

You French and Belgian, English, Italian, Czechoslovakian, youthful workers and soldiers. Rise against your bourgeoisie! Refuse to act as the executioners of French imperialism, and to murder your brothers. Fraternize with your German class comrades! Fight for the united front of the proletariat, for the overthrow of the imperialist government and for setting up a workers' government!

Young German workers! Fight for the united front of the proletariat, against the bourgeoisie of all countries! Fight to force the propertied classes to pay the reparations! For the workers' government! For the arming of the proletariat! Only by following these slogans will war and increased misery be prevented.

Youthful comrades! We do not want to starve and perish in the interests of capitalism. Wherever the proletarians of all countries unite to fight against their imperialist bourgeoisie, there you must stand in the front ranks

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

To the Workers and Peasants of South America

Comrades!

The Fourth International Communist Congress, held at Moscow on the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution appeals to all the workers and peasants of South America to prepare themselves for the class struggle and to support the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat.

The Role of the United States of America.

The European War has announced the beginning of Capitalism's last convulsions. The antagonisms of the international bourgeoisie have ended in the most terrible massacre the world has ever known in order to decide which of the imperialist groups shall dominate. The proletariat has been sacrificed by millions on the battle fields for the sake of capitalist imperialism and its attempt to solve the sharp crisis that is leading inevitably to bankruptcy.

The war has not solved that crisis. European Capitalism sees its inner convulsions increasing at the same time as the class struggle becomes more acute. In the treaty of Versailles, there is a new source of conflicts and the proletarian masses are coming more and more to realize that nothing but a revolution can abolish the capitalist antagonisms. The unheard of repressions to which we are subject today, the implacable offensive of the bourgeoisie proves how critical the situation is to the capitalists of the United States.

It is in North America alone that imperialism has been able to strengthen its position since the war, and the United States is today a strong imperialist state. But following the war there have arisen new causes for imperialist disputes. The antagonism between the United States, England and Japan threatens anew the peace of the world. American imperialism is developing, is creating the germs of future conflicts which mean new sacrifices of blood for the proletarian masses. North America bids fair to be the center of the international bourgeois reaction against the proletariat.

The Extent of United States Imperialism.

American Imperialism is trying to extend its domain into all countries of the world. In Asia, in Africa, on the Pacific coast it is looking for new fields of exploitation. And above all, United States Imperialism intends to secure its domination in Latin America, either under a concealed economic form, or by open political domination. It is looking to South America as a secure market for its goods, now that Europe with its capitalism rotting at its base, can no longer provide that market.

The Monroe Doctrine serves the American capitalists as a means to secure their economic conquests in Latin America. The loans, the new investments of American capital in industrial enterprises, in commercial and banking concerns, the railroad concessions, the shipping ventures, the acquisition of oil wells—all these many forms of American economic expansion show how

American capital is trying to make South America the base of its industrial power.

This economic precaution also leads the bourgeoisie of the various countries to interfere in the imperialist struggles of Central America, of Panama, Columbia, Venezuela and Peru. The bourgeoisie of all the American countries prepares its reaction against the proletariat by government opposition, and when the workers of South America protest against the criminal measures of United States capitalism, as in the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, the governing classes stifle these demonstrations of the proletariat in order to show the subordination of their will and interests to those of Northern imperialism. The Pan-American Union of the bourgeoisie is a plain fact as is its function, the maintenance of class privileges and a regime of oppression.

The Duty of the South American Proletariat.

Workers and peasants of South America!

Imperialist capitalism has introduced into your country the same international antagonisms which led the people of Europe into a most bloody war and most formidable reaction. It is time to unite the revolutionary forces of the proletariat just as the capitalists throughout America have united against the working class.

Comrades, the workers and peasants of South America have not yet developed organization sufficiently disciplined and united for action. Your class government avails itself of the help of the formidable power of the United States, to stamp out your efforts, stifle your struggle for emancipation and prevent every revolutionary movement of your oppressed masses.

Workers and peasants! The Communist International summons you. Do not forget that in the United States there are Communists ready to help you in the revolutionary struggle. The common fight of the proletariat of all the American countries against the American capitalists is a vital necessity for the exploited masses. It faces you as the one means to your security. The heroic example of the Russian Revolution fighting desperately against international capitalism will make you comprehend what end awaits you, if you remain indifferent while the ruling class intensifies its capitalist exploitation. The antagonism between high finance and industry is increasing in your countries and the international imperialist struggles threaten to involve you also, in the massacre.

Comrades, face the bourgeois offensive with a united proletariat. Organize, ally your revolutionary actions with the movements of the workers and peasants in America and all countries of the world. Fight against your own bourgeoisie and you will be fighting United States imperialism which represents the highest point of capitalist reaction. Rally round the banner of the Russian Revolution which has laid the foundation for the world revolution of the proletariat.

Like the Russian revolutionaries, prepare yourselves to transform all attempts at war into an open struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Like them, undertake action against imperialism and prepare the dictatorship of the proletariat which will destroy the bourgeois dictatorship in all America. If you remain divided and disorganized, the American bourgeoisie will destroy you, will stamp out your movements and increase capitalist exploitation in nullifying your previous conquests. The fight against your own bourgeoisie will become more and more a struggle against world imperialism and a battle of all the exploited against all the exploiters.

Comrades! Organize! Strengthen your Communist Parties and create parties where they do not already exist. Ally your movement with the movement of all American Communists. Organize the revolutionary proletariat who fight under the red flag and work for the existence of sections of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions in every part of America.

- Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!
Long live International Communism!
Long live Soviet Russia!
Long live the revolutionary proletariat of America and the World Revolution!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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The Communist International Against War

By Walter Stoecker (Berlin).

An extremely critical situation has arisen in Central Europe, with unexpected rapidity. French imperialism has laid its hand upon the Ruhr coal. The German government offers resistance, and a state of war has been practically, if not formally, created between France and Germany.

The short-sighted and disastrous policy pursued by the German Cuno government was exceedingly favorable to these designs. German heavy industry has systematically driven the finances of Germany ever further on the downward path, has plunged the state into insolvency and bankruptcy, and has at the same time shamelessly seized the opportunity of increasing its own wealth, of accumulating enormous profits.

This policy is of course grist to the mills of French militarism. Naturally the whole of the Ruhr district will now be occupied, and not alone this, but recourse will probably be had to

other severe reprisals, and to the further occupation of Germany. Above all, the militarists will take the Ruhr coal, will cut off the Ruhr district from the rest of Germany, and thus enormously accelerate her economic collapse.

Signs of impending tempest may be seen in other directions. Lithuania has seized upon a part of the Memel district, and Poland too is only waiting for a favorable opportunity. Nationalism is becoming a serious danger in Germany. No one knows how long England will remain an inactive spectator of France's tremendous extensions of power.

It is well known that the leaders of the reformist international held a conference at The Hague only a few weeks ago, a so-called peace conference, at which they resolved to reply to any danger of war by the proclamation of a general strike of the working class.

the German capitalist Cuno government, against the tremendous dangers involved by this conflict, and should also protest by determined mass actions, to the utmost extent of its powers. The Communist International by no means makes the proposition of taking up the defensive fight conjointly with the Second International out of any great faith which it feels in the leaders of that body, but for the sake of the great masses of proletarians behind these leaders, and for the sake of showing these masses their task as a proletarian class in the present situation, that they may if possible be won for the proletarian defensive fight.

The proletariat of France, Belgium, England, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Germany, should gather together in this hour for a great united fraternal struggle against French imperialism and German capitalism, against the frightful danger of a fresh war in Central Europe. And the parties of the 2. International and of the Amsterdam trade unions, possess the power to do this, if they only would. But instead of this what do we see? The French socialists confine themselves to a few protest meetings, and decline to join the communists and revolutionary trade unions in an earnest proletarian struggle; the Belgian labor party even limits its action to a paper resolution of its national council, although Belgian soldiers are amongst those invading the Ruhr district. We hear nothing of really determined struggles, or of any pressure exercised by the great English Labor Party. The Italian social democrats are accomplices of Mussolini. We prefer to make no mention whatever of the Czech and Polish socialists and reformists. This is the appearance presented by the international solidarity of the second "international". The first really critical situation proves only too drastically that it is an international of words and not of deeds, and its leaders in fact hold to their expressed intention of not deserting their native country, that is, their bourgeoisie, in the "hour of danger".

It is regrettable that the German social democracy also stands in the first ranks of this association. Instead of at last realizing its duties towards the proletariat, instead of at last abandoning the disastrous errors of its coalition policy, and of the capitalist policy of fulfilment of war obligations, German social democracy again refuses to accede to the earnest fighting proposals of the communists against the occupation of the Ruhr district, and against the Cuno government. Once more it takes sides with the bourgeoisie, as it has done since August 1914; once more it joins the national united front, if somewhat shamefacedly, and keeps peace with the German bourgeoisie. The leader of the Social Democratic Reichstag fraction, Hermann Müller, declares that in this situation the social democrats support the Cuno government, and expressly approve its measures. All over Germany we see the social democratic leaders, who have trampled the interests of the German proletariat underfoot ever since the outbreak of war, again striking a severe blow at the international proletariat by their conduct.

We are fully convinced that thousands upon thousands of social democratic workers in all countries will refuse to follow the example of their leaders, that confronted with this first serious danger of war they will open their eyes as to the policy of their leaders, and we are convinced that there are innumerable social democratic class comrades who think like the right-socialist workman at the Essen district conference, who protested loudly against the jingoism of his social democratic fraction, and called out: That the demonstrations of the German bourgeoisie seemed to him like protestations of street robbers that other street robbers seize them by the throat, or of prostitutes that they are violated. This embittered trend of feeling among many social democratic workers was also expressed in the attitude of the social democratic fraction in the German Reichstag. Many social democratic members of the Reichstag felt extremely uncomfortable in this national united front in the company of Cuno and Stinnes, and the residue of their proletarian and international sense of duty, led to the complete dissolution of the social democratic Reichstag fraction. While the majority of the fraction supported the vote of confidence in the Cuno government, a great many members abstained from voting at all, and 16 others gave up their voting papers with the express explanation that they were not voting. Thus it was only the communists who unequivocally declared class war against the Cuno government in the German Reichstag, and manifested by their votes that they actually take up this war. In France also, it is only the communists who have taken up a really determined struggle against French militarism, and who are being thrown into the French prisons for repeating Karl Liebknecht's cry of: War against imperialist war!

The Communist International expects of all workers, employed, officials, peasants, and soldiers, including those belonging to the socialist parties, that they now take up the fight all over Europe against the capitalists, that all the exploited join forces against all exploiters, all proletarians against the bourgeoisie.

Hence the step taken by the Communist International, hence the repeated earnest appeal for a common proletarian fight, despite all lack of faith in the reformist leaders. The proletariat of Europe is confronted with the choice: either to join with the national bourgeoisie in the national united front, and to take part in the fresh war, in the new and terrible conflicts and ruin of Central Europe, or to join the workers of all countries in inexorable class war and ruthless struggle and war against international capital. The Communist International is at its post, it is determined and ready to fight. It is now the turn of the Second International and of the Amsterdammers to speak.

POLITICS

From the International Social Democracy, the Emancipator of the Peoples — Good Lord, deliver us!

By R. Fuchs.

Only four weeks passed since the gentlemen of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, gathered together at The Hague. Amidst secret negotiations they prepared the wedding feast, and the miracle was to occur before the official wedding took place. A child was to see the light of the world: the rebust proletarian action against war.

The representatives of the Amsterdam Trade Union International took part in the Hague conference, and the air was full of figures attesting to the forces which they represented. Twenty four million organized workers, 35 million organized workers etc. these were the figures that, re-echoed on all sides—and all of them representatives and represented alike, ready to defy death in the fight against war. And those who promised to summon the international proletariat against war were no hot-blooded curly-headed youths. If we looked round the hall, we might estimate every man present to be at least 300 years old. And that which is decided upon by the wise and experienced has to be carried out.

The danger of war is here. The troops of French imperialism have advanced far into German territory, into its densest industrial area. They are laying hands on German coal, and are gradually establishing themselves in the Ruhr valley. One man has already been killed in the streets of Bochum. What will come to pass when Poincaré's policy, his forceful interference with economics, meets with resistance on the part of the German bourgeoisie — that bourgeoisie which is prepared to sacrifice itself for a certain length of time if, by so doing it can avoid payment? What will happen when this collision stops the wheels and lays desolate the factories? Doubtless Poincaré's present object in the Ruhr area is to force the mining lords to pay,—not to remain in the Ruhr valley. But if he cannot force them to pay, he will establish himself in the Ruhr, and set up an administration enabling him to attain his object.

Will the German bourgeoisie tolerate this? Can it tolerate it? It is possible that the coal barons will reconcile themselves to it, as they have done in the Saar district. Or they will form a trust, conjointly with the French iron kings. But during this time German economics will undergo an unheard of crisis. The whole burden of the conflict will fall on the shoulders of the middle industries, which are not provided with coal, and are not in a position to buy any from England. The middle class, from which German nationalism draws its supplies of human material, will be proletarianized in proportion as the medium industries are ruined. The wave of nationalism will rise high in Germany, however imbecile its mental and political forms may be. Nationalism is a cry of pain, an attempt at salvation, on the part of a broad stratum of the middle class. And it is a question whether the decision as to the policy pursued by the government lies in the hands of the heavy industrial magnates, or in those of the nationalist masses who are in part armed, and are members of secret nationalist organizations.

There is no doubt that the Polish government does not desire war. It has more to lose than to win by war. It expressly denies the bogus reports of mobilization. But it is a question if the conflagration of Europe will not result in fateful problems being unrolled on the Polish frontier.

