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## From Gallifet to Mussolini

By *R. Albert.*

From the Commune to our own day the episodes in the class war are enacted with inexorable logic. Even of the time since the revolutionary labor movements in Germany and France in the year 1848, that already holds good. In Paris, the Second Republic, which was born out of the popular wrath against the bourgeois monarch Louis Philippe, caused fifteen to twenty thousands insurgent workers, who wished to live working or die fighting,—to be massacred in June 1848, through General Cavaignac. But the Paris rising of 1848 and the German movements of the same time, which took place before the appearance of International Socialism, were quickly suppressed and signified only the announcement of the birth of a revolutionary class. Marx then gives this class a method of thought and of action, a program. The First International is the expression of a new hope and a new will. When upon the ruins of the Empire the Commune arose in Paris, hungering after the long siege and spattered with blood from the duel of the two Imperialisms, then it was that the proletariat gained its first victory. But Gallifet shot and deported. The historians ascribe to him over thirty thousand victims, the second great blood-letting of the exploited class in less than twenty-five years. Thus democratic republics are born. With the reconciliation of Thiers and Bismarck the international bourgeoisie found the right method to maintain itself in power in the hour of danger: The beheading of the working class. The massacre of its entire advance guard.

After this great blood-letting, the Democracy has no need of any special measures against its enemy, which has been exhausted for a long time to come. It sufficed that from time to time a few strikes were crushed, that a dependable "leader" was on hand, and that there were modern goals, which, for the rest, could be set up in accordance with the "first principles of Humanity". Those were the happy days before the war, when it was only too often forgotten that the bourgeois dictatorship continued. At that time babblers of every kind promised to lead society, with flowers of oratory and universal suffrage, to Socialism.

The awakening was terrible. The canon of Verdun showed the peoples that the Democracy had only been a truce. The masses were mobilized and slaughtered, and they learned to apprehend this. And forty-six years after the collapse of the Paris Commune a fire was suddenly lit in Petrograd, which spread itself over a fifth of the world, from the Baltic to Kamtchatka, from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, and which none can extinguish any longer. That was the end of the democratic lie. That was the end of the traitorous hypocrisy of the Reformists. That was the end of the fetishism of bourgeois legality. The Russian Revolution took capitalist Europe by surprise at a time when twenty million armed proletarians were ready to salute the Red Flag. The danger had to be removed rapidly and mercilessly. The governments understood that. Precisely as Thiers and Bismarck had made common cause against the Paris Commune, Ludendorff and the Entente, in 1918, closed a tacit agreement against Red Finland. Another Gallifet, the hangman *Mannerheim*, the founder of the democratic Republic of Finland, butchered in this small country more than ten thousand proletarians and imprisoned almost seventy thousand in his dreadful

Concentration Camps. The General Staff of the Entente and Ludendorff united against the revolutionary Germany of 1918/19. The French press declared unanimously: "*Rather Ludendorff than Liebknecht*". With the machine guns which Foch had left him and which were handled by monarchist officers, the Social Democrat Noske, a member of the Second International to the present day, shot down the German Revolution. Europe and America combined against Soviet Hungary. The philanthropist Hoover prepared its fall and the Social Democracy promoted it. Horribly offered the Entente Missions the spectacle of how some select Communists were hanged. Murder was carried to the smallest village. The same world coalition, with like methods of annihilation, turned its attention to Red Russia. In the civil war, the Whites made no prisoners. . . . But on this occasion the Terror turned against themselves. Their ferocity furnished the proletariat with the weapon of the Red Terror, and the inhabitants chased them out of the districts which they occupied for the moment.

The Versailles Peace has perpetuated the state of war in Balkanized Europe. But the example of the Russian Revolution continues to endure. The dominant bourgeoisies perceive their sentence of death. They are not in a position to create tolerable international relations. They cannot reorganize production. They can procure for the exploited masses no conditions of life worthy, even in some degree, of human beings. Anxiety fills them, the strong and the weak, and they strike out blindly, according to the approved method, which aims at annihilating the élite of the workers. White Terror in Poland, in the Balkans, in Spain, in the countries of weak capitalism. But White Terror also in the United States, where capitalism is at its zenith. The Communist deputies of Poland and Esthonia sit in the penitentiary. The Communist parliamentarians of Jugo-Slavia driven out of the Diet and the Municipal Councils, sit in prison. The Communist leader Bujor is a convict in Roumania. In the United States the railwaymen's leader Gregor has recently been lynched. Sacco, Vanzetti, Tom Mooney are still in prison, and there is no preferential treatment for political prisoners in America. All the Spanish stations in Morocco and the penitentiary in the blazing sun of Fernando-Po are filled with revolutionists. In all the fortresses of Germany we find revolutionists. In France Marty, whom the ridiculous general suffrage elected twenty times, can celebrate, on March 18, his one thousand four hundred and thirty sixth day of imprisonment. In India, Ireland Egypt and the Transvaal the revolutionists are being hanged.

And *Benvenuto Mussolini*, the renegade of Socialism, rules in Italy. With the blessing of Cardinal Vanutelli and the still more fervent blessing of the French high finance. Inside of fourteen days he has, with apt choice, put six to seven thousand Communists, Syndicalist and Anarchist workers in prison. The Italian embassies are everywhere places of conspiracy against the workers. Fascism, victorious in Italy, is intriguing and mobilizing in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in the United States (Ku-Klux-Klan), in Germany, in France (Bourgeois Legions, l'Action Française). Fascism has three capitals in Europe: Budapest, Munich and Rome. It has the entire sympathies of the National Bloc and Poincaré. For it is the sole appeal which Capital can lodge against its death-sentence. The bloc of the large and the petty bourgeoisie is being formed for the suppression of the labor movement. The aim is to apply well in advance the methods of suppression which were formerly the instrument of the bourgeoisie against the proletarian uprising. The question is this: to complete the work of Gallifet in the face of the Commune. Fascism elevates the extermination of the class-conscious sections of the workers to a principle of government.

But just as Thiers and Gallifet, by the repression of the Paris Commune, could not obstruct its historic mission, so Fascism, the last resource of a collapsing society, will procure for the Italian bourgeoisie a reprieve only, and for the bourgeoisie of the other lands probably not even that. For it will no longer have the advantage of a surprise. It can strike down men and decimate masses. But it cannot cure the crisis of Capitalism. Mussolini closes the cycle which Gallifet had begun. But in the meantime another cycle of world-history has begun its course. That is the cycle of Lenin.

## The new conference in Lausanne

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The dead return. The Lausanne peace conference, blown to pieces by Lord Curzon's departure on the 4th of February, is to be resurrected on April 15th. A unique occurrence in the history of diplomacy. On the 5. February scarcely any student of political questions could have held such a solution as possible. What was the meaning of Lord Curzon's departure from this little Swiss town, where he had allowed himself to be held fast

for months, in his capacity of leader of British world politics, without being able to dispose of his feeble opponent? With Lord Curzon's departure English imperialism expressed its intention of closing the period of negotiations with young Turkey, and of forcing Kemal Pasha's government by means of dictatorial threats to surrender. Lord Curzon went home, and it was intended that the armoured ships of England's Mediterranean fleet should continue the negotiations in their own manner in the Dardanelles.

But English cannon have not spoken in the meanwhile, and yet the English diplomatists have to return to Lausanne. Lord Curzon himself shrinks from the disagreeable task of re-appearing on the scene of his diplomatic bankruptcy. He will be represented by Sir Horace Rumbold, who has up to now been British commissar in Constantinople. The mere fact of the resumption of the Lausanne negotiations signifies a fresh defeat of British oriental politics, and a fresh success for nationalist Turkey.

The first Lausanne conference was occupied with a confused entanglement of questions: The territorial boundaries of Turkey in Europe, the distribution of the islands of the Aegian Sea, the Dardanelles question and everything in connection with it, the strife about Mosul with its petroleum, the question of the future economic relations between Turkey and the Entente powers, the settlement with the European creditors of Turkey, the limits of Turkish jurisdiction over foreigners, and many other questions. The first Lausanne conference settled the European territorial question to a certain extent. The Turks accepted a provisional regulation of the Dardanelles question favoring England's interests. The de-fortification of the Dardanelles means for the English bourgeoisie the possibility of attacking Soviet Russia through the Black Sea, when favorable occasion permits. But the conference evaded the Mossul question, and was powerless in economic problems. Kemal Pasha's government was prepared to make concessions in the territorial and boundary questions; but it was not prepared to abandon its country to the greed and robbery of the creditors of the old Ottoman debt, to the speculators and concession hunters who had settled in Turkey, or who wanted to settle there in the future. It is a remarkable fact that in the economic question the French and English delegates were fully in agreement in Lausanne. For France's money interests in Turkey are perhaps even greater than England's. The old Turkish national debt was mainly composed of French loans.

During the last few weeks of the original Lausanne conference the attitude of the French delegation was naturally influenced by the Ruhr enterprise. The French gave Lord Curzon exactly as much trouble as they encountered difficulties in the Rhine country (on account of objections raised by the English authorities to their use of the railroads). However, the benevolent neutrality evinced by Bonar Law in the Ruhr question was rewarded by a certain degree of obliging behavior on the part of the French in Lausanne. But despite this, the English government was not in a position to draw the logical conclusions from its energetic step of February 4. For Poincaré was not quite so sure as to how the British would continue to act in the Ruhr question, that he cared to give the English a free hand in the Orient. France could venture upon the Ruhr occupation because Cuno's Germany is practically without arms, but Kemal Pasha's Turks have the habit of shooting back when greeted with bullets. An English advance in Asia Minor would surely have meant a real and bloody war of uncertain issue; quite apart from the fact that Soviet Russia would not have permitted the subjugation of Turkey by British imperialism. Such an adventure as this—with the added difficulty of a reserved or even hostile France—could not be risked by Bonar Law, the man of "peace, tranquility, and economy". Lord Curzon wanted to bluff Turkey into submission. But as the Turks were not taken in by bluff, Lord Curzon was obliged to choose the better part of valor.

