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The Amsterdam International and War.

By Leon Trotsky.

News has arrived regarding the debates and decisions of the Vienna Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Unions concerning the question of war and the means of combatting it. Why has this question arisen at all? Obviously because the danger of a new war is becoming continually more apparent. This is the conclusion which must be drawn before all else. If the Amsterdam trade unions are compelled to return again to the question of war, it is because the danger of a new bloody conflict is being perceived with ever greater clearness by even the most backward of the working masses.

The resolution on the danger of war and on the measures to combat the same was introduced by Jouhaux, the general secretary of the CCT. (reformist trade union federation) of France. By this M. Jouhaux recognises the danger of a new war. But we all remember very well that during the last imperialist war, M. Jouhaux continually asserted that this was the last war, that it had as its aim the destruction of militarism and that as a result there would be established the triumph of Democratic International Right. It was for precisely this reason that Jouhaux summoned the French workers to come to the active aid of the French bourgeoisie in the "last" war which was to end war. And now, ten years after the outbreak and nearly six years after the conclusion of the "last" war, M. Jouhaux introduces a resolution on the fight against the danger of new wars. This means that someone has blundered, this means that somebody has been duped. Who? By whom? Has M. Jouhaux been duped by the French bourgeoisie? Or has M. Jouhaux duped the French workers in the interest of the French bourgeoisie? The question is of no little importance. Before we discuss with Jouhaux the methods of fighting against war dangers, it is

necessary to settle this preliminary question. There are only these two alternatives: Either during the imperialist slaughter Jouhaux consciously duped the workers concerning the import and the consequences of the war, — in which case he must be thrown out of the workers' movement — or he has been duped himself, i. e. in other words, he fell a victim to his false reformist policy, in which case he should proclaim to the whole world the incorrectness of his reformist policy during the imperialist war, before he assumes the right to express an opinion upon the policy to be pursued by the working class in face of the new danger. It is impossible to escape this alternative.

As far as we know, neither M. Jouhaux nor any of his crowd have declared or do declare that their policy during the greatest event in world history, during the imperialist war, has been throughout false and disastrous. And since this is the case, we are justified without more ado in regarding their policy, and along with it the resolutions of the Vienna Congress as the continuation of their old policy. We know also that before the imperialist war, the trade unions and the Social Democratic parties adopted resolutions against war with the same unanimity as did the last Vienna Congress. When the war was immediately imminent not one of the European Social Democratic parties, not one of the trade unions was able or even attempted to prevent the war, but on the contrary, nearly all of them rushed to the assistance of their national bourgeoisie in the bloody work. Where have we even the least guarantee, or even the shadow of a hope, that with the outbreak of a new war the attitude of Jouhaux and of the remaining Amsterdamers will be in any way different from their attitude during the years 1914—1918?

Such is our preliminary question. The same people who, before the imperialist war, at their congress, abjured militarism and war and then during the war turned out to be chauvinists of the rankest type, — now in the interval between two wars, again begin to repeat their abjurations against militarism in order, in the event of war, again to prove themselves to be its most faithful and reliable helpers and servants. Is this not obvious? Can this be denied?

We could leave the matter at that if it were not for the fact that people are very prone to forget the experiences they have passed through and if there were not young generations growing up who have not made such experiences. The whole policy of the Amsterdam leaders reckons upon the shortness of memory of the one and the lack of experience of the other.

Let us therefore more closely examine their fighting program. This program has a two-fold character: on the one hand it recommends a propaganda aimed at destroying the feeling of hostility existing between the peoples of the various nations, at the establishment of a compulsory Court of Arbitration and so forth, i. e. it bears a pacifist character; and on the other hand, it has the semblance of a fighting program, as, in the event of war danger, it recommends a cessation of work in all munition factories and in the transport industry, economic boycott and finally, the declaration of the international general strike. As regards the pacifist portion of the program it is not worth while speaking. Of course it would be a splendid thing were it possible to establish a "just" international tribunal which would be compulsory for all. But such a tribunal would evidently have to be established by the bourgeois governments, because power is in their hands. It is, however, precisely these bourgeois governments which threaten us with the war danger. That means that the question in any case is transferred from the pacifist program to the militant program, and will be decided by the extent and the means by which the workers are able to prevent the bourgeoisie from provoking another international conflict.

We have already heard something of the means proposed: partial strikes (in the munition factories) boycott, general strike. Let us at once say: these patent methods of Jouhaux and company constitute a sleeping draught and nothing else.

The munition factories are working in all countries without interruption. Why should they not be called upon to strike at once? If the Amsterdammers seriously decided to resist a new war, then it would appear absurd to manufacture stocks of war material. As a first instalment of the great heroic deeds, to be performed in the fight against war, it would have been as well to have commenced by summoning the workers straightaway to abandon their work in the munition factories. A Utopian proposal, the Amsterdammers will retort, the workers will not respond to such a summons, the government will always find the necessary number of blacklegs etc. etc. This retort it must be confessed is not without foundation. But is it easier to organize a strike in the munition factories on the eve of the outbreak of a war than in normal times of peace? Only idle chatters and swindlers can assert such a thing. To promulgate a strike in the munition factories and other military undertakings at the moment when war immediately threatens, means in practice the postponing of the strike to such a moment when it will be least possible to carry it out. We remember July 1914. The state is most powerful at the beginning of a war. It finally monopolises in its hands all organs, means and instruments for the mobilisation of public opinion, it adds to this the means of terror. We should have liked to have heard in July 1914, the voice of M. Jouhaux calling for a strike in the munition factories of France. But no, we remember the quite different program which Jouhaux carried out, following the coat-tails of M. Thomas. "Des canons! Des munitions!" (Guns and munitions). What reason is there for supposing that at the commencement of a new war things will prove different? It is ridiculous to transfer the whole burden of the fight against war on to the workers in the munition establishments. None of the Amsterdammers seriously does so. They do not believe in this themselves: they still retain sufficient good sense to avoid this.

It is true that the resolution speaks of a general strike, thereby pretending to impose the duty of militant action against war upon the whole working class. It is, however, not hard to show that all the talk about a general strike differs but little from the talk about a strike in the munition factories. By a general strike there must obviously be understood, such a powerful action on the part of the proletariat as would prevent the bourgeoisie from realising its will in the most important

question — in that of war and peace. It assumes that the working class is able at any moment to paralyse the will of the bourgeoisie. Why then does it not do so in question of less import: Prolongation of the working day, increase of military expenditure, etc. From whence have the Amsterdammers derived their amazing confidence that within twenty four hours before the bourgeoisie decides to hurl the people again into war, the proletariat will prove to be powerful enough to thwart this plan by means of a general strike? In the period preceding war the bourgeoisie, as already mentioned, concentrates all power in its hands. General strike under such conditions means revolution. Thus the valiant Amsterdammers pledge themselves to carry out a proletarian revolution at a certain moment, not chosen by themselves but by the bourgeoisie. But it seems that for this one must have the necessary forces. And if they are available, why then postpone the revolution until the moment when war is imminent? Is it not simpler to achieve this in good time thereby eliminating the very possibility of war?

(To be continued.)

POLITICS

The Agreement between the Soviet Union and China.

By Georg Chicherin.

Everyone of us and also every Chinaman who has the interests of his people at heart, will breathe more easily on learning that the impenetrable wall which separated us from China, has at last been thrown down. It is high time! China could have no reason whatever for refusing to resume normal relations with us. The Chinese Government is not a creditor of the Soviet Union and could not make use of the question of the recognition of the Soviet Union in an attempt to compel payment of debts by us. It has not hesitated so long with the recognition of the Soviet Union, because it did not itself wish to recognise us. It began the blockade against the R. S. F. S. R. at the beginning of 1918, later it rendered service to the interventionists and hesitated until recently to recognise us for one and the same reason: because of the pressure of the Entente powers. Even now the agreement between comrade Karachan and the Chinese Foreign minister Wellington Ku had to be prepared with the greatest secrecy. The diplomacy of the Great Powers at first prevented the signing of our agreement with China and even now would not have permitted it, if we had not succeeded in concealing from them the diplomatic documents during the negotiations.

The signing of this agreement by the Chinese Government is therefore a big stride on the road to the liberation of the politics of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples from the yoke of the Great Powers. The significance of this independent act of Chinese policy extends far beyond the frontiers of China. It is an historical event in the sphere of the emancipatory movement of the Eastern peoples. China thereby shows that it is following the same road as Turkey did in Sakarien and in Lausanne, as Persia did in the year 1920 and Afghanistan at the beginning of the rule of the Emir Amanuli. The process of the awakening of the peoples of the Orient, their fight against the imperialistic suppression, the establishment of their complete freedom, is going steadily and inevitably forwards. The forces of the Eastern peoples are gradually growing. They are increasing in political and economic strength with every day.

Thereby their friendly relations with the Soviet Union are strengthened. These friendly relations represent one of the most important elements of that historical process which embraces the whole East. These relations become more firm with every success of the Eastern peoples on the road to emancipation. In the same way, the resumption of normal relations with the Soviet Union is for China a gigantic step forwards on the road to emancipation from the foreign yoke, and vice versa, its further advance along the same road will conduce to a further strengthening of the friendship with the Soviet Union.