The atmosphere is charged with electricity. But what is the Social Democracy, the emancipator of the peoples, doing in this emergency? The international Social Democracy, which only recently swore a solemn oath to organize a mass strike against

war? Up to now no answer has been received to the appeal of the Communist International, made on January 13. But meanwhile some sections of this glorious company have already given the answer.

And then we have German Social Democracy, the Social Democracy of the country which is the object of the struggle, the Social Democracy of the country threatened by the greatest danger a country can be threatened with, the danger of having its soil torn up by the hoofs of cavalry, and ploughed by shells. Is the German bourgeoisie guiltless of the acute crisis now being experienced by Germany? The social democrat Paul Levi replies to this question in the social democratic *Leipziger Volkszeitung*: "We are convinced that this state of affairs, which arouses that resistance of the nation so longed for by the nationalists, has been encouraged, if not actually brought about, by the men in the government". He represents the conflict as a triumph of Stinnes, and calls for a fight against the Cuno government. Mr. Levi is a social democrat of a recent date. A residue of one-time communist ideology may still be floating in his brain.

And then we may hear Mr. Hermann Wendel, the herald of *Parvus*, the adviser of president Ebert. Wendel writes in the *Gloche*: "We know to-day that the selfishness of Germany's propertied classes, rendered wealthy by the war and the economic collapse, is responsible in the highest degree for the entanglement in the reparations question". Mr. Wendel cries: "A united front with these Fascist followers of the hooked cross (anti-semitic emblem), these prussic acid squirters and assassins of ministers, nationalist serpents of every description? No thank you!" But at the very moment when Mr. Wendel is exclaiming: "No, thank you", the Prussian minister comes out with: "No thank you? No, yes please!" and he calls upon the Social Democracy to form the great coalition with Stinnes for defying the Ruhr danger.

Are these perhaps mere petty quarrels among liberals? No. The social democratic fraction in the Reichstag is divided into two camps, one of which expresses confidence in the government, while the other endeavors to sneak out of all responsibility. The social democrats are a band of leaders who mutually neutralize one another, and hold the masses of their followers in impotence and passivity. In his article on the united front of the International, Mr. Wendel writes: "But how can the German workers unite with the French workers when they are united, through their party to the German bourgeoisie!"

And now the other side of the medal. The split in the Belgian Social Democracy must be referred to. One party of the brave men of Brussels are cynically and candidly in favor of the Ruhr occupation. The other washes its hands in innocence, like Pontius Pilate. Finally a common resolution is arrived at, in which protest is made against the present occupation of the Ruhr area, but which states, at the same time that Germany is under obligation to pay the reparations, and very plainly hints what is to be done if Germany fails to fulfil this obligation.

Let us cast a glance at France! Whilst the French communists are being sent to prison, not a hair is touched of Messrs. Renaudel, Blum, Jouhaux, or Dumoulin. M. Poincaré is fully aware that cannon are not necessary to shoot sparrows. Why should he imprison these individuals? The good people appeal from Beetzub to his old grandmother; they run for aid to the League of Nations, created by Clemenceau with the aid of Lloyd George and Wilson. What is the League of Nations? France plus England plus Italy. It England and Italy cannot tame down Poincaré in the darkroom of diplomatic negotiations how can the League of Nations do it in open council? Will Holland and Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark, perhaps attempt to put a bridle on M. Poincaré? The French social democrats and the French Amsterdammers appeal to the League of Nations because they cannot appeal to God. But the League of Nations, like Jehovah, is on the side of the strongest battalions, and to cail upon it is merely to cause a vibration of the air.

The *Vorwärts*, which quotes all these "God help us" international proclamations, reprints the resolutions of the English Labor Party with great pride. But let us examine these resolutions carefully. They demand that all armies of occupation be withdrawn from the occupied territory. Well said! But France is not going to withdraw them; on the contrary, France is increasing them. Does the Labor Party demand that England now withdraw the English troops, and thus isolate France? God forbid! The patriots in the Labor Party know very well that if France remains in the Ruhr area, England will remain too, to divide the cake. And therefore the Labor Party does not demand that the English troops be withdrawn, but that the English occupation authorities do not allow French troops to pass through the districts occupied by the British. Well, it will certainly break M. Poincaré's heart to have to send his troops all round the zone of occupation, at Germany's expense and on German railways.

And while the parties of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals are thus demonstrating their will to perfect inactivity, the Amsterdam Commission is convoking in Amsterdam. It is studying the war danger. We are afraid that the cannon will begin to speak before the learned gentlemen of Amsterdam have concluded their deliberations.

The Communist International proposed to the Amsterdammers, to the Vienna and London Internationals, that they conjointly organize the action against the war danger. The prospects of this joint action are very doubtful. The social democratic International, so far as its leaders are concerned, is bound to the bourgeoisie of its respective countries. The duty of the communists is proportionately heavier. We are the minority of the working class. Alone, we shall perhaps not be able to prevent war. But we must do everything in our power, so that when the masses are dragged into the war, they will have a rallying centre in the Communist Party, and will gather around us for the struggle which will transform the war of capitalism into the victory of proletarian revolution.

Resolution of the Moscow Soviet on the Ruhr Question

The plenum of the Moscow Soviet considers it its duty to voice its protest and indignation, in the names of the millions of proletarians of Moscow, the red capital of the Soviet republic, against the attempt of the bankrupt bourgeoisie to again plunge the peoples of Europe into a new and bloody imperialist war.

The attempts of the French and German working masses to begin fighting against the criminal bourgeoisie have been confronted by fresh treachery on the part of the leaders of the second and Amsterdam internationals, who refused the immediate organization of the united front for the fight of the workers.

The plenum of the Moscow Soviet stigmatizes these betrayers of the working class as utterly despicable, but at the same time enthusiastically greets the heroic struggles of the Communist Parties of France and Germany, on whose shoulders the whole burden of the fight falls, in so dangerous an hour for the working class.

The plenum of the Moscow Soviet appeals to the working men and women of all countries, and above all to those of France and Germany, to close ranks beneath the flag of the Communist International and Red International of Labor Unions, these sole leaders and champions of the cause of peace, of the cause of emancipation of the working class, of the cause of Communism.

For the workers of all countries the slogan must be: War against war!

United front of the working class against the crimes of the bourgeoisie!

Long live the fight of the working class!

Long live the general staff of the working class—the Communist International!

The Occupation of the Ruhr and the Proletariat

By Franz Dahlem (Berlin).

To-day is just as it was on the 1st of August 1914, when the German troops assembled on the German-Luxemburg frontier in order to invade France along the Trier-Luxemburg-Longwy railway line. French troops have advanced into Essen from Düsseldorf, Solingen, and Duisburg, for the purpose of occupying the Ruhr area, and this despite the "peace". Just as in 1914, when one of the aims of German imperialism was the ore basin of Longwy-Briey, now the aim of French imperialism is the confiscation of the rich coalfields of the Ruhr valley. German imperialism was not successful in gaining dominance over the combined riches of the ores of Lorraine and the Briey basin, and of the Ruhr coalfields. Now it is French heavy industry which is endeavoring to create this mighty mining trust, which would at one stroke make French industry the strongest power on the continent. And what finally was the real object of the war?

The results of the mad procedure of French imperialism will soon be felt on both sides. The aroused nationalism of Germany will develop Fascism. An even more acute era of reaction will set in. The occupation and plundering of one of the most important areas of German production greatly decreases the limits within which the German workers can be exploited. The German capitalists, who do not however want to cease to exist as a class, will endeavor to maintain themselves by a severer exploitation within their limited area. They will increase the violence of their attacks on the eight hour day, on wages, on the rights of the

working class. Up to now the German bourgeoisie has always succeeded in shifting the costs of the sanctions from themselves onto the working class. We communists by no means delude ourselves on this point, and are convinced that the German capitalists in the newly occupied territory will be ready to commit even high treason against their "fatherland" if they can increase their profits by so doing. We know very well that the German bourgeoisie, which at the moment, is prepared to urge the unarmed Rhinish workers against the bayonets of the French, will soon be calling for the aid of these same bayonets against the Ruhr proletariat. We have undergone this experience often enough in the occupied territory since 1918.

The working class in other countries should be equally on their guard. The cause which is being gambled for on the Rhine is just as much theirs. The wave of Chauvinism and reaction, raised by Foch's advance into Germany, will sweep over into France. The coal stolen from the Ruhr area by French heavy industry will involve consequences for the French miners which they do not dream of—for this coal costs nothing. The English miners can prepare themselves for increased unemployment. If the eight hour day is lost in Germany, it is lost in France as well. The increased antagonism between England and France involves fresh armaments, and therefore fresh burdens on the working class. The new and great world catastrophe approaches with mathematical certainty. The working class, hitherto too weak to defy imperialism, must arm. There is no more time to lose, every possible power must be exerted. The Essen conference has shown the way to be taken by the international working class; events confront the workers with the choice: To sink into barbarism and slavery, or to fight and win the victory against imperialism. There is no third alternative.

The German, French, and English workers, and the workers of the other countries of Europe, must throw all their forces into the fight against the capitalism and imperialism of their own countries. They must form fighting organizations transcending the frontiers of their lands. They must organize the struggle against the allied forces of capital by the formation of a united front on a national and an international basis. This is the only way in which they can attain to positions of power, or gather sufficient force to carry on the conflict in the next difficult situation into which world capitalism is rapidly plunging. This is the only way in which the proletariats will be able to realize the words spoken by the Czech comrade at the Essen conference:

"Make the Rhine the grave of European capitalism".

Class war!

By P. Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

At the moment when our funeral dirges are being chanted all around us, at the same moment when the whole bourgeois press is zealously propagating oracular announcements on our approaching end, it is just at this moment that our continued existence, our unabated energies and robust health is once more revealed by the persecutions with which our enemies render us happy!

For this shows that the bridges to the bourgeoisie are, once for all, thoroughly broken down. Bravo!

We have never before felt so strong and healthy as to-day, hurrah!

Do we lose anything by being cured of a disease which certain people hoped would become chronic? In the fortnight in which danger has threatened, those who knew of the danger and have deserted us had time enough to — once more — reconsider the situation. Perhaps they regret their action to-day. But they are and remain judged.

May all those who have not fled from their posts, but remain fraternally united in the Communist Party, unflinching and bravely take up the gauntlet thrown at the feet of the international working class.

What the Iron Works Committee with the finally obtained assistance of its accomplices in German heavy industry is conspiring, is a gigantic plot for the exploitation of the peoples.

It is a plot against the internal and external security of the working class of all countries. Nothing more nor less.

Today there is not a sou in the state treasury for the war cripples and the devastated districts, and to-morrow also there will not be a sou.

So great is the faith in the Ruhr crime that new and mighty taxation robbery of the people is already being announced.

And what irony! Mr. Poincaré — Poincaré the Boche-killer, but not at the front, rather in the security of hiding in Bordeaux! — Poincaré, the servant of the combined policies of

the Iron Works Committee and of Messrs. Stinnes and Arnold Rechberg, as "Ludendorff's spokesmen"!

From Izvolsky to Ludendorff, what a fateful path!

Thus to each his own!

With us: the poor devils, the workers, the eternal victims of the ruling régime.

With M. Poincaré: the magnates of heavy industry and the generals on the other side of the Rhine, the murderers of one and a half millions of Frenchmen!

Poincaré at Home

By Amédée Dunois (Paris).

The military expedition into the Ruhr area has made a very fine beginning!

It begins, in fact, just as it was bound to begin: by a political attack on the working class and on the Communist Party at home.

The march of the troops of General Degoutte to Essen—the last hope and at the same time the last thought of the National Bloc in its dilemma—required the curtain of the stage to be raised. And yesterday we were spectators of this curtain raising—by the police. The judge of the court of inquiry, Jousse- lin, of whom we have heard nothing for a long time, issued orders for domiciliary visits, and houses were searched. Seven of our comrades fell into the hands of the police. For the first time in its twenty years of existence, the *Humanité* suffered a domiciliary visit. But the CGTU, also enjoyed the privilege of a visit from the spy guard. The judge of the court of inquiry, Jousse- lin, is delighted; he has found his "plot"! Has he really?

The government is perhaps of the opinion that it can frighten and force the communists and revolutionary trade unions into dropping their agitation. By this they only express their own overwhelming fear of the movement which has scarcely begun.

It fears, and rightly so, that this agitation will win over the masses in ever-increasing numbers, those masses which have hitherto been misled by the gilded lies of the bought press, and whose credulity still permits them to imagine that "the Ruhr will pay".

But whatever the government may undertake, our agitation will continue until its inevitable end. As we were already informed yesterday by a short report from the political bureau of the party, the Committee of Action which has been appointed is continuing its activity. This signifies neither more nor less than that the struggle of the proletariat against the imperialism of capital, which only sows war and reaction wherever it finds a foothold, is being carried on with undiminished vigour.

And all house searches, arrests, and threats of juries and courts of law, will not have the least effect in altering this. On the contrary, they will only accelerate the rhythm of the necessary counter-effects. They will demonstrate to the people that the capitalist raid of the Ruhr area is closely connected with the sharp reactionary attacks in internal political spheres, and that here and there, the government and the ruling classes pursue one and the same aim: the enslavement and systematic exploitation of the masses.

The Situation in Italy

By Edmondo Peluso (Rome).

The solemn entry of the victor into the city of the Caesars, escorted by the great Fascist army, the ovations of the bourgeoisie, the approval of the king, — all this but a few weeks ago, aroused the belief, that Mussolini's reign would be a fairly long one.

But despite all this, it has sufficed to watch him at his work for barely two months, and closely to observe his first actions as head of the government, to arrive at the conclusion that the dictatorship of the Fascist chief will not die of old age.