Meanwhile, further negotiations have been held in London on the Eastern question. The experts of the Entente have been summoned; despite the rupture of Lausanne, notes have been exchanged with the Turkish government, and a fresh basis for negotiations has been discovered at last. The Entente has declared to Turkey that it considers the territorial question as settled, and that there is no need of discussing Mosul or the Straits any more. But there is no objection to a renewed discussion, in Lausanne, on economic and legal questions. The Turkish minister for foreign affairs, Ismet Pasha, expressed his agreement to this, in which he was approved by his government and the National Assembly. The Turks are rightly of the opinion that nobody will be able to prevent their saying what they please at Lausanne. After the experiences of the past, England's mailed fist does not particularly impress. Whether the Turkish delegation at the second Lausanne conference will again bring up the Mosul and Dardanelles questions does not depend on any pro-

visos which may be made by the English government, it depends solely on the totality of world politics, and this is again an exceedingly complicated matter. The second Lausanne conference takes place at a time when the impending understanding between German and French capitalism in the Ruhr question has approached tangibly near, and this is a business transaction in which England is anxious to be a profiting third party. The renewed attempt to establish close co-operation between British and French capital, already so clearly expressed by Loucheur's journey to London, will be extended to the Orient. Every vacillation of international capitalism in the Ruhr question will be automatically remitted to Lausanne, and vice versa.

But behind English and French capital there is another capital, stronger than either of them. While the English and French have been quarreling among themselves, exchanging notes and bluffs, American capital has been acting. The American concession known as the "Chester", provided for the laying of no less than 4318 km of railway by the Americans in Asia Minor within a short time; this is approximately as great a mileage as that possessed by all the railway lines now existing in Turkey. Another American project provides for the re-building of the whole capital city of Angora, in the course of three years, in a style of the utmost modern luxury. To this must be added the American petroleum concessions and many similar enterprises. American capital will supervise the new Lausanne conference with great exactitude, and it will contrive to maintain the position of privileged power which it has already obtained in Turkey. At the present time Turkey is of much more importance to America than is Germany. Any American intervention in the Ruhr area will be directed against the party throwing obstacles in the way of American capital in Turkey. French and English capital alike are fully aware of the weight to be accorded to this circumstance.

Soviet Russia will not be invited to the second Lausanne conference, because at the first the Russian delegation was only permitted to be present at the debate on the Dardanelles question. But Soviet Russia is so powerful today that no diplomatic dodge can simply ignore her. Russia will recognize no oriental treaty which ignores her interests. Soviet Russia will continue to defend the interests of the oppressed peoples of the East against international capital. It is not quite clear what Kemal Pasha is aiming at by the sudden dissolution of the Turkish National Assembly and the calling of a new election. If the object of the new election is to remove those groups from parliament which resist too intimate relations with foreign capital, then Kemal's government takes a step on the downward path. And should events develop in such a manner that in Lausanne a peace treaty is arranged by which foreign capital again obtains ascendancy in Turkey, then the masses of the Turkish people, who won the victories on the fields of battle, will not agree to this bargain. The struggle for emancipation will continue in the Orient, whether any treaty be signed at Lausanne or not, and whatever it contains. And the international proletariat is fully aware that the struggle carried on by the exploited oriental is the common struggle of the whole proletariat of the world.

## There is no "ultimate" Solution!

By E. Varga.

In the debates on the Reparations question, there continually arises the question of the "ultimate solution". The bourgeois pacifists, together with the social patriots, frantically seek for a way out, which shall render any future clash between the bourgeois states impossible,—an effort which is entirely futile. There can be no permanent peace between the capitalist states. The "theoretician" of permanent peace is Hilferding, who, in a scientific "study" which appeared in a bourgeois publication, recently argued, that there are two ways of overcoming the antagonisms within capitalism: the old method of getting the better of one's adversary and of free competition, and the new, involving a higher form of combination: Cartel, Trust. Similarly in the domain of international politics, national wars would be superceded by the peaceful removal of the antagonisms by international forms of organization, such as the League of Nations, nationalization etc., instead of differences being settled by recourse to war.

This theory lies—consciously or unconsciously—at the bottom of the whole Ruhr policy of the Social Democrats, upon which we wish to make the following observations:

It was neither the ill-will nor the ignorance of the French and the German bourgeoisies which called forth the world war: and it was not the stupidity of Poincaré which led to the present conflict in the Ruhr, but the innate laws of capitalist society. The French bourgeoisie, interested in heavy industry, on countless

occasions sought to come to an agreement with the German bourgeoisie. The German bourgeoisie—in spite of all patriotic phrases, in spite of the passive resistance—is ready and willing to work along with the French. Of that there can be no doubt! The re-drawing of the political frontiers has in no way done away with the connection between French ore and German coal. And yet it has come to the Ruhr crisis! And precisely because the antagonisms are of an objective nature and are not dependent upon the goodwill or the insight of the politicians!

The reparations questions cannot be finally solved, because

1. Germany, as a capitalist state, is not in a position to withdraw from the value of her annual production the huge sum necessary to unburden the French bourgeoisie of all material consequences of the world war!
2. Even if the German capitalists were in a position to extract this sum from the intensified exploitation of the German proletariat, *the payments could not be made in any form acceptable to France as a capitalist state.* Germany is without money. Will she build houses as reparations? then the French building industry resists; shall she deliver machines? the French machine industry protests, etc. In the past year, France was able to demand from Germany material deliveries to the value of over 700 million gold marks: she has received only a fraction; Serbia has claimed and received considerably more than her share, precisely because she is an agrarian country, which can make good use of the German industrial products.

There is no way out of the reparations question! There is no ultimate solution for it. Today less than ever do the antagonisms of the highly developed capitalist countries allow of reconciliation. After the French bourgeoisie has squandered huge sums on the advance into the Ruhr, after the German Reichsbank—also in accordance with the recipe of Hilferding and the social patriots—has, for the purpose of national resistance, sacrificed the last gold reserves to the great capitalists, the Franco-German bourgeoisie will attempt to effect an adjustment of their interests,—at the expense of the proletariat of both countries of course. But the adjustment can bring no final solution. Germany cannot pay the sum promised: France, as a capitalist state, cannot accept such deliveries of reparations without plunging her capitalist economy into the greatest difficulties. Capitalist economy is not constructed for the acceptance of gifts.

And behind the Franco-German conflict stands the far more momentous Anglo-French conflict. The "Allies" are most rigorously getting ready for one another. Neither the French nor the English bourgeoisie wish to know anything of the "Harmony Theory" of the Social Patriots: Combination upon a higher basis. This theory is good for a stricken bourgeoisie like the German, which wishes in this way to cloak its actual reduction to the level of a colonial bourgeoisie. But as long as a bourgeoisie has the power to do so, it will constantly endeavour to arbitrate the antagonisms with arms.

Therefore: Away with the "Harmony" theory! The class conscious proletariat must know that temporary agreements at its expense are indeed possible and, momentarily, even probable; but that the armed decision of the conflicts cannot be eliminated from the capitalist system. The danger of war is always present in Capitalism; in it there are no ultimate peaceful solutions!

## "The Great Conspiracy" in Belgium

By L. P. (Brussels).

On March 8, early in the morning, 47 members of the Communist Party were arrested on the orders of the attorney general, who acted in agreement with the minister of justice, the "liberal" Massoon. The members of the Party Executive were among those arrested. On the same day 18 comrades were put in prison, after a very superficial hearing; one of those imprisoned was the revolutionary syndicalist Lahaut, who is not a member of the CP. He was the leader of the great metal-workers' and miners' strike at Ougre-Marihaye, and was expelled by the reformist leaders of the metal workers' union. The other comrades were temporarily released. What was the cause of this enterprise on the part of the police? The discovery of a plot against the security of the state, alleged to be the work of the Communist Party. We have to go back to the year 1889 to find a parallel offensive against the revolutionary proletariat. At that time, between the revolutionary outbreak of 1886 and the general strike for universal suffrage in 1902, the clerical government was anxious to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas, and hence invented a "great conspiracy", which ended in a general acquittal. It may be remarked, by the way, that one of the defenders in that trial was the same Massoon who is now

leading the indictment in his capacity of minister of justice . . . Thus the methods of the Belgian bourgeoisie have not changed. Again a charge of conspiracy against the security of the state has been manufactured to hinder that awakening in the proletariat which has been in evidence in Belgium of recent months.

The great number of strikes and lock-outs which have taken place recently show that the period of weakness and retrogression of the years 1921 and 1922 are now at an end, and that the workers are beginning to take up the offensive. The bourgeoisie is extremely nervous; attacks against the communists, multiply in the bourgeois press. On the other side the reformist leaders redouble their campaign of slander against the revolutionary workers, who are committing the crime of disturbing "social peace". The capitalist offensive had reached its zenith after the occupation of the Ruhr area, above all during the general strike of the miners in Borinage.