The normal relations between the Soviet Union and China must be of the friendliest nature, and this truth has penetrated deep into the consciousness of the broadest masses in China. The peoples of the Soviet Union will proceed together hand in hand and render each other the fullest support in every respect. The broad masses of China, among whom the name of Lenin has become the most popular, thoroughly realise that the Soviet Republic is their only consistent and entirely disinterested friend.

It is precisely because Chinese public opinion recognises this, that it has exercised such persistent pressure upon the Chinese Government, and demanded an understanding with the Soviet Union. The undisguised, brutally cynical act of American diplomacy, which endeavoured by intimidation and by open pressure to prevent China coming to an agreement with us, has still further roused Chinese public opinion, and thereby accelerated the favourable solution of the senseless crisis, which had already lasted too long, between the Soviet Union and China.

The strengthening of the Eastern peoples who are striving after emancipation, the transference of their whole foreign policy and their inner life to entirely new lines, is therefore one of the general causes which led to the restoration of normal relations between ourselves and China. Another general cause consists in the fact that the international policy of a whole series of Great Powers has adopted, if only partially but nevertheless noticeably, a new course. The bourgeoisie of the strongest Western Powers has, if one may so express it, changed from the right horse to the left, among other reasons because their old policy in the colonial and semi-colonial countries threatened them with imminent disaster. They were obliged to adopt other methods, to proceed to compromises, to carry out the policy of peaceful penetration. This new colonial policy of the bourgeoisie of the strongest countries meets with essential obstacles; capital seeks and will always seek in the colonies for surplus profit, it will not invest in the colonies for the same rate of interest with which it is content at home. And in order to be able to obtain a surplus profit it will always endeavour to create suitable political conditions.

The Soviet Republic alone remains a constant and sincere friend of the Eastern peoples. But the absolute failure of the policy of the mailed fist in the East is compelling the Great Powers to adopt a line of compromise. Even if the new governments in England and France will not immediately carry out in their fullest extent the new line of compromise in colonial policy, nevertheless the historical road is already being followed, and the Chinese government has already realised that the change that has set in in the international relations of the Eastern peoples must find expression in the greater independence of their line of policy.

The appearance of the Soviet Union on the coast of the Pacific Ocean as a power friendly to China, immediately raises the question of the world-importance of the basis of the Pacific Ocean. The political and economic interests of the world reach out more towards the Pacific. It is the Ocean of the future. The prospects which the resumption of normal, that is to say, friendly relations between the Soviet Union and China open, will only become gradually clear to us. Already to-day we can trace in general outline the enormous importance of this event.

Millerand goes — Millerandism remains.

By Daniel Renault (Paris).

M. Millerand has gone.

M. Millerand is a two-fold renegade. He first betrayed Socialism to the republican petty and middle bourgeoisie. He then betrayed this republican middle bourgeoisie to the nationalist and clerical reaction.

There was a time when vituperative attacks were made upon the President of the Republic. These were made by — Alexander Millerand. They were directed against Casimir Périer. This was thirty years ago. M. Millerand then played in the paper "La Petite République" the same role as M. Bertrand of the left block today plays in the "Quotidien". He worked energetically to achieve his object of bringing about the downfall of the "Occupier of the Elysée".

This was accomplished. And, when the block of the left was victorious it rewarded the noble efforts of the socialist journalist by making him the President of the Republic.

The victory of the left raised this politician to the highest eminence, the victory of the left has cast him down into the deepest obscurity. Thus the circle of events is completed.

And now it appears that Millerandism returns at the same moment as the old Millerand abandons, in his final guise as chief of the right block, the presidential seat.

Herein lies the most important political and social fact.

That which M. Herriot, supported by the reformist socialists and the reformist trade unionists, will accomplish, is precisely the same as that which M. Millerand intended to accomplish with

the assistance of the governmental socialists the moderate trade unionists and the "radical" petty bourgeoisie, when he entered the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry in the year 1898.

The similarity is startling.

The case was just the same at that time, when the attempt was made to divert the workers from the class war and from revolutionary thoughts and to convince them that they have to expect everything from collaboration with the true democratic bourgeoisie, as these were disposed to grant them real advantages and useful reforms and to attain, without social conflicts and collision, the dual ideal of the suppressed proletariat: Prosperity and Freedom.

We have again arrived at the same juncture. The disasters which the Millerandists at one time caused, were no worse than those for which the leaders of the reformists are preparing today. It is even certain that these leaders will be more ruthless than they.

The co-operation of the "socialists" and moderate trade union leaders with the bourgeoisie will be carried on upon systematic lines: the reformist trade unions — backed by the socialist party — have already submitted a demand to M. Herriot that an Economic Council of Labour be constituted, in order that this body may deal with all the important questions of production and of the currency.

We can say that this Economic Council of Labour, according to the intentions of its proposers, will be on a national scale — but more elaborated and with greater powers — that which the International Labour Office is on a world scale.

M. Albert Thomas has won the game.

When the International Labour Office was set up on the basis of the Versailles Treaty, even the most moderate trade unionists assented with regret to this institution, as it was quite evident that the workers would be subordinated to the capitalist state. More than four years have elapsed and today the reformist trade union federation is proposing on its own initiative, the creation of such a state institution as will connect the trade unions subordinated to it with the administrative apparatus of the bourgeoisie.

This is the logical development which we have foreseen for a long time.

It is not by mere chance that just the same people who, in the socialist party, embody the type of the reformist trade union leader in the most typical manner, like Dumoulin, are among the most fervent adherers of a governmental coalition.

The revolutionary workers will have to fight bitterly against this renewal of Millerandism. They will before long be assisted by the bitter experiences which the abused masses of the workers will have to undergo.

The active members of the proletariat who still follow the reformist leaders will learn to their cost what it means to abandon the class struggle. Without the most determined class war the proletariat can accomplish nothing. Those who have played a prominent part in bringing about the defeat of the national block will soon recognise what they will be deprived of through the policy of compromise of the reformist leaders.

These leaders are already — in order not to give M. Herriot any financial embarrassments — renouncing, for the time being, the general demand for the 1800 Franc wage.

Here we have the first fruits of the policy of bourgeois-socialist collaboration. A lovely specimen! The revolutionary trade unions and the Communists will not fail to make clear to the masses the significance of this specimen.

M. Millerand has resigned. But against the Millerandism, which has again come to power by the block of the left together with the reformists, there will be waged an inexorable fight.

The Situation in Roumania.

By E. O. Petrosescu (Bukarest).

Recent news from Belgrade, Rome and London reported a coup d'état in Roumania. General Averescu was said to have overthrown the government of Bratianu with the assistance of 50,000 peasants assembled in Bucharest, and to have set up a Fascist-military dictatorship in Roumania, after the model of Mussolini. A telegram from Rome even reported that the king had taken refuge in Yugoslavia and that the proclamation of a Republic in Roumania was very imminent.

Although these reports are not correct and represent only a financial manoeuvre on the part of English and French capitalists against the Bratianu government, which infringes their interests by granting the monopoly of exploitation to Liberal financial capital, they are nevertheless characteristic of the dissolution process of the governing Liberal party, and thereby of the government of the Roumanian Boyar and finance oligarchy.

The refusal of the Roumanian government to adopt the plebiscite demand of the Soviet delegation in Vienna in order to settle the Bessarabian question, and the following proclamation of martial law in order to annihilate the workers movement and to repress the will to self-determination of the national minorities, have unmasked the character of this kingdom of Roumania.

In the last two months, following the Vienna Russo-Roumanian conference, Roumanian Boyar imperialism has had to undergo a severe castigation as regards foreign policy. The journey of the king of Roumania to Paris, London and Brussels for the purpose of engaging the Western powers in military alliances for the defence of Roumania's right to Bessarabia, and inducing the financial people in France and England to grant her armament credits under the pretext of "economic consolidation", was bound to end in abject failure owing to the political governmental changes in both countries.

The Bratianu government endeavoured by every means to hide the defeat of their foreign policy from their own people. The censor was exercised with all severity in the districts inhabited by the national minorities. But the reign of military terror, which has become more severe, has only brought with it new germs of destruction in the pestilent atmosphere of this state of the most brutal soldiery and the most corrupt feudal and financial oligarchy. In old Roumania and Transylvania, as a result of the agrarian corruption, peasants' revolts are the order of the day. In Bessarabia, the population regardless of class and nationality, give open expression to their discontent with the arbitrary military regime. In spite of the cruel terror which finds expression in mass arrests, closing of non-Roumanian schools and cultural institutions, the Bessarabian population clearly show their desire to be re-united with the Soviet Union. Even the divided oppositional parties of the Roumanian bourgeoisie, the activity of which is much hampered by the prevailing martial law, are now encouraged by the victory of the left block in France and are endeavouring to concentrate their forces in order to overthrow the Bratianu regime.