The great masses who helped Fascism to power, because they hoped to find in it a new Messiah for their salvation, began to disintegrate immediately after the first days of the Fascist ministry. For the economic basis of this party is completely lacking in firmness and stability, and Mussolini is quite unable to pursue a policy calculated to even half satisfy all the heterogeneous elements which have gathered around him outside the great masses of the proletariat.

The hour has come for him to redeem his promises. Mussolini's followers, greedy for booty and profits, are pressing around him and demanding their reward for having changed their creed. Thus the first experience of the dictator is the deep disappointment of the band of adventurers and career hunters. According to Mussolini's announcement, he appointed to governmental posts, that is, as accomplices in his policy, generals and men possessing the "required elasticity" of movement for these

"delicate" and confidential functions (governmental and police presidents). In this manner not only have the liberals and democrats of yesterday been swept out of the way with one blow, but also the nationalists, the brothers-in-arms of the Fascisti, and these now feel themselves to be treated as patriots of an inferior quality, if not actually as suspicious characters. Their motto: "The king and the nation", has gone out of fashion, for in the eyes of the ex-revolutionary there is but one motto which has any value or validity to-day: "For Mussolini, God, and fatherland".

All who do not fully share this view are suspicious characters. This is the reason why so many organizations have been dissolved; among them d'Annunzio's organization, the "Legion of the Bold", by which a strong band of fiery and belligerent youth has been driven into the ranks of the opposition. The dictator has wrested the weapons from their hands, but he cannot disarm their spirit.

The germs of disintegration, long present but still latent, have now penetrated openly into the ranks of the great Fascist army. In Ferrare, Rome, and other places, the Condottiere are fighting briskly against the Fascist bands or the maintenance of their dominance in their sphere of activity.

One of the first official acts of the dictator was to dismiss numerous officials, and to replace these by tools of his own. By this he has considerably increased the number of discontented in the ministerial and administrative bodies. And instead of improving their material position, he has on the contrary, done away with the special remuneration for overtime work, and has further burdened these and all other workers by a wage tax.

Since 1870 the schools of Italy have been secular. But Mussolini has recently proclaimed that the secular teaching of the schools is to be done away with, and religious instruction reintroduced. According to Mussolini "Religious instruction will form in future the main foundation of the public educational system, and will effect the whole work of restoring the "Italian morale". The irony of fate wills it that this religious reformation is to be the work of the one-time schoolmaster and arch-Jacobin Mussolini. But the anti-religious and freemasonic strata are still fairly powerful in Italy, so that this decision of the Fascist government may only have the effect of bringing to a head the dull hate of Italian freemasonry for the dictator. There are a large number of leading commanders in the Fascist ranks, as for instance Italo Balbo of Bologna, who are at the same time high dignitaries among freemasons, and are by no means in agreement with Mussolini on this subject.

The annulment of the compulsory housing measures, in force since the war, has been announced by the new ministry to take place within a short time, and this has brought about a certain feeling of panic among the petty bourgeois circles who chose Mussolini for their idol. For such a measure will plunge a great number of petty-bourgeois households into the greatest possible uncertainty and confusion through fear of notice to quit, of the troubles of house hunting, and especially of the inevitable rise in rents.

By increasing the term of compulsory active military service in Italy to 18 months, the Fascist government not only further ruins the state exchequer, already burdened by a deficit of 6 billion lire which the Fascist government had promised to cover, but it has also aroused the dissatisfaction of the great masses of Italian peasants, who form the main strength of the active standing army and are by no means pleased to make the government a present of long years of slavery.

The above is a fair outline of the whole of the positive work accomplished by the dictator since October 28. It would be a waste of time to enumerate all the persecutions of the proletariat, all the restrictions of every description imposed on the press, on the right of holding meetings, etc., quite contrary to law and even to the constitution. It will suffice if we mention that only a few days ago, in Turin, a specially mobilized Fascist troop was able to slaughter ten proletarians in cold blood, in the open street, without the government taking any steps whatever to prevent it, as a reprisal for the death of two Fascisti killed in a tumult.

But the dictatorship against the workers can only be maintained if the bourgeoisie succeeds in maintaining unity in its own ranks. But the latest measure of the dictator, the dissolution of the Royal Guard and its substitution by a Fascist guard, seems to have struck a severe blow at the foundations of the military basis which constitutes his real power. As soon as the formation of a Fascist guard was announced, the *Corriere della Sera*, the organ of the educated Italian bourgeoisie, uttered the first cry of warning, and clearly pointed out the dangers attendant on the formation of a guard for the special purposes of a single party, or rather of a single person: Mussolini.

The decree announcing the dissolution of the Royal Guard, and coming into force on January 1., has aroused the bitterest indignation among the 100,000 police officials who thus find themselves thrown unceremoniously into the street, for the most part entirely without means of support. This fact allows us to better comprehend the events which took place on December 31. and January 1., in almost all the large towns of Italy, but especially in Turin and Naples, where the Royal Guards, hitherto comrades-in-arms of the Fascisti, killed and wounded a large number of them, burnt down the Fascist club houses, and marched through the main streets to the accompaniment of revolver and rifle fire, and of cries of "Down with Mussolini! Down with the Fascisti!"

The government prohibited the newspapers from publishing any other than the official report of these occurrences. But the fact that it seeks to hide the truth is in itself sufficient proof of the importance of the movement, though the government asserts that it has successfully suppressed it. Even if we assume this to be correct, we may confidently believe that the government is only temporarily successful in suppressing one of the forces which it has unchained against itself.

For it will be Mussolini's fate to fall by the hands of the forces which he will encounter in ever increasing numbers on his road of oppression. And the day is not far off.

ECONOMICS

The World Economic Situation in the Fourth Quarter of 1922†

I. General Section.

The general situation of world economics.

It is difficult to make a general characterization of the world economic situation during the period of this report.

In the *United States* the favorable state of the market observable in the third quarter of the year has continued, although the consequences of the great coal-mining and railway strikes have not yet been quite overcome. Despite this, the state of the market may be designated as normally satisfactory; the best proof of this is the ever-growing movement among capitalists towards an amendment of the immigration laws, and the substantiation of this demand by the assertion that there is a labor shortage.

In *Western Europe*, in England, France, and the neutral countries, a very gradual improvement became noticeable during the last quarter of 1922.

As compared with this, conditions in *Central Europe* have become rather worse than better. In *Germany* the depreciation of the mark has reached a point where the maintenance of production on the same basis as hitherto is hindered by the acute money shortage. The artificial stabilization of the crown in *Austria* on the other hand, led to an acute crisis in the selling market, and to enormous unemployment. Similar conditions obtain in *Czechoslovakia*. In *Italy* the situation appears to be unchanged: The effects of Fascist rule in the sphere of economics cannot yet be ascertained; the improvement in the Italian valute seems to be attributable to the greater faith placed by foreign capitalists in the stability of the capitalist regime in Italy. On the other hand, the increased depreciation in rates of exchange in the East European countries bears witness to the lack of balance in the economic life of Europe.

As an index of the general economic situation, we append a table showing the development of unemployment in the most important countries

	Percentage of unemployed among workers organized in trade unions.								
	Engl.	Engl.	Belg.	Holl.	Denm.	Swed.	Norw.	Canada	Germa.
		% of all insured							
July	14.6	12.3	1.9	9.4	12.5	19.8	16.5	5.3	0.6
Aug.	14.4	12.	1.6	9.2	11.1	17.4	12.3	4.1	0.7
Sept.	14.6	—	1.4	9.	10.6	15.3	—	3.6	0.8
Oct.	14.	12.	1.4	—	11.3	—	—	—	1.4
Nov.	14.2	12.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.
Dec.	14.	12.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

†) Beginning with this number we shall print, in sections, the quarterly economic report of Comrade *Varga*.

Absolute figures in thousands:

	Switz.	France	Italy	Czecho-Slovakia
July	52	6	304	—
Aug.	52	6	—	700*
Sept.	49	5	350	—
Oct.	—	—	—	—
Nov.	—	—	—	—
Dec.	—	3	—	1000*

Unfortunately at the time of the compilation of this report, the latest figures have not yet been published. When judging these figures, it must be taken into consideration that unemployment generally increases in autumn, due to the seasonal depression in agricultural and building work.

The development of prices is also of interest in judging the state of the market. This development of prices is naturally greatly influenced by the fluctuations in the rate of exchange, and can aid in judging the state of the market only in countries with a fairly stable currency.

The development of the wholesale trade index figures during the last half year was as follows:*)

	U.S.A.	Swed.	Switz.	Jap.	Engl.	Denm.	Fr.	Italy	Germany	official
July	131	165	163	201	171	180	326	558	9102	10059
Aug.	131	163	163	195	166	178	332	571	13978	19202
Sept.	136	158	163	192	194	176	330	582	29116	28698
Oct.	144	155	163	190	166	180	338	601	43223	56600
Nov.	150	154	169	—	167	182	352	596	94492	115101
Dec.	—	—	170	—	166	—	—	—	167412	147500

It must be observed that the rise in price levels in the United States is real and corresponds to the improved state of the market, while in England the actual rise in prices, calculated on a gold basis, is covered by the improvement in the English currency which has taken place. The price quotations for France and Italy, and particularly for Germany, are influenced by the fluctuating movement of the currency²⁾.

In order to render an approximate comparison possible, we append a table showing the development of the most important valutas, during the last quarter of 1922, as compared with the dollar and the English pound sterling.

Rate of exchange in New York in cents:

	Par	30. VI. 22	9. X. 22	4. I. 23
England	487	442	442	465
France	19.3	8.42	7.55	7.04
Switzerland	19.3	18.95	18.64	18.95
Italy	19.23	4.72	4.28	5.10
Holland	40.2	38.43	38.80	39.60
Germany	23.8	0.27	0.04	0.012
Austria	20.3	0.0052	0.0013	0.0015

The table shows that in the course of the last quarter the English pound almost reached parity, as did also the Dutch and Swiss currency, while the Swedish crown (not quoted here) was above dollar par. On the other hand, the French franc has depreciated considerably, falling quite rapidly during the first half of January, 1923. The same applies to the other Central European currencies. To judge by the development of the valuta, the gulf between England, America, and the neutral countries on the one hand, and the warring continental countries on the other, has greatly widened during the last quarter of 1922.

The development of the rate of exchange appears much more striking when the values are measured by the English pound sterling, for the Central European currency has so depreciated that when measured in cents, it is difficult to follow the small fractions that result.

*) Non-official estimates.

¹⁾ The data are from the "Economist" of 2 December 1922, with the exception of those on Germany, and from "Economics and Statistics", II No. 24.

²⁾ January 5.

³⁾ The American Federal Reserve Bulletin calculates the price indices of various countries on a gold basis. This of course enables us to follow the movement in prices with greater exactitude. But these reports are so delayed that they cannot be used for our surveys.

In London the quotations for £1 sterling were as follows:

	Par	6. Oct. 22	6. Jan. 23
France	25.22	58	67
Italy	25.22	103	92
Germany	20.43	9 550	39 500
Austria	24.02	315 000	320 000
Czecho-Slovakia	24.02	130	161
Hungary	24.02	10 500	11 500
Poland	20.43	40 000	83 000
Roumania	25.22	725	840
Bulgaria	25.22	750	675
Yugoslavia	25.22	275	425
Greece	25.22	155	390

The French and Italian rates of exchange are particularly conspicuous, as well as the acute depreciation of the Czech, Yugoslavian and Greek currencies, the latter obviously the effect of the lost war against Turkey.

The movement of the rates of exchange is but very imperfectly characterized by these figures. During this period there have been fluctuations up to 30/40 per cent within a single week. To take Germany as an example, there were days in the middle of December when a ton of steel cost M. 100,000 more than the world market price. At that time this was the case with most goods, even with coal. 20 days later, the dollar having risen from 5.500 to 9.500 marks the German prices were again considerably lower than those of the world market.

We are thus able to state that despite the improvement which has taken place in America, in England, and in the neutral states, the world economic situation in the last quarter of 1922, and especially at the time of writing, is completely chaotic.

The Situation of Russian Industry

By Bogdanov.

From a speech delivered at the 10th All Russian Soviet Congress.

During the four years of civil war the whole of our forces were employed in defending our frontiers, and in fighting counter-revolution; industry was away on leave, so to speak, and we could only await the moment when it would be possible to resume work. This became possible this year; industry has had to prepare for the attack, and to do so under the conditions of the New Economic Policy. We must describe the difficult conditions attendant on the complete reconstruction of the organization of our industry, its collision with the free market, and with the New Economic Policy.

It is clear that the New Economic Policy is no accidental episode in our revolutionary struggle; it is not a method which we adopt to-day, and can discard again to-morrow by a decree of the same or another congress; it is a definite process, and a long period will be required before it has fulfilled its task of strengthening our economics and attaining a higher form of organization for our industry. It is only after we have reached this higher level of development that we can pass painlessly over to socialism.

The difficult Conditions of the First Period.

The transition to the New Economic Policy involved depriving industry to a considerable extent of state support, and the industrial undertakings were obliged to raise the means required to pay wages themselves, and to purchase raw materials, fuel, etc. in the market. But famine, lack of purchasing power among the peasantry, fear of putting bread and goods on the market, had had such an effect that there was no market at all, and industry was thus frequently forced to sell its products to any buyer who presented himself, without making any proper calculation, and without considering whether the buyer was a private dealer or a state authority. The goods had to be sold to any body who paid cash enabling wages to be paid. The state, just beginning to regulate its finances, had not yet ceased to take over the products of industry for purposes of systematized economics, without giving material compensation for the products taken. This period lasted for about eight months, and was not properly overcome until the spring. Despite the difficult conditions governing the market, industry has carried through its task successfully; the apparatus controlling industry, and the workers engaged in industry, have been able to maintain their position. Their future task consists in rendering this position more secure.

Light Industry.

Especially good progress has been made in the sphere of light industry (an increase of production of one and a half times to four times that of our year crisis, 1920). Here we find a production sufficing in many cases to meet the requirements of our market.