Despite its weakness, the Communist Party of Belgium took up the slogan of a general strike against war danger, as formulated by the Rome congress of the Amsterdam International. The party has unfolded energetic propaganda against the imperialist policy of the Theunis government, the ally of Poincaré. An appeal was published calling upon the workers to prepare for action against the occupation of the Ruhr area, and against the danger of war. This appeal was distributed throughout the country by means of 100,000 handbills and 2500 posters. Collections were arranged by the Party to cover the expenses of this agitation, and within a few days the workers had raised several million francs. Numerous meetings were held for the purpose of drawing the attention of the workers to the danger of the situation, and to the necessity of taking up stronger action against the bourgeoisie. Belgian social democracy, headed by Vandervelde, and the Amsterdam trade union leaders who had passed such fiery resolutions at Rome and the Hague, could only recommend the Belgian workers to hope for the intervention of God, the father of peace, and of the League of Nations, its mother. The communist comrades stigmatized the hypocrisy of the social patriots at the latter's meetings, and thus drew upon their heads a flood of slander and abuse, besides the threat of expulsion from the trade unions. At the same time the bourgeois press denounced the participation of the Belgian communists in the conference at Essen, asked the government to arrest the "traitors", and the *Neptune*, the organ of the shipowners in Antwerp, put the question: "When will Jacquemotte and Overstraten be imprisoned?" But it was not until the general strike of the miners in Borinage that the bourgeoisie lost all sense of proportion. The reformist leaders of the miners' union did their utmost to dam the movement. On March 5, work was resumed on the basis of newly granted rises in wages; on the 8. March, the "conspiracy" was suddenly discovered, and the communists arrested. The social democratic press was placed in a most embarrassing position by these developments. This same Communist Party, whose existence the social democrats had hitherto denied, was now regarded as dangerous by the government. The arrests threw the workers into the greatest excitement all over the country. The social democratic *Peuple*, protested against a trial which aimed at suppressing a political opinion. This newspaper declared that a government should not be permitted to use its power for closing the mouth of its political opponents. A bourgeois paper replied to this as follows: "With regard to the defeatist campaign and the agitation against the occupation of the Ruhr area, the communists have said nothing worse than Vandervelde, Wauters, and de Brouckère. But the communists have acted, while the others have only talked, that is the difference. Hence Messrs. Vandervelde, Wauters, and de Brouckère may go on talking, while Lahaut, Jacquemotte, and Lesoil may meditate in the solitude of their cells. This is the proof that the government does not prohibit free speech to its opponents . . ."

It is also a good proof that the government is convinced that the opposition offered by the social democrats will never go beyond speeches and paper resolutions.

It may already be confidently stated that the coup of the Belgian government has been a failure. The Belgian C. P. remains active. All party functions are being carried out as before. The working masses understand very well the motives behind this attack on the communists. From day to day the Belgian workers are evincing more and more interest in communist action, and are showing increasing comprehension for the fact that, in face of the treachery of the reformist "leaders", Communism is the sole reliable support of the proletariat.

Of the 18 comrades arrested, 3 more have been temporarily released. It seems as if the government is inclined to gradually reduce the dimensions of its tale of conspiracy by this temporary release of those arrested. But should it really come to a trial, then it will not be communism, but the Belgian bourgeoisie and its policy of predatory imperialism, that will face the jury.

## Democratic Lithuania

By A. Draugas.

The preliminary events and circumstances which led to the dissolution of the Lithuanian Sejm, are extremely interesting, for they throw a vivid light on the "political life" of the Lithuanian "democratic" republic.

The Sejm elections which were held in October of last year resulted in the defeat of the Christian democrats. When the Sejm was first founded the Christian democrats possessed an absolute majority (58 % of all the seats), and they naturally utilized their position for the formation of a constitution corresponding to the interests of this party of large agrarians and bourgeoisie. At the last election to the Sejm the Christian democrats only obtained 30 % of the seats. But the election results were "somewhat corrected" by the chief election commission, so that the Christian democrats and the people's socialists—which latter invariably follow the Christian democrats in their reactionary policy—were again placed in possession of the desired majority. Now the realization of the constitution could be proceeded with . . .

Some large capitalists (headed by the former priest Volokaitis, who has at his disposal over 15 million Lits=¼ of the total public funds) have concentrated in their hands the whole economic and political power. The organs of reaction regard it as their chief task to carry on nationalist agitation. In order to keep the working masses in the dark as to who are their real enemies, and to distract their attention from the class war, the various nationalities represented in this small country are being played off against each other according to the old Czarist recipe. Chauvinist nationalism is losing its ideological cloak, and from day to day develops into a Fascist pogrom agitation.

In this the government and reaction find their chief support in the "Sauliai" leagues. These are the volunteer corps (Iron Wolf for instance) which were formed during the war with Poland, and which later on undertook the Memel campaign masked as "bands". They are now the strongest pillars of reaction, ready to spring into action at any moment. The "Sauliai" do not for a moment conceal that they are preparing for bold deeds. They have been well equipped with weapons by the government. Despite the fact that the state of war has been formally done away with, the notorious "Zwalgys" police spies ply their despicable trade as before. In the cities, spying has developed to such an extent that there is one "Zwalgys" to every ten inhabitants. The work of this "Zwalgys" consists in suppressing the proletarian movement and stirring up pogroms. The "Zwalgys" possesses unlimited authority.

Thus it has come about that even the tamest of national socialists have been arrested as dangerous revolutionists, and have been cast into the hospitable prisons of Lithuania. Reaction has raged to such an extent that the docile national socialists have found themselves obliged to adopt a change of front. During the budget debate when the salary of the state president was being discussed, the spokesman of the national socialist fraction intimated that his fraction would be obliged to vote against the salary of the State President, as his election was not legal. The majority of the Sejm declared itself in agreement with the speaker and with his assertion that the State President had been illegally, that is, unconstitutionally elected. The next day the Sejm by an absolute majority, passed a vote of no confidence in the Galvananskas government.

The State President was faced with the choice of forming a new cabinet or resigning. He however preferred simply to have the Sejm dissolved by a Government not possessing the confidence of the Parliament.

There are to be new elections on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of May. It is perfectly clear that the government, and the reactionary parties, will exert their utmost influence, and will increase the Terror to the highest pitch, in order to obtain election results suitable to themselves.

The plans being laid by Fascist reaction must be thwarted by the Lithuanian proletariat, and by those sections of the population who have learnt the right lesson from the policy hitherto pursued.

## Will the Bonar Law Government Fall?

By J. T. Walton Newbold.

There has been considerable volume of rumor about for some weeks past concerning the duration of the present government in England. It is generally recognized that Premier Bonar Law is in very poor health, and that he may, at no distant date, be compelled to resign his leadership of the ministry and retire into private life. He is a man whom everyone likes personally, for

the very simple reason that when he says a thing, you feel instinctively that he means it, that he will not mislead you if he can possibly avoid it and that however he may oppose you he will be perfectly frank with you. He is, in my opinion, by no means such a wooden-head as some people are disposed to make out. He is, personally, a strong man who knows what he wants and just how much likelihood he has of getting it. He is not a brilliant man but he is dependable. He is, in fact, just the type of man which the dominant interests in British capitalism require to lead them at the present time.

He has, in his government, a number of rather stupid men, members of the House of Lords, whom he had to include because of their personal influence in the Tory Party. The Duke of Devonshire, the Marquess of Salisbury and the Earl of Derby are all peers who are the inheritors of a political tradition, which is such that if they have any ability whatsoever, the holders of those titles are certain to occupy leading places in their party. They belong to the great governing families of England. He has, in his government, in the House of Commons a number of young men, largely without experience, who may, however, given the time, prove not incapable heads of departments. They are, however, most obviously there in office because they belong to good families, have influence in high finance or at Court, were educated at the best schools and are members of select West-End clubs. They have about them that peculiar bearing and modest culture which are the hallmark of the English gentlemen. They are tranquil exponents of a tranquil policy. They mean well, one feels as one looks at them, but the poor young things will never understand that the social fabric is built upon a cesspool of class iniquity. There is one man amongst them who stands out as of more than ordinary ability. That is the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Stanley Baldwin. He belongs to a family of Midland and South Wales iron and steel masters, who have made a huge fortune in the industry, but who have sold their business concerns to a syndicate of bankers, belonging to the same group of international credit-houses as stands behind Krupp. The Baldwins are now sleeping partners in the concern, drawing a regular income from debenture and similar holdings when they have not transferred their interests entirely. They have joined the ranks of the *rentier* class. They have become members of the class from which are recruited the men particularly versed in the arts of government. Mr. Baldwin was, formerly, a director of the family steel works and of the largest railway company in the country. He belongs to the same type and generation of business men as his neighbour in the "Black Country" of Worcestershire, Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Now, the Government has caused intense annoyance to everyone, including the rank and file of their own party by their utter and callous neglect of the ex-soldiers, many of whom are starving and broken in health, but cannot get decent pensions. No one ever gets satisfaction out of the Minister of War Pensions. He is a weak and vacillating ex-officer who is helpless in the hands of the bureaucrats of his department who, in turn, can get little or no money from the spending department, the Treasury. The Government has, also, failed to find employment for ex-servicemen in its own offices in such manner as to give them hope of civil advancement. It was failure in this respect that was the object of a critical attack by one of the Free Liberals in the course of a debate on a formal resolution "that Mr. Speaker do leave the Chair" so that the House could go into what is called Committee of Supply, i. e. to discuss and vote upon grants of money for the state services. This debate permits any member to raise any grievance he cares in connexion with the departments for which the House of Commons is about to vote money. Usually, the criticisms are made but no vote is taken. If the vote goes against the Government on such a resolution, it is considered a severe censure upon the Department meriting amendment of its conduct. It is not, however, the kind of vote which would cause any modern government to resign office.

