left Russia quite cold. Trotzky in a speech on the 5th of May said, that the Capitalists have seized this incident to give vent to their chagrin at the cardinal fact of the present situation in Russia: which is, that Lenin and the Communist Party have definitely shunted the Soviet locomotive away from capitalism, and are driving it straight ahead towards socialism. That is why they are frothing about the priests.

Opening of the All-Russian Exhibition

We especially request the Party press to reprint this article. Ed.

On the 15th of August of this year an event will take place in Moscow which is of the greatest importance for Soviet Russia: The opening of the All-Russian Exhibition for agriculture and home industry (with a foreign department). New Russia will display everything its economy has created or developed under the new social order.

The exhibition is being organized on the suggestion of the IX. Soviet Congress, and pursues far-reaching aims. Its enormous importance for the future economic development of Russia consists in its cultural and enlightening role. It will have to bring the worker nearer to the peasant, and to show both parties of what great mutual help they can be to one another. The cause of the low level of agriculture under Tzarism was, to a large extent, the loose relations between town and country. Russian agronomy made progress only within the walls of the city. The laboratory of the savant remained closed to the peasant. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, has broken fundamentally with this system, and regards as the only pre-requisite for the economic strengthening of the country the close contact between town industry and agriculture, in the application of the advances made by science to actual farming practice. However, the exhibition will by no means be an agricultural one exclusively. It will display every branch of non-city industry in the country, and its natural treasures. Every province of the republic will exhibit the products of its raw materials and its local production, whether it be from Turkestan (cotton), from the vineyards of the South or from the forests of the North (furs). The visitor to the exhibition will be able to acquaint himself with all the innumerable natural treasures of Russia, systematized in scientific order. Every branch and description of Russian economy will be graphically displayed by the aid of a tremendous number of objects from every part of Russia: Tillage, work in flax and hemp, cultivation of vegetables, cattle rearing, vintage, silk worm breeding, etc., besides every branch of the multifarious home industry, from Bucharra carpets to articles of Karelian birch.

The Exhibition Committee is at present chiefly occupied with the erection of the exhibition buildings, with obtaining building materials and collecting the objects to be exhibited. The exhibition grounds are situated on the bank of the *Moskva*, from where a magnificent view is to be obtained of the *Kreml* and the whole city.

The exhibition—this general review of the whole of Russian economics—is not alone of extreme importance for the economic development of Russia, it is at the same time exceedingly important for the resumption of commercial relations between the Workers' and Peasants' Republic and the outer world. Extensive arrangements are being made for a *Foreign Department* on a large scale, so that western industrial undertakings which are desirous of resuming trade with Russia will have the opportunity of exhibiting their samples, if these are likely to be useful to Russian agriculture. They will also be enabled to acquaint themselves with those Russian raw materials which are intended for export. Commercial agreements will be concluded directly in the trade and export department of the exhibition. The foreign exhibitors—citizens of those states which have resumed diplomatic and commercial relations with Russia—will enjoy a number of privileges and advantages. Many firms and undertakings have already expressed to the Foreign Department of the exhibition their desire to take part in the exhibition. The representatives of the commercial world of the West will doubtless arrive at the conviction that Russia has already won the first victory in the battle against economic decay.

Russian workers and peasants aid political prisoners

A general meeting of the workers of the wagon workshops of *Tampov* passed the following resolution: "The plenary meeting resolves to enter 10 of the revolutionists incarcerated by the bourgeoisie as employees and foremen of the wagon workshops of *Tampov*, for the period: April 1, 1923—January 1, 1924. The work of the 10 imprisoned comrades entered on the wage list is to be performed by the workers assembled at the meeting, and is to be carried out on properly regulated lines. The wages are to be paid over to the Central Committee of the International Red Relief, by the factory management, for the support of the political prisoners."

The workers of the Ivanovo-Vosnessensk province have remitted 3350 gold roubles to the Central Committee of the IRR for the West European political prisoners.

The workers and peasants of the Kursk province have sent a box with gold and silver articles collected in the first collection made among the non-partisan workers and peasants for the support of political prisoners. Among the articles collected there are 21 gold rings, 2 gold watches, 20 gold roubles, 12 silver watches, 11 silver cigar cases, three roubles in silver coins, 6 silver crosses, 5 gold crosses, 46 coins and medals in gold and silver, 20 silver rings, 11 silver spoons, 6 silver watch chains, 3 bracelets, etc.

Besides this, 125,793 new roubles were handed over in cash, as a result of the first collection.

E. C. C. I.

Session of the Enlarged Executive

In consequence of the serious international situation the EC. of the CI has postponed the opening of the Enlarged Executive Session until the 10th of June. The agenda is as follows:

1. Report of the presidium;
2. Occupation of the Ruhr area and the question entailed by this;
3. The further practical carrying out of the united front campaign;
4. The struggle against Fascism;
5. Trade union problems and the questions of the shop steward movement;
6. Discussion with the Scandinavian comrades on the limits of centralism in the CI;
7. The amalgamation of the 2. and 2½. Internationals;
8. The state of the labor movement in England;
9. Preparations for the work on the program of the CI;
10. Suggestions of the sections.

The Amalgamation of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals

The capitalist offensive is continuing. The bourgeoisie is exerting all efforts and mobilizing all its forces to strike a decisive blow against the working class. The reformists, too, are not lagging behind. They, too, are sounding the "assembly". The remnants of the Second International and the patchwork Second and a Half International are preparing to amalgamate, and the coalition extending from Adler to Noske is about to be established. There are still incredulous people who, even after the convening of the Unity Conference, still doubted the possibility for there being room in the same organization for the man who shot Count Stürgkh in order to revolutionize the proletariat and for the men who have shed rivers of working class blood in order to drive all desire of revolution out of the working class. Even the members of the Two and a Half International stand amazed at the forthcoming reconciliation. Its most prominent organ, the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" commenting on this, says: "It seems to us also that to co-operate with certain individuals in these Parties (whose activities from the point of view of socialist principle, both during and after the war, left much to be desired) is asking too much." To those who have considered this matter seriously, the Hamburg Congress will not come as a surprise. It will have been expected for long. Even from the point of view of its founders, the Two and a Half International was merely a temporary asylum for the politically homeless pseudo-revolutionaries and therefore the political history of this organization could be no other than the history of its steady relapse into reformism. More than that, the relapse commenced right from its very formation. Even during the war, the Centrist Parties revealed their ambiguous character. It could not be otherwise. The attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable, to be international and national, proletarian and bour-

geois, doomed these Centrist Parties before-hand to impotence, and robbed them of their resolution, their powers of reasoning and courage. Thus, immediately after their break with the reformists, their indecision expressed their longing to be back in the Second International. This was only natural. What destroyed the friendship between the Marxist Centre and the Right? In the last resort it was the antagonism between the aristocracy of labor and the rest of the proletariat. For the reformists, only the more favourably placed workers existed; their aim was to make secure and improve the conditions of this class even at the expense of the poorer section of the working class. They unhesitatingly staked the future of the whole working class in order to serve the immediate interests of a privileged group of workers. This policy, even prior to the war, roused antagonisms. During the war, these antagonisms became more intensified, and the reformists became more definitely social-patriotic and nationalist, i.e., bourgeois, as the poverty of the masses increased. This led to the splitting up of the old organizations. When this split took place, it was not only the revolutionaries who broke away, but also those who imagined themselves to be revolutionary; and these immediately, consciously or unconsciously, became the agents of the reformists in the revolutionary camp.