At the same time the economic crisis, which has lasted for eighteen months and which has shown itself in increasing unemployment and a paralysing shortage of money, has become more acute in the last weeks. The foreign trade of Roumania in the first quarter of the current year showed a falling off of 25 per cent as compared with the same period of the previous year. Also the first balanced budget of Roumania since the beginning of the war showed a temporary deficit of one and a half milliards. It was under such circumstances that there took place the recent heavy explosion in the munition store of the Roumanian capital which resulted in many killed and seriously wounded and which also destroyed a great portion of the military buildings in Bucharest together with forty per cent of military equipment, thereby reducing the efficiency of the army for a considerable time. The Bucharest explosion is only a precursor of other explosions which will be brought about by the broad masses in the form of revolt.

Whether the Roumanian oppositional parties which embody different ideologies and manifold, contradictory social structures will succeed in seizing power from the Bratianu Government and the Liberal party seems very doubtful at present. It is more probable that the dynasty and the military clique will attempt to save the situation by a masked or open military dictatorship after the Fascist model and by this means to postpone the hour of their collapse. Such a dictatorship, for the establishment of which General Averescu the former military occupier of Bessarabia, the creator of the actual reactionary anti-labour laws, the man who bloodily crushed the general strike of 1920, is considered by Roumanian Court circles the most suitable man, would mean the abandonment of the Little Entente policy of the Bratianu Government and a collaboration with the Latin block of Mussolini and Primo de Rivera. Regarded from the economic point of view it would mean the granting of new concessions by Roumanian industry to Entente capital, that is to say, the complete economic colonisation of Roumania.

No matter how the situation may be viewed, the Bratianu regime stands on the extreme edge of the abyss.

Class Lines among the American Negroes.

By I. A. Mter.

The "All-Race Conference" of "Negro Sanhedrin", which was held some time ago in Chicago, revealed that the class lines separating society in general are at last being clearly manifested among the Negroes. Not that they have not existed before; but the efforts that have been made by Negro politicians and fanatics to arouse and organize the Negroes as a race are failing because the Negro bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie realise that their interests are closer to those of the white bourgeoisie than to those of the Negro proletariat and exploited tenant farmer.

The All-Race Conference was dominated by the petty-bourgeoisie and intellectual elements. Presided over by Kelly Miller, the well-known professor of sociology at Howard University, Washington, and directed by him into the channels that he and his coterie desired, the conference refused to take a definite, outspoken stand on the questions affecting the Negroes most closely, viz, the Ku Klux Klan race discrimination and the labour question. It was apparent from the outset, that a conglomeration of representatives of organizations reaching from the Y. M. C. A., Baptists and other religious bodies, to college fraternities, the petty-bourgeois National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, down finally to the African Blood Brotherhood and the Workers' Party would accomplish nothing definite. It was to be an All-Race conference, and surely did include every phase of Negro activity. The proletarian and revolutionary delegates, however, were almost completely denied the privilege of the floor and were compelled to denounce the chairman of the conference for the manner in which he was playing the game of the white bourgeoisie in the conference. The purpose of the conference was clear: it was to unite the whole Negro population of the country in order by organized effort to force the abrogation of the "Jim Crow" and other discriminatory laws and practices which deprive the Negro of social, economic and political rights.

The Workers' Party and the African Blood Brotherhood had conducted a militant campaign to make the conference a success. In fact, the Daily Worker, organ of the Workers' Party in Chicago, was the only paper that contained accounts of the conference, the capitalist press completely sabotaging it. The issues that the Workers' Party delegates raised were either completely ignored or so distorted that the life was taken out of them. In a word, Negro capitalism ruled the conference.

Attempts were made to keep the discussion of the labour problem entirely from the floor. **Ninety-five per cent of the Negro population of the U. S. are workers**, but of the 250 delegates representing 61 organizations at the conference only 16 were workers. Although pronounced to be the main issue of the conference, the chairman tried to relegate the labour problem to the commission entirely, or to a side-conference that should convene while the main conference was going on. Owing to the insistence of the delegates of the Workers' Party and of the African Blood Brotherhood, who earned great applause from the whole conference, the chairman had to consent to a discussion on the last day.

The issue of Negro labour is becoming an acute one for all American labour. During the war, about 500,000 Negroes migrated to the industrial centres of the North, owing to the great demand for labour. After the War, many of them returned to the South. But when the new wave of prosperity set in, 450,000 packed their bags and went to the North. There they came into competition with white labour, and were ready to underbid it. This was due primarily to the fact that the Negroes can join but few unions, and no efforts are made to organize them. The result is that the Negroes either become scabs, or, in more recent time, join the "company" unions which are formed by the employers to keep the workers from the regular unions. Despite the fact that the black workers have put up splendid fights side by side with the white workers, as for instance, during the steel strike of 1919, in the miners' strikes of 1921 and 1922, and at the present time in the needle trade strike in Chicago, Gompers does not consider it necessary to carry on any organizational work among them.

The Workers' Party delegates presented a resolution exposing the weakness of the labour movement as due partly to the fact that it ignores the Negro workers, and calling upon the

American Federation of Labour and independent unions to admit the Negroes on a basis of equality. The Negroes, according to the resolution, are not to be organized in separate unions, but are to be joined up with the main body of labour organisation.

The resolution was modified in the Labour Committee, but was completely emasculated by the conference, in that it deplored the fact that "the exploitation of Negro labour in the conflict between capital and organized labour is unfair and detrimental, and that the principle of equal pay, recognition of Negro workers in fields where labour is organized, and community assistance to Negro workers in industrial centres and organized financial relief in farming centres are all highly desirable." Compers or Gary could not have written a resolution more acceptable to the capitalist class.

A conference of a race that is supremely a working race, which could adopt a resolution of that nature, was capable of anything. The Ku Klux Klan resolution of the Workers' Party was the only one presented to the conference, yet it was killed in the committee, so that the All-Race Conference is silent on one of the most serious menaces, not only to the black, but also to the white workers. The W. P. resolution called on the black workers to line up with the white workers in organized bodies to resist the attacks of the Ku Kluxers. But as one delegate asserted if they speak their mind they will face the tar and feathers and possibly the rope when they return home. The Negro worker and tenant farmer are not afraid to fight. What they lack today is organization, and the All-Race Conference should have provided that. The Negro bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie know how to avoid the attacks of the Ku Kluxers by assuming the same capitalist attitude towards the Negro worker that the white capitalist does.

Race segregation is one of the worst handicaps that the Negroes labour under. They are forced to live in certain parts of the town, where the rents are 30 to 100% higher than similar quarters in other parts of the town. Generally the lodgings are allowed to deteriorate, so that the Negro worker, who earns lower wages and is forced to pay higher rents, shows greater mortality than white workers. According to insurance statistics, 50% of all Negro babies die in their first year, a splendid testimonial to American "justice" toward the Negro. Negro capitalists and real estate sharks gain by race segregation — their delegates in the committee therefore, voted down the resolution, which called for the formation of tenants' unions "so as to be able in an organized way to refuse to pay exorbitant rents, or to consent to live in inferior buildings or segregated districts."

Instead of fighting for the dropping of the "colour bar" in all American schools and colleges, the conference, under the leadership of the Negro intellectuals, asked for more Government aid for Negro schools and universities. It is only a matter of jobs with these intellectuals, who thus have a monopoly of Negro education. The Workers' Party resolution states that "any involuntary separation of the children of the two races in schools is but preparation for a future Jim Crow life. Enforced segregation in schools is a necessary preliminary to segregation in street cars, railroad cars, restaurants, residence districts, hotels and theatres, and creates a ground of race distinction which leads to continued disfranchisement at the ballot box... For each dollar spent on the education of a white child, ten cents is spent on the "education" of a Negro child." The resolution demands the nationalisation of the school system, and a constitutional amendment forbidding any segregation or separation of races or creeds in the public schools. It was quite comprehensible for Miller to oppose the resolution, for his Negro university is subsidised by the government and he wished to provide jobs for more of his friends in similar institutions.

Support for a Labour Party was denied, despite the fact that both a Republican and a Democratic government disregard the Fourteenth Amendments to the constitution, which supposedly guarantee suffrage to the Negro. The Negro politician and the upper stratum of Negro society can vote and they alone cast the Negro vote. The South with the Negro disfranchised is solid for the Democratic Party, which would lose its hold were the Negro enfranchised. The Republican Party does not dare to take any steps for the enfranchisement of the Negro, for that would estrange the White south even more than today and destroy all hopes of the Republicans gaining a foothold in the South until the Negroes were actually given the vote. Hence both the Democratic and the Republican party sidestep the issue and leave to the Negro masses the task of solving the question in their

own way. The Negro bourgeoisie, in siding with the white bourgeoisie, is making the issue clearer.

The two capitalist parties also refuse to take any steps to prevent lynching. The Dyer anti-Lynching Bill which was introduced into Congress two years ago was defeated. The Negroes placed great hopes in this bill, only to have them shattered. The resolution presented by the African Blood Brotherhood called for the formation of joint councils by labour organizations and Negroes to take action against lynching. Only labour baiters could be opposed to such action — but the Sanhedrin opposed it.