The Labour Party, unexpectedly, challenged a vote on the motion. Very few of the supporters of the government were at hand. The Government was defeated on a chance vote. The Labour Party, which fights furiously—with its mouth and its feet—in Parliament, clamored hypocritically for the government to concede the matter which had been raised by the critics. The Labour Party did not wish an election. It was being a good parliamentary opposition and getting as much publicity out of its pyrrhic victory as it could. MacDonald knew how unreal a fight it was and wished to protest mildly against the Government's action in taking the same resolution over again next day. Henderson, who is an excellent political "boss"; wanted to humiliate the government by causing Parliament to lose a day. He stimulated a scene when Lansbury and the Clyde men spontaneously caused and in which I participated because we all of us wish to do, what MacDonald and Henderson certainly do not wish to do, make Parliament no longer a fetish of respectability.

We sat and shouted and sung the "Red Flag". In the end, the Speaker suspended the sitting for the day. It was all symptomatic of the indignation felt at the government's lack of sympathy for the masses. The Lloyd George Party, together with some of his Tory friends, like Lord Birkenhead, who thoroughly despise the government and would, also, like to be taken back into office in a new Coalition, availed themselves of the amusement and indignation felt at the government's foolishness in being defeated on the question of treatment of ex-soldiers, to attack the Ministry. This attack was not made in Parliament but in the underworld of political clubs and newspaper intrigue.

The whole business was a mere excuse to make a demonstration against the government, which was framing its Budget in such a way as to keep high the taxes on the available surplus of those heavily handicapped industrial and commercial concerns who support Lloyd George and the leaders of the late Coalition. The government reflects the interests of the banks and credit-houses to whom Lloyd George's friends must go for ready money. If taxes are so high as to drain off all the ready money they have in hand the industrialists and traders must pledge their assets to Mr. Baldwin's friends. That was the whole quarrel. It is probable in fact, that the result of it was a compromise, seen in the reduction of 6d in the income tax and 1s. on the corporation tax.

Furthermore, the "Die hard" elements in the Government were anxious to give more support to France in her policy in the Ruhr, and were pressing for a denunciation of the Trade Agreement with Russia and the expulsion of the Trade Delegation. Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Robert Horne and their friends, particularly Mr. Leslie Urquhart, are opposed to both these tendencies. They have been frightening the Government into a surrender to reason, of course, behind the scenes. They have, also, been leading a revolt against the Government's acquiescence in the American agreement with the Turks over petroleum concessions.

The under-world of big business and high finance is very disturbed. There are some very big catastrophes threatening in the industrial world—unless the victims mortgage themselves to the banks or unless the bankers' Mr. Baldwin reduces taxation. Some hope!

## From Frankfort to Hamburg

(International Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism.)

The 2nd and 2½ Internationals have convened their amalgamation conference for May 21st in Hamburg.

What does this amalgamation portend? Is it to lead, as is stated in the press of these Internationals, to a strengthening of acting capacity of the international labor movement? This question of strengthening, or rather creating, the *power to act* of the international labor movement, is without doubt at present the most portentous, the most vital question for the proletariat. But nothing is done towards its solution by a union of Noske and Fritz Adler in one international. The essential point regarding its solution is whether the leaders of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals, now, in the face of the grave dangers menacing the proletariat really mean to *fight*. Whether they are ready, as was proposed to them by the Frankfort Conference, to begin at once, in common with the Communist International and all the workers of the world, the struggle against the war danger, Fascism and the domination of capitalism generally.

The revolutionary workers of the world have, in this respect, every cause to be extremely mistrustful of the leaders of the London and Vienna Internationals and of their amalgamation. They are aware of the exploits of a Noske, of an Ebert, of the leaders of the German Social Democracy. They know that hitherto, in every critical situation, the leaders of the different parties of the 2nd International have hung on to the coat-tails of their national-bourgeoisie, instead of leading the international class struggle. Above all, now as in the world war, there is repeated the complete failure of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals on the occasion of the advance of French Imperialism into the Ruhr area. Despite repeated invitation, they were not present at Frankfort-on-Main when an international United Front capable of fighting was formed. Up to now they have sabotaged every attempt to render the proletariat capable of fighting by the formation of a United Front.

Notwithstanding, the Frankfort Conference resolved, once again, to urge the 2nd and 2½ Internationals through special delegations, to the formation of the United Front, to the struggle against the danger of war and Fascism. A delegation has already approached the Executive of the 2½ International. The course of the interview did not reveal any evidence of goodwill on the part of the leaders of the 2½ International. They refused to negotiate with the comrades by word of mouth, and

declared themselves willing to give a written answer. Up to the present time this answer has not been received. Its contents will show the workers of the world whether the leaders of the 2½ International want the United Front of the International Class Struggle, or are only uniting with the leaders of the 2nd in order to continue the struggle against the communist workers with increased severity.

The International Committee of Action will shortly send delegations to the Amsterdam Trade Union International and to the 2nd International. The leaders of these Internationals will then also have an opportunity of defining their attitude to the proletarian United Front.

All this is taking place because, at the Frankfort Conference, the representatives of the revolutionary workers of all parties, were conscious that the assembling of the masses on a broad fighting front is the most imperative need of the hour. But still more important than these delegations is the pressure of the workers of all parties upon the leaders. Without this pressure, the leaders of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals will, now as before, reject the formation of the United Front. Yes, the amalgamation of the two Internationals is taking place under the slogans of *No dealings with the Communists, fight against the Communist workers.*

There are great difficulties to be overcome before the proletariat in every country, as well as internationally, has gained the necessary fighting force for the overthrow of bourgeois domination. The masses cannot for ever be held back from the class struggle and split up by the sabotage of the reformist leaders. Unwearied and tenacious work must be carried on against this in the workshops and in the trade unions. If the leaders will not have it otherwise—and everything points to this—then the United Front of the militant proletariat must be formed over their heads.

## ECONOMICS

### France's Economic Situation

By A. Ker (Paris).

#### I. Petroleum and coal in France.

For France the petroleum question is and remains an industrial and political problem of great importance. In 1921 France consumed 778,000 tons of petroleum; of this 708,000 tons were imported, and only 70,000 were produced at home. This is a disagreeable position, and one that may become critical within a short time. How to satisfy such extensive requirements and to remove the almost complete dependence on foreign countries, is the economic task which may dominate the manoeuvres of the diplomatists in the near future, which may cement alliances and bring about international conflicts.

The Franco-Polish petroleum agreement, concluded after lengthy and difficult negotiations, signifies an important success for French capitalists, who have been long endeavoring to secure the maximum of independence and security for their sources of fuel supply. This agreement gives the French companies, which have received concessions from both governments, certain privileges for a period of 10 years, during which time they enjoy perfect liberty to supply themselves with the necessary material, to transport their products, to export them, and to develop industrially. At the same time they are favored by considerable taxation exemptions from export duties, capital levies, and compulsory loans. The "*Moniteur des Interets Materiels*", of March 26, expresses itself very clearly on the new situation created by the Franco-Polish agreement: "This treaty enables the French government to attain the three objects it was aiming at: to secure the future of the French companies, to obtain an important share of Polish petroleum, and to exercise control over the French company in Poland". Before the war three groups of French financiers were interested to the extent of a total of 154 million francs in the exploitation of Polish petroleum. After the war the French capitalists appropriated the German and Austrian concessions, so that by 1920 the amount of French capital invested in the Polish petroleum industry had already reached a sum of 500 millions. The total capital of the companies controlled by French share-holders amounts to 900 millions.

But French policy is not only interested in appropriating foreign petroleum wells, but also in utilizing the so-called national possibilities of fuel production. But the constant efforts made to generate carbon by the aid of alcohol cannot solve the problem of the liquid fuel supply. Experts are devoting increasing attention to the manufacture of liquid carburated hydrogen by means of suitable chemical treatment of coal, asphalt, and lignite. Experiments made by Metivier showed that the distilla-

tion of 20 million tons of coal would yield 85 tons of benzene, 230,000 tons of heavy oils, and 446,000 tons of pitch, paraffine, and tar. As France's yearly consumption of petroleum will soon reach 1 million tons, it would thus be first necessary to distill more than 20 million tons of coal, and in the second place, the metal industry would have to be developed so that the enormous quantities of coke produced in this process could be used up. But where is this immense quantity of coal to be obtained, a quantity representing more than two thirds of the total production of the French and Saar mines? The asphalt beds in France are but meagre; the production of asphalt does not amount to more than 120,000 tons annually; on the other hand, there is lignite almost everywhere, especially in mountainous districts. These undeniably rich stores have scarcely been exploited as yet, and could be made to yield large amounts of fuel, especially as the production of benzene and heavy oils by the distillation of lignite at low temperatures has made great advances of late. But despite this, the future lies neither in the generation of "national carbon" nor in the distillation of lignite, but in the utilization of a store of coal large enough to cover the shortage of petroleum.

It is still too early to estimate the result of the chemical process discovered by Metivier, Sabatier, Maille, Ipatief, and Bergius. In the opinion of Professor Connerad this process may solve the problem of liquid fuel for Europe. The coal beds of Central Europe would then to a great extent replace the oil-fields of America. Such a change as this would give France a leading position, with regard to coal and petroleum, equal to that which she will possess with regard to iron and steel should she succeed in keeping her hold on the collieries of the Saar and Ruhr.

