

The result of an amalgamation may well be judged from the example of the German independents. They too maintained that amalgamation with the social democrats would enable them to do wonders for the working class. What fruit has this amalgamation borne? Not only have the independents accomplished nothing, but they have forfeited their independence for this nothing. No doubt they still fancy themselves independent, but in reality they have long since become dependent. Do you think that tomorrow's amalgamation promises better results? There is no reason upon which the necessity of the amalgamation can be based. The international situation is serious. War complications may arise at any moment. In this situation the new International will be the first to fail us; but Russia, I may confidently assure you, will once more prove a great factor in the revolutionary development of the world. (Great disturbance.)

## E. C. C. I.

### The Conference of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International

By Alois Neurath (Moscow).

The Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International will begin on June 10. As all sections affiliated to the Third International will send delegates, the conference of the Enlarged Executive will possess all the significance of a world congress. The agenda include the most important and urgent problems of the international labor movement. Even before the IV. Congress the relations between the sections and the Executive of the Comintern were excellent, but these relations have become much more intimate since the last World Congress. The international situation of capitalist society and the exceedingly precarious political situation in all bourgeois countries, have forced the class-conscious workers to take steps towards the practical realization of the resolutions passed by the IV. World Congress. When the principles of the proletarian United Front, and of the Workers' Government, were first definitely formulated, resistance was aroused in many of our most important sections. The call for the proletarian United Front was confused with a desire to unite with social traitors; the summons to form a fighting front of the exploited was interpreted as if meaning an alliance with the social democrats, or with the leaders of the Amsterdam trade union movement. This crisis within the sections of the Third International was not so much overcome by the resolutions passed by the E.C. of the C.I., as by the actual economic and political facts. The bourgeoisie, feeling confident that the Amsterdam secretaries would not venture on any real battle, proceeded to involve the workers of the most important branches of industry in isolated struggles, in which they were able to defeat them. These hard facts have taught the whole of the workers and their leaders that the demand for the proletarian united front is not merely an agitation catchword, but the most decisive slogan of present-day class war. The broad masses of the workers are gradually accomplishing the task of forming the united front of the exploited and are doing this against the will of the social democratic and yellow leaders. These last are beginning to find themselves in a desperate situation, and shrink from no measures which offer any prospect of strengthening their shaken position. The sections of the C.I., therefore, have still many obstacles to face in their struggle for the unity of the proletarian masses. The Enlarged Executive will have to occupy itself largely with the results of the work done in this direction since the IV. Congress.

The question of the workers' government has become, in some states, a question of immediate importance much sooner than might have been expected at the time of the IV. Congress. The German proletariat has been able to acquire the best practical experiences in this respect. The German bourgeoisie realizes perhaps better than many workers, that the social-democratic-communist agreements will rapidly lead to a very definite struggle for a workers' government for the whole country. The working masses, including not only those under the immediate influence of the German C.P., but wide masses beyond, recognize that the Communist Party is the only party possessing the necessary power and determination to lead the proletariat to emancipation from its desperate situation.

It is easily understood that today, when Germany's situation is so critical, the experiences of the Kapp and Rathenau

days receive different judgments within the German C.P. Revolutionary impatience on the one hand, and cautious estimation of forces on the other, have led to many differences of opinion; but these have already been smoothed out for the most part, but the Enlarged Executive will occupy itself with them in detail, as it is highly desirable that this knotty point be thoroughly cleared up.

The so-called Ruhr action has gradually opened the eyes of the overwhelming majority of the proletariat, and has clearly exposed the intentions of the French and German bourgeoisies. The Ruhr crisis is not merely a crisis between the German bourgeoisie and French imperialism, but the crisis of capitalist world economics. In 1914 the various groups of the world bourgeoisie were able to carry on a bloody war in their own interests, at the expense and with the aid of the working class. Today the bourgeoisie encounters immediate resistance, first from the masses led by the Communist Party, and then, in the course of action, from the serious opposition of the decisive strata of the working population. The world bourgeoisie is fully aware that the beginning of every war is a fateful hour for the bourgeoisie. First it endeavors to employ every conceivable means of overcoming the conflict of interests in its own camp, and then it seeks forcefully to increase the exploitation of the proletariat. But it becomes more and more difficult to overcome these great obstacles by "peaceful means". The ruling class in the present social order cannot escape its destiny, it cannot avoid the bloody collisions in its own ranks, that is, it has not been able to prevent the economic decay of the capitalist social order from having already provided, to a very great extent, the prerequisites for the successful class war of the proletariat. The discussion of the lessons taught by the Ruhr action will doubtless form the central point of the deliberations of the Enlarged Executive.

As the masses lose faith in the Amsterdamers and social democratic leaders, the ruling class sets proportionately less store upon the coalition with its socialist brothers so indispensable and invaluable to it during the critical period following the collapse of the war. The bourgeoisie now begins to deal out kicks and blows to its friends of yesterday; but the worse treatment the social imperialists receive at the hands of the bourgeoisie, the greater the emphasis with they proclaim their love for the coalition with the exploiters of the proletariat. And with good reason. Scheidemann, Noske, Hilferding, & Co. know very well that their positions in the labor movement are irretrievably lost. Therefore they continue to permit themselves to be used for the purposes of the ruling class, in a more despicable manner than ever, and finally, they will be thrown over by the bourgeoisie as useless tools. The social democrats being of no further use to the bourgeoisie, the ruling class is now raising a fresh guard in the form of the Fascist movement, hoping that this will defend the interests of the exploiters even better than the social democrats. Fascism at the same time represents the mobilization of all the remaining political reserves of the counter-revolution. The danger of Fascism, which is receiving every possible support from the dominant party, is exceedingly great. In order systematically and steadily to make its preparations for the inevitable, protracted and decisive struggle with the proletariat, the bourgeoisie is destroying all the so-called rights and liberties said to have been won by democracy, and is applauded in this by all parties following the principles of democracy. The exceptional laws issued in Poland, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., will be followed by similar laws in other important capitalist states. It is hoped to break the increasing resistance of the working masses for a long time to come by placing the communist movement, or rather its organizations, completely outside the law. The experiences undergone by the Italian proletariat, and the latest events in Czecho-Slovakia, in German-Austria, Germany, and the Balkan states, will play a leading part in the discussions of the Enlarged Executive.

The Ruhr action, the workers' and peasants' government, the proletarian united front, trade unions tactics, national problems, the question of agitation among small farmers—all these important questions are to be thoroughly considered. The delegates of the various sections of the C.I. will return to their countries thoroughly informed on the political events of the most important states, enlightened concerning the experiences gained in the latest great political and economic struggles in almost all capitalist states, and acquainted—thanks to the detailed discussions—with every line of tactics required for the immediate future; they will thus be enabled to continue their work with even greater success than before.

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## All for Peace!

Speech delivered by Comrade Trotsky at the enlarged committee session of the Moscow Soviet.

Comrades, yesterday various items of news and various facts arrived simultaneously in my workroom. I received two comrades, delegated by the workers of a paper factory in the Kalusch governmentment. One of them had worked in the factory for 51 years, the other for 46 years. A few minutes earlier I had received, from the People's Commissar for foreign affairs, the news of the murder of our friend and representative, comrade Vorovsky. Almost at the same moment I received a whole budget of newspapers, published abroad by the one-time landowners and capitalists of our country.

I do not know, comrades, whether I have already spoken to you here of the raging and insane campaign of lies and inventions, now being conducted against us by the white emigration press. The period in which we live, and which is distinguished by a great and constantly increasing unity between the Soviet power and the working masses throughout our whole federation, and by a great revolutionary peoples' movement, — this period the hallucinations of the bourgeois press designate as a period of fresh risings in every corner of Soviet Russia, as a period of rebellion in one regiment after another, as a period of decay of the state apparatus and the Communist Party. And when we peruse these newspapers, published in Warsaw, Helsingfors, Riga, Reval, and other places, we involuntarily ask ourselves: by whom and for whom are they issued? and who is it who have lost their reason, the publishers of the papers or their supporters?

We must say that there is one group of Helsingfors correspondents which can boast of being the source of the most idiotic rumours. In whose name do they write all this, what do they expect to gain by it? They want to set the dogs of imperialism upon us.

A ring of foreign states lies between us and the imperialist west. And should a foolish and criminal blockade, or even a war, set in against our will, the logic of the geographical situation will first affect this ring of states.

And now yesterday, when these two old workmen told me what they had experienced since 1918—hunger, cold and actual

collapse in the years 1919 and 1920, in part also in 1921—they said that today they are comparatively well off. These old men, these heroes of toil, brought with them some dozens of forms which they have to fill out in relation to various economic and cultural requirements. With gnarled fingers, rendered unsteady by decades of work, they showed me with justifiable pride these signs of our reviving industry. And we say with them: two more years, three more, five more, of work in peace, and we shall perfect our economics, our schools, and our culture. And they say we are meditating war? We, with our vast territory, our population of many millions, and our backwardness, our poverty, our defective culture—how can we think of violence, of conquests, of attacks? No; what we say is: cursed be everyone in our ranks who raises his voice in favor of an attack, of a war.

One of these two workmen had worked for 51 years (I do not know how old Lord Curzon is) at the work-bench, and if we were to say to him that we, the state of the workers and peasants, cherish the idea of attacking anyone, he would not understand this language. He would reject the idea. The working class would drive anyone from its ranks who would not defend peace and work with every available means.

Nevertheless, the sky has become overcast again on the frontiers of Soviet Russia, and we must again anxiously and attentively observe the plans, not only of the governments, but of various groups and various cliques within these governments, for the present position of European politics is such that the attitude taken by separate groups or persons at the head of an imperialist power may involve things in such a knot that these gentlemen will be obliged to cut it in the end.

We defend peace with all the means at our disposal, and support our diplomacy, which is fighting honorably, sincerely, and determinedly for the independence of the Soviet Federation, and is employing the peaceful agencies of negotiations and understandings. And I think, comrades, that every Red Army soldier—and in our country the Red Army soldier is above all the citizen of the state, taking active part in the political life of the country—that every Red Army soldier today, understands the language

of the Soviet power and its diplomacy. It is the language of peace and quietness, of admonition, of exhortation to prudence.

Comrades, I know very well that we have good cause for indignation, for showing our clenched fists, and gnashing our teeth. But, comrades, the situation is such that we must throw all our prudence, reserve, and caution into the balance. The masses of workers and peasants belonging to our Red Moscow have shown that they fully realize the dangers of the present position.

We do not know whether Lord Curzon's act is an isolated one on the part of Great Britain, or whether there are also others, nearer home or equally distant, collaborating with Lord Curzon in the same diplomatic—and perhaps not merely diplomatic—plans. Despite this, or rather because of this, we do not take a single step, or utter a single word, which might tend to render the situation more acute, or close the path to a peaceful solution by means of negotiations.

We desire peace above all things. Naturally not at the price of capitulation, not at the price of converting the Soviet federation into a vassal state of foreign imperialism. We know that the governments of the Entente, since the war and the Versailles peace, have become accustomed to carrying on intercourse with other states and nations in tones of command. To this we reply that words of command do not penetrate to Red Moscow. (Continuous applause.)

We, the republic of Workers and Peasants, are prepared to make the greatest concessions, but only on the basis of agreements of contracts, on the basis of independence and equality. For this we stand, comrades, alike in the government and in the state apparatus, in the ranks of our party, and in the ranks of the many millions of non-partisan workers and peasants of our country; we stand as one man behind every step taken by our diplomacy in the interests of peace, and for upholding commercial agreements and maintaining economic relations with other countries.

And our Red Army and Red Fleet like the rest of us, are also firm supporters of our diplomacy. (Applause.) The army knows better than anyone else what a war signifies; it knows what a war would signify to us today. Today, amidst the strained relations of all Europe, it would be a war of life and death; it would be a war lasting not for months, but perhaps for years; it would be a war which would engulf all the resources and forces of our country; it would be a war putting an end to all economic and cultural work for years. And thus we hope that this cup may pass from us. We want peace!—this we call to all the leading elements of our country, these are the words of the Red Army and the Red Fleet, which are flesh of the flesh, and bone of the bone, of the working class: all for peace!

But, comrades, when our wish for peaceful work, the wish which I heard from the lips of the two old workmen who had spent half a century at the work-bench; when this wish, arising from the depths of the soul of the workers and peasants of the whole of the Soviet federation; when our will to peace is unavailing, when the ring of imperialism is drawn still closer about us, when one challenge follows another and assumes a material form, when the bayonets of imperialism are pointed at our breast, or are raised to give us a stab in the back, then we shall say:

"The Red Army and the Red Fleet, though they desire to work peacefully—the Red Army and the Red Fleet will always do their duty!"

(All present rise to their feet and give the speaker an enthusiastic ovation.)

## POLITICS

### French Imperialism in Poland

By Victor Serge.

Now that we have Marshall Foch inspecting the troops of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, it is opportune to draw the attention of the proletarian world to a fact relating to the Polish attack on Russia in 1920. It is generally believed that in this war, the French army staff only began to take an interest in the Polish army at the last moment, in order to prevent Warsaw from being taken, this town being saved by General Weygand. This view of the case is, however, not correct. On the contrary, the French army staff took part in the war from the very beginning, which means that, even at that time, capitalist France and Red Russia were fighting on the Polish frontier. This signifies that the Red Army, when it drove the Poles out of Kieff and back to Warsaw at the point of the bayonet, showed itself capable of defeating a modern army under French command.

The proofs of this assertion may be seen in the museum of revolutionary exhibits in Petrograd. I had the opportunity, during the III. World Congress, of showing these documents to some French comrades. Some time after the collapse of the Polish invasion of the Ukraine, some comrades brought to Petrograd the archives and papers of certain Polish divisions, which had been captured or routed. The papers of one rifle regiment are especially fresh in my memory. All the orders for this Polish regiment, fighting in Poland against Russia, were written in French. The officers of the regiment were Frenchmen, or Poles born in France who were unable to write their own language properly. These papers were of a symbolic character. The Polish names only appeared in cases of persons who had been punished or had deserted. The typical style of the notes was as follows: Lieutenant Durand orders trooper Moraczewsky, Janos or Domczynski, to be placed under arrest for 8 days. Captain Dupont adds a further 8 days; Colonel Dupont-Durand is in agreement. These papers enable one to form a clear idea of the state of affairs. The commanders French, the officers French, and the cannon fodder, workers and peasants, given commands in a foreign language which they did not even understand—this was Poland. Thus were demonstrated the blessings of Polish independence. It is, however, satisfactory to note that the cannon fodder did its best to escape. Every day brought fresh desertions. The commanders-in-chief had not much faith in the cannon fodder. The patriotic enthusiasm of these poor people, driven into war against Russia, could not have been very great. It was too much risk to place important weapons in their hands, such as machine guns. I remember the 1st of names of a machine gun company, in which there was always a Frenchman to every two or three Poles, in order to ensure that the good French machine guns might not contribute to the equipment of the Russian Red Army. Another characteristic detail: At that time there was a scarcity of paper in Poland, and therefore the Polish army used the back of old French army staff maps for orders, decrees, etc.