At the same time all factors of production have considerably improved during this year in light industry, for instance, in the textile industry. We have increased and improved our sources of supply of raw materials and fuel, we have increased the productivity of work by one and a half to two and a half times in the various branches of the textile industry, we have increased the work of the industrial undertakings by two to three times, attaining to two thirds of the pre-war standard. The actual wages of the workers reached 70 per cent of the pre-war wages. Compared with 1921, and especially compared with 1920, we have taken an enormous stride forward; the textile industry has a firm footing, and its further progress is dependent on the measures taken.

The working conditions in the textile industry were perhaps the most difficult of all. In October the price realized for chintz was lower than the cost price, which resulted in a gradual diminution in the turnover capital of this branch of industry. The condition required to aid this industry, and to enable it to continue its work, is the granting of a credit assisting it to overcome, as easily as possible, the inevitable autumn depression.

The Question of Raw Material.

After the revolution the peasants ceased to produce raw materials for industry; they ceased to breed certain animals, for instance sheep, so that the supply of sheep's wool was greatly reduced. The progress which we now observe in light industry is closely bound up with our progress in obtaining supplies of raw materials. This year we must import from abroad about 2 million puds of cotton and 300,000 puds of sheep's wool. One of our most fundamental tasks for next year is the improvement of our raw material economics.

Heavy Industry.

The other great section of our industry is the metal industry. Although productivity has increased here also, although we can speak of a threefold production of cast iron and a double production of Martin steel, still the proportion is very small as compared with pre-war production, being only 4 per cent in the case of cast iron, and 7½ per cent for Martin steel. These figures show what little progress has been made in this branch of industry as compared with that observed in other branches.

But we cannot work without metal; without metal we cannot improve our means of transport.

The position of the metal industry differs in various places. The Ural district, having cheap labor and considerable quantities of wood fuel at its disposal, is working, and has increased its projected production from 4 to 8 million puds this year. This improvement began in August, and the productivity increases rapidly from month to month.

Petrograd has obtained fuel in return for the wood shavings sold abroad, and is reviving the factories (chiefly of the metal and metallurgic industry), with this fuel. The locomotive factories can now face the future with greater confidence, their position being secured by orders for 508 new locomotives within three years, and by 1,800 large repairing orders.

Metal industry in the south is in a particularly difficult position. This is the most important metal area, producing in past years three quarters of the total metal production, about 180 million puds. The production here this year is somewhat greater than in the Ural district, but the absolute figures are still very insignificant, amounting in all to only 2½ per cent of the pre-war figures.

In some branches of the metal-working industry a crisis is impending. Lack of financial means renders it impossible for the traffic commissariat to give the required orders. The productivity of the agricultural machinery industry is also extremely small. The development of this industry is hampered by the low purchasing powers of the peasantry. The peasant was accustomed to buy agricultural machines on credit, but the industry is not in a position to sell its products on credit.

But even here, as in light industry, there is an increase of productivity to be observed, one and a half times as much having been produced in comparison with last year, while the work demanded of the industrial undertakings has so increased, that in many factories in the Ural district it has attained to more than 50 per cent of the pre-war standard. There is also an improvement to be noted in the utilization of raw materials and fuel; the amount of cast iron produced with a certain amount of fuel has increased. As in light industry, general progress in productive conditions has been made, and many important advantages have been won. Further development depends on the financial situation.

Fuel.

This year has also seen rapid strides forward with regard to fuel. The output of both coal and naphtha have increased; the

output of naphtha, for instance is already 50 per cent of the pre-war output. Our coal output is 34 per cent of the pre-war output. The percentage of fuel employed for supplying the mines decreases from year to year (39 per cent in 1920, 28 per cent in 1922).

In the Don basin we passed through a severe crisis last year, involving considerable reduction of output.

The naphtha industry, on the other hand, has not reduced its production, and Baku and Grosny have been working with the accuracy of clockwork during the whole year.

The utilization of fuel has undergone much improvement during the year, less wood being employed, and more mineral fuel. Three years ago 80 per cent of the fuel required by the state had to be supplied by wood. In the future we shall however calculate upon a reserve of 2 million cubic metres of wood only, and meet the rest of our systematic fuel consumption by mineral fuel. Only a slight further exertion is required, and we shall have attained the normal pre-war proportion of wood and mineral fuel.

Electrification.

This year, as last, the state, despite the lack of financial resources, expended considerable sums on electrification. Work has already been completed at the two most important stations (that in Kaschira, and the "Red October" station near Petrograd). Work is in full progress at the hydro-electric station Volchovstroj, one of the greatest stations of Europe, and at Tsche'yabinsk, Kisilovsk, and Nischni-Novgorod, and work has also been begun at the station in Schatura and at the station in the Don basin. We are also proceeding with the exploitation of the Dnjepr river. This will mean a great hydro-electric station giving life to the Jekaterinoslav district. I pass over a number of smaller stations without special mention. I need only say that this work is proceeding uninterruptedly, and that within four years we shall have nine great stations enabling us to erect electric centres all over Russia. These stations will considerably reduce our costs of production, will allow of our utilizing our fuel much more effectively, and will win for us that strategic position from which we can organize our industry properly, and ensure its further development.

The General Situation.

Until October the prices of industrial products were considerably lower than the corresponding pre-war prices, when comparison is made with the price of bread. It was not until the crops created a market, and awakened a demand among the peasantry, that these comparative prices began to equalize.

There was no market before; it is only since September that a real market can be spoken of. In this market our state industry has been able to fully maintain its position in wholesale trade, and has retained 50 to 70 per cent of the turnover in its own hands. Here we have not abandoned one single position. But state industry cannot deal directly with the immediate consumers, the peasants.

It is typical of our market that for the period of a year the selling prices of the great industrial undertakings were lower than the market prices. This difference was inconsiderable during the time of depression in the summer, but it increased with the revival of the market, and the market price of the best selling manufactured articles rose to 50 to 60 per cent above the selling price of the trusts. This is a sign that the endeavor of industry towards a rise in the price of its productions is a healthy and normal phenomenon.

Foreign trade.

The role played by the state organs in foreign trade has greatly increased in importance, and approximately 50 per cent of our foreign turnover falls to state industry. Our main export branches, such as the wood industry, have won a secure position in the market during this year. The export of our naphtha products has greatly increased. This year a breach was made in the blockade against our naphtha products in foreign markets, and in the course of the year we exported naphtha to the value of 14 million gold roubles.

The rubber manufacturing industry is also beginning to send its products to foreign markets. The quality of the articles manufactured is quite up to foreign requirements.

Questions of organization.

Before the 9th Soviet congress the organizational questions of our industry, under the new conditions created by state capitalism, had not been adequately formulated. The 9th congress created the basis of re-organization. We have had to pass from the principle of various central distribution authorities from strict centralism, to autonomy of the economic undertakings.

The fundamental organizing cell of our industry, which we have designated with the word "trust", has proved an element of essential vitality. We do not form these trusts mechanically all after one pattern, but every consideration is accorded to economic and technical conditions in each separate case. The other form of organization of our industry, the union of the separate trusts into syndicates, has also proved to be of lasting value. More than 50 per cent of our trusts are united in syndicates.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from the situation of our industry thus described? We must above all recognize the fact that during the past year, industry has passed the dead point of the crisis of the last few years. This preliminary step has been taken. It is greater in light industry than in heavy. There are signs that this development will proceed further, for the living forces of the proletariat are working for it, and these forces strengthen industry both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The commanding position incorporated in our nationalized state industry has remained completely in the hands of the proletariat. We can look to the coming year with much greater confidence than we could at last year's congress, when our industry was still inexperienced in the New Economic Policy. We are able to wait, and we are able to demand conditions favorable to us from the foreign capitalists who are beginning to stream towards us.

Our New Economic Policy sets us the task of encountering foreign and inland capital—where their appearance is unavoidable—with a mighty and centralized state industry. This year has demonstrated that we are equal to this task, and we are fully convinced that next year our positions will be finally secured.

The Economic Situation in Hungary

By Georg.

The results of the Hungarian counter-revolution have spelt ruin to economy and starvation for the working class, to an extent which horrifies even the bourgeoisie. After a brief period of apparent prosperity, all the symptoms of an acuter crisis have set in. Among many categories of workers, as for instance in the clothing trade, unemployment is increasing rapidly. In many metal-ware factories discharges and short time are the order of the day. The state finances are in a frightful condition. It is impossible to state exact figures, as the Horthy government does not submit any draft of the budget to parliament. But the state finances for 1923 are said to have a deficit of 55 milliards, which is to be "covered" by the issue of notes. The reparation demands of the Entente have also done their work, and effected a general "flight from the crown". The capitalists accumulate foreign securities, and effect a great artificial depreciation of the crown, in order to prove the insolvency of the country by this inflation policy, which is consciously pursued even by the government. A renewed wave of increased prices follows on the heels of the fall of the crown, but wages remain unaltered.

Even the government found itself obliged to do something to placate public opinion last year, and got up an "emergency action". This however ended in a miserable fiasco, and in any case was not intended to alleviate the misery of the proletariat, but merely to distract the attention of the workers from their plight. The bourgeoisie enjoys almost complete freedom from taxation, while all state liabilities are borne by the working class and the small farmers. The landowners sell their products abroad for the sake of higher profits, while Hungary itself, although for the most part agrarian, is forced to buy the same products, fats, potatoes, and even wheat abroad. The result of this is that food prices have continually increased, even at the time when the Hungarian crown was temporarily stabilized last year, and did not follow the downward movement of the German mark. This extortion in prices is supported by the government, as this is in the hands of the large landowners and bankers. The state authorities frequently proceed against small dealers (thus a street hawker, an ill-clad invalid, was interned in camp for two years for excessive prices), while usurers and profiteers on a large scale go scot free. This usury exercised against the working class by high prices and taxation, combined with the lowest wages in Europe, is driving the workers into the miseries of famine. In order to suppress any desperate actions on the part of the working class, the Horthy government requires the aid, not only of its democratic parliamentarism, but also a continuation of the White Terror, now legalized in the form of a "security law", and also carried on illegally by the Fascist organizations.

There is no wonder that foreign capital takes a particular interest in this White Guard Eldorado. Czecho-Slovakian undertakings are removing to Hungary with their machinery, French capitalists are investing their money in Hungarian undertakings, and are having new buildings erected, Belgian capital is applying for the municipal undertakings of the capital city, and even Stinnes has not omitted the Hungarian proletariat from his plan of reconstruction. He already has a share in a number of iron concerns, and is continually purchasing fresh shares in Hungarian undertakings. It is in fact a most profitable business for international capital to emigrate to Hungary.

With the workers the case is otherwise. Thousands are trying to leave the country, many have already emigrated. In the course of last year a lack of skilled technical workers was felt, and the Horthy bourgeoisie felt obliged to take drastic measures against the emigration tendency. Miners desirous of going to the Ruhr area were arrested under the pretext of being connected with secret emigration agents, and the government even sent its spies specially to the Ruhr district for the purpose of discovering the "secret connections" between the Hungarian workers there and Budapest. The union of Hungarian building industries demanded from the government the strict prohibition of emigration for all qualified workers.

The most striking illustration of the existing famine conditions is to be found in the bourgeois statistics, which show the consumption of bread to have decreased in Budapest, by more than 40%, as compared with pre-war consumption. And this although the number of inhabitants of the capital has been considerably swelled by the various refugees. As early as October 1922 the average real wage of the Hungarian industrial worker was only one quarter of the pre-war wage, while even the wretched wages of the German workers amounted at that time to one half of the pre-war wage, and those of the Austrian proletariat to one third. Since this time further increases in prices have rendered the situation considerably worse. The real wages of the workers fall in proportion as dividends and illegal profits rise. In peace times the average weekly wage of the industrial worker was 40 crowns, and at the end of last year it amounted to 5,000 paper crowns. For the 40 crowns the worker could buy, in pre-war times, 400 lbs of wheat, 308 lbs of bread, or 1,332 lbs of potatoes, while the present weekly wages scarcely suffice to buy 82 lbs of wheat, 72 lbs of bread, or 280 lbs of potatoes. This signifies an average sinking to 20-23 per cent as compared with pre-war wages. In 1914 a pound of bread cost 0.13 crowns, while in October 1922 the price was 60 crowns. The new year set in with an enormous rising flood of high prices. It began with the increase in the price of bread and meat. A pound of meat now costs 330 to 370 crowns, fat 400 crowns, flour 90 to 100 crowns, and the bakers are demanding an immediate rise in the bread price of 5 crowns per pound.

In October last, a bourgeois economic expert calculated the weekly minimum cost of living of a family of five at 11,426 crowns; the social democratic organ gave the sum, for absolute necessities exclusive of housing etc., on October 21, as 6,111 crowns, while the maximum wage of the best paid workers was 5,000 crowns, of the assistant workers 2,700, and of female workers 1,600 crowns. According to the bourgeois statistician above mentioned the index figures of increased prices amounted in October, when the crown was stable, to 23.8 per cent as compared with the preceding month, while the social democratic trade union paper characteristically calculates a lower index figure, 20.1 per cent, for the same time.

The misery of the Hungarian proletariat is mirrored in the wage conditions of the best paid metal workers. Although the most modest computation shows their real wages to have sunk 35 to 40 per cent in the year 1922, the employers' union has refused to grant any rise in wages, and adds insult to injury by calling upon the workers to improve their material position by working 10 to 11 hours daily. The annulment of the eight hour day, even among those categories of workers who held to it despite the raging Terror, and the introduction of the ten hour day, are amongst the demands of the counter-revolution. When venturing on such provocations, the capitalists reckon on the docility of the trade union leaders, whose chief care is invariably to warn the workers "against ill-considered action and irresponsible provocateurs", that is, against any struggle whatever. A member of the bourgeois opposition giving his report simultaneously with a social democrat in a provincial town, was enabled to declare, with perfect truth, that he found much more patriotism and "understanding of the emergency of the fatherland" among the social democrats than among many of the bourgeoisie. The working class will be exposed to the miseries of starvation until it ceases to entrust its fate to the patriotic Hungarian knights of the Second and two and a half Internationals.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Enslavement of the Mining Proletariat

By Gustav Sobotta (Berlin).