When the twenty-one conditions destroyed all hopes of finding a refuge in the Third International, and the anticipation that Communism would be diverted towards reformism had proved an illusion, this element flocked into the Two and a Half International. But the re-amalgamation with the avowed reformists was regarded as inexpedient for the moment; for the blood was still flowing from the wounds that Noske had inflicted upon the proletariat. The temper of the masses was running too high to enable the reformist coalition ministers to masquerade as socialists and leaders in the class struggle. For the time being therefore the Two and a Half International scowled upon the Second International. The Manifesto of the Berne Preliminary Conference (December 1920) states: "The so-called Second International is incapable of absorbing the vital force of the class conscious proletariat, and is only a disturbing element in the proletarian class struggle. The only thing remaining therefore is to form an International of revolutionary socialist parties." The manifesto then plunges into a bitter controversy with the Third International. The Two and a Half International played this game for quite a while. The protests against the "Moscow Dictatorship", are sharply expressed, while extenuating circumstances are discovered for the sins of the reformists. Both the Second and Third Internationals are in the wrong, but we pronounce the Second International to be right,—was the logic of the Two and a Half International. It behaved in a much more grotesque fashion after the collapse of the Commission of Nine set up by the Berlin Conference of the three Internationals. "The responsibility for the fact that an international congress cannot be called, falls upon the Second International", it then stated, but immediately added: "The Communists are disrupting the Commission of Nine" After thus thrusting the blame for the failure to call a Congress of all the working class parties upon the Third International, no real obstacles existed any longer for the merging of the Second and the Two and a Half Internationals. The danger that socialist principles would have to be discussed at the Socialist Unity Congress, was happily avoided. However, for the tactical considerations already mentioned, another year was allowed to pass by. Now the Two and a Half International is returning home, and the Second International will give it a triumphant welcome in Hamburg. The touching biblical idyll of the return of the prodigal son will be presented on the stage of world history. But the gentlemen of the two Internationals are very much mistaken if they imagine that the proletariat will be willing to act the part of the fatted calf.

What does the merging of the two reformist Internationals signify? In the first place it signifies the liquidation of pseudo-radicalism. The only difference between the reformists and the centrists lies in their appraisal of revolutionary ideology. The reformists believe that they can utterly renounce revolutionary childishness while the alleged Marxists of the Centre would retain the socialistic beliefs in the proletariat pretty much in the same manner as the free-thinking bourgeoisie would retain religion for the benefit of the masses. The revolutionary inclined workers were to be allowed to believe in their emancipation, which the Centre was as ready to deny as the reformists. The Centrists regarded it all the more necessary to continue this policy in view of the fact that the dislocation of world industry as a consequence of the war, the victory of the Russian Revolution and the opening capitalist offensive threatened to rouse the proletariat to revolutionary action. Now they think the danger has passed. They think that capitalism has so far recovered that a revolutionary rising of the masses is hopeless, and that a revolutionary policy is no longer necessary. But

the policy of revolutionary phrases appears not only to be superfluous but impossible. The contradiction between the reformist practice and the revolutionary phraseology of the Two and a Half International, between the actual deeds and the ridiculous phantasies which they would palm off on the working class as Marxian theories, have become so palpable that the radical gestures that stand for reformist deeds no longer work. The masquerade has no longer any purpose; the masks are removed. The theoreticians of the Centre openly avow themselves as reformists. Kautsky has made a beginning. Otto Bauer whom the Austrian communists at one time dubbed the Master of Ceremonies of Reformism, follows suit. Hitherto he has maintained a Marxian pose, but recently he has found strong Marxist justification for the wildest reformist excesses. Now he has earned the title of the Marxian Hocus-Pocus. In an essay written on the occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, he makes a reformist confession of faith. Marx's method, he writes, outstrips Marx's theses; Marx overcomes Marx. Although this is false, it is nevertheless true that the pseudo-Marxists are outstripping themselves and reducing themselves to absurdity. In Hamburg, avowed and unabashed reformists will meet.

What is the future of the Hamburg International? The reformist united front will not only extend from Adler to Noske, but far into the camp of the bourgeoisie. It will be a proletarian-bourgeois united front, and this says all that need be said. The moment a Labor Party takes up the attitude that the interests of the workers of one country are more closely bound up with the bourgeoisie of that country than with the interests of the workers of another country—which is in fact the attitude taken up by the reformists—it deprives the proletariat that follows it of the possibility of having its own movement, and robs it of historical independence. The workers will become a political appendage to the bourgeoisie; an inconvenient, irksome and troublesome appendage, but an appendage for all that. The actions of the Labor movement will become dependent upon the movements of the bourgeoisie. A bourgeois-proletarian united front is also a nationalist united front. This means that the reformists in the various countries will be able to play at proletarian internationalism only so long as the bourgeoisie of these particular countries maintain some kind of intercourse with each other. The Second International experienced this in spite of the fact that it existed in peacetime. It was not a fighting organization, it was not an association for action but a debating club, and yet the first shot in the war finished it. How then is it possible for such a reformist international to exist at a time when war has become the normal state of affairs, when the bourgeoisie of the various countries are preparing at any moment to rush upon each other and to plunge the world into a fresh war? Does not the occupation of the Ruhr indicate what prospects the reformist International has? It convened a Conference of German and French socialists, at which the French socialists urged upon the Germans the need for meeting the requirements of victorious French imperialism, and on the other hand the German socialists pleaded with the French on behalf of the poor weak German capitalists. An International composed of such elements is dead before it has begun to live. We communists have split the parties led by treacherous social democrats in order to unite the proletariat; in Hamburg the reformists will unite in order once again to split the proletariat.

And yet the Hamburg Congress marks an advance. It will clear the air. The Centre is dissolved; pseudo-radicalism is removed. The proletariat is gathering in two large camps. The chasm that divides revolution and reformism, which appeared to have been bridged by the reformists, is now seen by all. It is now a question of: on which side? In this the most favorable conditions have been created for the fight for the proletarian united front. The workers will now realize that the Centrists, who for so long have played the game of revolution, are out-and-out reformists. They will realize that the reformists have become the lackeys of capitalism in order to secure a few miserable crumbs for a small section of the working class. Moreover, they are doing this precisely at the moment when economic development renders it less and less possible to maintain a labor aristocracy. The pseudo-radicalism of the Centre was the fig-leaf that covered the nakedness of capitalism before the working class. Now it stands forth in all its horror, and must arouse revulsion in those who hitherto believed the fairy tale of the peaceful co-operation of classes. Indignation against the policy of the reformists, whether concealed behind revolutionary phrases or not, has during the last few years, driven many workers out of the social-democratic parties. Not all of them, however, found their way to the revolutionary camp. They regarded Communism as a sort of exaggerated centrism, as the acme of confusion and incapacity. Now, however, such self-deception has become impossible, and it will be easier than hitherto to prevent

the workers, weary of social-democratic policy, from lapsing into indifference, and to lead them towards the revolution. It will be easier to do this, also, because Soviet Russia is about to snatch out of the hands of the reformists the last weapon against the revolution. When to-day, the social-democratic leaders, even during the smallest strike which they are endeavouring to strangle, find themselves hard pressed, their press undertakes a divertive offensive by opening an attack on Soviet Russia. The more impatient the workers become with the labor leaders, the longer and more numerous become the articles on Bolshevik atrocities. Soviet Russia is the bogey with which the social-democrats try to scare the workers away from the revolution. But this game is becoming played out. The truth about Soviet Russia is becoming known. It is becoming known that Bolshevism which has defeated its external enemies, is also mastering its internal difficulties, great as they are. This deprives the social-democrats of their last argument against the revolution. The proletarian forces striving for the fight, are breaking their last chains. The United Front of the revolutionary proletariat is being formed.