And now French imperialism once more wants to drive the unhappy masses of mobilized Polish peasants against revolutionary Russia, under French command. Since Versailles, imperialism has become accustomed to carry on its wars by proxy. Thus the English contrived that it should be Greek blood which was shed when the English made war on Turkey in Asia Minor, and it was Goumaris who had to pay for the affair with his head instead of Lloyd George. This highly up-to-date method of conducting war consists in buying the blood of others. France's first trial of this method had disastrous effects for the European bourgeoisie. M. Poincaré, who knows so well how to laugh when visiting soldiers' graveyards, and Marhall Foch, the Molike of today, are preparing for a second adventure along the same lines. But all who know communist Russia are aware that these gentlemen will come a very bad cropper!

### The Petrograd Soviet on the War Danger

To the Workers of all Countries and the Workers of England in particular.

The Petrograd Soviet has discussed the question of the ultimatum sent by Lord Curzon to the Soviet government, and declares:

The workers of Petrograd, and—we are convinced—the working masses of all other peoples as well—have read the ultimatum of the English imperialists with indignation. For five hard years we have been fighting to protect the existence of Soviet Russia from the numerous attacks of internal and external counter-revolution. Neither famine nor deprivations have been able to shake the determined resolution of our working masses. Hundreds and thousands of our brothers have laid down their lives in this holy war for the liberty and independence of the Soviet state. And now, just as we are in the midst of the work of reconstructing the economy ruined by war and intervention, now that we have overcome the famine, now that the wounds dealt us in the attacks of the imperialists, among whom the imperialists of England have invariably played a leading part, are at last about to heal—now, like a bolt from the blue, appears a fresh ultimatum. The ruling circles of English imperialism have forgotten that Soviet Russia does not permit herself to be addressed, in the language of ultimatums, that the Federation of Soviet Republics is no Ruhr area, that our workers' and peasants' government is not at the mercy of the foreign governments which have done their best to ruin it, but is founded solely on the united endeavors and the determined will of the working masses of the great Soviet federation.

Of what does Lord Curzon accuse our country? In the eyes of the imperialists the blackest crime is the friendship between the first victorious workers' and peasants' government and the oppressed peoples of the East. Stricken blind, they cannot see that just as no one can prevent plants from turning to the sun, so it is impossible to prevent the oppressed millions of the Orient, exploited by world imperialism and degraded by financial capital, from striving towards alliance and friendship with the only Soviet country, and which in turn approaches the peoples of the East not treacherously but fraternally, not with egoistic aims, but in a spirit of equality.

Lord Curzon further accuses our country of not refraining from determined measures of self-defence against spies, even when these hide their real calling under priestly vestments. In Lord Curzon's words, this is not persecution of spies, but persecution of religion. The insignificant occurrence of the holding up of fishing vessels, which had penetrated illegally into our waters, has been shamefully exaggerated into a hostile act. The real import of the ultimatum is clear. It is either an attempt to institute a fresh blockade of Soviet Russia, just as she is beginning to recover from the injuries caused by the first, or it is the precursor of an open declaration of war. Our mere existence is a crime in the eyes of this irreconcilable representative of imperialism. And our greatest culpability lies in the fact that we are mastering all our difficulties, that we have begun to improve our economy, that we have not permitted Russia to be converted into a colony or a semi-colony and that we have offered successful resistance to the excessive appetite of Urquhart and other "concessionaries".

The shots fired at comrade Vorovsky light up the situation. That which the most irreconcilable sections of international imperialism are now planning is nothing less than the beginning of a fresh campaign against the Russian revolution. The campaign against the Ruhr area, the ultimatum sent by Curzon, the murder of Comrade Vorovsky, the triumphal entry of General Foch into Poland, the provocative preparations of the Polish government, the ceremonious visit of an English commission to Roumania, the inexorable determination of world capitalism to deprive the workers of all countries of economic rights and liberties already won—all these are links in one and the same chain.

Let the English imperialists, and the imperialists of the whole world, learn that there is no power capable of overcoming our Soviet Russia. We fear the threats of no imperialist government whatever. We can afford to laugh at attempts to frighten a country which has been the object of so many attacks during the past 5 years, and which has repulsed them all successfully. We declare that any attempt to threaten us with war or intervention will be the signal for 10 millions of our adult population to spring to arms ready to fight to the last drop of blood against the foreign invader. Woe to those who dare to attack a great people like ours, after all the sufferings it has gone through, and force it to abandon its peaceful work again.

From the Council of People's Commissaries we categorically demand, that it rejects Lord Curzon's ultimatum absolutely.

We appeal to the workers of all countries: A fresh campaign is being opened against Soviet Russia. In this campaign the victory, or even the semi-victory, of world imperialism would signify the annihilation of the labor movement for many years, and the prevalence of blackest reaction.

We appeal to the English workers, upon whose shoulders an immense historical responsibility rests. We are confident that the English workers will do their utmost to prevent the present rulers of England from unchaining the dogs of war in Europe again.

The workers, peasants, and toilers of every description in Russia will do their duty to the full. This we guarantee to the English workers. We call upon them to fulfil their duty too. Down with the instigators of new imperialist wars! Long live the struggle of the International Proletariat for peace and the workers' government.

The Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies: *Zinoviev.*

### Moscow Soviet and War Danger

The following appeals have been sent out by the Moscow Soviet in view of the threatening war danger:

To all Trade Union Organizations of the Workers, to all Workers.

The Moscow Soviet, representing the whole working class of Moscow, and expressing, conjointly with the leaders of the trade unions, the wishes of hundreds of meetings, and of the demonstration of the half million human beings surrounding at this moment the building in which the Soviet is in session,

appeals to the workers of the whole world, without difference of nationality, party, or opinion, to ward off the offensive prepared by international Fascism against Soviet Russia.

Amidst the distress of which the workers of all countries in Europe are victims at the present day, through the competition and greed of the capitalist governments, the Soviet government, supported by the determination of the workers, declares that it is anxious for peace, and for normal relations with all states. It considers the assassination of Vorovsky, and the hostile ultimatum sent by Lord Curzon, as the provocation of fresh disaster, threatening not only the proletariat of Russia, but that of the whole world, and expresses the profound conviction that the instigators of war will find themselves confronted by a world proletariat unanimous in fighting for peace.

The chairman of the Moscow Soviet.

*L. Kamenev.*

To Macdonald, House of Commons, London.

The Moscow Soviet, expressing the unanimous determination of the workers and all citizens of Moscow, appeals through you to the English Labor Party, and begs this party to exert every endeavor to prevent the English government from taking irrevocable steps.

The population of our capital, fully occupied with the problem of the economic reconstruction of the country, desires peace and normal relations with England, and is fully convinced that the development of active commercial relations would be in the interests of Russia and England alike. The innumerable meetings which have been held all over the capital ever since the English note was published, are unanimous witnesses of the certainty that the rupture can be avoided, if the English government will understand that the Russian people is not to be addressed in the language of ultimatums, and will agree to settle all points of difference on principles of reciprocity and equality.

The Soviet Republic, shaken out of its peaceful work by Lord Curzon's ultimatum, and by the murder of its representative Vorovsky, is anxious to obtain peace and peaceful relations at any price, but is, at the same time ready to rise as one man in defence of its independence, its sovereignty, and its government.

The chairman of the Moscow Soviet.

*L. Kamenev.*

To Fritjof Nansen.

The Moscow Soviet appeals to you, as its honorable member, in the hope that in this dark hour, pregnant with disaster, you will raise your voice against the instigators of war, and will proclaim to the world, which will listen to your voice, that Soviet Russia without flinching before the ultimatum and the bullet, is willing to exert herself to the utmost to preserve and secure peace.

The chairman of the Moscow Soviet.

*L. Kamenev.*

### The Struggle of the French CP against Poincaré

The Central of the French Communist Party recently compiled the following material for the use of speakers at the numerous meetings held for combating Poincaré. An idea may be gained from it of the various arguments employed by our French comrades in their propaganda against the Ruhr adventure. Ed.

1. Economic and social consequences of the Ruhr occupation. Industry.

Cessation of the deliveries of coal and coke. Rise in prices of coal and coke. Standstill of the Lorraine blast furnaces. Dislocation of the whole metal production. Increased prices for metal products. The Lorraine ore, hitherto worked up to a great extent in the Ruhr area, cannot easily find a market elsewhere. In order to replace it, the Germans have concluded contracts with Sweden which run till the year 1932. Depreciation of the franc in consequence of the uncertain political situation, in consequence of the necessity of buying coal and coke abroad, and in consequence of speculation in our money, of which large amounts are in foreign hands. Increased prices for textile goods, cotton, linen, which have to be imported and paid for in pounds sterling and dollars. General rise in prices of industrial products.

### Agriculture.

Higher prices for the industrial products required by agriculture: implements, machines, clothing, etc. Scarcity of carness-of-manures. Cessation of German deliveries of sulphate of ammonia. Scarcity of potash from Alsace Lorraine, as this is bought up by the Americans owing to the favorable rate of exchange of the dollar. Rise in the price of corn, in consequence of the increased price of the imported corn which has to be paid for in dollars. Scarcity of agricultural labor power as a result of the retention of the army class 1921 in military service. Prospects of poor sale of agricultural products as a result of increased prices and decreased purchasing powers of consumers.

### Trade.

Increase in the numbers of middlemen in consequence of the shortage of coal and metal products. Speculative holding back of goods. Speculation favored by fluctuations in rate of exchange. Example: The recent speculation in sugar. Injury to small traders in consequence of higher prices and lessening of purchasing powers of the masses.

### Finance.

Cessation of payments from Germany. The expenses of the Ruhr armies, the expenses of the retention of the army class 1921 under arms. Increase of state debt to England and America. For this debt, payable in dollars and pounds, increases in proportion to the depreciation of the franc. Decrease of taxation revenue as a result of high prices and dislocation of business life. Excessive military expenses in consequence of 18 months military service. Threatened fresh taxation. The deficit: several milliards in the regular budget; 15-20 milliards in the budget of "expenditure to be reimbursed by Germany". Continuation of the traffic in loans and treasury bonds. Uncertainty of state credit, damaging to small savers of the peasant and middle class.

### Result.

In Germany, and all over Europe, the Ruhr occupation exercises the same effect, varying only in degree of severity. The closing down of the industrial apparatus of the Ruhr area robs Europe of 100 million tons of coal annually, and upsets its whole economics. High prices, unemployment, paralysis of business life, increased speculation, shattered finance, lessening of purchasing power among the masses; all this has an effect disadvantageous to the workers, to lesser officials, and to the middle class in town and country. The struggle for the immediate needs of the working class is bound to evolve into a struggle against the occupation of the Ruhr valley. The peasants and the middle class must back up the proletariat, must join forces with the proletariat to fight against Poincaré's imperialist policy.

## 2. The intentions of the Ruhr policy.

### Alleged object.

Germany has to pay. This is a capitalist lie. The French state is ruining itself for the purpose of rendering its debtor, the German state, insolvent and equally ruined.

### Real objects.

The predominance of French metal industry in Europe. The Ruhr occupation is a pressure medium in the interests of the French industrialists. These would like to secure for themselves the leadership of the future Franco-German companies by holding 60% of the shares. The German industrialists hold out for an equal share. During the war German industry wanted the iron of Briey, today it is French industry which wants the coal of the Ruhr basin. In both cases the real point has been the combination of the ore of Lorraine with the coal of the Rhineland. The lord of these two is the lord of European heavy industry.

### Territorial and military annexation.

The intention is first to convert the Rhineland and the Ruhr area, by means of lengthy occupation, into independent states under French influence; annexation is then to follow. Under the pretext of the need of securities, France seizes upon the most favorable positions for the next war. The "Action Française" and the "Echo de Paris" admit this. They declare the fact of occupation creates the historical right to annexation.

### The dismemberment of Germany.

The French capitalist control of the Ruhr coal makes it possible to create antagonisms between the various German states, requiring coal, and thus to further the disintegration of the realm. Hugo Stinnes, "the good German patriot", would no doubt be content to look on at the separation of North Germany from South, if he could receive as compensation an equal share in French industry. By the occupation of the Ruhr valley, the coal bunker of Europe, French imperialism hopes to gain predominance over a Balkanized Europe.

## Endeavors to surround and crush a possible German revolution.

By depriving revolutionary centres of coal the spread of the movement all over Germany will be obstructed. The occupation of the Ruhr area is to crush the most dangerous seat of revolution beneath a military heel. Revolutionary Germany is already being surrounded with enemies—by the French domination over Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, by the Entente domination over Austria, and the domination of German Fascism in Bavaria. The Ruhr occupation closes this new cordon sanitaire. Whilst France's imperialist policy brings her into conflict with the other capitalist states, the occupation of the Ruhr area is a counter-revolutionary action on the part of France, undertaken in the interests of international capitalism. Poincaré's imperialism occupied the Ruhr area on the pretext of forcing Germany to pay. At the same time he is anxious to win public opinion for a policy of industrial despotism, of annexation, and of dismemberment of Germany. Poincaré, the head of international counter-revolution, therefore strives to prepare the defeat of the German revolution.

### 3. The results of the economic war in the Ruhr area.

A capitalist understanding between France and Germany, at the expense of the Ruhr proletariat. Longer working hours and reduction of wages in the Ruhr area. The competitive effect of this cheapened labor power will reduce the standard of living of the whole European proletariat. In order to break the resistance of the proletariat, capitalism will attempt to destroy the proletarian organizations by force. England will demand her share of the spoil, in order to prevent the industrial predominance of France. Even if England receives her share, she remains the rival of France.

The internationalization of the Ruhr area would have the same result. It would subject the Westphalian proletariat to the same shameful exploitation of which Austria is the present victim. A capitalist understanding, with or without England's participation, would signify: Strengthening of the Fascist danger in the whole of Europe, strengthening of the European capitalist offensive, the preparation of an imperialist war between England and France.

### The danger of a France-German war.

The disclosures made by the *Rote Fahne* show that nationalist Germany is secretly reconstructing its military power. The bloody collisions in the Ruhr area increase in frequency. They will become even more frequent if not prevented by the fraternization of French soldiers and German workers. The day may come when Germany's passive resistance and the economic war are transformed into real war.