A further resolution of the Workers' Party protested against the encroachments of American Imperialism in Haiti and Santo Domingo and demanded its withdrawal. But blood was not thicker than water. The conference did not protest — and lined up with the oppressive white American capitalist government against workers of the Negro race.

Of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States 89% live in the South. Of the more than 10,500,000, 79% are tenant farmers or farm labourers on the big cotton and tobacco plantations. The remainder, with the exception of the Negro bourgeoisie, are workers in the textile and lumber mills, iron and coal mines. The farm labour is exploited to the limit. Wages are very low, hours long. The tenant farmers, on the other hand, are in a most miserable state. They are generally heavily in debt and consequently are held in a state of peonage. They are not allowed to leave their farms; if they run away, they become fugitives, are returned by the sheriff and sent to prison, whence they are leased out to contractors to work off their debt. They are forced to work under the lash; many of them have been beaten to death.

From a conference composed as the All-Race Conference was constituted, it was to be expected that the Workers' Party resolution calling for the penalising of the peonage system and the formation of tenants' unions for self-protection, would be rejected.

The All-Race Conference resulted in complete treachery to the Negro workers and tenant farmers. It elected an executive committee of seven, which is to conduct the affairs of the organization till the next conference in 1925. Not a single labour member was included in the executive, although presumably the labour group was the "main" group of the conference, as the chairman had said. The conference was a most wholesome experience for the Negro workers. The race question is beginning to resolve into a class question. Following the lead of the Communists, who together with the African Blood Brotherhood were the only ones to develop a clear line of action, the Negroes will line up with the white workers, forcing Compers to act. This they will do despite the exhortation of the capitalist press to "beware of the Communists".

ECONOMICS

Speculating Capital the latest Phase of Capitalist Development.

By Gustav Schlesinger (Vienna).

Capitalism in Europe has entered on a new phase of its development. In Germany and Austria in particular, this new phase has nearly reached its culminating point, or at least has gone so far that a clear opinion can be formed concerning it. This phase is that of the "rule of speculating capital".

The development of capitalism implies the victory of financial capital over industrial capital. The reason for this victory is the fact that financial capital represents a higher form of industrial organization and therefore renders possible an increased and more profitable production.

After the collapse of the Central Powers, financial capital began to proceed more energetically, which meant the introduction of the above mentioned new phase of capitalism. This sudden advance of financial capital differed, not only in extent, but also in its nature from the normal development of financial capital.

The change from war production to peace production, the great destruction in the economic field caused by the war, gave rise to an enormous shortage of capital in all spheres of economic life. The inflation which set in has only partly veiled this

lack of capital but has not removed it; and also where it has been possible, by means of the capital which has been squeezed out of the great masses of the workers, peasants and petty-bourgeois by means of inflation, to renew and to extend industrial capital, it has either developed into financial capital (Stinnes) or has become the victim of fluid capital.

Financial capital, which by this means has gained an ever-increasing influence upon production, has not used this influence in order to extend the basis of production, nor even to maintain this basis, but it has made use of production, regardless of the vital interests of the latter — and this is a symptom of the decline of capitalism — merely as a milch cow from which to extract huge profits.

Production lacks capital. What are our financial rulers doing? Hundreds of thousands of new shares are issued, but industry only profits from the smallest fraction of the money deriving therefrom. The shares are taken up at a low quotation by syndicates formed by the financial magnates, and thereupon placed on the Stock-Exchange at prices which far exceed the real value of the shares. The resulting profit naturally goes to the syndicates. By means of skilful manoeuvres the already fictitious value is driven up twice or three times as high. The easily won Stock-Exchange gains are enticing more and more people into the net of financial capital. The industrial capitalists, the owners of businesses withdraw their capital from production, the merchant withdraws it from commerce and brings it to the Stock-Exchange; the dismissed civil servants bring the lump sums received by them in lieu of pensions etc., the small stock-holder the remnants of his fortune which has escaped the ruin wrought by the depreciation. The normal stock of shares does not suffice to absorb all this money, as the shares have a certain value even if it is not a great one. In cases where the victim manages to obtain some slight return for his money in the shape of actual capital, the plundering cannot be quite complete. Hence new companies are formed, the real value of whose shares is that of mere waste-paper.

By this means enormous capital is withdrawn from production. But the profits gained from these shares are not sufficient. An attack is made upon the French franc. But American capital, which decided the world-war also decides this fight and German and Austria have been defeated. (The fight has however not yet come to an end; probably "victorious" France, as was the case in the world-war, will be slaughtered by the "deliverer".) It is now seen, that financial capital is in no way more clever than its victims and it has been overtaken by the same fate as it prepared for its victims. Not only is the franc-war lost, but also the shares-war, which at one time came within an ace of being won. Huge quantities of shares have to be sold at enormous losses. All money must be mobilised to keep things going. The entire capital is withdrawn from industry and commerce, the weaker capitalists break down — this process is called a purging crisis — but the weaker ones drag down with them the stronger: the industrial undertakings, which are not receiving any more credit are breaking down. Not only the fraudulent shares, but also those possessing a real value, fall to mere waste-paper value. Production is being strangled still more. The crisis is embracing wider circles. Unemployment, wage cuts, the abolition of social institutions are the results for the working class.

The bourgeois-democratic state is the executive body of the capitalist class and has of course carried out its duty towards it. In the beginning of the phase of speculating capital, the state assisted the capitalist class by the depreciation of the paper currency. The collection of taxes from the bourgeoisie has been sabotaged, nearly all the expenses of the state have practically been covered by the note-press. The speculating capitalists had enormous sums placed at their disposal, which they afterwards paid back in depreciated paper money. After this it was declared that the sanitation of economic life was to be achieved by the boosting up of shares and the banks received loans at a ridiculously low rate of interest (in Austria 9 per cent), which they lent to others at the rate of 100 to 200 per cent, or used them directly in speculation. At present when the whole swindle is collapsing, the cost of the speculation has to be shifted upon the shoulders of the masses. Hence enormous taxes, huge custom duties, abolition of social institutions. The collapse of the bourgeoisie which took place on the political field in 1918, is now beginning on the economic field.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Vienna Congress of the Amsterdammers.

By A. E.

The Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, which is held every two years, belongs already to the past. For a whole week the representatives have been sitting together in Vienna, apparently in the most beautiful harmony, and have unanimously passed all sorts of unimportant resolutions. A feeling of lassitude prevailed. There were no fine speeches delivered. Printed reports were submitted, which could be read if one so desired, but which also could be left unread. There were no thorough discussions, either over the ways and means which the trade union movement, both nationally and internationally, must adopt against international capitalism which is ruthlessly advancing, in order to maintain the Eight Hour Day, which is everywhere threatened, or over the fight which must be conducted internationally against reaction and militarism. These questions which are of the most vital importance for the whole labour movement were, like all others, handed over to the commissions immediately after the opening of the Congress, where, with the exclusion of the public, resolutions were hammered out and all difficulties bridged over which would have sharply demonstrated the existing antagonisms within the Amsterdam International and could have given occasion to heated disputes in the plenum of the Congress.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to judge of the importance of this Congress from its public sessions. Before and during the Congress heavy fights were going on behind the scenes and on one point at least the Congress has adopted resolutions which mean a heavy defeat for the policy which has prevailed hitherto. These decisions are those referring to the question of the relations between the International Trade Union Federation and the international professional secretariats and the question, connected with it, of the admittance of the Russian trade unions to the Amsterdam organizations.

The action which began with the famous Berlin conference of the Transport Workers, against the attitude of the official leaders of the International Trade Union Federation regarding the admittance of the Russian organizations into the international professional secretariats, has gained so much strength during the course of one year, that the Amsterdam Bureau and the Congress, practically and in fact, capitulated to the opposition.

Already in November of last year, during the Amsterdam conference of the Executive Committee of the International Trade Union Federation with representatives of the international professional secretariats, it was apparent that the International Transport Federation was not standing alone in its opposition to the Amsterdam policy. Since the Berlin conference, the Food Workers have gone a step further and at their congress in Brussels and against the wish of the Amsterdam bureaucrats, admitted the Russian organization into their International. At the Amsterdam conference, it is true, a resolution of the Amsterdam Executive Committee was adopted, forbidding the professional secretariats to admit the Russian organizations, and which denied any autonomy to the professional secretariats; but six out of twenty professional secretariats represented at the conference voted against the proposal of the Executive Committee, among them the important secretariats of the Metal Workers, Transport Workers and Food Workers.