Class-conscious Workers! Remember the great achievements of your Russian brothers! Remember the great sacrifices they have willingly made and will make again! Renew your efforts!

Down with the capitalist-reformist united front!

Up with the revolutionary-proletarian United Front!

Down with the futile efforts to revive the corpse of the

Second International!

Long Live the Revolutionary Communist International!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

ECONOMICS

Survey of the World-Economic Situation in the 1st Quarter of 1923

III. England and the possibilities of intermediation

"Happily there are but few cases in history in which the destinies of the world have got into such a hopeless *cul de sac* as we have experienced in the last few weeks."

The *Economist* of March 17, thus characterizes the perplexity of English politicians. Asquith followed exactly the same train of thought when he spoke in the House of Commons of the "well meaning impotence" of English politics. To us it seems as if the English "wait and see" policy is the sole possible one for England at the present juncture. Moreover, that English policy is by no means as passive as it would appear.

The present English policy in the reparations question is the consistent continuation of Lloyd George's policy. France's hope that a change in the English government would be accompanied by a change in her policy with regard to the reparations question has proved unfounded. The opinion has indeed been expressed that England's policy has changed in so far as Lloyd George was mainly supported by the large industrial bourgeoisie, while Bonar Law has closer relations with the financial capitalists and holders of government bonds, that is, with those strata most interested in bringing the dollar back to par. However, even if such a difference in policy does exist, we hold it to be unimportant with regard to England's attitude in the reparations question. England's present policy does not differ in any essential feature from that pursued by Lloyd George.

England's position has been strengthened by two facts during the period covered by this report: 1. By the agreement reached with America on the debt question, which has been settled in a manner financially very favorable to England, and has simultaneously removed a serious stumbling block in the way of Anglo-American friendship. 2. The fact that the English fiscal year just concluded has closed with a surplus of 102 million pounds, despite payments already made on the American debt. Under these circumstances the English reparations policy can make itself fairly independent of budget considerations; as we already pointed out, should the improbable occur, and Germany prove capable of paying 3 milliards gold marks, England would only receive 22%, about 33 million pounds yearly. This is only about 1/3 of this year's budget surplus, and about 3 to 4% of England's total expenditure. These are figures which play no decisive rôle in English state finance or for the English taxpayer.

On the other hand England's position is rendered more difficult by the increasing obviousness of France's military supremacy. In this regard the great debate on air armaments, held in the English Parliament on the 20th and 21st of March is characteristic. The statements made by the secretary of

for the air service show England to be in possession of 371 first class military aeroplanes at the present time, while France has 1260. Should the present building program be maintained, then, by the year 1925 the proportion will be: 575 : 2180. Lord Birkenhead—formerly held to be Francophile—declared that: "he did not understand how a nation owing such gigantic sums to England could undertake these extensive armaments at a moment when there was not the slightest prospect of one penny of this debt being paid, either now or in the near future." The secretary for the air service declared the situation to be rendered more difficult by the circumstance that three quarters of the collective French air fleet is stationed at home, in France, while two thirds of the English aeroplanes are kept permanently overseas.

If we further consider the fact that France is equipped with much superior and more numerous submarines than was Germany during the great war; that a submarine attack could be much more successfully carried out from the closely adjacent French ports than from the distant German ones, the military inferiority of England as compared with France becomes obvious; and with it the reason why England is vigilantly watching the Ruhr adventure, in the hope that this experiment will run into such a blind alley that English intervention and even participation in the spoil may become possible.

Therefore England continues to declare repeatedly that she is not in agreement with France's methods; that she considers the attempt futile; but that everything notwithstanding she continues to be France's ally, and will not undertake any intervention unless so desired by France. As early as Jan. 19, the *Times* wrote:

"Industry, especially in so highly developed a region as the Ruhr area, is a very delicate plant, and cannot be expected to bear fruit regularly if seized by violence and placed under foreign control, especially when national feeling is violently provoked. It would not be surprising if France were to decide, after a brief trial, to mitigate the system of force for a while, and to seek milder methods."

On Jan. 22, the *Daily Telegraph* refused to print an article by Lloyd George on account of its sharp anti-French tendency. Upon this the *Times* comments:

"If the German resistance is based on the hope of foreign intervention, then it is entirely misled. This country will certainly not intervene, and we do not see the slightest prospect of an American action."

On the other hand, the English governmental press regrets again and again that the French policy of occupation is confronted with so many difficulties, and emphasizes England's faithfulness. The *Daily Telegraph* writes on Feb. 22:

"However little we may agree with the French policy, and however seriously we may regard its possibilities, France still remains our ally. This is the cardinal point, which must not be obscured, or hazarded by our conduct. In our opinion there is no doubt as to the justification of France's action."

The great speech held by Bonar Law in Parliament on Feb. 19th, was in the same tone.

And this tone, determinedly maintained by the governmental press, is not lessened in importance by the sharply antagonistic view expressed by many radical and oppositional organs. The *New Statesman* for instance, writes as follows:

".... It is true that France is now our enemy, the bitterest and most dangerous enemy we have in the whole world. Can any one of our critics dispute this statement? Can one name a more outspoken or more dangerous enemy? Can he find—even in Moscow—a press which attacks us as the Paris newspapers do? Can he mention a single important question in Europe, or outside of the continent, in which French policy does not run in diametrical opposition to ours, or in which the French government does not either openly combat us or, as at Lausanne, secretly frustrate our ends? Can he dispute that France is the main obstacle in the way of the creation of a real League of Nations, and of the acceptance of every proposal towards general disarmament? And if France is thus plainly the enemy of Great Britain, and of all the wishes and endeavors of Great Britain, why should we not use this word? It is necessary to do so."

Despite a certain growth of oppositional feeling in England, the policy pursued by the ministry has remained unaltered up to the present day. France's repeated declarations that she will regard any intervention as a hostile act are met by the English government with the denial of any intention to intervene officially, and the expression of an intention to intervene only when both parties are agreed to it. In the middle of March the English government officially denied the intervention rumours and announced that Germany must take the first step. The suggestion of the English opposition, that the decision be left to

the League of Nations, is equally rejected. The under secretary of state McNeill, of pro-French tendencies, declares openly that "the League of Nations is not rooted deeply enough in the minds of the peoples", and he "could well imagine that the League of Nations could be shattered by the first attempt to set it in motion". On the other hand the English government has by no means been as inactive as might appear from its official demerits. As a matter of fact England has succeeded in isolating France more and more. Italy is not actually taking any part in the occupation action, and a dilettante attempt on Mussolini's part to form a Franco-Italian-Belgian-German continental bloc against England, was repulsed and defeated. England in a somewhat brutal manner. At the Lausanne conference England succeeded in giving the proceedings such a turn that they went to pieces for the time being on France's demands. England managed to work upon Belgium so effectively that the Brussels conference ended in Poincaré's retreat. And finally, it can scarcely be doubted that the German resistance is approved by England, though not officially. As to America, it is entirely at one with England in this matter.