### The possibility of a German revolution.

The growing misery of the German proletariat, further enhanced by the Ruhr occupation, may lead the masses to take up the fight for the workers' government, and thus to take the first step toward revolution.

### 4. The tasks of the proletariat.

Extension of the struggle against the capitalist offensive to a fight for the evacuation of the Ruhr and for the annulment of the Versailles Treaty. The French proletariat must demand of their rulers: "Out of Germany!" The power of French imperialism is to be shaken by agitation among the oppressed colonial peoples, so that the militarized black slaves may be prevented from permitting themselves to be used against the workers in social conflicts. The payment of the reparations is to be demanded from the capitalists of all countries, especially from French and German capitalists. The French state should seize the real values possessed by French capitalists, the German state the real values of the German capitalists, until the proletariat takes possession of the means of production by revolutionary action. Intensification of the struggle against the capitalist offensive and Fascism. Fight against every new imperialist war. The formation of a workers' government in Germany is to be striven for. In order to carry out these tasks, the united front of the international proletariat must be formed, and a European general strike prepared for.

No civil peace between proletariat and bourgeoisie. When the executioners fall out over the division of the booty, the victim has no part in their quarrel. The slave must utilize the strife between his masters to overthrow them, and to emancipate himself.

## The "Communist Putsch" in the Ruhr

By F. Dahlem (Berlin).

The Ruhr area is ablaze. Starvation has driven the workers out of the workshops and factories. The wage strike spreads from town to town. Gelsenkirchen, Dortmund, Bochum, Hamborn, all are in the midst of a general strike. In Duisburg,

Düsseldorf, Hörde, Bottrop, and even in the unoccupied Hammer district, the workers have downed tools. And the struggle continues to spread.

Hunger is driving the masses to fight for their daily bread. The fall of the mark has, during the last few weeks, driven food prices up by leaps and bounds. But the employers refuse to take this circumstance into account and grant higher wages. Wage negotiations are deliberately postponed. Deliberately, for the industrial capitalists of Rhenish-Westphalia have been anxious for a wage conflict with the Ruhr proletariat. The present situation appears to be favorable for provoking this war.

The business manager of German capital, the Cuno government, is aiming at capitulation. This means that it must break the self-defensive front on the Ruhr. But it is the proletarians who maintain the self-defensive front against Poincaré in the Ruhr. The first premise for the destruction of the Ruhr front is the subjugation of the Ruhr proletariat. And this is the whole import of the great campaign of lying and slander now being carried on against the workers of Rhenish-Westphalia by German capital, its governmental organs, its newspaper hacks, and its social democratic eunuchs.

The wages strike of the Ruhr workers is declared to be a "wild strike". The reformist trade union leaders do not countenance it, on the contrary, these servile flunkies of the German bourgeoisie are doing their utmost to render the strike abortive. But the workers of all parties have been driven by starvation and want into this united fighting front. They have formed their strike committees in their shop steward councils.

The industrial magnates and the government believed that they could easily drown the strike movement in blood. Over the body of the fallen Ruhr proletariat they then intended to conclude the compact of capitulation with Poincaré. But the force of the mass movement has been too deep-rooted and too strong for this. The workers in Gelsenkirchen, in Bochum, and Dortmund, were not inclined to simply let themselves be shot down. They deprived the bourgeois self-defence organizations of their weapons, and forced them to take to their heels. But they did not do this until dozens of striking workers lay dead or wounded in the streets. The work of self-defence against the rabble of provocateurs sent by the capitalists was everywhere taken up by the proletarian hundredshirts (defence units), and in some towns the protection of the inhabitants has been undertaken by security guards consisting of trade union organized workers.

The German bourgeoisie foams with rage now that the Ruhr proletariat upsets its plans of treachery against the people. Its whole press, from the German Nationals to the corrupted coolies of the German Socialist Party, has been let loose. "Communist putsch" is the universal watchword. "Strike down the communists" is the meaning of the slogan. At the press conference of the German government the government councillor Salla gave the cue of "especially emphasizing the communist crimes in the events in the Ruhr". It is only a deviation from the general line taken when the representative of the Prussian government at a later press session declared that "truth compels us to say that the communists have not participated in the events in the Ruhr. The strike movement is born of want of food and low wages. This press should endeavor to induce the employers to grant higher wages at the negotiations on Tuesday".

But the bourgeoisie is thirsting for blood. It wants to silence the starving population in the Ruhr area by force. Instead of bread-bullets.

The German bourgeoisie declares, with brutal candour, through its organs, what it wants in the Ruhr area. The Police President of Düsseldorf this German patriot, comes whining to General Degoutte: "Give me permission to strike down the workers". He reminds the general of the shameful assistance given, by Bismarck in defeating the Paris Commune.

"This occasion induces me to recall the circumstance that, at the time of the Commune rebellion, the German Commander in Chief afforded the French authorities every aid towards crushing the rising, in the most judicious manner. I am obliged to request the same in this case, if dangerous occurrences are to be avoided in the future."

And he requests permission to employ security police against the workers.

"It is my firm conviction that, if the situation be clearly recognized, the occupying powers will derive equal advantage as the German authorities from our successful efforts, and that it is solely Bolshevism and its supporters who have interests to the contrary."

The French generals have not turned a deaf ear to this appeal to the solidarity of the capitalist class. General Devignes has allowed the police troops to be reinforced, German fire brigades and security police have been provided with weapons by the French, in Wanne and Dortmund French occupation forces

have even taken steps against the strikers. The massacre of the German proletariat can begin.

At the time of the Paris Commune, over 30 000 imprisoned proletarians were shot by the Versailles authorities. Tens of thousands perished in the gaols or in penal servitude. The German monster of law and order demands that it be aided in carrying out a similar bloody massacre among its own people. On Sunday, May 27, 1871, tens of thousands of Parisian proletarians were placed before the wall of the Federals, where the bloodhounds of the French bourgeois republic shot down the men, women, and children of the defeated Commune, while the German besieging army looked on with benevolent tolerance. At that time, on the Sunday following whitsuntide in 1871, the French bourgeoisie acted against their own countrymen just as the organs of the German government now want to act against the Ruhr workers. The motives of the French bourgeoisie at that time were the same as those of the German bourgeoisie today.

"To complete the ruin, the Prussian Shylock was there with his bond for the keep of half a million of his soldiers on French soil, his indemnity of five milliards and interest at 5 per cent. on the unpaid instalments thereof. Who was to pay the bill? It was only by the violent overthrow of the Republic that the appropriators of wealth could hope to shift on to the shoulders of its producers the cost of a war which they, the appropriators, had themselves originated. Thus, the immense ruin of France spurred on these patriotic representatives of land and capital, under the very eyes and patronage of the invader, to graft upon the foreign war a civil war — a slaveholders' rebellion.

There stood in the way of this conspiracy one great obstacle — Paris." Marx "The Civil War in France."

The prediction of the communists, that the capitalists of Germany and France would unite at the expense of the proletariat after crushing it, is proving correct. All the organs of bourgeois society are now taking up the attack against the working class. The capitulation of the German government is going ahead at full speed. The Cuno government is tottering, heavy capital demands a government willing to capitulate. Heavy capital is laying down its terms. These have been formulated in a communication recently addressed by the "National Union of Industry" ("Reichsverband der Industrie") to the German lord chancellor, as follows. Organization of state undertakings on principles of private enterprise, decontrol of home economics and foreign trade, full liberty for tariff agreements, release of industry from unproductive wage burdens, etc. Translated into proletarian language, this means: Delivery of the railways and other nationalized and state undertakings into the hands of private capital, unlimited liberty for profiteering, abolition of the eight hour day, pledging of taxes, dismissal of war-disabled, etc.

This is the situation. These are the aims for which the struggle in the Ruhr is being carried on.

The Central of the German Communist Party has issued an appeal to the German working class, drawing its attention to the dangers now brewing in the Ruhr valley, and calling upon it to arouse and take up self defence. After pointing out the bankruptcy of the impotent sabotage policy pursued by the Cuno government against the invasion of French imperialism, the appeal further draws attention to the organized provocations, which have no other object than the thrusting of the costs of the capitulation onto the working class which is now being suppressed by deeds of violence. The Central opposes its action to that of the treachery of the social democratic trade unions, and summons the working masses of Germany to take up the fight all over the country for the following slogans:

"For a labor government, which will gather together the masses for the disarmament of the Fascists, and for the formation of armed self-defence organizations of the German working class;

which will carry on the struggle for the seizure of real values and of the milliards of profits gained by the exploiters; which will unite with Soviet Russia in an offensive and defensive alliance, for the joint development of socialist economics, and for an earnest struggle against the French invasion and against subjugation by international capitalism and imperialism."

The workers of the Ruhr area are called upon to recognize and frustrate the manoeuvres of those heavy industrial capitalists who are contemplating high treason; not to let themselves be provoked into partial struggles for the conquest of political power, but to carry on the wages fight to a victorious end, aided by a united front holding determinedly and firmly together despite the treachery of the United Social Democratic party and the bureaucracy of trade unionism.

The whole German working class must be on the alert. The cause of the whole class is at stake today in the Ruhr valley.

## Coming Liquidation of Ruhr Struggle

By Leonid and A. Friedrich.

### Preparations for Trustification.

The situation in Germany and France resembles that of Germany in October 1918, when Ludendorff and Hindenburg, by constantly threatening a collapse at the front, compelled the government in Berlin to offer an armistice. In Germany, though the "DAZ" may pretend to be ever so important and unvanquished (since Stinnes can, at any rate, stand his ground in the Ruhr-struggle a little longer than Stresemann) and in France as well, in spite of all the arrogance of the *Journée Industrielle*, they are tired of the Ruhr struggle. Nobody has conquered, so they will have to come to terms, fifty-fifty, if sixty-forty is not to be had.

And this reconciliation in the making, the preparation for a coming Trust, expresses itself, more clearly than in the doings of Cuno, Rosenberg, Stresemann, Schiffer, Romier, Renaud, Laurent etc., in a trustification that has already begun within the sphere of the national industry of both countries, particularly of Germany. Before we can have a fusion on a Continental scale, we must first become properly federated on a national scale, that is what the future German shareholders in the "Franco-German-European-Company Ltd." are thinking, and as the *Dresdener Neueste Nachrichten* (April 29, 1923) has it:

"Besides the market for foreign currencies and the rise of discounts, there has been recently still another topic of conversation on Change: the great combinations in the mining industry were a lively and ever fresh subject of discussion. It is true that no definite conclusions have yet been reached. The last transaction has been modestly launched under the flag of Caro-Linke-Hoffmann, yet through the mists of the future a structure of phantastic grandeur may be discerned growing out of it. From Linke-Hoffmann the way leads to the A.E.G., from there to the Otto Wolf Concern with its important Dutch interests. The next vista shows the Henschel-Lothringen concern and the Hanomag-Group, though this is by no means the limit of possibilities. From the Archimedes A.G., the great majority of whose shares has lately been taken over by Linke-Hoffmann, there is one way to the "Phoenix", another to the Mansfeld-Bergbau A.G. The community of interests, concluded last year between Archimedes and the Düsseldorf Eisenhütten A.G., opens up new possibilities of trusts. New prospects open up at the same time from Caro-Hagenscheidt. The threads go to Charlottenhütte, Bismarckhütte, Oberbedarf, nay, from Oberbedarf to the whole of the Ravené-Concern. It is understandable that the gigantic trust which is still enshrouded in the mists of the future, is able to give important animation to speculation on Change!"

There is no doubt as to what this national-capitalist association will mean with regard to the coming continental-capitalist conclusion of the Ruhr war.

And England and America, the great outsiders, what will they say? They have an inkling already that the bargain will be made, and also want their share. From the outset they want to have a finger in the pie, so as to run no risk of a united concern of mere continental-European capital, which would mean imminent danger to their position in World-capitalism. On March 14, Bonar Law caused the *Times* to say (though unofficially):

"The time seems to be quite near when England will be called upon to have a share or to play her part in the solution of the Ruhr problem. In this way England has prepared the ground for a solution that would answer to her own interests."

And Hoover, the American secretary of Trade, has officially declared that through the occupation of the Ruhr district, the industrial activity of America has rather been promoted than otherwise, for instance in the iron and steel industry. At the same time, however, evidently with regard to the coming Franco-German reconciliation, a conference of the European ambassadors of America is being announced. In what manner will England and America find their way into the "Combination"? We had best ask Mr. Loucheur, who at this moment seems to be the mediator between the Comité des Forges, that wishes for a speedy reconciliation with Germany, and M. Poincaré, who wants first to secure for France as many gold-billions as possible. According to the *Daily Telegraph*, Loucheur is of opinion that, besides paying 26 billions in gold to France, stabilizing the mark, "demilitarizing" the Rheinland etc., Germany will take over the debt of the Allies to America, that is to say, she will become, financially, permanently dependent on a certain group of American finance-capitalists, who will make

use of this situation to invest in German values, the more so, as, according to Loucheur's plan, the German railways, canals and mines will have to be offered as stakes against an international loan. The same will be the outcome of all the other plans for international loans: America is to become financier-in-chief to Germany.

The preparations for such a loan, quite practical preparations, are being made already behind the screen, in Wall Street as well as in the City of London (Campaign of Barclay's Bank). All these roads lead to the same issue: Internationalization of the coming continental-European association of capital through America's and England's entering into the concern.

No doubt this internationalization has its keenest, if secret, opponent in Hugo Stinnes, as also perhaps in the Comité des Forges, because for both of them the invasion of their sole competitors spells danger to their European trust, which they had meant to be a monopolist concern. Of course the German and French gentlemen would greatly prefer to be left sole masters, which is clearly to be seen from the fact, that even the members of the French Ruhr Engineers Commission, those men who are hardly less bitterly hated by the German capitalists than Poincaré, come—some of them—from the same concerns in which Stinnes works likewise (for instance M. Ernest Langrogne, member of the notorious French Engineers Committee, is interested in the Compagnie Charbonnière du Rhin side by side with Gustav and Leo Stinnes). They were friends and they will become friends again. They will come to terms as to the percentage without regard to the two nations and at their cost.

It is the workers who are to defray the costs.

It has often been so: When 2 firms are on the point of amalgamating, they both work for months and months against each other, using the dirtiest means available. The press of the Exchange prints "revelations", there is a sinking of values, the small shareholders are up in arms, they boycott one another, and—one fine day a contract between the two firms has been concluded behind their backs. It is always the small shareholders that have to pay the costs, together with the staff of the firm and the customers.