1922 has been a year of severe fighting and many defeats for the whole mining proletariat. In Germany especially, mining capital assumed an attitude of increased offensiveness towards the miners from the very beginning of the year. The wages of the miners were to be reduced, their working hours lengthened. On March 23, 1922, the former imperial minister Gothein stated before the social political committee of the state economic council, that the seven hours' shift is an obstacle upon which the reconstitution of Germany, that is, the capitalist reconstitution, is bound to be shipwrecked. The first aim therefore was to abolish the seven hour shift, and thus clear the way for the abolition of the eight hour day. Eight days later, during negotiations held by the state coal-mining council on March 31, the workers' representative Löffler, member of the committee of the Miners' Union, also adopted the standpoint that the output of coal must be increased, and expressed himself in favor of an agreement providing for overtime and extra shifts. This circumstance was a welcome opportunity to the mining capitalists, and they immediately sent their faithful minister Groener, who then exercised pressure on the social democrats in the government, and thus at the same time on the reformist leaders of miners' organizations, to induce them to abandon the sham resistance which they had hitherto offered to the abolition of the seven hour shift in mines. The first attack was then made in May, but failed, thanks to the attitude of the miners' representatives. At the joint conference of all miners' organizations under reformist leadership, held on July 11, in Bochum, overtime and lengthened shifts were rejected. The ministers who had come personally to the conference to aid the union leaders to break the resistance of the miners—the state minister of labor Brauns and the state minister of economics Schmidt,—encountered a humiliating defeat, and had to return to Berlin without accomplishing their object.

The capitalists and their helpers, the ministers and trade union bureaucrats, did not however abandon their projects. A course of systematic pressure on the miners was now begun, especially in the Ruhr basin. At meetings and conferences the miners were told that if they would work overtime the dollar would cease to rise, food and other necessities would become cheaper, wages would rise, and the standard of living improve. All this had no effect. The miners were not to be persuaded to consent to an agreement lengthening the shifts. It was only by the aid of a cunningly thought out plan that the union leaders were enabled to humbug the miners. At the international miners' congress the German delegation and its chairman Husemann, were especially emphatic in utterly rejecting any thought of longer working hours for the miners. But before these thundering speeches had ceased to re-echo, the committee convened a conference of confidential representatives in Bochum, and had a resolution passed empowering it to take steps towards relieving the coal shortage. The committee of the miners' union of course considered a lengthened shift agreement to be the most suitable step, and an agreement with the colliery owners was resolved upon, according to which the miners from September, were to work one hour longer for 6 days in the week, or two hours longer for 3 days. It took about six weeks before the leaders of the organizations succeeded in the breaking the resistance of the miners, and even then only a small number began working overtime. The majority demanded a shop stewards' conference, and that it be put to the vote whether the agreement resolved upon by the union leaders be accepted or not. By means of the assistance lent by the security police, and by dismissing the miners taking a leading part against the longer working hours, the introduction of the eighth hour was finally accomplished in every colliery of the Ruhr valley. With respect to rises in wages the miners have had to struggle just as obstinately as in the overtime question, and here they have met with equal defeat. At the close of the year their actual wages were considerably lower than at the beginning.

The mining capitalists, on the other hand, may be well satisfied. During the past year the output of coal increased considerably. According to the figures stated up to now by the "Deutschen Bergwerkszeitung" (German Mining Periodical), the output for the year in the Ruhr valley is estimated at 97.3 million tons. This is an increase of 3.2 million tons compared with last year, and exceeds the output of 1911, and is but little in-

ferior to the output of 1913. It must also be taken into consideration that the production of coke has extraordinarily increased. The daily work performed by the miners has also increased from month to month.

Thus in October the output of one day's work was 339,505 tons. This exceeds the output of the preceding month of September by 22,505 tons, and that of October 1921 by 30,000 tons. In the month of November 1922 the output again rose to 354,483 tons, an increase of a further 14,878 tons. According to the figures ascertained up to the present, the month of December shows a daily output of 344,000 tons as compared with November. This is a slight falling off, but is still a substantial increase as compared with October. With regard to the production of coke no exact figures have as yet been published, but as the paper of the German coal barons, itself states, this has increased enormously.

This increased output is not confined to the Ruhr valley, but also applies to the Central German lignite district, the largest of its kind in Germany, where the output of brown coal has been greatly increased. In 1921 the brown coal output of this district was 84.7 million tons, but before the close of 1922 an output of over 95 million tons had been reached, an increase of over 12%.

The mine owners invariably account for this increase by drawing attention to the increased number of workers employed. This is not the case however. In the month of October 1921, 144,318 workers were employed in the Central German brown coal district, and in October 1922 there were 147,210. This is an increase of only 2%, while the increase in coal output was more than 12%. The same applies to the Ruhr valley, where the increase in the number of employed is not in proportion to the increase in coal output, for here the larger number of workers now occupied are not working at bringing up coal, but in coking-furnaces and chemical plant. Before the war, the hewers in the Ruhr valley comprised 54 per cent of the total mining workers, at the end of 1921 only 38.1 per cent, and in the second quarter of 1922 only 37.6 per cent. The proportion of surface and pit workers had altered between the end of 1921 and the middle of 1922 by one per cent to the disadvantage of the latter. Out of a total of 525,000 workers this signifies 5,250 more workers working above ground in July 1922 than in December 1921, and fewer in the mine for winning coal. All this shows with perfect clearness that the increased output is due solely to the intenser exploitation of the mining proletariat.

But it is not only this increased output which has added to the wealth of the mining capitalist, but the deprivation of the miners of their rightful wages. According to a statement published by the miners' newspaper, the share allotted to wages and salaries, in August 1922, from the selling price per

ton of coal was	619.28 M. = 40.93%
for taxes and levies	528.15 M. = 34.91%
remained to the capitalists for settlement	
of prime costs and for profits	365.57 M. = 24.16%

In the month of November the proportion had altered as follows:

share for wages and salaries	2334.64 M. = 28.77%
taxes and other levies	2688.04 M. = 33.13%
remained to the capitalists for settlement	
of prime costs and for profits	3091.04 M. = 38.10%

Within three months the share falling to wages and salaries has shrunk from 40.93% to 28.77%. The profits of the capitalists have risen from 24.16% to 38.10%. This calculation is based on a daily output of 530 kgs per head per shift. In a great many collieries the output per head and shift is however much higher. The "Hibernia" colliery for instance, a company employing 25,000 workers, had attained an output of 700 kgs per head and shift as early as 1921, according to its own business report, and this will certainly have been further increased in 1922.

This reduction of the workers' share is particularly expressed by the fact that the rises in wages do not in the least correspond to the increased cost of living. According to the state Statistic Office the costs of living rose by 65.7% in October 1922 as compared with the month of September. The rise in wages granted the miners was only 24%. From October to November 1922 the costs of living rose by 114%, the wages by only 74%. In December the costs of living increased by at least 100%, as compared with an increase in wages of about 50%. It would not have been possible for such a frightful state of affairs to have arisen, had the reformist trade unions not done their utmost to nip in the bud any signs of a desire to fight amongst the miners.

The Trade Union Movement in Egypt

By Avigdor (Cairo).

Even to day Egypt is still mainly an agrarian country, but among all the countries of the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean it takes the lead as regards capitalist development. In some places conditions are still patriarchal, and in one and the same village there may be seen both the iron plough and the up-to-date tractor. Home industry in its most primitive form is being substituted by workshops and factories of exemplary equipment. The economic revolution has however not been carried through quite painlessly. It has created new conditions of existence for the peasants and tenant farmers driven from the villages, and hammered into the minds of these classes an increasing comprehension of their class interests and duties. The following figures give an idea of the social differentiation of the Egyptian population, and of the process of capitalist development in 1918:

1. Agriculture: a) day laborers 2,150,000; b) large holders 28,000; c) small holders 1,300,000.
2. Fishery and hunting: a) day laborers 8,000; b) large leaseholders 100; c) independent 25,000.
3. Textile industry: a) workers 25,000; b) owners of undertakings 525; c) independent craftsmen 32,000.
4. Metal industry: a) workers 16,000; b) owners of undertakings 390; c) independent master workers 10,000.
5. Clothing industry: a) workers 42,000; b) owners of undertakings 1,750; c) independent master workers 70,000.
6. Furniture industry: a) workers 18,000; b) owners of undertakings 330; c) independent master workers 14,000.
7. Building trade: a) workers 44,000; b) owners of undertakings 435; c) independent 14,000.

Besides these important branches of industry, in which the greatest masses of the proletariat and of the artisan class are concentrated, mention must also be made of the transport industry, which is fairly highly developed in Egypt, and occupies about 150,000 workers and employes. About 30,000 workers and 25,000 home workers are further employed in various other branches of industry. If we take into consideration that the total population of Egypt does not exceed 13½ millions, we have thus a proletariat which is no weaker proportionately than in any country of the Balkans. The process of proletarianizing the masses of Egypt may best be recognized from the following table:

Branch of Industry	No. of workers occupied in	
	1907-1910	1917-1920
Transport	100,000	150,000
Clothing industry	76,500	144,500
Furnishing industry	5,500	47,500
Agriculture	2,500,000	4,100,000

In other branches of industry, as for instance in the metal industry, and in the building trade, there is, on the other hand, a reduction in the number of workers employed; in the metal industry from 35,000 in 1907 to 23,000 in 1918, in the building trade from 75,000 to 45,000 in the same period; this is however mainly attributable to the perfecting of mechanical production and by the lessening of public works.

Until the war the native workers had practically no trade unions; only the European immigrants, especially the Italian, had their organizations, which were quite isolated. The privileged position and prejudices of the European workers caused them to hold aloof from the native workers, and to refuse them admission into their unions. Where the natives possessed organizations at all, these were purely of a guild character. Before the war the strikes of the natives were spontaneous, and were not followed by any organization of forces. The war effected a radical change in this state of affairs. Besides requiring Labor Corps composed of native workers, the English military authorities also required a great number of technically qualified workers, and for this purpose set up some special schools giving short terms of instruction, in which about 30,000 natives received technical vocational training. This created the central point which had been lacking to the native proletariat.

Immediately after the war, when waves of national revolutionary movement swept the country, carrying with them even the dense masses of impoverished peasants, the role being played by the native proletariat became evident. The nationalists at once grasped the importance of so powerful a factor, and endeavored to utilize it for their own aims. It was of course not difficult to organize the fairly concentrated masses of workers,

The want and misery into which the German miners are plunged may best be realized by a perusal of the following figures. In November 1913 a miner in the Ruhr basin received an average wage of 5.50 marks, equivalent to 1½ dollars. In November 1922 the average daily wage was 1701 marks. That was ¼ dollar.

In November	Year	What the miner received for his day's wages	Value
"	1922	" " " " "	5½ lbs of bacon
"	"	" " " " "	11½ do.
"	1913	" " " " "	32 lbs of bread
"	1922	" " " " "	15 do.
"	1913	" " " " "	7 lbs of margarine
"	1922	" " " " "	11½ do.
"	1913	" " " " "	1 pair of pit shoes
"	1922	" " " " "	a patch on a pit shoe
"	1913	" " " " "	a pit suit
"	1922	" " " " "	had to work for a whole week before he could buy a pit suit.

The constant retreats beaten by the miners' organizations encouraged the mine owners, and their colleagues in the steel and iron industries, to continue the same line of action. When the labor organizations demanded fresh negotiations in the middle of December, the colliery owners declared that no rise in wages was to be granted, and that they were not prepared to negotiate before January 12. Their colleagues in the iron industry applied to the state government with the demand that an increase in the miners' wages was not to be agreed to under any circumstances. At the same time the capitalist press set up the wildest agitation against the miners. This shameful conduct aroused such indignation and excitement among the miners that the reformist leaders were almost swept away. In order to prevent this, the leaders of the miners' union in particular, adopted an extremely radical tone, and rejected the government's first offer of intermediation, when no agreement was come to between the mine owners and the labor organizations. This was however merely an empty demonstration, for the miners' union simultaneously headed a savage campaign of agitation against the communists. A number of confidential representatives of the workers, not even communists, but dissatisfied with the constantly false tactics of the miners' union, were expelled from the union. The Amsterdam bureaucrats thus destroyed their own union rather than be obliged to lead a miners' fight. And when, at the instigation of the government, another arbitration award was pronounced, but which offered not a penny more than the first, the union leaders were content, and accepted. They even accepted the condition that the interrupted working of overtime, should be taken up again from January 15. onwards.

The crushing enslavement to which the German mining proletariat is subjected by the German capitalists is greatly facilitated by the attitude of the Entente capitalists and the continual reprisals regarding delivery of coal. Under the pretext of having to fulfil the obligations imposed by the Spa coal agreement, the German mine owners squeeze the last drop of blood out of the mining proletariat.

The ever sinking actual wages of the German miner are at the same time a danger for his comrades abroad. Simultaneously with the intensified offensive of mining capital, a tendency towards sharper oppressive measures could be observed among the mining capitalists of England, France, Belgium, and the Saar district. The English capitalists persist in a determined refusal to raise the wages of the pitmen, though these still remain 80% behind the increased cost of living. In Northern France all means are being employed to further lengthen the shifts, and a favorable moment is being looked for to abolish the eight hour day by a Parliamentary decree. In the Saar district the miners are also carrying on a severe struggle against reductions of wages by the French authorities. Despite this, wages have here been also considerably reduced, although prices have increased. Thus at the present time the pit workers are earning between 13 and 14½ francs. Hewers' wages vary between 14 and 16 francs. After all taxes and liabilities have been deducted, the hewer receives a monthly wage of 314 to 320 francs. Compared with pre-war wages and prices, this is about half the actual pre-war wage.