On the other hand, England persists in spreading reports, through the medium of her Paris correspondents, of France's readiness to negotiate. Thus the *Times* of March 14th:

The time seems to be quite near when England will be called upon to take part in the solution of the Ruhr problem. In this way England has prepared the soil for a solution which will accord with her own interests.

Attempts at solutions and intermediation

It is not our task to discuss here all the purely diplomatic, open and secret negotiations which have been carried on, almost uninterruptedly, among the great powers during the last 3 months. The fact is that the question has lately begun to revolve around the problem of who is going to take the first step. The leading question is whether the negotiations are to take place before the Ruhr area is evacuated, as demanded by France, or after evacuation, as desired by Germany. Here it must be observed that Germany's policy in this matter is completely inconsistent, and changes from day to day under the pressure of the nationalists. *Rosenberg*, in his speech of Mar. 27, refers to the suggestion made by the American secretary of state Hughes on Nov. 29, 1922, approves in principle the suggested ascertainment of Germany's paying capacity by an international commission of business men, and declares Germany's readiness to grant to a loan consortium all securities designated as necessary for a reparations loan. He spoke further to the following effect:

"In the course of diplomatic conversations the German government has imparted these views to the most important powers interested in the fate of Europe, but not directly taking part in the Ruhr conflict; the German government has done this without putting forward any claims or expressing any wishes, but at the same time has drawn attention to the difficulties offered by the problem of what security can be given to Germany that the territories occupied beyond the limits stated in the Versailles treaty will be evacuated, and the conditions prescribed by the treaty restored in the Rhine country. Apart from the daily increasing sufferings of the population, and the attendant danger of an outbreak of the passions thus roused among the people, the problem is extremely important, for the government cannot imagine it as possible for any expert commission to form any certain judgment on Germany's actual paying capacity until this violent intervention in German economic life, and the resultant destruction of values, has been put an end to. The German government also sees no possibility that the German people can lay aside their sole weapon, that of passive resistance, unless their opponents also withdraw along the line of *status quo ante*."

In reply to Rosenberg's speech, Poincaré recently declared that France has no inclination whatever to let Germany's reparation debt, the amount of which is already fixed, be revised by non-participants; and in the English parliament McNeill declared that Rosenberg's speech does not bring us any further forward, and the government cannot regard his proposition as fruitful or profitable at the present moment.

It seems that the German government is not inclined to make any concrete proposal towards the solution of the reparations question until the Ruhr area is evacuated. The close of the 1st quarter of 1923 thus leaves the situation deadlocked.

The issue of the struggle

Although it would thus appear that the German bourgeoisie is prepared to carry on the resistance for an unlimited period, still we are of the opinion that this will not be possible for long. In the struggle between armed France and disarmed Germany, France is bound to gain the upper hand in the course

of time. Many signs of lessened resistance are to be actually observed. The French are succeeding—very slowly it is true, but steadily—in gaining ground. The railways are being controlled by the French to an increasing extent; the export of coal and coke is on the upgrade, though this is very slow; the cases become more and more numerous where German officials undertake French service, and where German firms ignore the prohibitions of the German government and make use of the French export and import offices, etc. Although French heavy industry suffers severely from the shortage of coal and coke, still it seems to us that the economic life of France can stand this trial longer than that of Germany. And as the interests of German and French heavy industry are by no means irreconcilable, an understanding will be arrived at before long.

It now appears that Loucheur has taken up the initiative in this question. At the beginning of April he travelled to London, conferred there with Lloyd George and Bonar Law; and the fact that the organ of English foreign trade, the *Daily Telegraph* occupied itself in detail with the question, proves that this plan is seriously considered. The essence of the plan is a return to the original project of a joint regulation of the reparations and debt question. Stated briefly, this plan is as follows:

The debts owed by the Entente powers to the United States are to be taken over by Germany. Besides this, Germany is to pay France the sum of 26 milliard marks. The Ruhr area is to be demilitarized by stages but rapidly; but the Rhine country is to be separated from Prussia, and to form an independent federal state, which would then be demilitarized under the supervision of the League of Nations. In order to render these financial measures possible, the mark is to be stabilized at about its present level, and a great reparations loan raised, guaranteed by the possessing classes in Germany.

This plan has been received very coldly by the German bourgeois press. But on the other hand the plan is likely to remain in abeyance until the United States agree to pass the debts owed them by the Entente countries—England excepted of course—onto Germany; and at present there is not much prospect of this.

Though this plan may perhaps not be the final one, still there can be little doubt but that a solution will soon be reached on the basis of a similar project. The essential feature of the step taken by Loucheur, in which he is obviously acting with Poincaré's agreement, is that Poincaré has at last abandoned his standpoint that the Ruhr question is a purely Franco-German affair. The Ruhr occupation is now to be dealt with as affecting all the allies. The French press has already given notice of a new conference of Entente ministers to be held shortly, to discuss reparation and Ruhr questions. This would signify a retreat on the part of France, but by no means a German victory. Should the Loucheur plan—or one similar to it—be accepted, it would mean that of the three possible ways of colonizing Germany (as explained in our last report: by France alone, by America alone, or internationally as England wishes) the last of the three possibilities is victorious!

II. Special section

The economic situation of the separate countries. Germany

During the period of this report, Germany's economic situation has been dominated by two facts: the occupation of the Ruhr and the stabilization of the mark. We may sum up the result by saying that both of these events have further damaged Germany's economic position. The Ruhr occupation has divided Germany into two parts, which are only enabled to hold intercourse with one another under the greatest difficulties. While the occupied territory continues to draw supplies of food and money from unoccupied Germany, it receives but few materials from here. The occupied territory appears to form a very large passive item for the unoccupied. We are unfortunately obliged to admit that we are very inefficiently informed on the economic conditions obtaining in the Ruhr; we only know the little which we have already stated in the general section; lessened production, for stock, rendered possible by comprehensive aid given to the industrialists by the Ruhr and credit reliefs; compliance to the demands of the workers in questions of wages and unemployment benefit, in order to avoid all social struggles.

If we glance through the general surveys officially issued on the economic situation in the months of January, February, and March, the worsening of the position is undeniable, despite the endeavor to present as favorable a picture as possible. On the other hand German capitalism has again given proof of its great elasticity by accommodating itself excellently to the altered conditions.

Again, the stabilization of the mark has made one fact obvious which we have often enough emphasized; that production in Germany is costly, that when the mark is stabilized German prices are higher than those of the world market. On this point the speech held by Siemens at a general meeting has roused much discussion. Following is an extract:

"The small interest yielded by the capital invested—the Siemens-Schuckert works pay 80% dividends, but only .016% of this in gold—is a great danger for German industry. There could not be a situation in which the motto stagnation is retrogression, is more applicable than here. If the capital invested in Germany cannot earn suitable interest, it will turn to other markets. Apparent speculative gains have hitherto supplied the place of the lacking interest, but cannot be permanent.

We pointed out in our report that the orders received are noticeably fewer. This movement continues. Our prices in Germany are higher than the world market prices . . .

If we cannot succeed in reducing expenses to their former level and in increasing production, so that capital can earn a suitable rate of interest, and the costs of manufacture can be levelled up with the world market prices, then it will not be possible to carry on German industry any longer."