The very same forces are at work now, when the German-French fusion is being prepared, only on a much greater scale. Tomorrow, in the event of the contract being concluded, the masses of the people in France as well as in Germany will have something to wonder at, but to-day, the German as well as the French bourgeoisie do whatever they can to secure the peaceful carrying on of their business, if only on the outside. The unemployed of the Ruhr are getting 12,000 marks allowance a day, for which they have to hold their tongue. What are these 12,000 M. for? Why do the French Occupation authorities promise high extra rates to those of the miners and railwaymen, who are ready to work for them? There is no capitalist, who will invest without hope of profit. The capitalists both in Germany and in France hope, that in return for the amounts which they give away today to the unemployed in the shape of allowances and extras they will to-morrow receive high profits from these very same workers. Billions are being paid for strikes and for totally unproductive work. The appearance of security has to be upheld. That is of political importance both at home and abroad. But the consequences of reduced production and stagnant trade, the costs of the military occupation, the result of the destruction of traffic etc., can not in the long run, be artificially concealed.

According to the reckoning of the capitalists, it is the workers who are to pay the whole of these costs and outlays. It has to be said in plain English, that an association between the German Coal-Syndicate and the Comité des Forges (with the English and Americans sharing in it)—and this is what is being prepared now—spells a complete victory of the bourgeoisie over the Proletariat.

If the workers remain looking on with their arms folded, or if socialist leaders even try to find a basis for this understanding, their attitude is of the greatest profit to the capitalist rulers. The essential thing is: that the Franco-German association as well as the internationalization of the Ruhr be impeded by every means by the working class, though this will only be possible, if the proletarian front is consolidated under the strictest discipline. Leaders of the German proletariat, you are responsible! No possibility of concentrating our powers may be left unused, and not only in the Ruhr district. Everywhere, and over the heads of incompetent leaders, the workers have to organize for the fight.

The German workers, in the present situation, are faced with a great revolutionary task. If we hesitate, the chances of our emancipatory struggle disappear from day to day. If we organize our powers, then the calculations of Stinnes and Cuno, of de Wendel and Loucheur will become mere scraps of paper!

## Oil

By I. Amter.

The Lausanne Conference, the murder at Lausanne of Vorovsky the representative of the Soviet Republic, the insolent note of the British Government to Soviet Russia, the Ruhr invasion, the tour of Marshall Foch to Warsaw, Prague and Bucharest, the Pan-American Conference and the presence of an American "observer" at the Lausanne Conference intrusted to protect the Chester oil concession in Turkey—these are not independent phenomena, but part of the international scuffle after power by three imperialist groups. Though at points these groups are interrelated and, at times, when it suits their self-interests, will cooperate, they may, as a whole, be regarded as three competitive groups: the British, American and French groups. And one of the principal matters over which they are competing is Oil.

Oil is becoming the leading motive power for transportation. The United States supplies about 70 per cent of the total output. The total world production in 1922 was 759,000,000 barrels, the participation being as follows: United States 469,000,000 barrels, Mexico 169,000,000, Russia 28,000,000, Borneo 18,000,000, Persia 16,000,000. The remainder was distributed among the various countries of the world. Production however, is not keeping pace with the consumption in the principal industrial countries. The uses to which oil is being put are constantly increasing. Today it is employed for feeding automobiles, tractors, gas engines, locomotives and merchant ships, and warships in time of war.

Probably to give the American Government an excuse to carry on intrigues in order to procure more oil, geologists declare that the American oil fields will not last more than 8 to 15 years. The Turkish and Mesopotamian fields are said to be good for many years more, hence the American Government is making the greatest efforts to get a share of them. As the above figures reveal, the Mexican field is the second largest in the world. The deficit of more than 100,000,000 barrels required for the American market is supplied by Mexico, from which American producers obtained 130,000,000 barrels last year. The importance of securing a large share of the Mexican output, therefore, is obvious.

America is not the only nation requiring oil. Great Britain, and in a lesser degree, France need large supplies. Great Britain secured a mandate for Mesopotamia, which it proceeded to exercise without regard to other claims. France claimed a mandate for Anatolia. There are oil fields in South America, in Persia, Roumania, India, Galicia and Borneo, which Great Britain and France as well as Holland are trying to monopolize against American demands. As a compensation for the friendly settlement of the British debt to the United States, Great Britain was willing to make a concession to American capital, in granting cooperation in the Mesopotamian oil fields. To the naive politician it appeared as if the United States and Great Britain, therefore, would work together, and that harmony had been established between the two leading world competitors.

But two matters have arisen to stir up animosity—and these two matters are bound to have far-reaching consequences: Before retiring as Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Fall denied the Royal Dutch Shell Company, through a subsidiary in the United States, the right to take over the lease and operation of certain oil lands. Declaring that American law provided that "citizens of another country, the laws, customs, or regulations of which deny similar or like privileges to citizens or corporations of this country (America) shall not by stock ownership, stock holdings, or stock control, own any interest in any lease acquired under the provision of this act", the U.S. declared a war of retaliation against the exclusion of American producers from foreign fields.

The Royal Dutch Shell combine, a British-Dutch concern, controls about 11 per cent of the world's oil production. In 1922, the combination effected a merger of its principal subsidiaries in the United States. Through this merger, the Royal Dutch controls about 3.5% of the oil production of the United States. The Royal Dutch controls 90% of the 18,000,000 barrels produced annually in the Dutch East Indies. Together with the Rothschild interests, the Asiatic Petroleum Company, a distributing agency was formed which plays a leading part in the distribution of oil along the eastern routes. Thus a steamer, leaving New York for a voyage round the world, calling at 110 important ports along the Mediterranean, in India, the East Indies, Japan, the Philippines, Australia and the western coast of North America, and then returning to New York via the Panama Canal would find oil bunkering stations operated by a member of the Royal Dutch Shell group at every important port of call.

The Turkish Petroleum Company, Ltd., a British concern, is owned 50% by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which is

controlled by the British Government through ownership of 65% of its stock. This company claims all the rights to oil in Mesopotamia. The Pearson oil properties in Mexico are under control of the Royal Dutch—which is openly declared to be owned by the British Government.

This conflict of American producers with British producers, or, in other words, with the British Government, takes on even larger dimensions and is becoming a political issue of first importance. The Chester concessions in Turkey, which were granted in 1906, were recently ratified by the Angora Government, which contended that a former grant made to the French Government was not fully paid and therefore is null and void.

The Chester concession covers a grant of 10 miles on either side of a railway line that is to be built by the corporation. This land is extremely rich in oil, copper and iron. The grant conflicts, however, with the British and French claims in the Mosul oil fields, so that international complications will soon ensue. The United States Government has stated that it will support Chester in his demands. Such papers as the *Washington Post*, whose utterances may be regarded as semi-official, and the *Wall Street Journal*, think it would be insane for the Government to get involved in the Near East "quarrel", against which public sentiment took a decided stand in 1921. However, the present administration is an "oil" administration. The Chester group and the Standard Oil interests have evidently made their peace, so that the U.S. Government will take an energetic stand for the defence of the Chester interests.

The Soviet Government has given a concession to the Barnsdall Corporation and has ratified the concession given to the Sinclair Oil Corporation in Siberia. The Urquhart concession has not been confirmed. Baku is the goal of the imperialists. It is the richest oil field in the world as yet unexplored and means to its owners tremendous wealth and power. Through machinations and intrigues, manipulations and new groupings, the capitalist powers hope to get possession of Baku and thereby deprive the Soviet Government of the leading fuel at the present time.

The deadlock at the Lausanne Conference is due to the entrance of America as an active factor in the controversy in the East. Mosul, the oil pearl, is the immediate center of contention and will be bartered to that imperialist group whose political influence is best suited to nullify the stranglehold that European imperialism is attempting to get on Turkey.

This is leading to a sharp conflict between America and Great Britain, despite all protests of Anglo-Saxon "harmony" and "community of interests". The race after oil is the race for power. Even though shale deposits have been discovered in Colorado and Utah, which may supply oil equal to eight times the total output to date in the United States, or five times that of the entire world, the demand for oil cannot be satisfied. Industry depends on an adequate supply, and the navy cannot develop without it. The Chester concession has a value of \$1,000,000,000 and has tremendous potentialities.

The conflict raging in the East, which has reached a crisis in the assassination of Vorovsky and the threatening attitude of Great Britain toward Soviet Russia, has much of its origin in the oil question. Soviet Russia refuses to hand over her oil possessions to imperialist exploitation; the Mosul and Mesopotamian oil fields are claimed by British, American and French interests. The so-called "open door" is not what any nation wants: it demands a monopoly of the precious fuel. Hence the allotment of territory to American corporations will not satisfy greedy American imperialism.

Oil is back of the next war.

## The Wedding of the 2. and 2 1/2 Internationals

By Heinrich Brandler (Berlin).

Reform socialism is bankrupt, nationally and internationally, and so is centrism. It is perfectly clear that the amalgamation of two bankrupt currents of the labor movement cannot signify any positive gain, any advance. As was the case in Germany, where the amalgamation of the Social Democratic Party with the Independent Social Democratic Party has not brought any increase in the power of action displayed by the combined parties, but has had rather a weakening and diminishing effect, so in the case of the union of the 2nd and 2 1/2 Internationals, this will not increase the international power of action of the combination.

Reform socialism went bankrupt at the outbreak of war in 1914. In the year 1914 the revolutionary phraseology of the reform socialists revealed itself to be empty talk; despite all

the solemn resolutions passed by their national and international conferences, they did not take up the fight against war but capitulated and went over to the camp of the bourgeoisie.

Centrism crystallized in the formation of a separate party precisely because of the war policy pursued by the reformists. Here again the history of the Independent Social Democratic Party is typical; it began as a rebellion against the war policy of the reform socialists, but was incapable of opposing the clear and positive civil peace and cooperation policy of the social patriots with an equally clear and determined revolutionary program. Centrism never got further than pacifist arguments. While the reform socialists openly stuck to the bourgeoisie through thick and thin, the Independents trotted at their heels, arguing all the time. After the collapse of the war, centrism could not straightaway make it up with the reform socialists. While the Russian Revolution was glowing, it utilized this revolutionary phase to gather together the war-weary and passive labor elements beneath the flag of passive support for the German Socialist Party.

Easy come, easy go. The hard demands which the proletarian class war laid upon organizations and leaders alike, in the times following the war, replaced the revolutionary phase by the advance of victorious counter-revolution. The practical policy of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany in no way differed from that of the reform socialists, the revolutionary elements deserted it, after being deceived by it but for a short time, and went over to the communist camp. After the Social Democrats and Independents had become completely bankrupt, they amalgamated into the United Social Democratic Party of Germany. During the Rathenau crisis, both parties demonstrated their bankruptcy so openly, that it was impossible for anyone to be deceived any longer; they showed that they feared the revolutionary struggle of the workers more than anything else, and that their amalgamation served merely mechanical and organizational ends, but had no further political significance.

The amalgamation of the 2. and 2½ Internationals occurs at a time when the clear will to fight for the rule of the working class must be supported by courage, courage and again courage, if the duties imposed by the present struggle are to be efficiently carried out. We have reached a decisive turning point. The international capitalist offensive is concentrating upon a renewed attack on the revolutionary stronghold of the world proletariat, Soviet Russia. The antagonisms in the Entente have become so acute that the bankrupt statesmen can only hide their bankruptcy from the broad working masses for a brief period by plunging into fresh war adventures. France has appropriated to herself the military and political domination of Europe. England fights in vain for the re-establishment of her position of world power. The consolidation of Soviet Russia, the improvement of the economic conditions and of the standard of life among the masses of workers and peasants in Russia, the only state of its kind in the world, are becoming a serious menace to the existence of bourgeois rule in the old capitalist countries. Lenin's serious illness lures the English bourgeoisie, which feels itself threatened by Soviet Russia's increasing strength, to try what resistance Soviet Russia is able to offer without Lenin; hence England's present inclination to try a new intervention, a new economic and commercial blockade, accompanied if possible by armed predatory invasions through the agency of vassal states.

The situation is extremely grave. French imperialism is trying to complete its hegemony by shattering Germany. English imperialism is trying to recover its lost position of world power by shattering Soviet Russia. In this situation the representatives of the 2. and 2½ Internationals can find nothing better to do than to pursue their civil peace and cooperation policy in obedience to their bourgeoisies. The echo of the recent declarations of war against war, made at the congress held by the 2. and 2½ Internationals at the Hague, has scarcely died away, and yet these heroes are already preparing, side by side with their piratical and war-mongering bourgeoisies, to tolerate and co-operate in the subjection of Germany and the subjection of Soviet Russia.

The revolutionary working class, the communists and the revolutionary trade unions, once more put to the reformists and centrists the unequivocal question: Will you join us in the formation of the fighting proletarian united front against war and the Fascist world danger—despite all other differences of opinion—and help us to organize this; or will you—as in 1914—form a united front with the bourgeoisie, against the proletariat?

The decision of the Hamburg Conference to join forces with the bourgeoisie, against the proletariat, will aid the disintegration of the ranks of the working class still backing up the representatives of the reformist Internationals; it will have the

effect of separating the working masses from their treacherous leaders and uniting them with the revolutionary workers. The formation of the proletarian united front can be hindered by the united leaders of the 2. and 2½ Internationals, but it cannot be prevented. Months will pass before the present capitalist world crisis develops into open counter-revolutionary war between world bourgeoisie and world proletariat, into practical execution of the designs against Soviet Russia. It is incumbent on the Communists to use the short time still at our disposal, to rouse the working populations of the whole world, to prepare them to join forces and take up the fight against war and Fascist world reaction, if need be without and against the one-time leaders of the Western European labor movement.

## The Hamburg Communists and the International Socialist Congress

By Rudolf Lindau.

Hamburg has always had the reputation of being a stronghold of social democracy, and is still designated as such by the leaders of social democracy. The chairman of the United Social-Democratic Party of Germany in Hamburg, Leuteritz, boastfully proclaimed at the congress of the 2. and 2½ Internationals that Hamburg counts approximately 100,000 social democrats, while the communists have only about 5,000 to 10,000 members. In the first place these figures are not accurate, for according to the reports of the Social Democratic Party there are not quite 80,000 members in Hamburg, and, in the second place, the recent elections for the International Congress show in what estimation these members are to be held, for only 1½ per cent of them took part in the election. Nevertheless, there are still about eight organized social democrats in Hamburg to every organized communist. This proportion of numbers does not, however, give any correct idea of the comparative influence of the two parties. The last shop steward elections, at which the communists received the majority of all votes in many shops and factories (as for instance in the Hamburg shipyards), showed this very clearly. The policy pursued by the Hamburg social democrats, who possess, with the communists, the majority in the Hamburg parliament, and yet prefer to form a coalition government with the bourgeois parties, has done much to open the eyes of numerous workers. The Hamburg Congress of the 2. and 2½ Internationals has not been able to retard this process of enlightenment.