For the miners there is no other course than to organize a common international struggle, participated in by the world mining proletariat, against capitalism, against the enforcement of the peace treaty and the Spa agreement. If this fight cannot be taken up with the consent of the Amsterdam trade union leaders, then it must be taken up against their will, if the miners, and with them the whole proletariat, are not to perish in misery.

already filled with hate against the English military dictatorship, in trade unions, and to induce them to enter upon strikes which frequently received support. Unions sprang into existence one after the other, and very soon these underwent their baptism of fire. The general strike of the railwaymen at the beginning of 1919, the strike of the civil servants, and a number of other conflicts, convinced the English government that it was not merely confronted by a few privileged rebels but by the masses of the working people. But the nationalists were also disappointed in their expectations. That which they had hoped to find a lifeless tool proved to be a living and independent element. The workers speedily ceased to act on the orders of the nationalists, and proceeded to independent action, to struggle for their own economic interests.

It will suffice if we mention that between August 18. and November 31, 1919 twenty four strikes took place, of which the railwaymen's strike in Cairo lasted 56 days, and three others each lasted 40 days. The demands of the strikers were exclusively of an economic nature. Between 1919 and 1921 there were 81 strikes in Egypt, of which 67 were general strikes (comprising the whole of the undertakings of the branch of industry concerned) and 14 partial strikes. 2,000 to 2,500 workers participated in each of these strikes. In most cases the strikes were carried through determinedly, and no native worker acted as blackleg. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the European workers, who more than once betrayed the strikers in the fullest sense of the term. The native proletariat, which is organized on a national basis (the majority of the large factories belong to Europeans), has invariably proved more revolutionary than their European comrades.

Despite this, the strike wave has by no means sufficed to create a powerfully centralized and actual class organization of the Egyptian proletariat. The Egyptian intelligentsia regarded the trade union movement solely from the standpoint of a means for attaining its own political aims, it failed to appreciate the importance of the movement, and in many cases sabotaged it.

During the last two years, in which the various factions within the nationalist movement became evident, the nationalists ceased to take any interest in the trade unions, and these fell into the hands of various political career hunters. Communists and revolutionary trade unionists endeavored to lead the trade unions into regular channels. In 1919 an Italian comrade undertook the establishment of a labor exchange in Cairo, and was at first supported by all the European unions. But the English government speedily put an end to this attempt by expelling this comrade from the country. A second attempt was made at the beginning of 1921 by the young Communist Party of Egypt. After two conferences, participated in by the representatives of the largest unions, the "Labor Confederation of Egypt" was organized, but its initiators were lacking in experience and organizational forces, and the union existed more on paper than in reality. The Egyptian party is now beginning work in this direction on a narrower basis, but consequently with better prospects of success.

The above will be better understood if a few words are given on the influence of the RILU. in Egypt. It is hardly necessary to mention that the native worker has little idea of what the Amsterdam International and the RILU. respectively represent. But the Egyptian worker stands for revolutionary struggle against his political and economic oppressors, and therefore he stands "for Moscow". Opportunist tendencies are strangers to the young Egyptian proletariat, and therefore it belongs ideologically to us.

The Question of the United Front

By W. Münzenberg.

The efforts of the Communist International, towards the creation of a united front of defense against the world-offensive of Capital, showed that a united proletarian front can only be realized by a fight against the principal strongholds of the Social Democratic parties and trade unions, and only through a widespread Communist propaganda. This lesson, learned from previous experience in fighting for a united front, should be recognized as indisputable by every comrade. Another question is the question of how to proceed with the agitation for a united front among the great mass of people. Mistaken as the Friesland group was, when it withdrew from the 3rd International, in believing that unity could only be brought about through negotiation with the head organizations, it is an equally great error to believe that the united front can only be achieved through propaganda among the great politically indifferent and unorganized masses. Since the collapse of the Berlin conference last year and of the peace comedy at the Hague, negotiations between the Communist International with the principal bodies of

the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, or of the executive of any Communist Party with the Social Democratic parties of the same country have become much more difficult and, at present, are practically impossible. But there is still another question, whether we should confine ourselves to the proletarian and politically active elements in the Social Democratic Party and the social democratic unions, in this propaganda for a united front. It is true that circumstances may arise in the various countries, where a particular sharpening of the political situation, might make it possible for the Communist Party to assume control, and to unite in the struggle the great mass of workers who are not members of the party. But our propaganda for bringing about a united front is not concerned with the exceptional action which springs forth impulsively, forced by historical events. Rather it attempts to discover, through organization and propaganda a means to overcome the apathy of the despairing masses of workers in Central Europe, to prepare them at least ideologically, and, if possible, to organize them for common action. But to accomplish this, the propaganda must be concerned, not so much with the broad sections of the politically indifferent. It must be extremely dexterous in spreading its agitation among the politically active groups of the social democratic parties and the unions under their influence. For, unless these groups are won over to the tactics of a united proletarian front, the Communist International and its parties will find it difficult, for some time, to lead the masses into the struggle, and above all to retain control in case of a simple struggle (Ludwigshafen). The winning over of such groups to the tactics of a united front is undoubtedly possible but it demands propaganda and action of a considerably greater elasticity, a considerably greater adaptation to circumstances and a greater skill than the simple Communist propaganda among unorganized workers. The politically active groups (party functionaries and shop-committee men) in the social democratic parties and the trade unions are bound by a hundred ties, to their party and unions, through the tradition of many years membership, through the power of habit, through personal bonds and friendships. It would be very difficult to completely alienate the politically active elements of the old parties and unions from their organizations and to bring them into the Communist Party. But it is possible to win over to a real conception of the Communist International and its problems, that element which stands in no dependent relations as an employee of the party or the union, but which actually works in the workshop factories and mines.

The agitation within each group must deal, in the first place, with the economic and political questions of the particular country, with the increased cost of living, Fascism, etc. We need mention here only one of the international questions which should serve as points for propaganda, namely, the question of the attitude of the world-proletariat to Soviet Russia. Immediately after the victory of the Communist Party in Russia in the autumn of 1917, and even more so in 1918 and 1919, a storm of enthusiasm swept the ranks of the proletariat the world over. Even the non-Communist sections, the still numerous Centre parties yielded to the pressure of the enthusiastic workers and declared themselves solidly with Soviet Russia. A certain reaction among the masses appeared when, in the course of Russia's history, she found it necessary to undertake a retreat in the economic field, which the social democratic press utilized in a shameless way in its propaganda against Soviet Russia. But it is important to recall that when in 1921 the terrible famine so greatly endangered Soviet Russia, and one was actually compelled to reckon with the precarious position of the Soviet government, the old love and spirit of solidarity of the foreign working masses found expression again in the international relief work for the starving in Russia. The workers from European countries, from Japan, China, Brazil, Egypt; in short everywhere where a machine throbs or a proletarian labors at the forge shouldered their share in this relief. The workers of all organizations and parties combined in this unified action. The feeling that the fate of the worker is bound up with the fate of Soviet Russia permeated the great mass of the workers in the course of the famine campaign. We are firmly convinced that today, even more than in the last few years, the question of Soviet Russia and its significance for the international working class has gained the interest of the great mass of the proletariat, and this can and must be used as the starting point for winning over the politically active groups in non-Communist organizations.

In 1921, when the international solidarity of the workers for Russia reached its apex, Soviet Russia was in a worse position and the international proletariat in a better position than is the case today. To the same extent that Soviet Russia has established and strengthened herself, has raised and improved the economic condition of her workers and peasants, the political and economic position of the workers in Europe and America has grown steadily

worse. The economic position of the workers in certain Russian cities and provinces, as Moscow and Petrograd is already better than that of various groups of workers in Central Europe. In addition there is the increasing danger to the Socialist and Communist movements from the rapidly spreading and internationally united Fascists.

The fate of the workers of Europe and of America is more bound up with Soviet Russia today than ever.

This fact is so apparent that every worker including the social democrats, must realize its truth. One can understand that it would be almost impossible for an old member of the Social Democracy to break the ties of tradition, habit and association, and become a member of the Communist Party. But he most certainly can be won over to fight in his own party for a friendly policy towards Russia. Practical experience in the International Workers' Relief during the last campaign proves the truth of this. In Belgium, the members of the Social Democratic parties and groups declared themselves ready to work with the Communists in carrying through the relief campaign for the Russian children. In England, O'Grady represents the trade unions on the Loan Committee. In Sweden representatives of the unions and of the Social Democratic Cooperative Societies sit with the Communists on the Loan Committee. A similar committee is being formed in Denmark. Social Democratic Cooperative Societies in Czechoslovakia and Sweden have placed long-term credits at the disposal of the Workers' Relief. All these examples of a united proletariat have made their appearance in the past months with the sharpening of the opposition (Hague Conference) between the Communist International and the other Internationals. And this proves beyond doubt how strong a desire to help in the reconstruction of Russia exists in the great mass of workers not yet Communist.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

A Joint Committee of Action of the C. I. and the R. I. L. U.

(Declaration of the Executive Committee of the C. I. and of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U.)

The general situation of the labor movement at the present time all over the world, demands a complete co-ordination of all organizations of the working class, both political and economic, that are prepared to fight against capitalism. The capitalist attack which has now been raging continuously for two years renders this co-ordination urgent and imperative. The form of co-ordination is of secondary importance. The main point of significance is that co-ordination is actually carried out, and can play a part in the daily struggles of the workers.

In the first International the political parties and the trade unions were amalgamated in one organization. During the epoch of the second International the overwhelming majority of the political parties were of a parliamentary opportunist character, and shrank from revolutionary mass struggles, while the trade unions, with few exceptions, confined themselves exclusively to defending the interests of the working class within the limits of capitalism, and shrank from conflicts with the bourgeois state.

In our epoch of desperate political conflicts at home and abroad, when the centralized forces of the bourgeoisie and its state power are mercilessly attacking the working class, when our most effectual fighting method must be mass action of the proletariat, the co-ordination of this action is most indispensable.

On the basis of the resolutions passed by the fourth World Congress of the Communist International and by the second World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, make the following declaration:

1. A joint committee of action will be formed by the C. I. and the R. I. L. U. for the promotion of their common activities against the attacks of capital, and for the leadership of the offensive and defensive struggles of the working classes against the bourgeoisie and its accomplices; the name of this committee will be "Committee of action of the C. I. and R. I. L. U."

2. This committee of action will be formed on the basis of equal representation. The Executive Committee of the C. I. and the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U., will each appoint three representatives to the committee.

3. Besides this, joint committees of action can be appointed for conducting special campaigns, and common sittings of the Executive Committee of the C. I. and the Executive Bureau of the

R. I. L. U. (or their presidiums) can be held for the purpose of deciding on questions of particular importance, demanding joint action of both organizations.

4. The mutual relations of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions in the different countries are to be decided on the basis of the resolutions passed by the fourth congress of the C. I. and the second congress of the R. I. L. U., and by the concrete situation obtaining in the country in question.

The bourgeoisie does not shrink from co-ordinating all the forces of its organizations (bourgeois state, parties, employers' unions, schools, church, parliament, etc.) in the conflict against the proletariat. The leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals do the same.

The bourgeoisie and the heroes of the Second International, who have preached to the working class on so-called neutrality, autonomy, etc., have themselves struck out quite a different path. The working class must once and for all grasp the fact, that it can only hold its own against capital, by concentrating the whole of its forces in a systematic and planned co-ordination of activity, enabling it to offer the required resistance against the ceaseless attacks of the capitalist class.

The Decisions of the IV. Congress and the Italian Socialist Party

By G. Aquila.

The decision of the IV world congress with regard to the Italian question is well known. It culminated in requiring that the 21 points be followed without exception, and that the Italian Socialist Party fuse with the Italian Communist Party into a "United Communist Party of Italy", a union naturally assuming the expulsion of the so-called Vella group from the Italian SP.

The party committee of the Italian SP. debated the Moscow decision in a sitting held on December 30. and 31., and passed the following resolution:

"The committee of the Italian Socialist Party, having heard the report of several members of the (socialist) delegation to the IV world congress of the III International, and having received information on the activity of the world congress with regard to the Italian question, takes into consideration:

that the Rome congress has submitted in the clearest manner to the essential conditions of the international statutes, which—as was made known—do not permit that more than one section of the Internationals exist in one country; this submission has been shown by the exclusion of the reformists and centrists, and by the renewed affiliation with the III International;

that the Party has meanwhile taken up a policy of unity towards the left, a policy which it cannot avoid pursuing, not only because of agreement with the directions issued by the Congress, but because of the present national and international situation;

that—now that a Social Democratic Party (the so-called Italian Unitarian Socialist Party) has been formed in Italy, and a Communist Party also exists—a middle party with the program of Bologna, and affiliated with the III International, would be absolutely absurd;

that since the London and Vienna Internationals have united to form a socialist international (with Vandervelde, Adler, and their companions) in opposition to the Communist International, it is perfectly clear that there can be no doubt as to the choice of the Italian Socialist Party, if it does not want to condemn itself to the sterility of an independent party without international connections, and consequently without definite orientation, and the Committee is of the opinion that:

1. The plan for the solution of the Italian question, as formulated by the IV world congress, and which renders the renewed affiliation of the party with the III International an accomplished fact, is to be accepted in its entirety;

2. The Party delegates who remained in Moscow are authorized to continue working towards practical formulation of the plan of affiliation;

3. The delegates and the executive must be properly informed as to the position in which the party has been placed by recent events, so that objective facts may be the basis for any deviations which may prove necessary for the furtherance of the common aims; and

4. All party organs must adapt their activity to the lines indicated, so that the united front of the proletariat will be sooner realized in the trade unions and political movements alike. As soon as there is a possibility of doing so, the Party congress will meet for the final decision."