It is precisely the same train of thought as we find in the utterances of Stinnes and Thyssen, quoted in our last report. More work, less real wages, fewer unproductive officials—this is the program of the large German bourgeoisie.

Unemployment has greatly increased during the period of this report. The number of unemployed among members of trade unions was as follows:

	Fully employed	%	Part-timers	%
December 1922	182,955	2.8	—	8.7
January 1923	252,873	4.4	651,244	13.—
February (24) 1923	—	5.7	—	16.5

We observe that even in January the labor market was in the midst of a crisis. Data for March have not yet been published.

Coal. Neither Germans nor French have issued any data on production in the Ruhr since the occupation. In the other colliery districts production is unaltered; some collieries are working extra shifts, but as a rule this is not being done. According to our estimate, production is about 60% that of 1922.

The resultant shortage is being chiefly covered by the import of foreign coal. This coal comes mainly from England, in the second place from the United States, and more recently even from South Africa, from Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland. The importance of the import must not be over-estimated; the import from England, which supplies the most, scarcely exceeded, in January and February, that of some of the months of last year.

	1913	1921	1922	1923
	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons
January	598 000	14 393	247 313	600 000
February	594 000	48 909	459 889	1 200 000
March	615 000	67 732	467 718	1 500 000
April	806 000	8 700	256 618	—
May	831 000	—	601 473	—
June	772 000	—	889 044	—
July	867 000	19 769	1 133 402	—
August	798 000	124 524	1 165 228	—
September	834 000	101 530	1 060 801	—
October	836 000	114 333	918 598	—
November	677 000	99 610	735 153	—
December	600 000	125 000	400 000	—

For England this export is of great importance, it amounts to 13—15% of the total export.

As regards lignite, the production has almost invariably increased steadily since 1918, and has exceeded coal production since June of last year. Its heating value is of course much lower. Until the middle of February the coal prices rose greatly; a slight reduction in price followed the improvement of the mark; the coal tax was also reduced from 40% to 30% at the end of March. Up to the end of March the occupation of the Ruhr had not led to any coal catastrophe.

The iron industry, whose most important centers are in the Ruhr area, has been less damaged by the Ruhr occupation; there are ample supplies of coal and coke; the blast furnaces are working; much is produced for stock. Large reserves of iron ore have accumulated.

Iron and iron goods are accumulating in the Ruhr area, while there is a shortage of iron in the unoccupied territory.

The export of iron and goods from the occupied territory is prevented by the fees imposed by the French.

The position of the textile industry is favorable to a certain extent, as about one fifth of the spinning and weaving mills fall to the occupied territory, inhabited by one fifth of the population, so that their products can be sold within these limits. It must not be forgotten that the occupied territory comprises 12 million inhabitants, as many as a Balkan state—so it is possible to keep house here for a while! It is only in the silk industry that business is worse, and more and more workers are working part time only.

Traffic has as yet been little disturbed by the Ruhr occupation. The number of trains run has been reduced somewhat, but nothing is heard of transport difficulties. The same applies to water traffic. German maritime shipping is developing rapidly again; the shipyards are working at top speed. Hamburg's shipping traffic is again the greatest on the continent.

The following figures sum up the foreign trade results for the year 1922 and January 1923.

	Foods and beverages	Raw mater. and semi-manuf. art.	Finished goods	Gold and silver	Total
Import: 000 double hundred weight					
1913	117 005	597 010	12 493	15.7	728 324
1922	50 736	288 767	18 946	5.5	458 757
Export:					
1913	53 682	590 255	93 161	7.5	737 143
1922	14 429	142 719	58 361	1.3	215 563

We observe a great shrinkage of the whole of foreign trade; only the importation of finished goods has increased. A conspicuous detail is the decreased import of fodder barley (10% of 1913), rice, tropical and other fruits, butter, cheese, and lard. On the other hand the importation of brandy has increased twenty fold. Among the raw materials, the importation of cotton has been reduced by half; the decrease is still greater in timber, oil-cake, etc. Coal has become an import article.

In January imports amounted to 47.3 million double cwt., export to 13.1 double cwt. The consequences of the Ruhr occupation are already to be observed here.

The foreign trade values, expressed in millions gold marks, are as follows:

	Imports	Exports	Imports less exports
May—December 1921	4014.9	2401.3	1613.6
1922:			
January	330.4	325.4	5.0
February	359.6	297.9	61.7
March	563.2	321.0	239.2
April	508.0	327.0	181.0
May	565.2	416.2	149.0
June	564.6	427.9	136.7
July	684.8	336.3	348.5
August	545.1	254.8	290.3
September	421.8	290.9	130.9
October	531.7	291.4	240.3
November	536.2	255.2	281.0
December	589.8	423.0	166.8
January—December 1922	6200.5	3970.0	2230.5
January 1923	563.8	311.4	252.4

We must observe that the correctness of these foreign trade data is continually doubted in Germany itself. We need not occupy ourselves with this question at the moment; but it is difficult to discover how these 2½ milliards of deficit have been covered. Germany received no loans, private credit at most. Mark notes were scarcely bought at all this year as speculation! How was it paid in spite of this?

Foreign capital. Only one possibility remains; that foreigners have invested corresponding sums in the country in the course of the year. Our last report furnished characteristic detailed data. Since then data have been published on the extensive purchase of houses by foreigners in Berlin, Cologne, and Breslau. But no comprehensive data are at our disposal. This foreignization proceeds rapidly; a great part of the foreign trade deficit and reparations is covered by it. There is scarcely any other explanation possible, if we do not wish to assume that the whole of German statistics—not only the foreign trade statistics—are systematically falsified, as is actually maintained by many people.

State finances have grown catastrophic during the 1st quarter of 1923. The twelfth supplementary budget for the current fiscal year was accepted on March 20th. The probable deficit for the current financial year closing on March 31, is

estimated at 7100 milliards. The monthly increase of the deficit is shown by the following figures, in milliards of marks:

1922: April	9	1922: November	235.3
May	8.3	December	656
June	5.7	1923: January	586.7
July	12.7	February	1506.6
August	24.5	March	3062.8
September	119.6	1. April	602.9
October	152.7		

In March the revenues cover 10% of the expenditures only,—a situation much worse than in Soviet Russia!

This enormous increase of state expenditure is an immediate result of the Ruhr occupation. We append a very interesting compilation of Helfferich's from a Reichstag communication:

In the current fiscal year the finances of the state were as follows:

	Expend. of home administration	State revenue	Surplus or deficit of home administration	Subsidy to the working administration	Surp or def. of state and working admin.	Expend. for carrying out peace treaty	Total deficit of the state
1922							
Milliards of marks							
April	7.0	14.5	+ 7.5	0.3	+ 7.2	16.2	9.0
May	12.3	21.0	+ 8.7	0.9	+ 7.8	6.1	8.3
June	11.1	21.6	+ 10.5	2.8	+ 7.7	13.5	5.8
July	20.4	26.1	+ 5.7	1.9	+ 3.8	16.6	12.8
August	34.4	42.0	+ 7.6	12.0	— 4.4	19.1	23.5
Sept.	96.0	44.4	— 51.6	42.5	— 94.1	25.5	119.6
Oct.	100.2	67.9	— 32.5	71.1	— 103.6	49.1	152.7
Nov.	163.4	144.9	— 18.3	78.9	— 97.2	138.1	235.0
Dec.	441.7	231.0	— 210.7	257.3	— 468.0	188.0	65.36