The party leaders of the united social democrats in Hamburg, and the organization committee of the congress, had pictured things quite differently. When the German Communist Party announced that on Whit Monday, the opening day of the congress, it would oppose its own demonstration to the social democratic demonstration, the social democratic leaders initiated the wildest agitation against the German Communist Party, pretending that the congress building was going to be stormed by the communists, the congress broken up. The "Union of the Republic", the party defence organization of the social democrats, was mobilized, and the social democratic police senator sent large numbers of police constables to protect the congress. The German Communist Party at once protested, in the press and in numerous handbills, against this despicable attempt to incite the workers against one another, and effectively countered the intended provocation by openly declaring that it would consider anyone a provocateur who attempted to disturb the social democratic and communist demonstrations.

The intention of dealing a heavy blow at the united front now forming, by means of inducing the workers to come to blows among themselves, was thus a complete failure. A demonstration of the communists, more powerful and determined than Hamburg has ever before witnessed, passed off under the protection of large numbers of stewards, in the most admirable order. Before the congress building the police were waiting, as also the misled workers belonging to the social democratic defence organization, but these waited in vain for any pretext for interference. The social democratic *Echo* was next day reluctantly obliged to acknowledge the power of the demonstration, and attempted to cover the retreat of the social democratic leaders with the lamentable excuse that the communists had altered their tactics at the last moment, and abandoned the intention of breaking up the congress. — The social democratic demonstration on the same day was more extensive than that of the communists, but was attended by crowds of curious petty bourgeois, and was as lacking in unity and impressiveness even as the variegated speeches, delivered by the great guns among the international speakers.

The main work of the communists has, however, been in the workshops and factories. Two days before the congress

met, one of the workshop councils' plenary meetings, convened by the committee of fifteen (not recognized by the trade unions) of the workshop councils, had adopted a definite attitude towards the congress, and formulated its demands. At the supplementary election to the committee of fifteen, three social democratic workers were elected for the first time. Workshop meetings and also the unemployed decided on their attitude towards the congress; they passed resolutions, and sent delegations to the congress. In the factories and workshops discussions took place among the workers, as fresh material for debate kept coming in daily from the congress. Dozens of public meetings held by the German Communist Party in Hamburg and its immediate environs, with foreign and German comrades as speakers, supported the campaign against the congress of phrases. An enormous number of copies of the pamphlet containing Edo Fimmen's speech, delivered in Hamburg a few weeks ago, were distributed. Pages of the communist *Hamburger Volkszeitung* were posted up in the workshops.

When the conflict between the English government and the Soviet government became acute, the Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism, the committee of fifteen of the workshop councils, the Seamen's union, the Communist Youth, and the German C.P., called upon the workers to make a mass demonstration after working hours. Tens of thousands of Hamburg workers replied by assembling in a mighty demonstration. The delegation sent by the demonstrators to the congress was turned out of doors, with its demands, just as brusquely as the workshop delegation had been. This congress did not want to adopt any definite attitude towards war danger, the Ruhr occupation, or any of the dangers threatening the proletariat, and above all, it did not want to take a single step towards forming the united front of the militant working class. The reasons for this, and the political conclusions to be drawn, will not be discussed here. But if the social democrats in Hamburg assumed that they could use the congress of so-called amalgamation against the German Communist Party, then they have been severely disappointed. Precisely in Hamburg, where the congress was held, and where the workers had to look on while a workers' delegation striving for the united front was turned out of the congress doors, precisely here the events and the result of the congress will greatly contribute to a closing of the ranks of the workers, and will destroy the influence of the social democratic leaders now bound to stand or fall with the bourgeoisie.

## ECONOMICS

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

#### VI. England.

"Once again, as so often during the last 4 years, the hope of rapid economic improvement has been destroyed by the problem of German reparations . . . . The Disappointment arose in the first week of the new year, when the conference dramatically collapsed and was followed by the French invasion of the Ruhr, whose consequences have thrown all the other events of the last quarter of a year, into the shade, though these have been many. One of the most important of these other events is the agreement between England and the United States on the terms of consolidation of the greatest international debt in history . . . . As regards state finance, the revenues were unexpectedly excellent, to such an extent . . . that the year ended with a surplus of 100 million pounds. On the other hand . . . there is no hope of any considerable fresh decrease in taxation. Between December 1922 and March 1923, the number of employed fell by 168,900, but the rate of this decrease is less favorable than was hoped for in the autumn . . . . Foreign trade, which, during the autumn showed many signs of expansion, retrogressed instead of rapidly developing . . . . No-one can deny that the harmful effects of the Ruhr occupation are spreading more and more, not only in British industry, but in every sphere of international intercourse . . . . Uncertainty, lack of confidence, inconstancy, and every psychological tendency calculated to hinder the development of production and commerce, are again at work . . . .

The press, and public opinion, are full of the advantages which the Ruhr occupation has brought our coal, iron, and steel industries . . . . But our textile industry is feeling the effect of the enormous withdrawal of continental orders;

and the lack of demand for home freights from which our shipping is now suffering, indicates a shrinkage of international trade. The new crisis in Europe has diminished the purchasing power of an important area. And producers in other countries, who are also losing their customers on the continent, are not able to buy the products of English industry to any great extent. The breach in the circle of international trade has been widened again, and this widening is bound to be felt, sooner or later, by British commerce in almost every part of the earth."

These words of the *Economist* aptly characterize the situation of English economics during the last quarter of a year, and the distavor with which English capitalists regard the fresh disturbances brought about in the world's markets by France's military action. It only remains for us to add a few data to this general description.

#### Unemployment.

During the period covered by this report, the number of unemployed has steadily decreased, though more slowly than was hoped for; the number had decreased by 201,000 between the beginning of the year and April 6.; the total number on April 6. being, 1,285,000. The percentage of unemployed is as follows:

	Organized in trade unions	Total insured
End of November 1922	14.2	—
End of December 1922	14.0	—
End of January 1923	13.7	12.7
End of February 1923	13.1	11.8

It will be seen that the improvement is very slow. The number of unemployed is still 5 to 6 times higher than under "normal" conditions. The unemployed problem is still the central problem of English social life. It must be borne in mind that the actual number of unemployed is greater than the number stated, as large numbers of workers are on part-time. A group of bourgeois economists, including Prof. Bowley and B. Seebohm, recently published a compilation, under the title: "The third winter of unemployment", in which they show their independent investigations to have brought them to the conclusion, that in the Autumn of 1922, the shortage of working possibilities was not 11.9%, as is to be inferred from the number of unemployed insured, but between 20 and 22%.

A further difficulty consists in the fact that the number of unemployed is very unequally divided among the various trades. The majority of unemployed are in the ship-building trade, machine building, and above all in the metal industry. In some of these industries there are many more unemployed than the number of the increase of workers between 1914 and 1922. And it is exceedingly characteristic of most of the English economists, that they can suggest no other solution for the unemployed problem than emigration and limitation of population. We are experiencing a renaissance of Malthusianism. It is no other individual than Keynes, at the present time lauded by the radical bourgeois press of the whole world, who writes as follows in the re-construction number 12 of the *Manchester Guardian*:

"In the light of present-day science, it is impossible for me to see any practical method of materially improving the fate of the average human being which does not include a plan for the limitation of the population. If, to use Malthusian phraseology, the ravages of poverty, disease, and war are removed, they must be substituted by something else. It may prove sufficient if we render the limitation of births easy and free from danger, and if we alter our customs and conventional morals a little."

Precisely as Malthusianism originated during a period of transition to a new state of society, during a period in which the introduction of machinery had released so much man-power that England could not support her population; precisely in the same manner there is now a revival of Malthusianism, for the present period of transition from capitalism to socialism again causes the English economists to despair of being able to solve the problem of unemployment by economic means.

It should not be forgotten that unemployment imposes heavy burdens on the English bourgeoisie. In 1922, state expenditure for unemployment doles amounted in round figures to 100 million £. This does not include poor law expenditure. A statement sent to the prime minister gives the following figures as to the increase of these burdens between 1914 and 1921:

Poor rate per 1 ton of steel produced by the firm of Bolkow Vaughan & Co.:	d
1914	5.17
1921	3/2.

## Total taxation, excepting income tax, for

1 ton of steel: 1914	2/-
1 ton of steel: 1921	21/1

Even if these data be some what exaggerated, it is none the less a fact that unemployment places very heavy burdens on the English bourgeoisie, and the slow improvement of English economics leaves little prospect that unemployment will return to its usual level this year. The English big industrialists addressed a communication to the minister of finance at the end of March, demanding that the income tax be reduced by a shilling in the pound for the coming fiscal year, and referring to the brilliant results of the past financial year, reported on in the general section of this report.

## The State of the Markets.

As seen from the figures quoted in the introductory section, the state of the market has varied, but on the whole has improved. Among the most important branches of industry, that of coal shows the greatest improvement. The output has reached its pre-war standard, and amounts to something over 5½ million tons. There is great scarcity of coal in the southern coal district, and the works are provided with orders for some months in advance. Prices are rising rapidly.

Under these circumstances the discontentment of the English miners is easily understood, as at the present time their actual wages are much lower than before the war. As is well known, the English miners, or rather their trade union leaders, came to an agreement with the capitalists after the failure of the betrayed miners, strike; this agreement provides that wages be adjusted quarterly to the state of business. Thus the miners have now had to look on while the capitalists are making brilliant profits, and they themselves are starving on low wages, and unemployment continues in spite of the better state of the market. This state of affairs has induced the miners during the last three months, to make various attempts to persuade the prime minister to have an investigation commission appointed for the coal industry, for the purpose of having a minimum wage decided upon. All these attempts have been opposed by the English government, but the miners have not yet resolved on any decided steps towards the improvement of their wages.

Iron and steel industry has also experienced a considerable revival during this last period. The most important figures are as follows:

	Average production per month.	
	Iron	Steel
1913	855,000	638,600
1920	669,500	755,600
1921	218,000	308,600
1922	408,300	486,000
December 1922	533,700	546,100
January 1923	567,900	634,100
February 1923	543,400	707,100

This improvement in the coal and iron industry is chiefly attributable to the Ruhr conflict. It is, however, not entirely due to this cause, for during the whole of 1922 a steady improvement was to be observed in these branches of industry.

Improvement is much slower in the ship-building and machine-building trades, which are so important for England. The freight markets are also showing but slight signs of improvement. But it is the cotton industry which appears to be suffering most severely; cotton spinners are working short-time, and during the second half of March the position in the cotton weaving concerns had grown so bad that the question of short-time for the cotton weavers is also being mooted.

## Price Movement.

During the last few months prices in England have shown a tendency to rise, the rate of exchange of the pound and dollar remaining at the same time unchanged. The wholesale trade figures published by the *Economist* are as follows:

December	116.2
January	168.6
February	171.6

The course taken by cost of living does not correspond to this. The figures first calculated by the Ministry of Labor for each of these months are as follows:

December	80
January	78
February	77
March	76

Percentages above pre-war level.

While wholesale prices have been rising since December, the cost of living is alleged to have sunk.

## Foreign Trade.

Considering the great increase in the export of iron and coal, England's foreign trade figures are lower than might have been expected. These are as follows:

	In million £	
	Imports	Exports
December 1922	94.9	67.4
January 1923	99.7	77.7
February 1923	83.9	67.3

Before forming a judgment on the February figures, we must take into consideration that February had 3 working days fewer than January. After allowing for this, England's export of goods appears to have actually been as equally large in February as in January. The coal export has attained the pre-war standard again. The reduction of wages to beneath pre-war level has regained for English coal its full competitiveness in the world's markets, to the great satisfaction of all capitalist circles in England.

## Mighty Trade Union Struggles.

The successes gained by the colliery-owners and the heavy industrial capitalists, with respect to wage reductions, now induce the other groups of English capitalists to attempt like reductions. At the present time mighty struggles are proceeding in England, and others are about to break out. The attempt being made by the master builders, to reduce wages and to extend the working week from 44 to 47 hours in summer, has led to the dismissal of 500,000 workers who have offered resistance to these measures. The movement among agricultural laborers is worthy of special attention, for it throws a bright light on the agrarian question in England. It is generally acknowledged, by all capitalist organs, that the wages of agricultural laborers are unbearably low. Thus the *Times* of March 19, writes:

"Whatever the terms on which an agreement is come to, the agricultural laborers of Norfolk are sure to receive wages which would be designated as miserable in any other branch of industry. . . . The agricultural laborers of Norfolk are quite right in their demands, but the farmers are not in a position to fulfil them."

Innumerable instances are adduced showing that the English farmer is absolutely unable to pay even the extremely low wages customary hitherto, as the free import of agricultural produce renders agriculture in England no longer worth while. There is a tendency to convert the arable land into pasture again, and to go in for cattle raising on a large scale. It is interesting to note that the question of ground rents is never mentioned in this discussion. Only the capitalist farmer is spoken of, and the idea that the landowner's rents could be utilized to meet the agricultural laborer's claims is one which is never even touched upon by bourgeois publicists. The demand made by the agricultural laborers, that a minimum wage be guaranteed out of state funds, was rejected by the prime minister. In the same manner the Labor Party failed to persuade Parliament to set up a minimum wage for the whole agricultural industry. The Labor Party speaker pointed out that there are districts in England where agricultural laborers on full time are obliged to apply for poor relief. There are districts where the agricultural laborers receive a wage of 21 to 22 shillings weekly, and in the Norfolk district, wages of less than £1 per week are being forced on the workers by dismissals. It is characteristic of the situation that the motion brought in by the Labor Party, that an investigation commission be appointed for fixing a minimum wage, was only rejected by 13 votes.

Despite the fact that all bourgeois organs recognize the justice of the agricultural laborers' claims, still the strike in Norfolk is running the usual course: the sons and daughters of poor farmers from other parts of England, as well as some workmen, are working as blacklegs in the strike area, and the unity between tenant farmers and workers, so praised at the beginning of the movement—the organizations of employers and employed sent a joint deputation to the prime minister begging for help—is getting nearer a breach every day. The bourgeois press is already complaining about acts of violence, and is calling for police reinforcements to be sent to the strike district.

## The United States.

The economics of the United States have shown a decided upward tendency in the period covered by this report. The causes of this boom have already been dealt with in the general section. Here we shall merely give a brief resume of some data.

The March number of the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* states that during the last 5 months the production of the basic industries has increased by 20%, and that the January output had already exceeded the highest point of the year 1920.