The scientific solution of the petroleum problem will be one of the great events of our generation, and will cause a complete industrial and political revolution in the world. The dominance of the great petroleum trusts will cease to be, and the struggle for the possession of the coal-fields will become more acute. The victorious return of Coal, to replace Petroleum which had already dethroned it, will rob the great Anglo-Saxon empires, now lords of fuel and ocean traffic, of their predominance. France, on the other hand, will gain all the possibilities of industrial and commercial expansion implied by ascendancy in the fuel question. It is thus easily comprehensible that the Ruhr area has become an even more valuable spoil than the oil-fields of Mossul and Mexico, and is the stake for which hostile imperialisms are prepared to embroil nations in the most frightful butcheries.

#### II. The activity of the Bank of France in the year 1922.

Here we shall not go into the details of the report issued by the Bank of France on the year 1922; this extensive document was submitted to the general shareholders' meeting on January 23, and reports not alone on the business of the Bank itself, but deals at the same time in detail with the conditions of rates of exchange, the condition of state finances, the crops, mining activity, industry, and the progress made in the restoration of the devastated areas. Here we shall only draw attention to the most interesting points relating to the economic and financial position of the country, and to the situation of the Bank. The gold reserve of the Bank, one part of which has been placed on deposit in the Bank of England, amounted at the end of 1922 to 5,535 millions, the silver reserve to 289 millions. During the war the public paid in 2,404 millions; but at the same time the Bank expended considerable amounts of gold in the form of gold sales to the Bank of England, and by remittance of gold as deposit to the Bank of England and to the English government, as security for the credits granted the French state. On Dec. 31 the "gold abroad" belonging to the Bank of France amounted to 1,864 millions, the actual gold reserve thus being reduced to 3,671 millions. According to the treaties still valid the Bank of France continues to be formally the owner of this gold deposit, which is to be restored to it in proportion to the payment of French debts by the French government. The total bills discounted by the Bank in the year 1922 covered an amount of 33,900 millions as compared with 14,581 millions in 1910. This comparison shows that discounting has not kept pace with the increased prices, for discounting has only increased by 2½ times, while prices have risen by 3½ times during the same period. In spite of this, the Bank refuses to admit the justice of the reproach that it is declining to grant trade and industry the credits they require. The largest quantity of paper money which the Bank is permitted to issue was fixed at 41 milliards of francs by law of 28. September 1920. Before the war 9 to 10 milliards of paper money were in circulation; by 23. December 1922 it had risen to 35,953 millions. These figures show the extent of the present inflation. In the course of the years 1919 and 1920 the inflation increased steadily, and the paper money in circu-

lation, amounting to 30 milliards on 31. December 1918, reached its highest point of 37½ milliards on 31. December 1920. This monetary inflation is a result of the credit inflation, that is, of the loan granted to the state by the Bank. Apart from the permanent loan to the state, bearing no interest, and not due till the expiration of the note privilege of the Bank, the Bank has granted the state "new" loans since the war, — amounting to 27 milliards at the end of 1920. The agreements concluded on the 14. April and 29. December 1920 provide for the payment of this debt to the Bank in yearly instalments of 2 milliards. But the state was unable to continue this policy and demanded a reduction of the 1923 instalment to 1 milliard. One section of the Finance Commission of the Chamber even wanted this payment to be postponed. The inability of the state to fulfil its obligations to the Bank caused a great stir, and doubtless contributed to the fall of the franc, for it plainly showed the difficulties in the way of placing French finance on a sound basis. On the whole, the report on the business activity of the Bank of France shows the financial situation of the state to throw a dark shadow on the whole economic position of the country, a position comparatively favorable before the Ruhr occupation.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### International Miners' Movement

(R.I.L.U.) At the congress held by the Belgian miners' union on March 17., shortly after the settlement of the movement in the Borinage basin, the reformist leaders finally balanced accounts with the "stalwarts", who had committed the crime of spurring on the starving masses to attempt to improve their position. The branch union of Charleroi expelled 23 such "criminals". These appealed to the congress of the union. But it was hopeless for a plain pitman from the mine to try, in his simple language, to justify the attitude adopted by the communists. He was confronted by a whole pack—not less than 20!—of thorough-bred reformist trade union functionaries, and the congress straight a way confirmed the expulsion. In doing this the congress acceded to the demands of the social democratic "Peuple" and the capitalist "Independence Belge". For after the "Peuple" had expressed the opinion that it was time to finish with the communists once for all, the "Independence" endorsed this most cordially and declared: "The socialists are anxious to rid their party of this mischievous brood—and for this all credit is due to them. But we must endeavor at the same blow to rid the working class of the communists who confuse and deceive them, and free the country from an influence which keeps it in unrest."

The social democrats thus seek to render the communists "harmless" by excluding them from the unions, while the bourgeoisie is anxious to imprison them!

This cannot be a matter of indifference to the revolutionary miners. Especially in view of the fact that the French bourgeoisie is also attempting to weaken the courage of "its" striking mining slaves of Lorraine by a system of unheard of Terror. The international miners must be aroused by means of mass protest demonstrations, and must be stirred to action against the ever-growing aggressiveness of the international bourgeoisie. The International Propaganda Committee of the revolutionary miners has not only issued an appeal to the Belgian miners, summoning them to protest against the expulsion of their 23 colleagues, and to take action for their re-admittance into the union, but it has also addressed a communication to the Amsterdam Miners' International, proposing that a protest campaign be taken up against this fresh attack on the part of the bourgeoisie against the miners.

We are under no delusions as to the reply which Mr. Frank Hodges will accord to this proposal—if he indeed condescends to reply at all! This miners' "leader" has already declared once that he takes no instructions from Moscow. He wrote to the Frankfurt conference that his federation was unable to take part in this convention because it was not organized by the Amsterdam International. Will he now reply that the Miners' International will make no protest against the arrests made in Belgium and Lorraine, as those arrested have been communists expelled from the Amsterdam Federation? Ought the Miners' International not even to protest against the Essen murders—although those murdered were members of the Amsterdam Federations?

Frank Hodges and other Amsterdam miners' leaders must now reply clearly and unequivocally to these questions. The revolutionary miners place these questions before the working masses. May the working masses also hear the reply of their "leaders".

## Labor Movement in Mexico

By A. N.

In Mexico heavy industry is but little developed. The greatest percentage of workers are occupied in the naphtha industry, the remainder on the large landed estates.

The characteristic features of the labor movement in Latin America are: an exceedingly confused ideology; ill-considered and rapid action; and complete inconstancy of organization. In Mexico these negative aspects of the labor movement are further greatly influenced by the unceasing civil wars and uprisings, which effect a large section of the population.

For some years the reformist labor federation was the sole trade union centre. This organization maintains the most amicable relations with the government, and with Gompers' American Federation of Labor. The leaders of the Federation of Labor founded a special "Labor Party" for their personal aims, but this does not prevent them from talking of their neutrality in political questions, or from preaching independence and autonomy in the trade unions . . .

The workers, disappointed at the opportunist policy of their leaders leave the trade unions in masses, so that the membership of the federation dropped from 200,000 to 80,000 within two years.

The federation belongs to no international. It informed the executive bureau of the R.I.L.U. of its intention to send a delegation to the 2. world congress of the R.I.L.U. Put on the other hand, Morcheo, the leading Mexican reformist leader, took part in the conference at The Hague, and Oudegeest reported almost simultaneously on the impending affiliation of this organization to the Amsterdam International.

The reformist policy pursued by the federation leaders was inevitably bound to lead to a schism. In 1919 a revolutionary organization was formed, but the collapse of the general strike put an end to its existence. In 1920 a communist Federation was founded on the initiative of the young Communist Party, and 35,000 to 40,000 workers have joined it. In February 1921 this organization convened a congress, and invited the representatives of all the trade unions in the country to take part, for the purpose of creating a united centre for the labor movement. Sabotage on the part of the reformists prevented the realization of this plan. But some independent trade unions joined the Communist Federation; it comprised 50,000 to 56,000 members, and belonged to the R.I.L.U.

Unfortunately this organization was strongly influenced by the anarchists from the time of its founding. These soon opened up a desperate campaign against the Russian revolution and against the R.I.L.U. In consequence of this agitation our best comrades are sitting behind prison bars, or have been forced to flee, and the executive committee came into the hands of the anarchists. By a series of machinations they succeeded in bringing about a rupture between the General Federation of Labor and the R.I.L.U. At the same time their methods plunged the workers into a number of ill-considered and unprepared strikes, which ended in complete failure.

All this led to a severe crisis within the General Federation of Labor, threatening its existence. The most important trade unions have left it, its membership has dropped to 30,000, and continues to sink.

Beside these two central organizations, there are a number of Independent Trade Unions in Mexico (railwaymen, textile workers, transport workers, etc.) counting about 200,000 members in all.

If it were possible to unite these independent trade unions, the Mexican labor movement might be saved by one central body, consisting of the united independent trade unions, the General Federation of Labor, and the National Labor Federation.

## Mass Murder of striking Chinese Railwaymen

By H. M. (Shanghai).

About 18 months ago a small group of red students from the Peking university began the work of organization in various centres of industry and traffic. For this purpose they founded a labor secretariat, published weekly newspapers in Peking and Shanghai, and arranged schools for workers, in order to train a small group of propagandist workers. They were especially active among the workers on various railways, and in the two central provinces of Hunan and Hupeh.