From this may be seen that during the first four months Germany's "home" finances showed a surplus of 26.5 milliard paper marks, at that time about 265 million gold marks. Germany would thus have been able to pay about 800 million gold marks annually without incurring any deficit in her state finances. Since then the situation has become considerably worse, and is in this year catastrophic. The cause of this is the depreciation of the mark, which brings about a corresponding increase of state expenditure, but not an increase in revenue, for the direct taxes paid by the propertied classes are paid in the nominal amounts prescribed by laws based on a currency which has since sunk to a fraction of its original value. The wage tax of the workers, deducted weekly from their wages, is of course an exception to this rule. In this manner a state of affairs is arrived at which is calculated to rouse the utmost indignation, the fact that, despite the nominal progressivity of income tax as applied to high incomes, 80% of the sum raised by income tax was obtained from the wages tax; at the present time the share of income tax paid by the propertied classes amounts to about 5% . . . And still Helfferich has the cheek to speak of the "heroic exertions of the German people" in tax paying. In the month of February the total revenue from taxation amounted to 310 milliard marks, equal to about 60 millions gold marks. Of this sum the indirect taxes and the income tax were paid by the proletariat. And what did the rich man pay?

We have detailed data for the month of January. The amounts received were:

revenue from all direct taxation	157.9	milliards marks
less 80% income tax borne by the working class	75.6	
Total of direct taxes paid by the propertied classes	82.3	

In gold marks, about 15 millions. This is the "heroic exertion" of the German bourgeoisie. The latest taxation reform will bring no essential changes.

The increase of paper currency. The number of banknotes in circulation naturally increases with the growing floating debt of the country. The rate of increase has been as follows:

Banknotes in circulation, in millions of marks:	
7. July 1922	172,736
7. September	252,373
7. October	344,171
7. November	517,036
7. December	846,894
6. Jan. 1923	1,336,500
15. Jan.	1,437,780
23. Jan.	1,654,574
31. Jan.	1,984,496
7. Febr.	2,252,963
15. Febr.	2,703,795

Helfferich was minister of finance during the war, and is still the leader of the German nationalists.

23. Febr.	3,123,540
28. Febr.	3,512,788
7. March	3,871,256
15. March	4,272,511
23. March	4,955,635
29. March	5,517,919
7. April	5,624,113

It may be observed that the period required for the amount of paper money in circulation to double becomes shorter and shorter.

The action in support of the mark. Under the influence of the Ruhr occupation, the dollar rose to 44,000 on January 31, and even reached 50,000 for a short time; the Reichsbank then commenced its action in support of the mark, and within two weeks the rate of exchange of the dollar had been forced back to 20,000—22,000.¹⁾ at which level it has since remained.

We already dealt with this action in the introductory section. We have only to observe here that the mark buyers in France also contribute to the support of the mark. On this subject the *Bergwerkszeitung* writes on March 13, as follows:

"The Reichsbank's present policy with regard to securities is closely bound up with the political events and the resultant change of attitude abroad; the policy has only been rendered possible at all by France's defiance of the rights of nations. The mighty masses of troops sent by the French republic had to be equipped with German money in order to maintain themselves in the Ruhr area. The French government had marks bought in New York to the approximate value of 16½ milliards, and this purchase, combined with those undertaken by the Belgian government in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and London, led to a stabilization of the mark. This situation was skilfully utilized by the Reichsbank, which at once threw on the market the reserves of securities which were to pay the Franco-Belgian reparation instalments, thus forcing the dollar back to half its relative value."

The situation of the working class has not been improved in the least by the stabilization of the mark. The stabilization of the mark is the universal signal for the capitalist to stop all increases in wages—except in the Ruhr area—and as the retail prices have continued to rise, and the cost of living with them, the situation of the working class has become worse. Unemployment and part-time work are greatly on the increase.

FASCISM

In spite of Fascism!

By Bayera Camilla.

Today, the Fiat works in Turin are for the workers only the reminiscence of a force which once impressed its character on the whole town. For the group of workers, who imparted to the 20,000 men employed in the Fiat works that unity of thought and will which they once possessed, have been driven from the factory, and are replaced by faithful tools of the employers. The employers were of the opinion that by these means, they had attained their aim. Today, under the rule of reaction, the employers and Fascisti had hoped to have the Fiat workers completely under their sway. They hoped that the re-election of the shop stewards would prove that the working masses acknowledge the program and methods of "national reconstruction." The results blasted these hopes. All the dismissals and new engagements had not sufficed to purge the works of the "evil spirit." Despite all the blows which have been dealt them, the Fiat workers maintain their class consciousness.

The Fascisti exerted every endeavor to gain the votes of the workers. They held a number of meetings. One of these meetings was participated in by a member of the former shop steward council, the reformist Porta. The Fascisti compelled him to speak, and he found nothing better to do, in this meeting organized by Fascisti, than to emphasize the "crimes" of the communists. But the next day the workers in the factory gave him a most hostile reception, a protest demonstration against his slanderous statements. A number of workers utilized the opportunity offered by the election to show their fidelity to communist principles, which are decisive for the majority of the Turin workers. The last election to the committee of the benefit club showed the same tendency, and here the communists won a great victory. In this case however, it was impossible to draw up a list of communist candidates, as these candidates would have been

¹⁾ Today's (May 15.) quotation is 45,000 marks per dollar.

discharged at once. The reformist leaders of the metal workers' union now opposed the Fascist list by a list of their union. The communist trade union committee explained to the "Fiat" workers the necessity of realizing the united front, and of voting for the list of the class organization, which must be supported against the Fascist organization, despite all the errors committed by the reformist leaders.

The Communists and Maximalists recommended their followers and sympathizers to support the list of the metal workers' union. Although this summons was not issued until shortly before the election, the workers followed this watchword, with the exception of about 1000, who were unable to overcome their aversion to the reformists. The metal workers' union received 3,534 votes, the Fascisti received 1,392, the Catholic people's party 390. 1,036 votes were invalid. The votes falling to the Fascisti may appear numerous to those who remember the Fiat works of 1917-20, but the number is far from satisfactory to those who have expended so much trouble and expense in the attempt to kill the revolutionary spirit among the workers. The results of the Fiat works election shows, that it is impossible to suppress our movement; it shows that our victory is assured, despite everything!

Circular to all workers

The International Committee of Action requests that it be furnished with current reports of all meetings held for propagating a general action by the workers against war danger and Fascism, and in particular for the Frankfurt resolutions; of all resolutions and motions passed in the workshops; of the number of meetings held; on the attendance and feeling of the meetings; and on the reception accorded to foreign speakers. Up to now this has not been done, and thus the Committee of Action is not yet in a position to form an accurate idea of the success of the propaganda for the Frankfurt resolution.

At all meetings collections should be made among the workers for the propaganda of the International Committee of Action. We beg that these collections be made with all possible energy, in order that the Committee of Action, or the organizations affiliated to it, are placed in possession of the financial means required to enable them to carry on their propaganda with increased energy.

With international greetings,

The International Committee of Action against
War Danger and Fascism.

Note: All labor papers are requested to reprint. Money should be sent to: Mrs Frida Düwell, Berlin C, Rosenthaler Strasse 38.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Death of Martov

By Karl Radek.

The news of Martov's death will cause the deepest grief in the ranks of his party comrades, in the ranks of the Menshevik party of which he was the most gifted leader. In the ranks of the fighting Russian proletariat the news will awaken recollections of those decades when the Russian revolutionary proletariat fought side by side with the petty bourgeoisie, which at that time still played a revolutionary role.