The Ruhr occupation has also greatly contributed to the boom.

"The American secretary of commerce, Hoover, declared on April 4, when speaking of the reactive effects of the Ruhr occupation in America, that up to now America's industrial activity has been rather furthered than hindered. This he stated to be especially the case in the iron and steel industry. He, however, considered it difficult to say whether this state of affairs would last long. On the other hand, the occupation of the Ruhr is of great disadvantage to America, as America wishes to sell agricultural produce to Germany. Before the new crops come in, Germany requires two million tons of American corn. There is however danger that Germany will not be able to raise the necessary credits for the purchase. Should this occur, a fall in American corn prices is inevitable."

With regard to the various branches of industry, those contributing most to the boom are the investment industries—building trade, railway materials, locomotives, trucks, motor-cars.

Production in the iron and steel industry was as follows:

	Iron	Steel
	in 1000 tons	
December 1922	3136	2825
January 1923	3281	3252
February 1923	3042	2966
March 1923	3521	—

The figures regarding the unexecuted orders of the steel trust mount higher every month. These are as follows (in 1,000 tons):

End Dec.	End Jan.	End Feb.	End March
6746	6911	7284	7603

It is very remarkable that since 1919, the least iron and steel were exported in the year 1922; the home markets absorbed everything! Good business has been done in railway stock; at the end of February the number of locomotives on order was 2,200.

The textile industry has also attained a record, the number of spindles working exceeding 35 millions.

The vice president of the Guarantee Trust Company, Fr. H. Sisson, writes as follows:

"The revival of business activity in the United States has greatly increased in strength and extent, this being due to developments observable since the beginning of the year. The slump generally noticeable in the months of January and February has, in many cases, not appeared at all this year or is much less accentuated than in other years. Fresh record figures of freighted railway trucks (10% more during the first ten weeks of the year than during the same period last year), greater arrears in delivery, rising prices in the iron and steel industry, activity in the industry working up cotton, such as we have not known for a long time, considerable or at least increasing activity in other industries—all this is witness to an amount of production and sales far exceeding all expectations. It must however be observed that if the rise in prices of raw materials cannot be speedily stopped, a corresponding rise in the price of finished goods must be reckoned with before long."

In conclusion we quote the following extract from the last report issued by the *Manchester Guardian Com.* (5. April):

"The iron and steel works are practically working at full pressure; their production at this rate is assured for the next half year. Should the present rate of production be maintained, it will equal that of the first 9 months of 1920, the most active period ever experienced by the steel industry. The motor-car industry is working at 100% of its capacity, and cannot meet the demands. During the first two months 145,000 motor-cars more were built than during the corresponding period of last year, up to now a record year. . . . All industries producing raw materials—zinc, lead, copper—have exceedingly large demands to meet. The copper mines, practically at a standstill 18 months ago, are now working without limitation for the first time since the end of the war. . . ."

This boom in the motor-car trade is naturally attended by a large demand for rubber. This has led to sharp conflicts with the English and Dutch caoutchouc planters, who do not want to abandon their system of limited production<sup>1)</sup>. Under these cir-

<sup>1)</sup> The English and Dutch planters, about 2 years ago, concluded an international agreement for the limitation of production with the object of forcing up the disadvantageously low prices. This agreement still exists, to the detriment of the American motor-car industry.

stances a boom in oil production and in the oil trade is a matter of course. The money market also indicates the beginning of a boom. The bank rate has been raised for the first time since the middle of 1921; the rise is from 4 to 4½%. The large amount of available money, characteristic of periods of slackness and of the earliest stages of economic improvement, has become considerably less.—Prices are rising generally; once more the bourgeoisie sees heaven opening out before it.

It is of interest to note that although 1922 can be designated as a good year, as already shown in the general section, still many small undertakings were ruined.

"The American newspapers state that the year 1922 was a record year for business collapses. In no other year in the whole history of the country were there so many bankruptcies; 22,300 were registered as compared with 20,014 in 1921. Despite this, bankruptcy liabilities in 1921 exceed those of 1922 by 109 million dollars, for the total liabilities of the past year amounted only to 646,900,000 dollars, compared with 755,700,000 in 1921." (*Ind. and Hand.-Ztg.*, 3. Feb.)

The gigantic gains being scooped in at present by American industry will be shared by only a few persons. Concentration is still proceeding.

## Labor shortage?

The reports published by capitalist organs continually draw attention to the shortage of workers as an obstacle to the further development of the boom.

As early as the end of January the *Iron Trade Review* wrote as follows:

"The shortage of labor continues, and restricts output, so that some rolling mills have already reached their highest productive capacity. Negroes are being brought from the south to make up for the lacking workers."

We read as follows in the *New York Herald* of 22. 2.:

"The country will be threatened with an economic disaster as a result of rising prices and strike of buyers, unless the immigration laws are not so modified that more workers can enter. . . . Senator Cohn submitted a bill, authorizing the Minister of Labor, if he is convinced that there is a permanent shortage of workers in any branch of industry, to remove the present obstacles to immigration and to fill up the gap. . . ."

Sisson, in the above quoted article, writes as follows:

"A still greater obstacle to further 'expansion' of business life is furnished by the threatened shortage of labor. Amendments of the present immigration laws have been submitted to the Congress, but these are little adapted to remove the scarcity, and besides this, ignore what—at least from the standpoint of the economist (!)—is the most important factors in the selection of the different immigrants and types of immigrants; for it is impossible to make the best choice either by the proposed intelligence test of the individual immigrants, or by the present practice of admitting a certain percentage of emigrants. Above all, the reduction of the permissible number of immigrants, as desired by the trade unions in order to reduce absolutely the amount of available labor, is based on a completely false conception of the economic consequences of such a policy. An artificially induced scarcity of labor cannot be simply defended by the plea that the wages of a great number of workers are thus kept at a higher level than would be the case were there no intentional limitation of man-power offered. For this unwarrantable maintenance of high wages involves increased expense of wide-spread effect, which will have to be borne to a great extent by the recipients of wages themselves."

Is it actually a fact that there is a shortage of labor in the United States? We scarcely believe it. It is true that a large number of industries have been obliged to raise wages, as otherwise their workers would have gone over to the building trade. Thus the steel trust—after raising wages by 20% in Sept. of last year—recently granted a further rise of 11%. There is thus—especially in heavy industry—a "labor shortage" from the standpoint of the capitalists, for these do not find the reserve industrial army large enough to obviate rises in wages, and to enable the whole excess profits of the boom to flow into the pockets of the capitalists. But it is scarcely possible to speak of a shortage putting a limit on production. The *Economic News Service* of the Federated Press, rejects this possibility. It draws attention to the last report issued by the Labor Office, according to which the various industries were occupied as follows:

100% full time:	4 branches of industry (wool, newspaper, pianos, carpets)
90-95%	12 branches of industry (carriage building, agricultural, machinery, shoes, ship-building, cotton, etc.)
80-90%	12 branches of industry (motor-cars, machines, foundries, leather, silk).
70-86%	10 branches of industry (petroleum, etc.).
less than 70%	10 branches of industry (iron works 69%, brick-kilns, 58%, mills 38%).

At the same time there is a surplus of 200,000 pitmen in the coal-mines, and the railways have engaged thousands of superfluous half-trained workers as fighting troops against the organized working class.

#### How long will the boom last?

We shall end our report with the same question with which we began: how long will the isolated American boom last?

We have already pointed out that this economic prosperity is, to a considerable extent, founded on the flourishing agricultural conditions. But the crops in 1922 were considerably smaller than those of 1921, and the first reports on this year's crops are still less favorable. The average is as follows (100 equalling best):

	1923	1922	1921	1920
Winter wheat	75.2	78.4	91	75.6
Winter rye	81.8	89	90.3	86.6

The area under cultivation is also alleged to have diminished, but we possess no statistical data on this point.

The production of cotton has decreased of late years, not only in consequence of the crisis, but more as a result of the ravages of injurious insects, which the planters have not yet succeeded in exterminating.

If we further take into consideration that the outside markets are rendered less accessible than before by the weakened purchasing powers of Europe, as well as by the competition offered by Russian agricultural products now that Russia's agriculture is regaining strength, then we cannot regard the boom as likely to be of long duration in so far as it arises from agriculture. Despite the boom, the situation of the American farmer is by no means enviable; this we pointed out in our last report, and it has been further described in detail by Prof. Tuigakov—if in a somewhat exaggerated manner. The establishment of 12 new farmers' banks, each provided with 5 millions provided by the state, for the purpose of granting the farmers short-term credits up to 75% of the price of the products they have in stock, shows that agriculture is dependent on protection against finance capital, and does not possess the means of financing itself.

The other great factors in the present boom—the gigantic orders placed by the railways for rolling stock, the motor-car industry—will also cease to operate before long, when the demands have been met; the same applies to the building industry, already threatened by the high prices of building materials.

"Reports from many parts of the country, show that the high prices of building materials at present are proving a hindrance to building activity, and that the future of the building industry on the whole is endangered by possible further rises in prices<sup>1)</sup>

We not only see therefore that the general experience of the course of capitalist production renders us certain that the American boom will not last for ever—as the bourgeoisie foolishly fancies every time there is a boom—but there are also very concrete reasons for concluding that the boom will be but short.<sup>2)</sup>

Certain sections of American opinion also calculate upon a short duration of the boom. Thus John Moody, one of the best observers of American economic life, writes as follows:<sup>3)</sup>

"Every cautious observer must see that the coming months contain elements of uncertainty and irregularity... Europe, our greatest and steadiest buyer, is in the position of a commercial concern in financial difficulties. It requires

<sup>1)</sup> "The Economist" March 24.

<sup>2)</sup> The expansion of the American market to Asia and South America is proceeding. This is, however, a constant process, one whose force is absolutely inadequate to maintain the American boom if the internal economic basis is wanting. We repeat: the exports of the United States amount to only 10%, the export into these districts is about 3 to 4% of the production, and the increase of their receptive capacity thus only a fraction of one per cent! For some individual industries the development of export is of great importance—but not for the collective economics of the United States.

<sup>3)</sup> The Economic News Service. 20. 1. 1923.

reorganization... Thus it would appear to be correct to conclude that the present American economics do not indicate a boom, and that the present revival will run down within a short time. The intelligent observer will predict a more or less marked falling off in business in the year 1923."

And even the otherwise very optimistic American correspondent of the *Manch. G. Commercial* writes, on March, 19:

"The events of each week strengthen the opinion that an industrial boom is approaching which may last for months, if not for the whole year."

It may thus be seen that the duration of the boom is estimated to be at most till the end of the year. Should this prove correct, then the American boom will remain isolated, and Europe will never arrive at any phase of economic prosperity in this cycle. This would prove a fact of the utmost importance, not only from an economic viewpoint, but theoretically as well, and from the viewpoint of the communist movement.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Foremost in Action and Ardour

By Walter Schulz (Hamburg).

#### I.

#### The first victims of imperialist war.

The older generations of the revolutionary proletariat forget only too often that they, who are to-day carrying on an inexorable and self-sacrificing struggle against the capitalist powers attacking them on all sides, will one day become weary of struggle, will grow old and tired and that they must provide substitutes, must find recruits for the proletarian army. The indifference shown with regard to the proletarian youth is a great enemy of our cause. This indifference is harder to understand when we remember that millions of proletarian parents have been robbed of their sons during the years just past, that these sons have had to give their lives, on the battle fields of Europe, for the honor of the money-bag. Surely all these proletarian parents, and many more, must be aware that the coming imperialist war will bring them similar losses? Nothing has changed: at the present time, just as ten years ago, millions of young proletarians are being brought before the military meat inspectors, and declared fit for cannon fodder. And should war break out today, it will be twenty year old lads who will first be driven to face the rifle barrels, the mouths of the cannon, and the clouds of gas; and for no other reason than that Loucheur wants higher percentages, that the English capitalists are afraid their money bags will not be stuffed full enough, that Mussolini's thirst for power is not yet quenched, and that the Czecho-Slovakian bankers and industrialists, together with their Belgian colleagues, stand and fall with the Paris Exchange! In Germany the proletariat is a victim of self-deception, and imagines that all danger of an imperialist war has vanished once and for all with Wilhelm. The workers thrust their heads into the sand, and will not recognize that a moment may come when they and their sons will be forced to face the horrors of war again, at the command of the vabanque gamblers of capitalism.

What is to be done, and what does the youth demand from the adults? Above all: away with all apathy. And next: the clear recognition of the fact that the bourgeois armies form a part of the forces employed by capitalist society for its own maintenance, a recognition which must lead to the logical conclusion that this apparatus of force is to be disintegrated, smashed to pieces.

The struggle has to be carried on along different lines in the various countries, according to the conditions. Work among conscript armies must be conducted differently to that among voluntary troops. The slogans remain the same, but the tactics vary. At the 111. World Congress of the Communist Youth International, the following rules were laid down for work among the troops:

1. Annulment of the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon, Sévres, and the other imperialist pacts and treaties signed since the war.
2. Fight against armaments:
  - a) Constant rousing of proletarian class-consciousness, and of feeling among the working masses against armaments;
  - b) Fight for the actual legal and illegal control of the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the distribution of war material and its transport, by the organs of the working class;

- c) International struggle against the manufacture and transport of war material, until this is prevented.
3. Systematic propaganda within the army itself:
    - a) For the betterment of the material position of the soldiers;
    - b) Recognition of political rights for soldiers, the right to form societies and hold meetings, and to vote; recognition of the soldier's right to read proletarian newspapers and to visit proletarian places of resort (trade union head quarters, and party premises).
  4. Support of the material demands of colonial soldiers, and of their political demands for equal rights. Systematic propaganda among colonial soldiers for the struggle against imperialist oppression.
  5. Strengthening of the determination of the broad masses to avert war by every means at their disposal, from street demonstrations to the general strike and revolt, and to the conversion of an actual capitalist war into a revolutionary class war.

No lamentations on the part of the timorous, the pacifists, or the reformists, can hold back the revolutionary youth from fulfilling these tasks. It will continue this work as before — and will be able to intensify the effectiveness of the work in proportion to the aid lent by the awakening working class, and to the number of new members which the workers supply to the Communist Youth organizations.