Behind the scenes at the Congress it became clear that the position of the Amsterdam Bureau had become considerable more shaky since November of last year. At the sitting of the secretaries of the professional internationals, nearly all the large and important secretariats stood in united opposition demanding autonomy, that is to say, for the right to admit the Russian and other federations in the event of such admittance being considered necessary. After a struggle lasting two days the resistance of the Executive Committee of the International Trade Union Federation was broken and had to give way. It is true a resolution submitted by the international of the Postal Employees offered the Executive Committee of the International Trade Union Federation the opportunity of adopting it as their own, along with the declaration attached thereto, and thereby of yielding without any great loss of dignity. The resolution unanimously adopted by the conference of the secretaries of the professional internationals was confirmed

by the Congress after a short discussion. This resolution implies: Up to now the relations between the international professional secretariats and the I. T. F. were very loose in an organizational respect, but in actual fact were very close, as the international professional secretariats, in spite of the fact that they had no influence upon the decisions of the Executive Committee of the International Trade Union Federation, were nevertheless bound to recognize and to carry out these decisions; before all those, which aimed at rendering impossible the entry of the Russian organizations into the International organizations of the Amsterdamers. The new resolution of the Vienna conference of the professional secretariats and of the Congress have modified these decisions in so far as that, in future, they will be recognized in «principle», which means that in practice every professional secretariat has the right to disregard these decisions, if the majority of the affiliated organizations consider the admittance of the Russian organizations as important and necessary. Indirectly, this resolution denotes strong disapproval of the policy of the Amsterdam bureaucracy with regard to the Russian question. In addition to this, the whole of the professional secretariats have got a representation of three delegates on the Executive of the International Trade Union Federation, with the express provision that these three representatives must be invited to the sittings of the Bureau of the I. T. F. when anything of importance to the professional secretariats is to be discussed. The whole professional secretariats have elected by an overwhelming majority, two prominent leaders of the opposition, Comrade Fimmen, from the International Transport Workers Federation and A. J. Cook from the International Miners Federation, both reputed to be Communists, and as a third representative, Smith of the Clerks' International.

Small as this success may appear, its full importance can only be appreciated when one remembers the former unity which existed within the Amsterdam International with regard to the Russian question. It is also characteristic for the spirit of the Amsterdam International that a great number of representatives of the Communist press have not only been admitted to the Congress, but have been treated with marked respect by the Amsterdam leaders.

If the cleavage between the right and the left wings did not find expression either in the speeches delivered or in the resolutions adopted, this is to be attributed to the fact that both sides wished to avoid an open conflict and an eventual split. The right wing feared an open conflict, as this would have meant the strengthening of the opposition outside of the International Trade Union Federation; the opposition avoided it as they did not yet feel themselves to be in a position to take over eventually the leadership of the Executive.

It would be a mistake to overestimate the forces of the opposition, as they do not yet form a united Phalanx. They are not organized, nor are they clear as to their aims. In the question of the admittance of the Russian organizations, the leaders with the Communist ideology who wish to conduct the revolutionary class war, find themselves on the same ground as the class collaborationists who advocate the admittance of the Russian organizations for practical or ideological reasons. Many struggles will have to be waged, an enormous propaganda will have to be conducted before this opposition, not only conquers the majority, but also becomes the representative of a clear revolutionary policy.

It is now the business of the Russian and other revolutionary federations to adopt a clear attitude towards the new situation created by the Vienna Congress. This Congress, if not a proof, is nevertheless a strong indication that the Amsterdam International can be captured from within by means of a skilful policy. This is to be achieved, not only by the Russian organizations entering the various international professional secretariats, but by the Russian trade unions as a whole declaring themselves ready, under certain conditions, to take their place within the Amsterdam International. As the Vienna Congress has shown, the left tendency in the Amsterdam International is much stronger than it was considered to be hitherto.

In the event of the revolutionary federations outside of the I. T. F. conducting a joint policy with the left opposition within the I. T. F. the question of capturing the Amsterdam organizations would only be a question of a short time. And in any event the policy hitherto followed by the Amsterdam bureaucracy, both nationally and internationally, of excluding the revolutionary elements would be rendered impossible for the future.

The Situation of the Workers in Fascist Italy.

By Andres Nin.

The situation of the Italian workers is tragic. They are the daily victims of most abominable and infamous acts of brutality as the terrible murder of the socialist deputy Mateotti bears witness.

During the time since Fascism came to power, wages in industry have been cut down to the extent of 12% to 18%. The Fascists make the ridiculous assertion that there has been no real reduction of wages as losses in wages in consequence of strikes have become very rare.

The eight hour day is nowhere maintained. The Fascist law on the eight hour day — which, as is known, has been an object of admiration by the social patriot and president of the International Labour Office, M. Albert Thomas — provides for so many exceptions that the latter have become the rule.

The collective agreements which formerly in Italy have been strictly fulfilled, are now only a scrap of paper.

The situation is still worse in the agrarian districts. The day-workers on the land work on the average 12 to 14 hours for real starvation wages, which at the highest are 12 Lire and at the lowest 8 lire. They are terrorised by the local Fascist troops.

Despite the Fascist terror, the spirit of the working masses is excellent. The discouragement which seized the workers after the capture of power by the Fascists, was only temporary. There are everywhere symptoms of the revival and the rising of the workers. The Italian workers movement will probably bring us many a surprise. As soon as the least possibilities for action offer themselves, they will soon rally in masses to their trade union organizations. Those who have been in touch with the Italian workers in the last few months have not the least doubt as to this.

The Fascist trade unions are a mere bluff. According to the reports of the secretariat of the national council of Fascist trade unions, the number of their members amounts to 1,400,000. But this number is grossly exaggerated. The Fascist trade unions have no real existence. The officers are only appointed by the Fascisti from above, without the members having any say in the matter. The majority of the leading functionaries are intellectuals. At the head of the organizations are physicians, lawyers, engineers, students, followers of every kind of profession, — but no workers. The Fascist organizations have no trade union life, no elections, no meetings. The recruiting to the trade unions is either carried out by means of terror, or through an order on the part of the head of an undertaking, by which means the whole staff of the undertaking in question is automatically affiliated to the Fascist organization. In this case the trade union fees are deducted from the wages of the workers by the employer. But even such memberships are not of long duration. The great bulk of the membership of the Fascist organizations exists only on paper.

We can claim that the Fascisti have by no means subjugated the industrial proletariat. In such great proletarian centres as Milan and Turin, the Fascist trade unions in the chief branches of industry, as the metal industry, only comprise several hundred adherents. Even on the land the overwhelming majority of the agricultural labourers are against the Fascisti and only await the moment when they will be able to join the class war trade unions. This state of mind is not only to be observed in such districts as Apulia, where the fighting spirit of the agrarian population was always very active and where even now, thousands of agricultural labourers are prepared to follow the C. G. T. (Federation of free trade unions), but also in those districts which are considered as Fascist, as the district of Bologna. The anti-Fascist mood is not always expressed in affiliations to the C. G. T. because this would be followed by repressions, but in other ways.

When recently the agricultural workers of Barricella, Altodo and Malalbergo — in the province of Bologna — were granted the right, freely to elect the committees of their "Fascist" organizations, they elected as leaders fighting revolutionary workers, who had been driven by force from their work place. Even in Bologna various trade-union organizations, among them that of the tramway men, have disaffiliated from the Fascist organizations. We could state numerous cases, as the one from Savona,

where the workers have severed from the Fascist organizations and have elected former revolutionary leaders to the executive committees.

Another manifestation of the anti-Fascist spirit of the masses of the Italian workers is found in the elections to the shop committees, where in 99 cases out of hundred the lists of the C. G. T. polled an overwhelming number of votes.

The Fascists are only strong in the organizations of the railwaymen, the post and telegraph workers and the civil servants — organisations which are chiefly composed of petty bourgeois elements. We have to record that immediately after the Fascist coup d'état, 44,000 railwaymen, constituting the vanguard of the railwaymen, were dismissed and replaced by outspoken Fascist elements. The "national organizations" have succeeded in getting a certain number of intellectuals and unskilled workers as their followers. The Fascist federations have only two papers at their disposal. "Il Lavoro d'Italia" appears once a week and "La Stirpe" twice a month. There is no daily paper of the Fascist organizations.

The Tactics of the Argentine Trade-Union Leaders.

By Rodolfo Ghioldi (Buenos Aires).

At the end of 1923 the parliament of Argentine passed a law on old age pensions. The law is obligatory and on the proposal of a socialist senator has a national character. The masses have designated this law as "the robber law". And they are perfectly right.

On the basis of this law the government proposes to rob the workers of 10% of their wages. It is true the law only states that the workers have to pay 5% and the employers 5%: but the latter will naturally shift their share on to the shoulders of the proletariat. The amount taken from the workers is enormous. The law means nothing else than a direct taxation of wages. By this means the state will doubtless rake in a tremendous amount. It must be remembered that the number of workers who come within the scope of this act amounts to over one and a half million. If one takes as a basis a weekly wage of 130 pesos, then the sum which the workers must deliver over to the state in one year amounts to 216 million pesos. If this amount be invested at 6% interest, then in the course of 30 years the state will have robbed the workers of 20 milliard pesos. In this period every worker will have paid 13,334 pesos.

By this shameless plundering of the workers the state has no other intention than to maintain a huge bureaucracy and also to pay for the warships and armaments which the Argentine government has already ordered from the United States. All burdens are to be placed on the shoulders of the workers.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International already in November 1923 formulated with perfect clarity its attitude towards the urgent and pressing problem of workers' insurance. It said to the masses: "Old age insurance? Yes! But at the cost of the bourgeoisie!" This Communist parole was clear to all of us. On the basis of this slogan all our propagandists drew a perfectly exact analysis of the Argentine law regarding old age pensions and pointed out the threatening danger.