L. Martov (J. O. Zederbaum) took active part, since the nineties, in the revolutionary and labor movement in Russia, and was one of the most gifted writers of the Russian emancipation movement. He participated energetically in that ideological struggle, whose result was the schism of the revolutionary movement into proletarian-Bolshevist and petty-bourgeois-Menshevik camps.

In the first volume of his memoirs, which he published last year, Martov treated of this period of his development, the development of the revolutionary movement up to the moment where the roads parted, where the two sections of Russian social democracy began to speak different languages. Martov's autobiography—here it differs from that of Chernov—is the representation of a personality of exemplary modesty and clarity, entirely free from any, even inner, affectation. And these personal characteristics of Martov permit the representatives even of those parties of whom he was the deadly enemy to acknowledge, on the day of his death, that he was a convinced, unselfish, and honorable opponent.

Martov's tragedy is the tragedy of a revolutionist born in petty bourgeois surroundings, and attached to the petty bourgeoisie by the innermost core of his being. Subjectively, Martov thought with

the conceptions of the proletarian movement. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat was his leading thought. It is likely that his last thoughts were for the emancipation of the working class. But objectively, Martov was bound up with precisely that section of one-time revolutionary intelligentsia, with that section of the proletariat, whose petty-bourgeois character rendered it incapable of breaking with the bourgeoisie.

If we attempt to concentrate into one formula the substance of the history of Menshevism, it may be said that the movement has either been one proceeding from the western border districts of Russia, where the proletarian masses live least divided from the petty bourgeoisie of the city, or the movement of those classes of workers which have lived in closest contact with the peasantry. These elements of the working class have shown themselves magnificently able to grasp, mentally, the general formulas of Marxism, but they have proved incapable of extracting from the science of Marxism, a science showing them how to assemble all the revolutionary forces of Russia for the struggle against Tsarism, for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. These preachers of Marxism have lived far away from the broad stream of revolutionary struggle, and without faith in the mighty creative forces inherent in the working masses. The Menshevik intelligentsia has filled the working masses with disbelief in their own powers, but with a slavish admiration for the cultural power of the bourgeoisie. Menshevism staked everything on the alliance with the cultural city bourgeoisie, and, without realizing its counter-revolutionary character, feared the "wild" town proletariat. Menshevism failed to grasp that no proletarian culture can be created without the destruction of capitalism.

This tragedy of Menshevism began on the day when Martov and his friends issued the slogan, of *alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie*, instead of *alliance with the peasantry*. This sealed the fate of Menshevism; from this moment onwards it played a counter-revolutionary rôle. And it was just because Martov was the most gifted representative of Menshevism that the counter-revolutionary part played by the party which he headed was reflected most clearly in him.

Martov was aptly characterized by comrade Troizky by the remark that no other writer has made such extensive use of Marxism for the purpose of falsifying revolutionary truth as Martov. Martov's rôle was most clearly expressed during the war, and during the February revolution. From the first day of the war onwards, Martov was an internationalist. He contributed much to the clarification of the tasks of internationalism as opposed to the opportunism of the Second International. But at the same time, he defended the part played by his friends in the Duma. At the beginning of the February revolution, after the first steps taken by the so-called provisional government, which was supported by his friends Tzeretelli, Tcheidze, and Dan, Martov was obliged to acknowledge the bankruptcy of Menshevism, and to found the party of the so-called internationalist Mensheviks. In the course of conversation with many Bolsheviki, he spoke of a ruthless struggle against the Mensheviks, and of the possibility of having to join forces with the Bolsheviki. On the station at Stockholm, when Martov was leaving for Petrograd, and took leave of the present writer, he said: "I hope that we shall fight for one cause". But up to the end of the February revolution Martov could not decide to sever himself from the national defenders, despite his many antagonisms to them. His inclination towards the anti-revolutionary ideology of Menshevism was stronger than his internationalism. And hence it came that Martov, on the day following the October revolution, when his friends the Menshevik patriots were deprived of the helm of state, of the helm of revolution, by the rising working class and peasantry, Martov went over into the camp of the counter-revolutionists. The rôle played by him in the history of Russia is a reflection of all the vacillations passed through by the petty bourgeois stratum to which he belonged. At the moment when there was a danger that the landowners' counter-revolution might be victorious, Martov stood for the defence of Soviet power. But even at the most critical moment of battle he could never desist from the disintegrating lamentations which he called criticism. Scarcely had the landowners' counter-revolution been defeated, when Martov appeared as champion of the bourgeois counter-revolution. It was not by accident, but as a result of consistent action, that Martov joined Tchernov and Milyukov in 1921, at the time of the Cronstadt rising, under the slogan of free Soviets without communists, of Soviets through whose doors the bourgeois counter-revolution would have found an entry. In the year 1919-20, the year of the first international revolutionary wave, Martov spoke in favor of socialization. In the year 1922, when the bourgeoisie had recovered somewhat, Martov was carried along on the wave of international counter-revolution, he believed in its power, renounced the socialist character of the

Russian revolution, and loudly proclaimed the slogan of removal of all hindrances to bourgeois development. During the whole struggle of Menshevism against Bolshevism Martov denied all relationship between Russian Menshevism and European reformism, although joining hands at the same time with the most obvious reformism.

Martov was the sincerest and most unselfish representative of that one-time revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie which accompanied the Russian proletariat many steps on its road, and at his grave-side we can say: "Farewell for ever! Never again will the Russian proletariat join hands with that party of which you were the sincerest and most gifted leader".

The International of General, Equal and Open Abjectness!

By N. Bukharin.

Moscow, May 1, 1923.

A permanent feature of the proletariat's May Day has been the slogan: "War on War"! By this question any organization whatsoever may best be tested, since every servility, every treaty with the bourgeoisie, every friendship with the employer, every treason to the class interests of the proletariat, finds its highest expression in the attitude of the organization in question to the *bourgeois state*: in the defence of its interests, of its machinery, of its expansion.

On this rock the Second International suffered shipwreck in the year 1914!

It is therefore extremely interesting to raise the question as to how matters stand to day, when an actual war is proceeding in Europe: the echo and the latest wave from the world events of 1914 to 1918.

Not to lose too many words, we say at once: on the occasion of French Imperialism's Ruhr outrage, the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals acted precisely as in the year 1914. All the parties and organizations of these "Internationals" ran away from one another and took up their "national" positions; all have straightway crawled into the mouse-hole of the state interests of their own bourgeoisie.

Unfortunately, we have no time to read the whole Social-Patriotic press. We know, indeed, quite well what the "Socialism" of Messrs. Vandervelde, Ebert, and Henderson is worth. But every time that we begin to concern ourselves with the exploits of these gentlemen, at once the utter abjectness of these heroes leaps into view; they are in reality *still more abject* than we had thought.

Yes, it is true. Let us turn to the facts.

As is known, before the Ruhr outrage of the French, the entire Social-Patriotic menagerie, with the bourgeois pacifists, with humanitarian and sentimental ladies and with the "progressive" parsons, assembled in an international congress in the zoological gardens of the Hague.

This company framed exceedingly radical resolutions and promised, in the event of a war or danger of war, to employ "every means of struggle" up to the general strike.