#### The youth as shock troops both for and against Fascism.

One thing is certain: no praise can be too high for the dead, the wounded, the imprisoned, the hunted, who have staked their lives in the attempt to prevent Mussolini's murderous bands from coming into power. They have had the worst of it, the Italian communists. The international proletariat must learn the lesson taught by this — and it is the Italian comrades themselves who today issue this warning to all who are fighting against Fascism. The rôle played by the youth in combatting reaction is of the utmost importance, and must be especially emphasized. Every page of the history of the revolutionary movement proves, that the youth has always stood in the front line of attack, and has even been, in the past, the central source of power of revolution. This is no longer so today. Revolutionary organizations of adults have been formed in all countries for the proletarian struggle for emancipation. But this does not render the youth organizations superfluous. On the contrary, it is imperative to have these youthful forces in the fighting revolutionary front. Not only that they may thus be used for revolution, but that they may not be delivered over to the enemy.

It is no great secret that the troops which reaction employs for its attacks are mainly recruited from youthful elements. It is not only the petty bourgeois youth which is thus employed, but proletarian boys are misled and deluded into acts of hostility towards their own class. Germany supplies a perfect example of the corruptive activity of reaction among the proletarian youth. Innumerable youth societies, "neutral" sports clubs, cinemas and music halls, take care that the bourgeois reactionary poison, already inoculated in the schools, is imperceptibly disseminated among the masses of the youthful proletariat. This is an aspect of the anti-revolutionary work of the bourgeoisie which is accorded too little attention. On the other hand, a campaign of open violence against the proletarian youth is to be observed. Finland, Italy, and Bavaria are striking examples that the main line of attack is against the youth.

The manifesto issued by the Frankfurt Conference tells the proletariat that Fascism, "where already organized and striving for power, is to be opposed by the most comprehensive counter-propaganda, both written and spoken". In this must be included the protection of the children from nationalist incitement. This implies the removal of all reactionary teachers from the schools, and the combatting of all institutions and organizations engaged in the eradication of proletarian class feeling from the proletarian youth.

But the Frankfurt manifesto continues: "Do not be content with this. Create your own defence organizations at the same time, which will shatter it (Fascism) in its beginnings." The German proletariat in particular is faced with this task. In this connection, the adults must do their utmost to make full and complete use of the youthful forces. And here there are many dangers to be avoided. Above all, it is necessary to prevent isolated action on the part of youthful elements; such action, however well meant, may easily involve the adult in its defeat. The only possible solution is the enlistment of the whole youthful proletariat in the defence organizations. Though special Youth Defence Units may be a danger, yet the presence of the largest possible percentage of youthful forces, with strong arms and im-

mense enthusiasm, is to be welcomed in every proletarian hundred, and enhances its fighting powers. The overcautious hesitations of the older members, and the frequently ill-considered zeal of the young ones, may thus balance one another.

All this must be considered in organizing the defence. If this is done, we may face the future in full confidence of victory. Old and young will join forces to crush the enemy to the earth — never to rise again!

## Third International Children's Week!

To the workers' children in all countries!

Young comrades!

The Third International Children's Week will take place from June 24. to 30. This is part of the fight against all that is oppressing you.

A frightful burden of misery lies upon your shoulders. Your homes are haunts of starvation and wretchedness. How many of you have to help your parents to earn their bread, and must even work far into the night.

You are all still suffering from the fearful consequences of the great war. But the rich never think of improving your lot. Their greed and despotism deliver you over to misery and disease.

The way you are treated in the schools is no better. The majority of the teachers are enemies of the workers. Therefore they deal with you as they please. They do not shrink from beating and ill-treating you. And all this merely because you are poor. The children of the rich receive every consideration from them.

School and church belong to the rich. The anti-working-class teachers and clergy have no real desire to educate you. They would rather make you stupid. You are to believe in God and in the right of the rich to their property! They hope thus to alienate you from the working class to which you belong. They want you to forget that you are workers' children! They want to make you into docile and obedient servants of the rich. In case of need, you are even to be ready to fight against your own parents and brothers!

You have no means of defence or protection! There is no source from which you can expect help. It is only the workers themselves to whom you can look for aid, to your own parents, your own brothers and sisters. In the communist children's groups you learn what the children of workers should know. Many thousands of you have already found your way to these groups. But the enemies of the workers are already at work to prevent you from entering them!

Young comrades, girls and boys!

The Third International Children's Week is being organized to fight against all this! As during the last two Children's Weeks, your parents and grown-up brothers and sisters, and all revolutionary workers, will join with you in all countries in great demonstrations for your demands. They will express their fixed determination to fight earnestly in your behalf.

You must participate bravely with your fresh young powers in the fight being waged by your parents and elder brothers and sisters, and by the whole class conscious working class. Not only because it is for your own welfare! The rich must be made to see that you are workmen's children, and mean to remain so! The whole world must be made to see that you remain true to your own people, who are thrown into prison when they fight for their liberty. You will demand their release!

It is true that you are still young and weak, but still you can do a great deal, especially if you join forces in the communist children's groups. You have already often proved that despite your youth you can accomplish much, when you are closely united. The Children's Weeks already held bore eloquent testimony to your energy, self-sacrifice, and enthusiasm.

Young comrades!

Show that these characteristics are still yours! Join your forces to those of your parents and elder brothers; and work ardently at all preparations for the successful carrying through of the Third International Children's Week! Ally yourselves to the Communist Youth and the Communist working class, and fight with these for the slogans:

Down with child labor and child misery!  
Against the anti-worker education and influencing of working class children in school and church!  
Down with the corporal punishment in schools!  
For the Communist Children's groups!  
For union of forces with your parents and elder brothers and sisters!

Moscow, 19th April 1923.

## FASCISM

### An Undelivered Speech

Comrade Pollitt (England) was to have spoken, on behalf of the Committee of Action elected by the International Conference at Frankfurt-on-Maine, to the Congress of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals. As the Congress did not accede to the proposals of the Committee of Action, we publish the undelivered speech, as follows:

Dear Comrades,

Before I turn to the present international situation, and to the propositions which we have to make to you in consideration of this situation, I believe that a word of explanation is necessary as to the reasons for the founding of our International Committee of Action.

The occupation of the Ruhr created problems for the French and German workers, problems which were bound to speedily affect the working class of the whole world. The occupation of the Ruhr area signified a new stage in the development of French imperialism, and was bound to have effect on the whole foreign policy of all the great imperialist states. The Ruhr occupation signifies in particular a further step forward in the exploitation and impoverishment of the German workers. It involves the danger of a new war, and induces at the same time the growth of Fascism, for it enhances nationalist feeling.

As a result of the pressure of French imperialism, the Rhenish-Westphalian shop stewards convened an international labor congress in Frankfurt-on-Maine, and this conferred from March 18, till 21. This conference elected an International Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism. At a session of this Committee of Action, held in Berlin on May 18, it was resolved to appoint a delegation entrusted with the task of stating our opinions to this international congress of socialist parties, with special reference to the present acute international situation. This delegation is commissioned to make a proposition to this congress as to international joint action.

Since the publication of Curzon's note to Russia, the whole international situation has become much more serious. The dangers threatening the working class on every side are so great, that we deem it necessary to make some practical proposals to your congress as to ways and means of meeting the common danger by international action. It will scarcely be necessary to draw the attention of the leaders of the various parties represented at this conference to the seriousness of the situation brought about by Curzon's note to Russia. The note simply signifies that the reactionary conservative government of England hopes to force Russia to make such concessions as would be synonymous with the surrender of the sovereignty of the Soviet government.

Lord Curzon's foreign policy is leading to war. This is the decisive fact which we must keep in mind. The cancelment of the commercial agreement is the first step in this direction. This is the signal for a fresh attack upon Russia; if not from England directly, then from the border states. This will signify the renewal of the blockade, and of the intervention policy as pursued in 1919.

We may already observe how closely Italy is co-operating with England. The revelations made by the *Manchester Guardian* on the secret telegrams sent by Amadori, the Italian representative in Moscow, to Mussolini, leave no doubts as to the intentions of the imperialist governments. The telegrams recommend the Fascist government of Italy to break off commercial relations with Russia, to recommend the same course of action to all other states, and to commence a renewed blockade of Russia. During the last few days we have been able to ascertain the perfect understanding existing between the Fascist government and the "democratic" government of England. The visit paid by the King and Queen of England to Mussolini, Lord Curzon's telegram of congratulation to him, the conferring of the highest of English bourgeois honors upon Mussolini; all this shows that the two governments are co-operating to one end—the annihilation of Soviet Russia. The murder of the Russian ambassador for Italy, comrade Vorovsky, must not be forgotten, nor the atmosphere of hostility against Soviet Russia in which this shameful deed was committed.

Further, Lord Curzon's note to Germany, was drawn up with the intention of drawing English and French policies together again, so that France might take part in an attack on Soviet Russia. The passivity of the working class and their organizations, when the Ruhr area was occupied, encouraged the war-makers to fresh adventures. Marshall Foch visited Poland and inspected the troops there. From there he proceeded

to Czecho-Slovakia, where he also reviewed troops. At present he is in England. And at the present time Lord Cavan commander in chief of the English army staff, is in Poland, negotiating with the Polish military authorities. The English *Times* designates Lord Cavan's journey as a soldier's visit to other soldiers. It is perfectly plain that a fresh war is intended.

What is to be done in this situation? We all know the horror and misery of war. The carnage of the last great war is not yet forgotten. There are millions of workers' families in which parents, wives, and orphans, are mourning the loss of their breadwinners. Is this to happen again? Our first instinctive feeling is no! A thousand times no! And yet it will happen again, if we do not join hands in common action for the prevention of war, if we confine ourselves to passing pious resolutions.

Every comrade here present hates war. Every congress, especially since 1918, has been directed against war. Whether they were national conferences of the working class, or whether they were international conferences. It is only necessary to remember the Hague conference, or the Rome conference held by the Amsterdam trade union international last year.

When I speak of my own country, I speak as a working man who knows the British movement in every part of the country, and am able to say that the organized workers of Britain are determinedly agreed against a war with Russia: they would follow any slogan issued by their responsible leaders. The workers and employees of the London docks have already undertaken to handle no war material. At the conference held by the English Labor Party in Edinburgh in July 1922, a decisive resolution was passed, and comrade Wallhead, here present as representative of the English Independent Labor Party, will doubtless remember the very decisive speech against a new war which he made on that occasion. At the trade union congress held at Southport in September 1922 a resolution was again unanimously passed against war. I mention these things because they show that the British workers are ready to take definite action as soon as this appears necessary. Lord Curzon is aware of this, and therefore he continues to deny that he has any intention of war with Russia. England's policy will be that of an unofficial war, that is, she will do her utmost to provide other countries, and the Russian White Guards, with ammunition, arms, money, and ships.

War is a frightful occurrence at any time. But a war against the first workers' and peasants' republic in the world is a challenge to the whole working class of all countries. The Russian revolution has filled the workers of all countries with emulation and hope. The victories and struggles, the sacrifices and sufferings of the Russian proletariat have brought the revolution nearer to the hearts of all workers. Through famine and blockade, through civil war and foreign interventions, and in the midst of conflict with the powers of world imperialism, the Russian proletariat has kept the red flag waving victoriously over the whole of Russia. The victory of the Russian proletariat signifies the first breach in the capitalist state of society, the first step towards the emancipation of the working class. How proud we should be if in this hour of danger, the workers of the whole world could practically proclaim their solidarity with the Russian workers and peasants, if we should form a united front to ward off the capitalist invaders who are endeavoring to attack a country which—and this we must never forget—is the first workers' and peasants' republic in the world.

There are many questions in which you and we are of different opinions. But if there is any one thing which can induce the whole labor movement to united action, it is the struggle against war danger. It does not suffice to deliver fine speeches, to sing hymns in praise of peace. We do not call upon you to join us in discussing theoretical problems, or to start a revolution; we only ask that we all join together for common action against the new dangers threatening us on all sides. We therefore propose that you form with us a joint committee, for the purpose of carrying out the organizational work in connection with this common action, and that we immediately summon our affiliated parties to arrange mass demonstrations, and to carry out a 24 hours general strike throughout the world, that the proletariat of the world may be given the opportunity of practically showing its abhorrence of war, and of demonstrating for the international solidarity of labor. We are convinced that this undertaking will be successful if all sections will loyally carry out their promises.

Let us join our forces to prevent the new imperialist war now threatening us!

Your congress will also discuss the question of the Ruhr occupation. This is another case in which joint action is necessary; and not only to release the German workers from the

frightful exploitation under which they are suffering at present. If we do not undertake some such action, we shall witness the German workers being dragged down to the level of Hindu coolies. And this would signify that the present standard of living of all workers would be depressed to the German level. We can put an end to the Ruhr occupation by joint action. This action has been promised to the German workers.

Comrade Fimmen, of the Amsterdam trade union international, declared to the British trade union congress that, should the French army invade the Ruhr area, 20 million workers would go on strike to force the withdrawal of the troops. The congress passed a resolution promising the aid of the British trade unions. And now the French have been in the Ruhr valley for 5 months. German workers have been shot. Other workers have been driven from their homes in thousands. The misery of the workers is frightful everywhere. And still no practical help has been given, or only in single cases, as for instance the gift of corn from the Russian trade unions, or the financial aid sent by other trade unions. Here is another sphere for joint action among all workers, regardless of political views. We must all demand, and attempt to bring about the French withdrawal from the Ruhr.

The final question of which we have to speak is the growth of Fascism. Reaction is advancing everywhere, and the blessing which England has called down upon Mussolini will further the growth of Fascism all over the world. We have seen the results of Fascist work in Italy, and one eloquent witness of this is Serrati's absence today on account of his imprisonment by the Italian Fascists.

In the Balkan states signs of the rapid growth of Fascism may be observed everywhere. In Germany this problem assumes ever increasing dimensions. In Spain, Austria, Hungary, and Poland, the movement is spreading widely. Its existence is a constant challenge to the bourgeoisie to the workers. This movement says: With your legal actions you may go as far as a certain limit, but if you should venture to overstep this, or if you do not fulfil our demands, we shall suppress you by force.

The labor organizations must therefore concern rate upon joint action against growing Fascism, and against the dangers which it involves for the working class.

I have tried to lay before you, in plain terms, our views and proposals, and I can only hope that you will consider these in the same spirit as Ramsay MacDonald begged the House of Commons to consider the British note. He said:

"Both parties should cease their tactics of debate, and occupy themselves like men with the serious consideration of a practical solution."

To conclude, our propositions may be summed up in one question:

Will you form a united front with us, for the purpose of organizing mass action and proclaiming a 24 hours general strike, with the object of fighting:

1. against the new war and the intervention against Russia,
2. for the withdrawal of the French troops from the Ruhr area,
3. against Fascism.