The attitude of the socialists was typically reformist: The socialists it is true, found some faults in the law, but they accepted it.

And the leaders of the free trade unions, who stand at the head of the trade union federation? Ah, they do not bother with such petty prosaic affairs. They are "idealists". But one must grant that their attitude is logical: they are the same heroes who, some months previously rejected, a communist proposal calling for a campaign against war preparations. They based their refusal on the ground that the question of armaments is a political question and they are of course anti-political.

The various trade union organizations thereupon began to agitate against the act with the slogan given out by the communists. The printers, the commercial clerks, the metal workers, the shoemakers, the joiners and others conducted a strenuous fight against this robber act. Only when great excitement already prevailed among the organized and unorganized workers

did the leaders of the trade unions decide to bring the matter — before the next congress... This congress however was not convened till the middle of April.

Under the pressure of the masses the government decided to suspend the application of the law for two months. What did the Central Committee of the free trade unions do in these 60 days? Nothing. Meanwhile it was plain to all, even to the blindest, that the ferment among the masses could only result in a general strike. The general strike was approaching. With or against the leaders. It was in the air, it was inevitable. But the leadership of the trade unions did nothing to prepare for a successful strike. They did not even carry on the least propaganda.

The law was to come into force on the 1st of May. Hence it was logical to begin the strike on the 1st of May, the day of the workers. The fighting enthusiasm was enormous. All proletarians expected the proclamation of the strike. But nothing happened. Two days later, on a Saturday, the strike was at last declared. This day however cannot be considered as the first day of the strike, as many workers only work half the day on Saturday. The Sunday likewise cannot be regarded as the first day of the strike. On Monday the employers proclaimed a lockout. As a result, the general strike could not find actual expression. Notwithstanding, on the same Monday the reformist leaders went to the president of the Republic with tears in their eyes in order to inform him, that the strike could not go on any longer. Two days later the strike was officially ended.

The greatest indignation prevailed among the working masses. They perceived that the trade union leaders had shamefully betrayed them, not only when the movement began, but particularly at the moment when the proletarian masses in the provinces also entered into the struggle. The attitude of the trade union leaders spread discouragement. Thousands of workers, who were taking part in a great class struggle for the first time, abandoned the strike with the deepest disappointment. The criminal failure of the trade union leaders is most serious and harmful. For if there had been an energetic central committee with a feeling of responsibility it could have gone very far, because the whole masses were aroused.

At the trade union congress in April, at which the reformist leaders used every possible manoeuvre in order to retain the leadership in their hands, the Communists together with the revolutionary trade unionists declared, that the leadership of the congress which had carried out a policy directly opposed to every trade union principle, was preparing the way for irresponsible elements getting control of the movement. Two weeks afterwards the facts proved the red trade unionists to be right.

WAR DANGER

The Coming War.

By M. Pavlovitch (Moscow).

Lenin on the Coming War.

The danger of war is always imminent in capitalist society. But never was this danger so apparent as in the present period, when even bourgeois journalists and statesmen, as for instance Nitti, Caillaux, Lloyd George, Keynes etc. who until recently attempted to persuade the public that the world-war of 1914/18 was the last war, which would usher in eternal peace, are now compelled to recognise the truth, that at present, through the economic development and the international position of the imperialistic Great Powers a situation has arisen in the whole world which is making for war. At present there are incomparably more reasons for a world war than on the eve of 1914.

Comrade Lenin was much occupied with the question of the approaching world war. In a remarkable document which he wrote on the 4th of December 1922 as instruction for the delegation of the Comintern to the Hague Conference of the 2nd International held to consider the question of combatting the danger of war, he said among others things:

"In the second place every present day conflict, even the most trifling, must be adduced as an example of how a war may break out any day with no further cause than a quarrel between England and France with regard to some detail

of their agreement with Turkey, or between America and Japan over some unimportant difference referring to a question of the Pacific Ocean, or between any of the other great powers with regard to disagreements about colonies, tariffs or general commercial politics."

In this Lenin gave a short but profound analysis of the facts which are driving to a new world war. It is a great mistake when scientists explain the whole meaning of the war of 1914/18 as a rivalry between Germany and England. Doubtless the competition between Germany and England for the hegemony of the world was one of the most important facts of the world war and played a prominent part in causing the outbreak of the world conflagration. But apart from the Anglo-German conflict, the outbreak of the war was also caused by the rivalry between Tsarist Russia and Germany and Austria for the hegemony in Turkey and in the Balkans, as well by the Franco-German competition for the possession of Africa and the mineral ores on the European frontier of both countries. And precisely because, on the eve of the world war, not only the imperialistic interests of England and Germany clashed together, but also those of Germany and Russia, of Germany and France, of Russia and Austria, of Italy and Austria, of Serbia and Bulgaria etc. the result was not an Anglo-German but a world war, whose immediate cause was a trifling incident in Serajevo.

At present, not only the imperialistic interests of America and Japan, but also those of England and France, of France and Italy, of France and Spain, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and Hungary, Poland and Lettland etc. are colliding with each other and therefore a "trifling" difference can cause an explosion to the accumulated combustibles at the different points of junction of international policy, as in Tangier, Singapore, in the Ruhr, the Banat, in the Philippines, and set the whole world in flames.

The Armaments Race. — The Chemical War.

The first symptom of the extreme tension that has arisen in the relations between the capitalist powers, consists in the extraordinary war preparations of all states, which by far surpass those preceding the world war. According to the statistics of the English general F. Morriss, in the year 1922 there were in Europe 4,354,975 men under arms, whilst in 1913 the total European armies amounted to 3,747,179 men. Considering the fact that the combined standing armies of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria have been reduced to 696,135 men, General Morriss comes to the conclusion, that the remaining European powers have increased their armies by 1,303,921 men. In Europe, France has got the largest army. On the 1st of January 1923 it numbered 831,828 men, including the colonial garrisons and the officers.

These armaments consist not so much in the numerical increase of the armies, although this increase is quite remarkable compared with pre-war time, but in the unexampled improvement in war-technics, as well as in the expenditure upon the same. Thus, for instance, the "pacifist" England of Macdonald intends, according to the Budget for 1924/25, to reduce the home forces by 12,000 men (to 152,000 as against 164,000 in 1923/24) but at the same time the Budget provides for an increase in the air fleet of two million Pound Sterling, while eight new air squadrons are provided for*). England is increasing her navy by the construction of five new cruisers and two destroyers, she is devoting enormous sums for the "chemisation" of the army, for the invention of new explosives, for the construction of hundreds of light and heavy tanks for the home forces etc. From the end of the world war up to 1923, England had already spent 290 million pounds on armaments.

*) In this connection the following advertisement, which has repeatedly appeared in the advertisement columns of the Daily Herald, the organ of the English labour movement, is not without interest:

"The Royal Air Force requires Armourers, Carpenters (for training as Carpenter Riggers), Electricians, Electrical Fitters, Instrument Repairers, Power Station Tradesmen, Tinsmiths and Sheet Metal Workers, and Wireless Operators. Age limits: Ex-Service or skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen, 18 to 30; all others, 18 to 26. Pay from 21s. to 38s. 6d. per week, on enlistment, and all found. Allowance for wife and children to men 26 and over.—Write, stating age, or call: Inspector of Recruiting, Royal Air Force."

France also attaches the greatest importance to the development of her air forces, which already far surpass those of England. The creation of 132 fighting squadrons is provided for. The air fleet will comprise 30,000 men in peace and 300,000 men in war time. The expenditure of France on the air forces surpasses that of all other great powers. The French government devotes the greatest attention to the development of war chemistry. In France a military corps has been formed of engineers and chemists, whose task is the invention of new means for the chemical war. The French imperialists are dreaming of bombs which could, if necessary, destroy Berlin or London in a few hours. And as the French chemical industry is far behind that of England, not to speak of that of Germany, the French government intend to keep in their hands the occupied area of Germany, if not for good at any rate for a very long time.

This unprecedented increase in armaments which characterises the period after the war, is the result of two facts. On the one hand, the acuteness of the industrial crisis and of unemployment in the capitalist countries, as well as the restriction of the foreign markets, induce the bourgeoisie to see in the intensification of militarism and navalism, in the increase of the military air forces, a means of promoting capitalist accumulation and of avoiding an enormous surplus of goods. On the other hand, as international relations are becoming more and more strained and as war is approaching with elemental force, there is a natural tendency to arm to the teeth in order to be capable of crushing the enemy and getting hold of the coveted booty. But the increase of armaments in the various countries has its limits and its consequences. If the United States of America owing to their financial and economic position are capable of preparing for war with the same or even with greater intensity than hitherto for a further ten years, then a relatively poor country like Japan cannot do the same. Many European states as Poland, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and to some extent even France in consequence of the falling Franc and the alarming expansion of state debts, will likewise find themselves incapable of keeping up the pace in the race for armaments any longer. And perhaps the moment will soon arrive, when the nationalist press of all of these states will proceed, as did the German chauvinist press on the eve of the world war, by pointing to the terrible burden of armaments necessitated through the threats from the foreign enemies, to incite the population to enter the war under the slogan: "Better a finish with horror, than a horror without end"!