The form of this resolution shows clearly that the Party committee is trying to make concessions to that part of the Party which is not satisfied with the Moscow decisions at the present time.

Under the pressure of the latest events in Italy, by which membership of a really revolutionary party, that is, the Communist Party, involves personal sacrifice, there has been a noticeable increase of the more or less open followers of Vella among the "higher" circles of the party, among the party functionaries, the deputies, and editors. Although the affiliation of the Rome congress was clear and unequivocal enough, and everyone was bound to know, then as now, that entry into the Communist International is only possible through uniting with the Italian Communist party, still these people again clung to the name of the socialist party, and rebelled against the above resolution of the committee of the party and thus against the decision of the Rome congress itself.

The *Avanti* of January 3. published an article by comrade Serrati, in which the imperative necessity of the affiliation of the socialists with the communists is clearly demonstrated, and shown to be of vital interest to the whole Italian proletariat. Pietro Nenni, the present chief editor of the *Avanti*, follows comrade Serrati's article by one of his own, with the naive sounding title of "Liquidation of the Socialist Party?" (in the course of the article he speaks of "liquidation" under "cost price?"). Nenni's article opposes the amalgamation, and demands that a vote be taken of all the party members with regard to the Moscow decisions.*

However "democratic" this demand may sound, the ruse behind it is immediately obvious. It speculates on the difficult position in which the Italian working class is at the present time, and upon the fact that some workers are not prepared to render their position still worse by complete and open confession of faith for revolution. And in case this should not be the case spontaneously, Nenni and his friends attempted to take the party by surprise by a systematically planned manoeuvre. They immediately convened the Milan section of the party, where they hoped to gain the majority, in order to have resolutions passed agreeable to their desires. How well all this was prepared can be seen from the fact that the *Avanti* of January 3. not only published comrade Serrati's article, and followed this by Nenni's, and not only printed the invitation to the members' meeting of the Milan section, but also a long resolution of Nenni's and his companions, which was immediately proclaimed as a resolution of the "majority".

Despite this well-prepared manoeuvre, they did not succeed in getting the resolution passed at Milan. It is true that the members of the Milan section were influenced by the manoeuvre, but it was not possible to get a resolution passed the same evening, and on the second evening comrades Riboldi and Maffi, in the name of the Committee of the Party, explained the resolution passed by the Committee, and further declared that the Committee of the Party had no intention of taking the party members by surprise, and had nothing against a general vote; the effect of this was such that the movers of the "resolution of the majority" thought it better to withdraw their resolution.

Despite this, they brought about an attitude of opposition to the Committee of the Party among the party members in other places. The sole success which they can boast of up to now is Genoa, where they succeeded in getting a resolution of the desired import passed. The fact that the Directive Committees of the Provincial Federations of Rome and Brescia, consisting mainly of party bureaucrats, have expressed themselves in opposition to the resolution of the Committee of the Party, cannot be regarded as representing any real success.

Despite its boasted impartiality, the *Avanti* unfortunately did not publish the resolutions of the sections in favor of the amalgamation, although such resolutions were passed in many places. In Venice, for instance, the whole of the workers demanded the fusion of the two parties.

The situation is clear. The Communist Party, now as before, is honestly in favor of amalgamation, and there is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Socialist Party, headed by comrades Serrati, Maffi, Riboldi, Tonetti, etc., are also in favor of the fusion. A small minority of the party mainly

*) Pietro Nenni has been a member of the Socialist Party for eighteen months. He was appointed chief editor of the *Avanti* two months ago, shortly before Serrati's departure for Moscow. Before entering the Socialist Party, he belonged to the Republican Party, edited the daily paper *Mattino* in Bologna, and filled the columns of that periodical with violent tirades against the socialists. He is a freemason—and this explains everything. Except how he came to be appointed chief editor of the *Avanti*!

composed of party functionaries, editors, and deputies, would prefer to carry on their old game. There is no place in our ranks, in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, for these people.

The revolutionary proletariat of the Italian Socialist Party is faced with the task and the duty of saying this openly to Vella and his like, regardless of consequences.

The congress of the Socialist Youth Union of Italy took place in Milan on January 6. and 7. The reformists left the congress after they had ascertained that they were beaten. Upon this the maximalists and the III internationalists united in passing a common resolution, the essentials of which were as follows:

1. The Socialist Youth Union continues to belong to the Socialist Party.
2. It continues to belong to the Communist International. The 21 points are accepted without reserve, the old statutes of the year 1907 are to be altered accordingly.
3. A committee of action will be immediately formed, jointly with the Communist Youth, 3 socialists and 3 communists being represented in this committee.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

The Treaty of Unions.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (U.S.S.R.), the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (W.R.S.S.R.), and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republics (Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia), hereby conclude a treaty for their union into a single united State, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, on the following basis:—

1. The competence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, exercised by its supreme organs, shall include:—
 - (I) Representation of the Union in international relations.
 - (II) Alteration of the frontiers of the Union.
 - (III) Conclusion of treaties for the acceptance of new republics into the Union.
 - (IV) Declaration of war and conclusion of peace.
 - (V) Floating of foreign State loans.
 - (VI) Ratification of international treaties.
 - (VII) Establishment of regulations for internal and external trade.
 - (VIII) Establishment of the general plan, and regulation, of the national economy of the Union, and the conclusion of concessionary agreements.
 - (IX) Regulation of transport and posts and telegraphs.
 - (X) Organization of armed forces of the Union.
 - (XI) Ratification of the Union State budget; establishment of currency and credit systems, and of taxation systems for the Union, the Republics, and the localities.
 - (XII) Establishment of the general principles of land distribution and exploitation, and of the exploitation of the mineral wealth, forests, and waterways throughout the whole territory of the Union.
 - (XIII) Union legislation on migration and settlement.
 - (XIV) Establishment of the principles of court structure and procedure, and also civil and criminal legislation for the Union.
 - (XV) Fundamental labor legislation.
 - (XVI) Establishment of general principles of national education.
 - (XVII) Adoption of general measures of national health protection.
 - (XVIII) Establishment of systems of weights and measures.
 - (XIX) Organization of Union statistics.
 - (XX) General legislation as to the civil rights of foreigners.
 - (XXI) General amnesty regulations.
 - (XXII) Veto of any decisions of Soviet Congresses, Central Executive Committees, and Councils of People's Commissaries of the republics of the Union, which infringe the Treaty of Union.

The Union Congress of Soviets.

2. The supreme authority of the Union shall be the Congress of Soviets of the Union, and, between congresses, the Union Central Executive Committee.

3. The Union Congress of Soviets shall be composed of representatives of the town Soviets in the proportion of one delegate for every 25,000 electors, and of representatives of the provincial Congresses of Soviets on the basis of one delegate for every 125,000 inhabitants.

4. The delegates to the Union Congress of Soviets shall be elected at the provincial Congresses of Soviets.

5. Ordinary Union Soviet Congresses shall be summoned by the Union Central Executive Committee once a year; extraordinary Congresses shall be summoned by the Union Central Executive Committee either upon its own initiative or on the demand of at least two of the constituent republics.

The Union Central Executive Committee.

6. The Union Congress of Soviets elects the Central Executive Committee, consisting of representatives of the united republics, in proportion to the population of each, to the total number of 371 members.

7. Ordinary sessions of the Union Central Executive Committee shall be held three times a year; extraordinary sessions shall be summoned by resolution of the Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee or upon the demand of the Union Council of People's Commissaries or of the Central Executive Committee of one of the constituent republics.

8. The Union Congresses of Soviets and sessions of the Central Executive Committee shall meet in the capitals of the constituent republics in turn, in an order to be established by the Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee.

9. The Union Central Executive Committee shall elect a Presidium which shall be the supreme authority in the Union in the intervals between the sessions of the Union Central Executive Committee.

10. The Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee shall consist of 19 members, four of whom, one for each of the republics, shall be appointed by the Union Central Executive Committee as its chairmen.

The Union Council of People's Commissaries.

11. The Executive organ of the Union Central Executive Committee shall be the Union Council of People's Commissaries, consisting of:—

The Chairman of the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

The Vice-Chairmen of the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

" " " " War (and Marine).

" " " " Foreign Trade.

" " " " Transport.

" " " " Posts and Telegraphs.

" " " " Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

" " " " Labor.

" " " " Food.

" " " " Finance.

The Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.

General Provisions.

12. For the purposes of ratifying revolutionary legislation on the territory of the Union, and for co-ordinating the activities of the united republics in the struggle against counter-revolution, there shall be established in the Union Central Executive Committee a Supreme Court, with the functions of a supreme body for court control, and in the Council of People's Commissaries a section of the State Political Department, the chairman of which shall participate in the Union Council of People's Commissaries in an advisory capacity.

13. The decrees and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries shall be binding upon all the united republics and shall be carried out throughout the territory of the Union.

14. The decrees and orders of the Union Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissaries shall be printed in the languages of the united republics (Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian, and Turkish).

15. The Central Executive Committee of the united republics may lodge protests against the decrees and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries with the Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee, but must not suspend their execution.

16. The decrees and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries may be set aside only by the Union Central Executive Committee and its Presidium. The acts of the Councils of People's Commissaries of the individual republics may be set aside by the Union Central Executive Committee, its Presidium, and the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

17. The execution of Orders issued by the People's Commissaries of the Union may be suspended by the Central Executive Committees of the united republics, or their Presidia, only

when they do not correspond with the decisions of the Union Council of People's Commissaries or Central Executive Committee. In such cases the Central Executive Committee of the united republic, or its Presidium, shall immediately inform the Union Council of People's Commissaries and the appropriate Union People's Commissary.

18. The Council of People's Commissaries of each of the united republics shall consist of:

The Chairman.

The Vice-Chairman.

The Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.

The People's Commissary for Agriculture.

" " " " Food.

" " " " Finance.

" " " " Labor.

" " " " Home Affairs.

" " " " Justice.

" " " " Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

" " " " Education.

" " " " Health.

The People's Commissary for Social Welfare.

" " " " Nationalities.

and in a consultative capacity, the representatives of the Union Commissariats for Foreign Affairs, War, Foreign Trade, Transport, and Post and Telegraphs.

19. The Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariats for Food, Finance, Labor, and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the united republics shall be immediately subordinated to the Central Executive Committee and the Councils of People's Commissaries of the united republics, but shall be guided by the instructions of the appropriate Union People's Commissaries.

20. The republics entering into the Union shall have their own budgets, which shall form an integral part of the general Union budget, and shall be approved by the Union Central Executive Committee. The revenue and expenditure sides of the budgets of the republics shall be drawn up by the Union Central Executive Committee. The list of revenues, and the amount of each, forming part of the budgets of the united republics, shall be determined by the Union Central Executive Committee.

21. A uniform civilian status shall apply to all citizens of the united republics.

22. The Union shall have its own flag, coat of arms, and State seal.

23. The capital of the Union shall be Moscow.

24. The united republics shall modify their constitutions as required by the present treaty.

25. The Union Congress of Soviets is the only competent body for the ratification of, alteration or addition to, the Treaty of Union.

26. Each of the united republics retains its full liberty to leave the Union if it so desires.

Moscow, December 30, 1922.

THE COLONIES

"Bolshevism" for India: a Melodrama

By Santi Devi.

"Bolshevism for India." These electric words adorning the conservative British press of the "Times" and "Morning Post" school, on December 21st and 22nd of last year, and were flashed across the seas by Reuter to startle the unwary nationalists, about to assemble in the last week of December for the 37th annual session of the Indian National Congress. What must have been the feelings of bewilderment and concern with which the worthy gentlemen of the National Congress, the majority of them devoted followers of the imprisoned Gandhi, awoke from their innocent slumbers on the morning of December 22nd; to find their favorite Congress organs bristling with the dire project of Bolshevism in India, by which Reuter saw fit to describe the three columns of a mild social-democratic program drawn up for the consideration of the National Congress by exiled followers of "The Vanguard" party. And what must have been the outraged horror of the Indian capitalist and landlord class, whose "loyalty" to the alien government has been so often and so loudly proclaimed by their every speech and action, to discover, in the moderate nationalist or Anglo-Indian daily which interprets the world's events for them, that Bolshevism,

overflowing the confines of Russia, was at last spilling its poisonous water into India and muddating the land. Again, picture the mad fury of the choleric Anglo-Indian, I.C.S. or military, accustomed to look upon India and the Indians as their sole, legitimate prey, to read, as cabled by the faithful Reuter, that someone across the seas was dreaming and writing of "complete national independence, free from all foreign rule", which must precede the fulfillment of the rest of an amazing program calling for economic and social, as well as political emancipation,—the abolition of big landlordism, nationalization of public utilities, reduction of land-rents, graduated income-tax, industrial profit-sharing, an eight hour day,—in short, the program of that heretic body, the British Labour Party, applied to India.

But to complete this feast of the imagination, one must conjure up two more mental images,—the vigilant finger of the British Foreign Office and of its Agent, Scotland Yard, upon the pulse of Indian public opinion, as reflected in the Extremist, Moderate and Loyalist Press, reacting to that carefully-timed and theatrically-staged cable of Reuter on the eve of the National Congress,—and the amazed concern followed by delight, of that faithful little band of exiles, authors of the Famous "Program", to behold their propaganda efforts rewarded in so unexpected and unheard of a fashion. "Imperialism, mad with rage, destroys itself."