About a year ago, two of these pioneers had to pay the penalty for this work with their lives in Tchangsa Hunan. During a textile workers' strike they arrested and cruelly mur-

dered on the command of the provincial governor, who at the same time proceeded to bless the people with a constitution and imported "democracy" into the province. One month later the great strike of the Hong-Kong seamen broke out in the south; this was supported by the nationalist Kuo-Min-Tang party (Sun-Yat-Sen party), and ended in a great victory for the workers, despite the reactionary measures taken by the English government of Hong-Kong, in the south the workers' organization was much better developed than in the north, for the south was the heart of the nationalist movement, and the Sun-Yat-Sen party furthered the trade union organization of the workers. The victory of the seamen had its influence over the whole country, and in 1922, working class conflicts were so numerous in China, that we may rightly speak of a general awakening of the Chinese workers.

The Communist Party, though still very weak, exerted every endeavor to support the working class in its struggle. Many successful strikes were carried out, among the Shanghai textile and tobacco workers, among the railway workers on various lines, the metal workers, miners, oil-workers, and coolies, in Hankau (the industrial cities of Jangtse Kiangs). Better wages were attained, and trade union organization permitted. At the end of last year there was a great strike among the 30,000 miners of the Kailan mines. In this strike the conflict was very severe, and the English authorities in Tientsin were on the point of sending British troops to protect the mines. This induced the students of the engineering college at Tongshan to enter upon a strike for a general movement in support of the workers. They endeavored to collect money all over the country in aid of the workers. The badly paid organized railwaymen alone gave 3,000 dollars for the strikers. The solidarity shown extended far beyond the frontiers of the province—which signifies much in China—and beyond the limits of the one trade.

The English mining company would not hear of yielding; the Chinese authorities were induced to send troops against the workers. Finally a 10% rise in wages was agreed to, and in this way the strike was brought to an end. Good organization results were also obtained in other industries. A strike broke out on the Hankau-Tshangsa railway; here the strikers laid themselves across the track to prevent the trains still being run from starting. The workers were then fired upon, four of them losing their lives. The improvement in wages was however attained. In February, another strike broke out on the Peking-Hankau line, which soon spread along the whole line and paralyzed the traffic. The Peking government, fearing that the movement might spread to the whole of the railways, sent intermediaries to settle the matter, but it was plain that the "democrat" Wu-Pei-Fu, the governor, and the marshall Trau-Kun, were of a different opinion.

In Hankau the foreign capitalists maintain excellent relations with the governor of the province. It was they who drove him to take violent measures against the strikers. Eleven leaders were arrested. The strikers attempted to release them; they were then fired upon with the result that five workers were killed, fifteen severely wounded and thirty slightly wounded.

Two days later it became known in Peking that in Hankau thirty workers had been killed, the chairman of the local group beheaded, and the workers forced to resume work. The headquarters of the Railwaymen's Union was surrounded on all sides by soldiery, and the numerous workers present in the building were locked in. Twenty railwaymen, and about thirty textile and tobacco workers, were arrested in the House of the Federation. When the unarmed workers protested against this, the command was given and a volley was fired into the masses. 27 workers were killed and many wounded. After this 50 railwaymen were arrested and conducted to the station. Here they were ordered to resume work. The chairman of the Hankau group replied that he would only work on the orders of the Railwaymen's Union. Three times he was ordered, and three times he refused. Before the eyes of his 50 fellow fighters he was then bound, beheaded, and his head stuck upon a bamboo stake. His younger brother, also a striking mechanic, was fetched out of his house and shot. The arrested workers were then again asked if they would not resume work, and were threatened with being shot should they refuse. They had no choice; they declared themselves ready to take up work again. A vain search was made for the strike committee in the railwaymen's dwellings, and during the search many houses were plundered and more workers killed. The bloodhound who organized these atrocities on the instructions of Wu-Pei-Fu, succeeded later on in arresting our comrade Sze-Yang. This comrade, at one time an anarchist, and for some months a member of our party, was shot on Wu-Pei-Fu's orders. Further protest strikes broke out later in Hankau and on the line to Canton, but they soon broke down under the bloody repressions. After this the Railwaymen's Union

issued a proclamation declaring the strike at an end, but containing the assurance that the work of organization would be continued, and that the day would come when the murderers would be called to account.

The majority of the unions in Hankau are still closed, and delegates from Hupeh have left for other centres for the purpose of collecting aid for the families of the murdered victims. The European press, which is invariably so indignant when a missionary is carried off by robbers for the purpose of obtaining a ransom, has not a word of protest against these abominable murders. On the contrary, it agitates against the communists, and spreads stories about a general strike in order to stimulate the police into activity. In Peking, a warrant of arrest has been issued against 11 comrades, editors and contributors to the weekly periodical of the Party. The prime minister declares that professors Li and Tchen—both of whom hold communist views—are responsible for the unrest among the workers, and should be arrested and put to death. In Peking, the red newspapers are prohibited, and martial law has been proclaimed in the Chinese quarter of Shanghai. Despite all this, our small group of comrades is carrying on the work bravely. The newspaper suppressed in Shanghai will appear again, and work is being commenced in Hupeh, and on the railways, towards gathering together the best elements in small illegal groups, and towards carrying on counter-propaganda, by means of manifestos, against the agitative campaign of the authorities.

On February 7, the Chinese labor movement underwent its baptism of blood. But the idea of organization cannot be killed. February 7 will remain a day of protest movements, and the memory of the murdered comrades, of Ling Tchen, Sze-Yang, and many others, will spur on the Chinese workers to the revolutionary struggle.

## Turning Point in Spanish Labor Movement.

By *Andrés Nin*.

The brutal oppression under which the Spanish proletariat suffered for three years had the effect of almost completely destroying the trade union organizations affiliated to the "National Labor Confederation". (C.N.T.) At the moment of the restoration of constitutional rights, the revolutionary trade unions had practically ceased to exist in Catalonia, the region in which the C.N.T. was formerly most strongly represented. Their organization was much shaken in other parts of Spain as well. After the constitutional system had been restored for about two months, the revolutionary unions began slowly to recover. The workers are emancipating themselves gradually from the moral depression, and are joining their old fighting organizations again. The acute economic crisis gives reasons for anticipating that the National Labor Federation will be restored within a short time. A recent strike of the workers on the underground railway in Barcelona ended successfully, and greatly contributed to impart courage to the working masses there, who for more than two years, had attempted no economic struggle at all. But will the Spanish working class be in a position to peacefully re-organize its trade union forces? It is not very probable. For the bourgeoisie is not in the least inclined to look on calmly while a powerful labor organization is being formed.

The economic capitalist offensive has been most clearly shown in the action taken against the miners in Asturia, and against the miners and metal workers in Biscaya. The workers of these two provinces have fought heroically to improve their position. This position is desperate. The cost of living has risen by 130% since 1914, while the wages have risen by scarcely 50%. Even in districts where the wages have not been reduced, they are still at most 100% higher than in 1914. Up to now, the industrial area of East Catalonia has experienced no economic capitalist offensive. Industriel undertakings were given a certain support by the increased customs duties imposed at the beginning of 1922. But even here indications are to be felt of a general capitalist offensive against wages, and against the eight hour day.

But as already stated, the Spanish proletariat is faced with another threat. It is to be feared that the White Terror will re-appear on the scene, this time in the form of Fascism. On the 18th December of last year the former chairman of the employers' federation of Barcelona, Graupero, made a speech at a meeting of industrial magnates of the timber trade, in which he called upon the employers to follow the example of Italy. "If we tread this path" he declared, "then we shall have no lack of leaders". At the same time the Italian Fascist General Novalli appeared in Barcelona, and the praises of the Fascisti



were chanted everywhere. On the other hand the military committees (Juntas) still continue to exist, although dissolved by law. These committees are dissatisfied with the policy pursued by the government, and openly express the opinion that the example of the Italian Fascist should be followed: "Fascism, reaction, dictatorship, revolution—we attach no importance to the designation, so long as the movement corresponds to the aim!" Thus the utterance of the Spanish military. And the article goes on to ask: "Will our venging hand reach into the uttermost corners of the country, and punish the cowards and traitors?"

We do not believe that it is possible for a Fascist movement to become so strong in Spain as in Italy. But a fresh period of Terror, whether of long or short duration, is quite possible. It must not be forgotten that a White Guard already exists in Spain, the organization of the Somatenes, composed of over 12,000 armed citizens; and the employers maintain bands already well practised in murdering workers.

What is the attitude taken by the Spanish trade unions in the face of this danger? The General Labor Union, a reformist central affiliated to Amsterdam, finds nothing better to do at present than to undertake mass expulsions of revolutionists from its unions. Thus, the metal workers and miners of Asturia and Biscaya have been expelled, just at the moment when they were fighting against the employers. The reformist trade union federation recently expelled the following local groups: Bilbao: navvies, book printers, masons, miners, hairdressers, coopers, building workers, marble workers; Oviedo: transport workers, dock workers, commercial employees; Madrid: free professions, provision trade, commercial employees; Pontevedra: commercial employees, dock workers, cabinet makers, fishers, masons, painters; Nevelda: "Unions of various trades"; Grevillente: shoemakers; Vicalvaro: navvies and masons. All these expulsions were based on the circumstance that these groups had not disapproved of the attitude taken by their delegates at the eventful Madrid congress!

Thus the reformists weaken the labor organizations at the moment when the proletariat is threatened with the greatest danger! They perform their duty as servants of the bourgeoisie. But the leaders of the National Labor Union whose duty it was to prepare for this danger have laid down no lines of action for the working-class. Concrete slogans are required. The utmost exertion should be made to set the labor movement going again. But the anarchist trade union leaders content themselves with drawing up general formulas which tell the proletariat nothing. When wages are threatened, when the eight hour day is in danger, when an armed attack on the part of the bourgeoisie is impending, then they recommend furtherance of education as the sole remedy, and consider increased hygiene in dwelling houses to be the most burning question of the day.