The Anglo-French Antagonism as the Basic Factor of the Coming War.

The main guilt for these feverish preparations in Europe and for the approaching European war, which threatens to become a world war lies upon France and England.

France of the notorious Comite des Forges is striving for domination on the European Continent and the displacement of England from Europe. For this purpose France adopts two methods: firstly by increasing the army, the air and submarine fleet, by concluding military conventions with Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Roumania, both of which latter are military semi-colonies of France, which in case of need will put at the disposal of France their whole military forces; secondly by means of strangling Germany, by destroying all her possibilities of life and before all by seizing the Rhineland.

It is a matter of course that England cannot assent to the plan of a French hegemony on the continent. The refusal of England to withdraw from Europe, the concentration of the world policy of Great Britain upon the European Continent, was bound to be followed by an aggravation of Anglo-French relations. Hence, the new preparations of these two countries, hence the increase of the air forces of England, the creation of new airship bases, the establishment of a new permanent arsenal in the north of Great Britain and the extension of the military depots in London, hence the demonstrations in the Mediterranean (the manoeuvres of a great English fleet from the Balearic Isles over the route from France to her North African colonies), hence the approaching of England to Italy and Spain. Hence on the other hand, the new French preparations, the testing at the artillery range in Le Havre of new long-range guns which can shoot nearly 100 kilometres (97 km) and which are intended to be placed along the coast in order to bombard London and the English coast; further the construction of new strategic railways by the French in Belgium, the fortification of the Belgian port of Zeebrugge etc.

If a war were to break out between England and France it would of course be the signal for an armed collision throughout

the whole European continent. The mobilisation of the English and French forces will at once be followed by the mobilisation of the forces of Belgium, Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria, Hungary and countless millions of men will be called to arms. And if we agree with that which comrade Lenin wrote concerning the national wars resulting from the Versailles treaty, we shall doubtless see that at this moment the millions of Germans of Germany and Austria will not stand by with folded arms and quietly wait the issue of the war between England and France. Nor will the suppressed nationalities in Yugoslavia, Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia remain indifferent, and the flames of national revolts, rebellions and wars can spring up in Galicia, Bessarabia, Transsylvania, Carpatho-Russia, Macedonia, etc.

The Japanese-American antagonism and the War in the Pacific Ocean.

The spectre of an imperialist war is not only arising in Europe. The aggravation of the Japanese-American relations in consequence of the interdiction of Japanese immigration into the United States, an interdiction which aroused greatest indignation among the broad masses, brings the question of Japanese-American relations again to the forefront. In the period preceding the Conference of Washington, the relations between Japan and America were already so strained that a war between these two countries seemed to be inevitable. Since the conference many pacifists have declared that the danger of a Japanese-American war is now removed. Harsh reality has, however, soon dispersed these pacifist illusions. When the United States started the construction of the Panama canal, it became apparent that America was attempting to realise the program formulated by Theodore Roosevelt in the following words: "The command of the Pacific Ocean belongs to the United States."

In this way the United States collide with Japan, for whom China is the chief market, which not only absorbs the products of Japanese industry but also represents the chief field of investment for Japanese surplus capital.

If the assertion of several military specialists be right, that a duel between America and Japan presents insurmountable technical difficulties which under certain circumstances, although not preventing the outbreak of war, nevertheless will render impossible a definite issue in favour of either the one or the other party, then the character of the problem of the Pacific Ocean is even more tragic. Because it follows from this that America will not be alone in attacking Japan but will be in alliance with Australia, New Zealand and perhaps also with England, China etc. If England in her preparations for war against Germany could obtain such allies as Russia and France, not to speak of such smaller states as Portugal, then America will be able to find the necessary assistance when the occasion arises.

The war in the Pacific Ocean will also be accompanied, like any European war, with big national upheavals in the shape of revolts, rebellions, perhaps even of great national revolutions in a whole series of Asiatic countries. The war will arouse the masses suppressed by Japan in Korea, in the Isle of Formosa, in Sachalin and will also not be without effect in the American Phillipines, French Indo-China and British India etc.

Lenin on the War against War.

Can the working class of Europe, America and Japan at the present moment prevent the approaching war? To this question Comrade Lenin replies in the document already quoted as follows:

"It must be definitely explained how great is the secrecy surrounding the birth of a war and how helpless is an ordinary labour organization in face of a really impending war. It must be explained over and over again in a thoroughly concrete manner, how the situation was during the last war and as to the reasons why the situation could not be otherwise. Special attention must be called to the fact that the question of 'defence of native country' will inevitably be put and that the overwhelming majority of the workers will inevitably solve this question in favour of their own bourgeoisie."

Wherein lies the only real means of fight against war?

In the maintenance and extension of an illegal organization for the permanent work against war of all revolutionaries participating in the war. The Communists cannot prevent the outbreak of a war, but they must strive to change this war into a civil war, the world revolution.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Tasks of the 3rd. International Congress of the Communist Women.

By Clara Zetkin.

The Will to capturing Power and for the Revolution.

At the conclusion of the V. World Congress of the Communist International there will be held in Moscow the 3rd International Conference of Communist Women. A long period separates it from the preceding conference which was held in the Summer of 1921 before the III. World Congress. Since that time there have taken place: two conferences of the International Women Correspondents in 1922, and further, on the occasion of the IV. World Congress, sittings and discussions of the men and women comrades delegated to this Congress who recognised the importance of Communist propaganda among working women. Unfortunately, in consequence of various circumstances, — among them the reign of terror and illegality in Italy, Bulgaria, Germany, etc. — the International Women Correspondents did not meet once during 1923.

The leading motive of our International Women's Conference is furnished by the inner, indissoluble connection of the Communist Women's Movement with the Communist International as the fighting, leading, world organization of the proletariat for its emancipation by the World Revolution. Great stress must be laid upon this fact in all the deliberations and decisions on all points of the agenda. The Conference will therefore be largely controlled by the decisions of the preceding World Congress. Its decisions will be the highest law. It must be expressed in unmistakable terms that it is the chief duty of the women comrades of all countries to develop the highest activity in full accordance with the principle and tactical decisions of the Congress and the tasks indicated by it. This must be done, not only in general with all the work and struggles of the different national sections of the Communist International, but also in the special field of the activity for revolutionising the great masses of working women. This activity must always be considered as part of the general whole, and must be closely connected with it.

The World Congress will indicate the next tasks of the Communists on the basis of a profound examination of the world-economic and world-political situation. Has the capitalist system of profit-making, and with it the political rule of the bourgeoisie, again got firmly on its feet so that we have to reckon upon a longer period of its existence and of the stagnation of the revolutionary proletarian class war? Or to state it in other terms: Can the revolutionary vanguard of the working class be content with rallying and leading the exploited and suppressed masses to the defensive against capitalism, or must they not much rather go over to the offensive, to advance to the assault for capturing state power? Opinions are divided on this point.

There is no disputing that world economy, in this or the other country, in this or the other branch of industry, is entering upon a boom period. In the industry of the United States there was, in the past year, a period of great depression followed by a period of greatest prosperity. In England and France various branches of industry have revived. Even in Germany, on occasion, the course of the whole economic life proceeds a trifle less haltingly.

But there are also other facts. Every period of prosperity which beguiles the capitalists and the reformists, remains an isolated, transitory phenomenon. The most symptomatic feature of world-economy is uncertainty, insecurity, vacillation etc. Relatively small incidents are sufficient to favour the most important industry of a state with prosperity and on the morrow to afflict it with depression. Agrarian crises and peasants' movements striving for political power denote in all countries possessing a large agriculture that capitalism is stirred in its inmost depths and that the bourgeois state is shaken along with it. The greed of the imperialistic states for colonial domination and colonial exploitation — as the last possibility of life for bourgeois society — is everywhere creating a tangle of conflicts which must be loosed by the sword. The flames of social and

national rebellion against oppression and exploitation are breaking out more frequently and with greater strength in the colonial countries. Everywhere in the capitalist world strikes of enormous extent, of long duration and accompanied by admirable self-sacrifice. For the greater part crushed by the exploiters, their police and their armies, strangled by the civil authorities and the reformist "labour leaders", they are an eloquent testimony to the fighting-will of the proletariat which can be suppressed neither by force nor trickery for any length of time.

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To sum up: The women comrades must be conscious of the contradictory, chaotic character of the existing world-situation. That applies not only to the tasks which the International Conference puts before them but also to the mood, the spirit, the fighting will with which they approach and solve these tasks. It would be very short-sighted and disastrous if we were to overlook the fact that contradictory tendencies exist side by side, are crossing each other, stultifying each other but are also promoting, strengthening and invigorating both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary tendencies. Now as heretofore the atmosphere is charged with inflammable materials of the revolution.