The Social-Patriotic sirens announced in every street the rebirth of the glorious Internationals, the power of the Social-Democracy and the like. In every key they sang almost of the dawn of a new era in the history of mankind.

But it came about, that the French invaded the Ruhr province and the war began. And what happened then?

See and hear!

On the same day there arose in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies Vandervelde, the leader of the Second International, the counsel for the Social-Revolutionaries, the maker of the Versailles Peace, the Socialist of Socialists, a Menshevik among Mensheviks, the humanest of the human, in a word, the noblest of the noble.

And what, in fact, did he say?

"We are all agreed, to a man, that our claims (as against defeated Germany B.) are just as sacred as the French and Italian claims, and they must be met by Germany. . . France gave her blood. There is no heavier responsibility than the responsibility of the German Government. The German great industry remains a constant danger to peace."

These words of Vandervelde should be branded upon the forehead of every Menshevik.

The French imperialists pillage, shoot workers, openly and directly set themselves the purpose of *plundering the vanquished*. Even a little child can see that. Even a blockhead must comprehend it. But the "Socialist" leader declares: the robbery is sacred; we too will rob; for us too the competition of the German bourgeoisie is dangerous; we too want a share in the booty; we too will bring our pressure to bear.

Upon whom, indeed? Upon defeated Germany, at whose head stands none other than Monsieur Vandervelde's comrade of the "International", Herr Ebert!

A fine "struggle" against war! A magnificent "international solidarity"! A pretty specimen—this "International"! What could be more abject than such a mode of procedure? But this is by no means an isolated instance. At the session of the Central Committee of the Belgian Socialist (II) Party, still lovelier voices let themselves be heard.

George Hubin declared his solidarity with Vandervelde and said:

"I greatly regret, that the *Vorwärts* has recommended a protest strike to the workers of the Ruhr province. The German Social Democracy, which has done nothing to provide against a situation in which the German proletariat is enriching Stinnes, recommends a strike when it is a question of working in the interest of the payment of Reparations. . . . We need the Reparations. Socialism is not only peace, but also justice. . . .

Consider the logic of this! Because the German Social-Democrats, their comrades of the same "International", have not made a revolution and overthrown Stinnes (observe, incidentally, that for this it would have been necessary to withdraw from the Second International), the Belgian Socialists must now, "for the sake of justice" and in the name of Socialism, support Monsieur Poincaré and his gendarmes and assistant headmen!

De Bruckère declared at the same session, that the name of Scheidemann was covered with "everlasting shame". (Scheidemann is one of de Bruckère's comrades of the "International".)

René Branquart remarked that the occupation of the Ruhr would also be of advantage to Belgium, and indulged in reminiscences of the German bestialities in the year 1914. He announced to all the world:

" . . . I have not the courage to say that we (the Franco-Belgian troops. B.) should not march into the Ruhr province, in order not to make any unpleasantness for the Boches!" etc. etc. What more do you wish?

The French Socialists? Do you know what they have done on the occasion of this new danger of war? They strove to convince the government of the unprofitableness of the operation. They would only persuade Poincaré to proceed by other methods. Jouhaux wrote that it would be much better to fleece the Germans by degrees. But to say a single word against the most revolting robbery in history—God forbid! For that there is an "International", to lick the boots of the Messieurs robbers!

The English Labor Party too has at once understood that it must support its own masters. This it did in the following manner: it issued the slogan, that the matter should be decided by . . . the League of Nations! Think of it: the Labor Party, which has only just sworn to organize a general strike, now chooses as judge the most rapacious institution of the bourgeoisie. Of course, because in this the voice of English Capital is strong.

Still more comical was the behaviour of the Scottish leaders of the Labor Party. They protested, only think, against whom and what?

They protested against English Capital.

You will say, readers, that that, at any rate, was in order.

Yes, but do you know how they protested? They declared that English Capital was asleep, that the French would pocket single-handed the entire booty, that it was time also to acquire something for the London Banks. And the German Social-Democracy? It proceeded to support its own government, voted for Cuno and declared that the workers could now make no demands of their capitalists.

There is an "International" for you!

The fair words of the Hague are pricked like a soap-bubble. As soon as it smelt of gunpowder, the Social-Democrats instantly ran away from one another, and remained the faithful hounds of their Capital.

There was, indeed, nothing else to be expected. But the whole affair has made a very deep impression on the Social Democratic workers. Never before was the process of disintegration of the Social Democracy so marked as today. And that means the removal of the greatest obstacle in the path of the Revolution. The fall of Menshevism signifies nine tenths of the victory over international Capital.

APPEALS

To the Seamen of the World!

Dear Comrades,

Over four years have passed since the conclusion of the criminal imperialist mass slaughter, which tore millions of your brothers and comrades from the ranks of the working class. They are dead or are helpless cripples.

The bourgeoisie and their flunkys, calling themselves "socialists" attempted to implant in you the idea that the great war was the last war, that the object of the war was to put an end to the increase of armaments, and to secure the right of free development to all peoples.

Now, look around you, and you will recognize that the promises of the bourgeoisie have been all lies, that they have deceived and mocked you, consistently supported by their servants the social traitors.

All capitalist countries are piling up armaments at a mad rate. The numerical strength of the armies on the continent is greater today than before the great war of 1914. The powder smoke from the Near Eastern battlefield has hardly dispersed when there follows the struggle of the Ruhr area crushed down beneath the yoke of French imperialist military occupation, and already fresh conflicts threaten, fresh battles loom in the near future.

They talked to you about restoring the districts devastated by the war, while, as a matter of fact, millions and millions were and are still being wasted in crushing down workers' revolutions and maintaining occupation troops.

You have been told of the right of the peoples to self-determination. But instead of this, you have witnessed the ceaseless executions of Irish revolutionists, of bloodiest murders by punitive expeditions in India, in Egypt, and in Arabia.

You have heard a great deal about "civil peace". But does not the fresh blood of the Essen workmen, the maltreatment of French proletarians before the Paris town hall, the starvation of the unemployed in England and other countries—does not all this prove, more clearly than the most eloquent speeches, how capital actually carries out its policy of "reconciliation of the classes?"

Hasten, comrades, free yourselves, your will and your intellect, from the chains of bought yellow leaders. Only then will you be able to shatter the golden throne of capital with your mighty hands. Grasp the banner of rebellion, the flag of working class rule. Do not forget that the sailors of the Navy and mercantile marine have always been the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat, and will always continue to be so.

Follow the example of the German sailors who fought for power in Kiel and Berlin in 1918. Follow the French sailors who raised the red flag on their war-ships in the Black Sea in 1919. Follow the example of the Russian sailors, who combined with the workers and peasants to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and the social traitors in October 1917.

We, the seamen of Russia, have emancipated ourselves from the rule of capital. All the factories, workshops, mines, and railways are in our hands.

We are now building our own Red workers' and peasants' fleet, and are ourselves governing our free Soviet country, while you are still being ruled by the capitalists.

We are overcoming the severe trials and sufferings of civil war, and are now working at the reconstruction of our economics, the improvement of our material welfare. You, on the contrary, are confronted by a hopeless crisis and by the increasing want and misery of the masses.

But your future lies in your own hands. Come over to us, join the united front of the revolutionary sailors and workers, that we may storm the bourgeois stronghold with our united forces.

Long live the socialist world revolution!

Long live the might of the workers and peasants of the whole world!

The II. All-Russian Conference of Communist Sailors of the Red Navy.