In Spain as everywhere else the followers of the Red International of Labor Unions are the sole elements clearly comprehending the situation. Thus *La Batalha*, the organ of the revolutionary trade union committee, writes: "The present moment is an extremely serious one. The industrial bourgeoisie is preparing for a dictatorship of the unchained forces of reaction, such as we have seen in Italy. In this case it will find it easy to reduce wages and lengthen working hours. The sword of Damocles hangs over the heads of the working class. Are we today to be as lacking in insight as to causes and effects as we were yesterday?" The Spanish members of the R.I.L.U. are devoting their main activity to the formation of the united front. They recommend the amalgamation of the General Labor Union, the National Labor Union, and of the autonomous unions, in one single central organization, comprising the whole organized proletariat of our country. The Spanish proletariat is not lacking in courage and fighting spirit. But lack of organization and lack of proper methods prevent the full utilization of these qualities. The formation of a firm organization, and the pursuance of concrete aims, these are the objects being energetically striven for by the Spanish followers of the Red International of Labor Unions.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE

### Communism on Trial in the USA.

By I. Amter.

Communism has been pronounced no crime in the State of Michigan, U.S.A.

"Criminal Syndicalism is a doctrine advocating crime, sabotage, violence, terror and all other abnormal methods of action for the accomplishment of changes of an economic or political nature. The fact that the changes that the Communists

desire, cannot be achieved without violence cannot serve a necessary manifestation of criminal syndicalism.

"According to the laws of Michigan, advocacy and propaganda of theories and doctrines of class struggle, mass act soviet system, trade unionism, internationalism, the affiliation American trade unions to the Red Labor International, support the Russian Soviet Government, independence of the working class movement, Communist activity, social revolution and other changes of an economic, political and trade union character, which are contained in the documents of the Communist Party or evidence given at this trial, do not constitute in themselves crimes."

"The only charge against this man (Foster) is that voluntarily and jointly with the Communist Party, he formed an organization for the propaganda and advocacy of doctrines of criminal syndicalism. But this alone would not constitute a crime if it should be proven that Foster and the Communist Party did advocate violence as a method of carrying out the desired changes."

These words in the instruction of Judge Chas. E. Whitely to the jury trying William Z. Foster, American labor leader, was an eminently fair interpretation of the criminal syndicalism of Michigan. After thirteen hours of deliberation, the jury returned to the court room to announce that they could not agree on a verdict. The jury was discharged and Foster was released. Whether he will be retried depends on the result of the trial Charles E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of the Workers Party, who was charged with the same offence. As Ruthenberg was the chief witness for the defense and gave a clear presentation of the Communist point of view, it is most improbable that his testimony will result in any other decision, that is provided there is no prearrangement of politics and the same judge is allowed to preside.

Foster's trial was of the greatest significance to the Communist movement of the United States. The Communist Party was organized in September, 1919. On November 1919 the Party planned to celebrate the Russian Revolution by a public demonstration. But it was called off, owing to information reaching the Party that the Government intended to make a *blatant* of it. This indicated clearly the attitude of the authorities to the propaganda that was being carried on with great enthusiasm by the Communists.

On January 1 and 2, 1920, the Federal Government carried out wholesale raids on the Communist Party branches, arresting some 5,000 members. Many of the arrested comrades were alienists who were immediately held for deportation. Although the whole procedure was illegal—a recent investigation by a Senate Committee pronounced it an outrage—, Attorney General Palmer continued with his work of terrorization, so that the Communists were forced underground.

They continued to work as an underground organization but in December, 1921, upon the formation of the Workers Party, they found a means of public expression. They soon discovered that they could conduct a large part of their work through the Workers' Party, owing to its openness and legal status.

The second convention of the Workers' Party in December, 1922, demonstrated that the major part of Communist activity in the United States at the present time can be carried on openly and aboveboard, so that the idea has arisen of the Communists utilizing *only* the Workers Party as their means of reaching the masses and organizing them for revolutionary work.

Being an illegal party, the Communist Party had to hold all its meetings, conventions etc. secretly,—not because of the nature of the deliberations, but merely because membership in the Party has constituted a crime in most States of the Union. A convention of the Party took place at Bridgman, Michigan in August of last year. The Government had a spy there in the person of a delegate from one of the eastern districts of the Party. A raid was made on the convention, but by the time that the Department of Justice agents and the sheriff of the County arrived, the majority of the delegates had disappeared.

The arrest, however, of more than 20 active Communists has raised the issue of Communism in the United States: is it a crime to be a Communist in America and belong to an organization carrying on propaganda whose immediate goal is the establishment of a Workers' Republic, as opposed to bourgeois democracy?

A short time after the convention, Foster was arrested at the office of the Trade Union Educational League, charged with having participated in the Party convention. The convention of the Trade Union Educational League occurred about two weeks later. A raid was made on it and two more comrades arrested. The convention thereupon proceeded with its work, which was highly successful. The very success of the TUEL convention was one of the main reasons for the organized attacks on Foster and the organization of which he is the head.

The cold-blooded attacks on the Party convention and TUEL, immediately aroused the anger of the militant and pro-

gressive workers in all parts of the country. Most of the comrades arrested are *active trade unionists*. Many large labor organizations protested against the high-handed raids of the Government. The Labor Defense Council was formed and received the support of several State Federations of Labor and city central bodies.

Although a most serious matter, these raids served to put the Communists before the working class of America in the proper light and to make the workers understand that the Communists were not some wild foreign animals, but militant workers with a definite revolutionary program.

The economic and internal political situation of the country served to procure for the Communists the support of large sections of the working class. The strike of the shopmen, miners and textile workers was in progress at the time of the Party convention. Attempts were made to terrorize the strikers and their families. The Government of the United States outdid itself in the utilization of force. Spies, provocateurs, Government agents, private guards, the press, the church, militia, constabulary and federal troops were prepared and used against the workers by the capitalists. The latter had launched a campaign to destroy the labor organizations employing the euphonious slogan of "open shop", which in reality aimed at putting an end to unionism in the United States.

On September 1, Attorney General Daugherty issued his infamous injunction, which prohibited all strike activities, sympathy with the strikers and any manifestation of support of the strike by anybody and everybody. This was a most sweeping injunction, such as the working class of America had never experienced in the many years of governmental terrorization. Daugherty blandly stated that he would use the "whole power of the Government in defence of the open shop".

The effect of the injunction on the working class, however, was electric. Protest after protest was made by labor organizations. Even Gompers was compelled officially to demand the impeachment of Attorney General Daugherty. It looked as if the workers of America at last were being aroused to militancy against the capitalist class and to an understanding of the role of the State in capitalist society.

The trial of the Communists thus became an affair of the *whole working class*.

In December, 1922, the Conference for amalgamating the 19 existent craft unions of the railway industry took place in Chicago. This conference was a tremendous success. Before and since that time, the Trade Union Educational League has succeeded in launching broad amalgamation campaigns in the mining, needle, printing, textile and other industries—campaigns that promise to revolutionize the trade union movement of the United States.

As a consequence, no man is more hated and feared by the capitalists and the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor, than William Z. Foster. And no man in the American labor movement enjoys a higher reputation for skill, militancy and honesty than Foster.

Gompers has gone up and down the country denouncing Foster. The capitalists have endeavored to arouse sentiment against him by charging him with being an "agent of Moscow".

The *Labor Defense Council*, perceiving that the trial of Foster and the twenty-one other comrades would be of great bearing on the future of the American labor movement, decided to spare no expense in the defense of the men.

In taking preliminary testimony, the lawyer for the defense discovered that the Government had a spy at the Convention—a man who had been in the employ of the Government for five years. He also discovered another spy whose testimony had a most specific effect on the case and exposed the methods employed by the Government and its agents in the persecution of militant workers.

There does not exist in America a Federal "criminal syndicalism" or "criminal anarchy" law. In other words, the Government of the United States cannot prosecute workers on any such trumped up charges. There is a law of that nature, however, in at least 35 States. The Government of the United States, therefore, "innocently" instructs the States to carry out the man-hunts on the militant workers—while it acts as the secret cooperator. There has not been a single raid on the radicals and revolutionists without the Department of Justice having been either the instigator of it or having participated in it.

The raid at Bridgeman was engineered by William J. Burns, chief of the Department of Investigation of the Federal Department of Justice. Burns is the head of a notorious detective and strike-breaking agency. There is another agency—the Thiel Detective Agency, which does similar vicious work. In the employ of both firms was a notorious spy, by the name of Bailin. This man was instructed to join all militant organizations, including the Communist Party, the I.W.W., etc. He used to steal reports

that he made to one firm for the other. It is the method of the detective agencies to keep alive scares of murder plots and conspiracies supposedly fomented by radicals.

The campaign against the accused comrades took on tremendous force. It was known that the steel interests of the country would furnish any amount of money to put Foster behind bars. Despite the fact that the governor of Illinois had pardoned 16 comrades convicted of belonging to the Communist party, despite the fact that the governor of New York had pardoned five comrades convicted of "criminal anarchy", despite a general wave of liberalism that seemed to be crossing the country, Wall Street was pressing the charge and launched a far-reaching campaign to crush the rising Communist movement.

But all to no avail. The clear exposition of Ruthenberg as to the purposes and aims of the Communists, the straightforward statements of Foster, the open, frank stand taken by the defense—this is the Communist movement, this is what it stands for—what are you going to do about it?—built up a strong wall. The prosecuting attorney ran the whole gamut of juristic chicanery. He accused the Communists of conspiring to overthrow the government, destroy religion and wipe out the home.