It is the most sacred duty of the women Communists of all countries to work conscientiously, constantly and systematically in arousing in millions of working women the will to revolution, to strengthen it, till it becomes quite clear, and becomes welded together with the will of their class-brothers to a mass-will and is transformed into united decisive action. In the various capitalist countries the prevailing conditions under which the women comrades have to fulfil their duty are of the most manifold character. Doubtless the world situation is becoming unstable. But the objective basis for the will to revolution is broad and firm enough so that this must be the international connecting band for the work and the struggle of the women comrades.

With such a historical conception there must be no suggestion that the women base their propaganda among working women solely on one of these two existing possibilities. Neither on the one of a long protracted stoppage of the historical development of the proletariat for the capturing of power in the remote future; nor upon the other one which assumes that the progressive decay of bourgeois society, that the bloody necessities of the exploited and suppressed masses fill them already today with the will to proletarian revolution and will drive them into the fight for the capture of power. The Communist women have to keep both possibilities in mind. The chief thing is that we hammer into the heads of the millions of women the necessity of capturing power.

The women comrades have therefore to conceive and to carry out every theoretical and practical task to which our International Conference calls them in the light of Lenin's teaching: the decisive condition for the winning of the majority of the proletariat to the Communist conviction, of the necessity of replacing the class-rule of the bourgeoisie, by the proletarian dictatorship. Forward to the masses! Daily, constant, firm, organized connection of the Communist parties of every country with the masses of working women. This connection will be created by the most energetic, faithful, ruthless defence of the vital interests of the women proletarians, small peasants and petty bourgeoisie; by the fight against the many forms of need with which they are afflicted; by the fight for everything that tends to raise their position. Such action leads to the compelling proof, supported by facts, that the bourgeoisie will not improve the position of the expropriated and oppressed and that the reformist leaders, far from fighting for this aim, treacherously protect the interests of the exploiting and ruling class.

The Communist activities and fights in the interests of the suppressed and down-trodden masses must be made more powerful and comprehensive, as in the actual situation there is also possible a sudden swelling and uprise of the revolutionary wave. This means that the connection between the Communists and the masses must be accomplished within a very short period of time. The women comrades must be fully aware of the fact that they have to play the role of intermediaries and interpreters between the Communist Party and the masses of working women. If they learn to fulfil this task both in small and great things, the sacred flame of fighting determination will remain unextinguished in the millions of hearts of the women masses in the slow-moving times of stagnation and will not burn out in a futile blaze when conditions become acute.

II.

Differences in the Character and in the Conditions of Communist Work among the Women Masses in the Capitalist Countries and in the Soviet Republics.

The decisive influence of the revolution upon our next tasks as Communists will be seen in another light at every item of the Agenda at the International Conference. This fact is to be seen in the special importance attached to the proposals and suggestions of our women comrades from the Soviet Republics and in their special attitude towards all questions which will engage our attention at the Conference.

In fact the Russian Communist women have passed through a revolution, a victorious world-shaking revolution, the most powerful which history has seen up to now. They have stood in the ranks of the leading proletarian class party. They will pass over to the women comrades in the capitalist states where the proletariat has not yet wrested the state power from the hands of their exploiters, the experiences of the fight for the capture and maintenance of power. These experiences throw a clear light upon the way which the women comrades outside of the Workers' and Peasants' States have to go in order to gain access to the minds of the masses of working women. They will fertilise the working out of such forms and methods of activity among the women as will firmly and effectively connect them with the Communist Party of the given country.

The victory of the proletarian revolution in the Union of Soviet Republics has changed the chief task of the Communist women. Here they have no longer to unite the working women with the Communist Parties for the purpose of capturing power. The proletariat possesses the state power and has set up its dictatorship. Thanks to the Soviet order every proletarian woman forms a part of this power. Nevertheless, the revolution is not yet completed. It proceeds further in that titanic effort, carried on under the most difficult circumstances, to swing the economy and society into the direction of Communism.

The rise of the proletariat to the ruling dictating class in the Workers' and Peasants' States, changes, according to the progress of the revolution, the main task of the Communist women among the masses of the women. They have to draw them into the most active collaboration for economic and social reconstruction and to fill them with appreciation of its conditions and of its sublime ends. They have to work in that direction so that in the same measure as their cheerful participation in the work of production increases, so also will their will and capacity become greater. The women comrades of the Soviet Republics are continuing what they began during the struggle for the capture of power. In indefatigable collaboration in the ideological and organizational work of the Party, and as its Commissionaries, they are active in filling the millions of the working women with unshakable confidence in the Communist Party and in closely linking them up with it.

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It is obvious that in every item of our International Conference the decisive, changing and emancipating influence of capturing the power by the proletariat will find expression. Who possesses the state-power? For what ends is state power wielded? The answer to these questions also decides the answer of the international Communist work among the masses of working women. It means either the hampering and retarding of this work, or the freeing and promoting of this work. This essential difference causes us to refrain from transferring in a mechanical and automatic manner into the capitalist countries that which, under the Soviet Star appears in the form of creative blossoming life. But this fact must inflame the will and active power of the Communist women in these countries to a white-hot glow in the struggle for capturing the state power by the proletariat. Internationally they must take the united vow to arouse and win the millions of working women for the proletarian power under the leadership of the Communist International, the women whom capitalism has robbed of life, and happiness, of culture and rights, even of a crust of bread, and for whom capitalism has only misery and chains. The will to revolution must be the Alpha and Omega of the Third International Conference of Communist Women.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

David Ivon Jones

It is with the greatest sorrow that we have to record the loss of Comrade David Ivon Jones who died recently in a sanatorium in the Crimea. Although taken from us when scarcely in his prime, Comrade Jones leaves behind him a career of valuable service to the revolutionary labour movement and the Communist International.

Born of working class parents in a Welsh village he started life as wage-earner at the age of thirteen. At the age of nineteen he emigrated to New Zealand where he remained four years working for the most time as an agricultural labourer. In 1906 Comrade Jones arrived in South Africa and here he threw himself whole-heartedly into the labour movement, devoting close study to the revolutionary labour movement and to Marxist theory as well as actively participating in the labour struggles and in general working class activity. In the severe struggles which took place in 1912 and 1913 Comrade Jones took a leading part. In 1914 he was elected as general secretary to the Labour Party and the outbreak of the world-war found him among the few who set their face determinedly against it, as a result of which the chauvinists elements forced him from the leadership of the party which led to a split. Throughout the war Comrade Jones remained true to revolutionary principles in the face of all opposition and persecution. During this period he helped to found what was known as the International Socialist League and became editor of its paper "The International".

When the Communist International was founded in 1919 Jones was among the first to give it his allegiance and to urge that the South African workers become affiliated thereto. In 1921 he arrived in Moscow as delegate to the III. World Congress and since that time remained in Russia where he devoted his time to the study of international questions and was a constant contributor to the press of the British sections of the Comintern. The article from his pen in the current number of our English brother organ "The Communist Review" shows to what good purpose he was able to put the results of his study of the early history of the Bolshevik Party and the struggle waged by Lenin against all deviations.

The Comintern, and in particular the British sections, will deeply feel the loss sustained in the early death of this comrade, while his life will afford a splendid example of earnest and untiring service to the cause of Communism.

Karl Marx's Grave.

A Reply to Jean Longuet.

Great publicity has been given of late, both in the English and Continental press, to the fact that Jean Longuet, the grandson of Karl Marx, had written to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, asking him to interfere to prevent the removal of the remains of Karl Marx from London to Moscow.

The following letter from our comrade Winifred Horrabin, the secretary of the Plebs League (a Marxist educational organization) addressed to the "Worker's Weekly", the organ of the C. P. of Great Britain, is an effective reply to the reformist grandson of the Great Revolutionary:

"You will no doubt have noticed the "long letter of protest" which M. Jean Longuet, the grandson of Marx, has sent to the Labour Prime Minister, calling attention to the desire of Russian Communists to remove the remains of Marx to Moscow. Such "desecration" troubles M. Longuet who apparently reveres the tomb of his ancestor more than the ideas which Marx strove for.

But he does not revere the tomb enough. In October, 1922, the Plebs League issued an appeal for a fund to restore the grave which had fallen into disrepair. Various Socialists and Communists subscribed to this fund, but although M. Jean Longuet was appealed to, he made no reply.

We, English Communists, who are prepared not only to keep the grave of our leader in order, but also to spread the ideas which he gave his life to, resent very much the implication in M. Longuet's letter that no one knew of the grave till the Russians wished to rifle it (an entirely fictitious story, by the way). Some of us honour Marx too much to let this implication go without a protest. M. Longuet would appear only to be interested in his world-famous grandfather's grave, when it is possible for him to make political capital out of it."

To Our Readers.

Owing to the many Special Numbers which have to be published during the V. World Congress of the Comintern, the regular number of the English "Inprecorr." will, for the next few weeks, be reduced to eight pages.

To Our Subscribers!

We urgently request our subscribers when sending notifications of change of address or forwarding subscriptions etc., to write the name and address as plainly as possible, so that there will be no difficulty in deciphering the same. Many cases of non-receipt of the Inprecorr. by our subscribers are due to the illegibility of the furnished address.

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