Such in short, are the various elements of the Dramatis Personae who willy-nilly, enacted the tragi-comedy planned by British Imperialism and so skillfully staged by Reuter and the Indian press. Enraged Anglo-Indians, dumbfounded Moderates, trembling Nationalists and griefful Vanguardist danced momentarily to the tune of the Imperialist piper. But the end of the drama is not yet. The Program, so lovingly planned and so laboriously broadcasted among what was hoped a tiny section of the Indian intelligentsia, by the Vanguard Party, seized upon so ruthlessly and flung to the breeze of countryside publicity by the cunning Imperialist, will do its own work in its own way, among that section of the population to whose deepest needs and highest aspirations its clauses correspond. The end is not yet in sight. "Imperialism, mad with rage, destroys itself."

If the purpose of the Official Prompter behind Reuter was to terrify the Extremist Nationalists and to draw the loyal Moderates yet more closely within the Imperial embrace, one must congratulate him upon his temporary success. Indian Landlordism and Capitalism have run, shrieking, to the arms of their Protector; so-called Indian Extremism has shudderingly disclaimed all identity or sympathy with a program which does not go farther in its demands than the advanced republicanism of modern Europe. The attitude of both classes is characteristically revealed in their press. Says the liberal "Leader", organ of the Moderates:

"The program is drawn up in accordance with the modified principles of Bolshevism, and is intended to appeal to the cupidity and self-interest of the masses.—We neither believe in Utopias, nor in the efficacy of direct action for attaining them.—In the existing conditions of India, attempts at revolution would lead to a terrible reaction."

Thus it is made clear to the Imperial Overlord that the Liberals, that growing politically-minded class of big industrial capitalists, will stand by the Government against any attempt to upset the existing order, in which they possess a sufficiently large stake. As for the Landlords, always outspokenly Tory in sentiment and notoriously pillars of the Empire, let them speak in the words of the President of the Bengal Landholders' Association, addressing the Viceroy on December 24th:

"Your Excellency can rely on the ungrudging support and sincere assistance of the landlords in the maintenance and preservation of law and order. We trust that Your Excellency's Government will not lend countenance to the agitation which may be engineered by interested parties against the rights and privileges of the Zemindars (landlords) which have been long enjoyed by them, and which have been recognized by the sovereign powers for centuries."

To which His Excellency, the Viceroy, replied:

"You may rest assured that I realize the great services rendered by your class in the past, and that I look to the maintenance of close and cordial relations. You may feel confident that your rights will not be disregarded, and that your aims and aspirations will receive sympathetic consideration at all times.—I am not unmindful that from one quarter, an attack has been made upon your rights and position. I gave you the clearest assurance that it is a mischievous campaign of this kind takes definite shape, you may rely on the government to afford you the fullest support of the Law in combatting it."

We may assume from the above citations, that the Government has been successful in rallying its two main props to meet

a threatened (and fictitious) crisis,—the Big Landlords and the ambitious Liberals, consulting the upper strata of the Indian bourgeoisie. This alone was worth the expense of an excessively long cable.

But this is not all. The consternation that reigned in the Extremist camp at the publication of a program gratuitously attributed to Bolshevik sources and coupled with the names of some of the Nationalist leaders threw the entire Congress into confusion worse confounded, and in their extreme haste to white-wash themselves of any evil intentions, certain very interesting confessions of faith have been made, not less interesting for true Indian revolutionaries, determined to overthrow existing evils, than for a government equally determined to maintain them. The class-character of the majority of the Congress Extremists has been revealed for what it is,—petty-bourgeois reformists, bent upon winning for themselves a place in the sun, ready to use the bent shoulders of the masses to climb thereto, but in no way willing to lift those masses higher than their present miserable state. Harken to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, organ of Extremist Nationalism and erstwhile champion of the oppressed proletariat and peasantry:

"Our first duty is to avoid, by every possible means, antagonizing any section or class of our population at this juncture. For India to accept what may at best be described as political and economic experiments as the solution of our problem, will be far from safe. What lines the National State in India will take to work out a reasonable reconciliation between the conflicting interests of landlord and tenant, of capital and labor, must be searched, discovered and adopted by us, after we have secured control of our own state life. In the meantime, all classes or interests in the community must combine to work together."

The Government may rest content, but one interested in the freedom of India is tempted to enquire, "How, without the determined backing of the masses, are you going to secure control of your own state life?" And how, given the inevitable class-affiliation between Indian landlords and capitalists with the Imperial overlord, are you going to make every section of the Indian community combine in cooperation?

The *Independent*, organ of Congress Extremism, writes editorially in its issue of Dec. 24:

"The Program stands condemned on its own merits, because in its plan (of mass action and a countrywide general strike) there is no room whatsoever for Love Force; our faith is in Non-Violent Non-cooperation based on Love Force."

The Government should chuckle, and probably does, but we would enquire: "How are you going to do it when Mr. Gandhi, a greater prophet of Love Force than any one of you, tried it for two years and failed?"

The *Bangalore Katha*, organ of Mr. C. R. Das, himself the author of a new "mass" program, said by the Anglo-Indian press to bear a close and tell-tale resemblance to that of the "Vanguard" party, defines its attitude thus:

"We do not agree entirely with this program. The class which will be victorious in a conflict between classes will lord it over the rest. That state of affairs cannot be called the freedom of the whole country. We want freedom for the entire Indian people,—we are not content with the liberation of a particular class."

The Government, hugging the two richest and most politically-minded classes to its bosom, may rejoice at this doctrine of class-reconciliation and freedom for the entire Indian people, but we would point out to Mr. Das and his followers that the experience of that "perfect" democracy, the United States of America, of France and Switzerland and post-war Germany, prove that it cannot be done. The class-domination exists, whether it be of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat. Champions of the working-class prefer the latter, as in Soviet Russia.

In conclusion, we will quote a few choice sentiments from *The Mussulman*, classical organ of Mohammedan Extremism, at which the Government (theoretically) quakes. Let it quake no longer. The world of Islam, if one may judge by the words of *The Mussulman*, is on the side of the rich and privileged minority, and against the oppressed majority. In its editorial comment of Dec. 29 it declares:

"The Program,—advocates the abolition of landlordism and confiscation of all large estates without any compensation. It is a silly proposal. It advocates nationalization of all public utilities. The acceptance of this proposal means the destruction of all charitable and religious endowments. Neither Muslims nor Hindus will tolerate such interference. The proposal of universal suffrage, if adopted, would mean chaos. Countries which have been enjoying parliamentary institutions for centuries have not yet been able to extend the franchise to every man and woman. The fixing of an eight hour day for five and a half days a week

as the maximum duration of work for all laborers, including agricultural laborers, would, instead of furthering their interests, be prejudicial to them and would not, we think, be in the best interests of the country.

So much for religious extremism, which, exposed in its true colors, becomes rank reaction. British Imperialism will sit tight for many a long day, while such philosophy is safely indulged in and propagated in India, both by orthodox Gandhists and Mussulman Khalifatists. The little experiment in melodrama has borne rich fruit for the Government; it has found out many things which it might have, but apparently did not know before,—the bogey of Bolshevism blinded its usually keen intuition. "Imperialism, mad with rage, destroys itself." The Vanguard program of mild social democracy, sown like the Dragon's Teeth throughout the length and breadth of India, thanks to the insensate fear and fury of blind Authority, has sunk deep in the soil and will spring forth, one day, in the shape of new leaders, armed with the power of a new Idea, which will sweep the Indian people on to Victory and Freedom.

THE WHITE TERROR

Russia to the Rescue

Arrival of the exchanged Lettish communists in Moscow. After more than 400 Hungarian communists had been liberated from the prisons of the Hungarian White Terror, an exchange agreement has been carried through between the Soviet government and the government of Latvia. On December 23, ninety communists arrived in Moscow, from the prisons of "democratic" Latvia, where they had been martyred and tortured, and from whence they have now been rescued in exchange for Lettish hostages retained in Russia.

They were received at the Vindavsk station in Moscow by the workers of the former Riga factory "Union", of the railway workshops of Moscow, and by the students of the communist university in Moscow, further by the representatives of the Comintern, of the Lettish section and the Moscow Committee of the Russian CP., of the Moscow Committee of the Youth Union, of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, etc. In their speeches of welcome, the delegates expressed their conviction, that the flames of the world revolution would soon seize even those places from which the martyred comrades came. They conveyed messages of sympathy from the Russian workers to the Lettish comrades, who have suffered so much in the prisons of bourgeois Latvia.

Comrades Krustin, Dermann, and Kliavs-Kliavin replied to the welcome on behalf of the exchanged comrades. Comrade Krustin pointed out that the leaders of white Latvia were building "democratic" Latvia on the dead bodies of the workers who fell in the fight for their emancipation. Comrade Dermann, deputy of the Lettish national assembly, emphasized that to-day in Latvia, the Tsarist code of criminal law is still being used, and that workers are being condemned to death for deeds for which even the Tsarist government seldom imposed capital punishment. The Lettish courts of justice, headed by the social democrat Holzmann, has caused death sentences on communists to be carried out.

The last speaker, comrade Kliavs-Kliavin, who, despite his being a Russian subject, was tortured in the prisons of Latvia, thanked the workers of Soviet Russia for their comradely reception, and declared that the whole of the comrades who had arrived from Latvia were fully conscious that they owed their lives to Russia, whose powerful hand had rescued them from the hangman of "democratic" Latvia. These comrades are united to the workers of Russia by the tie of communism, and will devote their whole work and their lives for the increase of the political and economic power of Soviet Russia.

APPEALS

The Russian Medical Workers to the Medical Personnel of all Countries!

The 4 All Russian Congress of medical employes and workers, representing over 350,000 union members, having held its session recently in Moscow, sends fraternal greetings to the medical personnel of all countries, and imparts the following information:

"The union "Wsemediksantrud" is based on the principle of one vocation one union, and comprises all workers employed in the medical and veterinary profession, or in pharmaceutical chemistry, (Physicians, dentists, veterinary surgeons, ambulance assistants, mid-wives, infants' nurses, pharmaceutical chemists, druggists, etc.) in state, public, or private institutions within the territory of the RSFSR.

The union takes an active part in solving the questions connected with medical, sanitary, and veterinary work; it discusses the most important points in the structure of our health authorities, conjointly with the economic organs, and puts forward candidates for responsible positions in the organs for the protection of public health, hospitals, etc.

During the 5 years of Soviet government the members of the union have stood shoulder to shoulder with the workers of Russia, and have supported the government in all its measures. They have fought against epidemics and served in the field, despite the most frightful deprivations; they have cared for the sick and wounded of the Red Army, and have had faith in the victory of our ideals."

The appeal also contains the following: "Comrades! Our organization is affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, notwithstanding, we appeal to you, who are in the ranks of other international organizations, and propose that you enter into close relations with us. We beg you to exchange your experiences in the class-war with us.

We for our part will willingly give you the full benefit of the experience gathered in the course of our work, and in this way we may succeed in working out, conjointly with you, a general line of common tactics.

The 4th All Russian Congress of the "Wsemediksantrud" appeals to you, comrades, to enter into the closest connection with us.

Long live the proletarian united front!
Long live the international proletarian revolution!
Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!

WEEKLY EDITION.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

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Loucheur, Stinnes & Co.

By Jacques Sadoul.

Before 1914, the exploitation of the two mightiest mining areas of the continent, Lorraine and the Ruhr, ensured the predominance in Europe of the German bourgeoisie.

In order to break this dominion, the victorious Entente had to destroy its foundations. The Versailles Treaty therefore provided for the separation of the ores of Lorraine from Germany, and their incorporation in France, while the Ruhr coal was left to Germany.

But even the most solemn agreements, written in the blood of millions of poor propertyless victims, and protected by armies comprising millions of soldiers, cannot hold good if they contravene economic realities. The Treaty of Versailles, like many other treaties, is nothing more than a scrap of paper, because it attempts to break up the natural unity of the Rhine valley.

The German metal industries are as little able to do without the ore of Lorraine as the French metal industries of Lorraine are able to dispense with the Ruhr coal. The mutual economic dependence of the two areas is inalienable. The Rhine flowing between them must again become what it was before, a connecting line. It is only possible to properly utilize the huge riches of the Rhine valley when the owners work in the closest relationship with one another.

What form will these close relations take?

Three possibilities may be considered:

- a) the (French) iron submits to the dominion of the (German) coal.
- b) the coal submits to the iron.
- c) iron and coal—in capable of dominating one another completely—are forced to make a compromise.

The ore of Lorraine, in the hands of victorious and armed France, will not submit to the Ruhr, that is, to vanquished and

disarmed Germany. But on the other hand England and the United States, after making such great efforts for the overthrow of German dominance, will not permit France to establish her own supremacy on the ruins of Germany, by forcing German coal to submit to the sway of French iron.

Let us therefore examine the conditions for the realization of the third possibility, the only one which appears probable at the present time: an understanding between French ore and German coal.

The men on both sides whose interests are chiefly at stake, and who are therefore best informed—the French and German iron barons—are perfectly aware that such an understanding is inevitable, and that it will be necessary, within a short time, to form a Franco-German syndicate for the exploitation of the mines of Lorraine and the Ruhr. Both parties are preparing for this understanding, and both parties are naturally endeavoring to grant as little as possible, and to gain as much as possible, when entering into the agreement.

In order to fill and defend their cash-boxes—for this is the sole tangible reality in the whole affair—French and German capitalists are resorting to every possible medium of deception and violence.

In the last resort it is a question—and this no communist must forget—of what privileged rights this or that partner is to have over the sweat and misery of the workers, of what proportion of the riches squeezed out of the exploited workers of the Ruhr mines is to be granted to Loucheur, Schneider & Co., and how many millions in return for them are to be accorded to Stinnes, Thyssen & Co., from the no less scandalous exploitation of the miners of Lorraine.