### Reply of the Delegation of the International Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism to the Hamburg Amalgamation Congress

The Delegation of the International Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism, makes the following declaration in reply to the rejection by the Hamburg amalgamation congress of its proposal to form an International United Front of the Working Class:

The amalgamation congress of the London and Vienna Internationals has rejected the proposal, made by the International Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism, for joint action against the threatening danger of war and Fascism. The delegation of the Committee of Action has no other choice therefore than to state:

1. Despite all assurances of interested governments and of politicians working hand in glove with them, the international situation is extremely serious.

The danger of new wars, and the danger of a general attack on Soviet Russia, and on the working classes in all countries, approaches visibly nearer. The English government declares that it reserves the right of breaking off relations with Russia, without the consent of Parliament. The secret telegrams sent by Amadori, the Italian representative in Moscow, disclose a well thought out international conspiracy against Soviet Russia. The military preparations being made by the border

states; the journeys undertaken by Foch and Cavan to Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and London; the despatch of the English Mediterranean squadron to the Dardanelles; the mobilization of Russian White Guards with the aid of the Entente; the events in Lausanne and the daily threat of a renewed Greco-Turkish war, the increased acuteness of the Ruhr struggle; these and a hundred other signs show it to be an act of criminal levity to conceal the gravity of the danger.

2. In the plenary session held by the congress on May 23, the reason given for the rejection of our proposal was that the congress was already overburdened, and that, in view of the fundamental differences existing between the social democrats and the communists, there was little prospect of an understanding being reached. According to the statement made by Friedrich Adler, these differences consist in the denial by the communists of

the democratic principle within the proletariat, and their conception that, not the majority of the proletariat shall decide, but a minority, a "small clique, which is to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat."

To this the delegation of the International Committee of Action replies with the utmost emphasis, though without in the least denying the existence of far-reaching fundamental differences between the consistent revolutionary policy pursued by the Communist Parties and the policy of the Social Democratic Parties, that:

Not only the revolutionary trade unions, affiliated to the R.I.L.U. and represented in the International Committee of Action, not only the shop stewards' councils organized on the democratic principle, but also the Communist International itself, has nothing in common with the ideas ascribed to it by Adler. The theses and resolutions of all International Congresses, particularly those of the III. Congress, held in 1921, as well as the programs of all Communist Parties, place the winning of the majority of the working class over to their standpoint in the very forefront of their tasks. The whole activity of these parties is directed to the realization of this task. They hold the view that the revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat necessary to carry it through, presuppose the winning over of the majority of the working class for these tasks. So long as the majority of the proletariat has not made up its mind to seize power,

partial struggles for the most pressing economic and political needs of the working class

are necessary. The communists, consciously supported by great masses of non-communist workers, are striving for the creation of a united front of all workers, irrespective of organization, for these struggles.

3. The refusal to participate in joint action proves that the leaders of the International founded at Hamburg are neither willing nor able to begin the struggle against war danger and Fascism. The majority of the parties represented at Hamburg are already closely bound up with the bourgeois governments of their own countries. They are dependent on them, and share the guilt of their nationalist and imperialist policies. It is therefore greatly to their interest to conceal the real dangers, to calm the working masses, and to restrain them from any action. Whatever resolutions the congress may pass on the most important political questions, these will be mere words, and will remain mere words since it has rejected common action. It will not call upon the workers to undertake any active struggle, it repudiates the idea of international mass action from the very beginning. Its resolutions will mean even less than those passed by the pacifist congress at the Hague, resolutions never followed up by any attempt at action. The Hamburg congress not only opposes any joint struggle with communist and revolutionary workers, but any effective international union of the social democratic parties themselves. The pre-requisite as well as the purpose of the resolutions passed by this congress is the perfect passivity of the working class with regard to the crimes being committed by the bourgeoisie and its governments.

4. In Hamburg preparations are being made for a repetition of the policy of 1914.

a sham International is being formed, which is internally disintegrated by nationalist antagonisms. But the situation is not the same as in 1914. The bloody experiences of the working class during the last decade have not been in vain. The existence of the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Republic essentially alters the international situation. In all countries of the world there is a vanguard, which is determined and ready to fight, prepared to lead the working class to battle, and which will be followed by the masses at the decisive moment. Should it be impossible simultaneously and immediately, to advance the whole proletarian fighting front, the course of events will render it possible. Our slogan is and remains: the united front for the fight. As the leaders of the social democratic parties, the past present, and future coalition



ministers closely bound up with the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governments, are opposing the formation of a united front with all their might, this will have to be achieved against their will, by the determined will of the working masses.

5. The delegation of the Committee of Action calls upon all workers in the social democratic parties of all countries to subject the resolutions passed by the Hamburg congress to a searching examination, in the light of the rejection of joint action with the communist and revolutionary workers. They will be able to convince themselves that this refusal does not arise solely from mistrust of the Communist Parties, but from the social democratic leaders' fixed and conscious purpose of holding back the workers from any class action, especially from any international action, so that cooperation with the bourgeoisie of their countries may be maintained, and every bond of international solidarity broken.

Coming events will bear out the truth of this completely. We have attempted to attain the united front by negotiating with the leaders, despite the prospect of failure. We have made this a tempt with the greatest patience and tenacity, and have kept our antagonism to these leaders in the background. The new International has revealed its character at the moment of its birth. In spite of and because of this, we appeal to all proletarians: Up and fight for the united front!

The Fascist danger, the war danger, the general offensive against Soviet Russia, and against the entire working class of every land—all this is drawing nearer day by day:

*Long live the united front of the fighting working class!  
On with the fight!*

## APPEALS

### The Amsterdam International Transport Workers Federation against Imperialist War, and for Soviet Russia

Against a new imperialist war! Against Fascist reaction!  
For Soviet Russia!

Russia of today continues to evoke hate and abhorrence throughout the whole conservative and reactionary world; that is to say among the propertied classes of all countries.

This gigantic land, with its immeasurable natural resources, is still the object of desire of the capitalists, its unbridled exploitation their ardently cherished ideal. The hope and wish of all enemies of the fighting proletariat, whether expressed openly or not, is and remains the destruction of Russia's present form of state.

Thus the working class of all countries—regardless of everything which may separate it from or oppose it to the Russian proletariat—must continue to hold fast to the words of the manifesto issued by the international Trade Union Federation in 1921, in which the workers were appealed to to aid the starving in the Volga district, and which contained the following words: "The fall of the Soviet government would, only be the signal for the decisive battle of counter-revolution". In the countries of western Europe even in the countries of the vanquished, —the countries of revolution, reaction gains ground every day . . .

This reaction, which grows more confident every day in Germany, especially in Bavaria, and which is subjugating the workers of Spain, Roumania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia by bloody terror, would triumph with the greatest rapidity if the open and secret enemies of the Russian revolution should succeed in overthrowing the Russian government, and in setting up in its place a counter-revolutionary government under the protection of Western European capital and its allied bourgeois governments.

The trade unions must not tolerate the success of these machinations.

Comrades!

The working class wants peace: It is the only class which has everything to lose and nothing to win in a capitalist war. And surely it cannot desire a war whose aim and consequence would be to plunge the workers of all countries still deeper into misery and exploitation, to fasten the fetters of slavery still tighter upon their limbs.

Comrades!

Be on your guard!

Keep up your control over the transport of munitions and other war material in all countries! Take care that this control is made as strict as possible, and carried out with the utmost watchfulness, so that no single transport escapes your knowledge. Report everything to your committees, keep them regularly informed. Be prepared for every emergency.

Be ready, should it be necessary (as in the year 1920, on the occasion of the boycott against Hungary and the action for preventing the transport of arms for Poland in the war against Russia) to prevent the outbreak of a fresh war by actual deeds and by every means!

*War against war!*

*Down with militarism! Down with reaction! Down with capitalism!*

*Long live the International of Labor!*

The General Council of the International Transport Workers Federation.

Robert Williams, Chairman. Edo Fimmen, Secretary.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### An important World Conference for the Reconstruction of Russia

By Henri Guillebaux.

During the period of the great Russian famine, the International Workers' Relief was called into being with headquarters in Berlin, and this body has done much important work towards the economic reconstruction of Russia. The International Workers' Relief is built up on a communist basis, it works under the control of the Communist International, and in closest relations with all communist parties. But there are other organizations, of a non-political character, which also devote themselves to relief work for Soviet Russia, and to the furtherance of its economic reconstruction, as for instance the Quaker organization, the Red Cross, and above all the Nansen Committee. The executive committee of the International Workers' Relief has now resolved to convene a great world conference in the Reichstag in Berlin, on Sunday June 17, for the discussion of all questions connected with the economic reconstruction and relief of Russia. All trade unions and co-operatives, all labor organizations, and also non-proletarian committees such as the Nansen, and that of the Quakers, of the Red Cross, etc., are called upon to participate in this conference, which will doubtless realize important results in the interest of the reconstruction of Russia.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Dato Murder Trial

By A. Nin.

Of the 21 persons who were arrested as alleged principals or accessories in the assassination of Dato, the Spanish prime minister, 13 were recently released. Among these is the mother of Casanello and faithful friend of Luis Nicolaus, who was delivered into the hands of the Spanish executioners, with her husband, by the government of the social democrat Ebert. Almost all these comrades have been imprisoned for over two years. Even during this long time the judge of the court of inquiry has been unable to frame up any evidence against them. The long remand has obviously had the object of giving an appearance of justification to the continued imprisonment of a number of comrades whom a regular trial would immediately release. We may rejoice that justice has been done at last to these comrades, though too late. But let us not forget those who are still awaiting their trial in prison. These are Comrades Pedro Mateu, Luis Nicolaus, José Miranda, Veremundo, Luis Diez, Ignacio Dalgado, Mauro Bajatierra, Tomas de la Leare, and Adolfo Diaz. The attorney for the crown intends to demand a death sentence for Mateu and Nicolaus, and various punishments for the other accused. But no proof of their guilt exists. It may be that some of the accused have confessed to being guilty. But in Spain this does not signify much, for torture has been consistently applied there, especially during the last three years of violent reaction.

There is only one person responsible for Dato's death. This is Ramon Casanello, at present a refugee in Moscow. He openly takes the whole responsibility upon himself. On his own initiative, without collaborators, this young workman from Barcelona revenged the thousands of arrested and deported comrades, the hundreds of murdered and martyred, who fell as victims under the dictatorship of the prime minister Dato. But Spanish reaction seeks for vengeance at any price. It does not ask if the guilt of the accused is established. What it wants is severe and terrifying sentences. The revolutionary Spanish comrades now carrying on an energetic campaign in favor of the accused are endeavoring to prevent this. But they will only succeed in accomplishing their object if they are supported by the solidarity of the whole international proletariat.

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### Note to this Issue

The problem of proletarian reconstruction in Soviet Russia is of interest to the workers of the whole world. Whether they desire it or not, they are inseparably bound up with the fate of Soviet Russia. The idea of proletarian economic relief in Soviet Russia, has, in recent times, been discussed with particular eagerness in Co-operative and Trade Union circles. In view of the "World Conference for Economic Relief and Reconstruction in Russia", which will be opened on the 17th of June in Berlin in the Reichstag, we are giving the widest possible publicity to a series of articles on the economic relief work of the I.W.R.

## Retrospect and Prospect

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

In July 1922, an international congress of the Workers Relief committee, held in Berlin, resolved to continue the relief action for Soviet Russia, even after having overcome the worst of the famine. A year has passed since this resolve, and in the course of a few days the delegates of the Workers' Relief Committee will meet in Berlin for the second time. It is therefore an opportune moment to glance back over what has been accomplished by the Workers' Relief during the past year, and to draw conclusions for the future activity of the IWR.

The International Workers' Relief set itself three great tasks for the past year: propaganda for Soviet Russia, material and cultural aid for the Russian children, and co-operative help in the socialist reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

The centre around which all the work revolved has been, and had to be, the propaganda work for Soviet Russia. Even though the fables about Soviet Russia, as spread abroad by the bourgeois and social democratic press agencies, may not be so absolutely clumsy and silly as during the first years of the Soviet government, they have not grown less numerous. On some occasions, as for instance the S.R. trial, or the trial of the White Guard Catholic prelates, a muddy flood of mendacious and slanderous statements were spread abroad about Soviet Russia. The International Workers' Relief regarded it as one of its first tasks to dispel the false ideas prevailing as to life in Soviet Russia, and to enlighten the widest circles of the population as to the actual economic, political, and cultural situation in that country. The international committees, which now exist in 30 countries in various parts of the world, have held hundreds of public meetings in the course of the past year, hundreds of Russian art evenings, and such like. Some countries, as for instance Holland, England, etc. have arranged special enlightenment weeks. In over one hundred European cities, and in as many overseas, exhibitions have been held of Russian posters, Russian domestic art, and Russian literature. The IWR arranged Russian stalls at various German, Dutch, and French fairs, as well as a most successful Russian art exhibition in Berlin and Amsterdam. Over a million Russian photographs and cards, thousands of albums containing Russian pictures, and 6 wagon-loads of Russian home art products have been sold by the IWR. The film has proved an excellent

propaganda medium. Millions of workers and others, of every social position, have visited the Russian film evenings arranged by the IWR in Europe, America, and Japan. The illustrated newspapers issued by the IWR have also become widely popular in Europe and America. A total of more than three million copies have been sold.

At particularly critical moments the IWR has summoned its committees to engage in specially zealous activity, and, as on the occasion of the last Anglo-Russian incident, it has successfully contributed to the mobilization of wide sections of the working class against imperialist war tendencies, and for the defence of Soviet Russia.

This propaganda work done by the IWR must be continued in the future. The increasing tension between Soviet Russia and the western capitalist states—a result of the growing anxiety roused in western capitalist circles by the progressive economic improvement in Soviet Russia—render it an imperative necessity that well-organized and systematic enlightenment work, dealing with Soviet Russia, be continued everywhere, especially in those countries where there are no political parties for the fulfilment of this task (North and South America, Japan, Australia, etc.). Now as before, propaganda work for Soviet Russia remains the most urgent and important task of the IWR.

The IWR is also able to record success in the sphere of children's relief. Despite all the unfavorable economic and political conditions, the IWR, in the course of the past year, was able to raise over 300,000 dollars, for the material support of Russian orphans from the one-time famine area. The money was expended in the purchase of food, clothing, medicine, erection of children's homes, etc. Besides this, the IWR sent 50,000 copy books, drawing books, and other school materials, and had a Russian school book published in Berlin with an edition of 5,000 copies. Thanks to a guardianship system, close and lasting relations were established between hundreds of Russian children and European and American workers, accompanied by a lively exchange of letters and school work of every description. During the coming months the material support of the Russian children will hardly be so urgent as in recent years. The IWR will thus be able to devote more time than before to the cultural needs of the Russian children (establishment of school-workshops,