Although these appeals generally have met with a response from American juries, this jury refused to be befuddled. The issue was quite clear and all attempts to cloud it would merely react against the confusers. The jury composed of nine farmers, a woman, a grocer, and a non-union railroad man, after 13 hours deliberation, refused to convict.

The significance of a Communist movement in the United States cannot be over-emphasized. The importance of this verdict to the movement likewise cannot be overestimated. Although this is the first test that has been made of the Michigan Law, it is similar to the laws in 34 other States, in which generally convictions have been had. It means the beginning of a general movement for the repeal of all such dastardly attempts to suppress the working class movement.

The greatest feature of the disagreement of the jury and the subsequent freeing of Foster is, that the Communists can once more carry on their work in the open in the United States. Not that they have any illusions as to the tolerance with which they will be greeted by the capitalist class. They know very well that as soon as the movement takes on speed and momentum, the capitalists will find a pretext to attack it. In the meantime, however, the Communists will make use of every channel for open work—doing so with the determination that, next time, they will not so easily be driven underground.

The release of Foster demonstrates that it is no crime to be a Communist in the State of Michigan. The Communists of America must start a nation-wide campaign together with all organized labor to wipe all "criminal syndicalism" and "criminal anarchy", laws from the statute books of the 35 States in which they exist. They must also start a campaign for the release of the class war prisoners who fill the American prisons as a result of prosecution under these and other war time and ante-war time legislation. Mooney, Billings, Chaplin, Sacco, Vanzetti, Blankenstein, Dolla, Ford, Suhr, Bental and the many members of the I.W.W. and other comrades in prison must come out.

## A Monster Communist Trial in Horthy Hungary

By E. L.

On April 12, the monster trial of our brave Hungarian comrades begins. The main accusations are against Ernst Singer, Josef and Franz Greiner, Emerich Katzburg, Geza Revész, and Cornel Szabo. Horthy's executioners will sentence more than 69 comrades. The chief accused are emigrants, the others are Hungarian workers of all categories, partly from Budapest, partly from the provinces, for the most part functionaries of their trade unions. The indictment charges them with the crime of having made preparations for overthrowing the state by force. The indictment literally states that they have committed this crime by co-operating with the III International in organizing an under-ground Communist Party in Hungary, and in organizing a widely ramified nucleus system in the social democratic trade unions, and in the separate factories and workshops, not only in Budapest, but in many parts of the provinces. They are accused of the following method among others: they have penetrated into the trade unions, factories, and workshops, and have traced out those individuals who are inclined to extremes. In these individuals they have awakened and maintained discontent and bitterness by means of oral propaganda, and by newspapers and pamphlets proclaiming the teachings of communism—mainly the periodicals edited by Ernst

Singer, Josef and Franz Greiner: *Kommün and Ifju Proletär* (The young proletarian) (the "Kommün" was brought out in Budapest, and appeared regularly for 29 weeks, several hundreds of copies being distributed)—for the purpose of winning and educating these individuals for communist preparatory work. Persons thus won over and trained were then instructed to have themselves elected as confidence men and functionaries, and to then influence and train wider circles for the same purposes in the same manner. In a word, these persons were to be won over to acting in the capacity of cell organizers and cell members.

The main trial will be held in the great hall of the Budapest court of justice. But this hall must undergo alteration, for a trial like this, with 69 accused, has never yet been held in Budapest. At the present time 40 of the accused are still in prison, 29 have been released by the authorities, but the charges against them have not been withdrawn. These are accused of having read the *Commün* regularly, and of being informed on the communist movement. It is characteristic of the indictment that it designates the struggle carried on by our comrades against the social democratic party and against trade union bureaucracy, as a breach of the law. It is also characteristic for Horthy Hungary that though the preliminary proceedings of the indicting senate were held in camera, representatives of "awakening Hungary" and police spies were present. We hear that for the main trial on April 12, an audience of adults has been arranged so that the trial may be carried on in an atmosphere hostile to the dangerous communists.

The slanderous press of "awakening Hungary" is already shrieking and demanding that our comrades be condemned to death. It writes that the accused are guilty of treason to their native country and that if mild sentences are passed we must be prepared to hear the "International" every day in the streets of Horthy Hungary, as was the case during the last demonstrations of the metal workers.

In November of last year, the attempt was made to have the accused brought before the state court of justice, and to have them sentenced to death in expiation for the crime of wanting to form a Communist Party of the revolutionary workers of Hungary. At that time they were saved by Soviet Russia. It is the sacred duty of all the workers of Europe to follow this trial with the closest attention, and to do their utmost to save these brave comrades from the clutches of their executioners.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### Structure of Russian Trade Unions

By B. M. (Moscow).

All kinds of legends are related with regard to the Russian trade unions by the Russian and West European Mensheviks. These trade unions are alleged to be nothing else than "organs of the Soviet idea", a mere instrument in the hands of the Soviet "dictators" for dominating the working class. It is our desire to confront these legends and slanders with facts, and we shall take the Metal Workers' Union as an example for showing the structure of the Russian trade unions.

In Russia the Metal Workers' Union unites all workers engaged in the metallurgic and metal working industry in Soviet Russia. Any wage worker employed in a metal undertaking can be a member of the union, with the exception of the administrative and technical personnel which itself decides on the engagement, discharge, and amount of wages of the workers. Members can be admitted to the union on the decision of the general shop meetings. The fundamental cell of the union is formed by the general meeting of the workers; the leadership of the union is in the hands of the shop stewards of the particular undertaking. Only members of the union are eligible for election as shop stewards. Representatives are appointed from among the members for carrying out the current work in the factory or workshop, and, where the undertaking employs more than 500 workers, these representatives are generally exempt from all other union work.

If there are several undertakings in one industrial district, all the representatives join to form a larger union cell, that is, a district group. At the present time there exist 77 such groups of the Metal Workers' Union, and about 1000 Shop Steward Councils. There are in all 700 "responsible co-operators" (a kind of confidence men) in the district committees, an average proportion of 1.8 "responsible co-operators" to every 1000 union members; of these 57.9% are communists, 0.5% belong to other parties, 41.6% are non-partisan. The largest per-

centage falls to the working class 81%, while the intellectuals only participate to the extent of 19%. The district groups of the union elect a central committee, which is subordinate to the supreme organ of the union—the Metal Workers' Congress.

The Russian Metal Workers' Union, like all Russian unions, is organized on the *one industry—one union* principle. Their functions invariably bear a strictly centralized character, that is, the groups are subordinate to the leadership of the centre.

**Membership.** Before the war the number of workers employed in the metal industry was about 1 million; at the beginning of 1921 their number was 600,000, and on the 1st of November—only 425,000. Of these about 406,000 were organized, that is, 95% of all metal workers. As compared with this, the percentage of organized metal workers in Sweden is 62%, in Germany 62%, and in other countries still less.

At the present time the metal workers' union counts about 17% of women and 6% of youthful workers among its members. Before the war the percentage of women employed in the metal industry was only 2.8%. This percentage rose between 1915 and 1917 (1915: 13.54%, 1917: 20.82%); in 1922 the percentage again fell to 17.5%. In the year 1922 the number of youthful workers was 6%, while in 1913=9.6%. In Germany 8.7% youthful workers were employed in the Metal Industry in 1912. The number of female youthful workers in the heavy industrial districts, amounts to less than 0.5%, in light industry to 1%. As a rule, the percentage of youthful workers has stabilized itself, and varied in the different factories and workshops, in July 1922, between 5.1 and 7.4%.

The number of clerks belonging to the union amounts on an average to 20% of the total membership. The main body of the members of the Metal Workers' Union is employed in state undertakings,—97.4%; a further 1.1% in the leased undertakings, and 1.5% in private enterprises. 66.2% of all the enterprises belong to the state, 10.6 are leased, and 23.2% are private. The average number of workers employed in the separate state undertakings is 421, in those leased 30.5, and in the private undertakings 18.9.

**The union funds.** All members are obliged to pay up 2% of their earnings to the union funds. The shops pay in their subscriptions to the shop stewards' treasury, which passes on the monies to the local group. This group then provides all the union cells with the financial support provided for by the budget. From the remaining sum 50% goes to the district group, and the remaining 50% is divided between the central committee of the union (40%), and the provincial trade union council (10%). During recent years members' subscriptions have flowed but poorly into the union treasuries. But in 1922 conditions improved, and dues were paid regularly. Between March and August, 32% of the estimated sums were received. Besides the members' dues, the undertakings also contribute to the relief, insurance, unemployed, and strike funds. These funds were established at the beginning of 1922, that is, since the introduction of the new economic policy. The union funds are expended as follows: for educational purposes 10%, for the strike and famine funds 10%, relief funds 3%, and from 1. November onwards 5% for the formation of a reserve fund. The shops pay a lump sum of 50 to 100 roubles to the relief fund. Membership to the relief fund is voluntary. In the Kolomna metal works 3767 of the 10,000 union members have joined the relief fund. The workers in the metal factories of Ishevsk joined the relief fund in a body. Its total membership is 10,219 workers and 1527 clerks.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### World Conference for Economic Reconstruction of Russia

The whole civilized world has interests at stake in the economic reconstitution of Russia. More and more voices are to be heard from every part of the world, advocating the inclusion of Russia in all economic and cultural spheres of interest. Great and powerful industrial groups are already actively aiding the economic restoration of Russia. Frithyof Nansen, the devoted organizer of bourgeois relief work in Russia, is utilizing the international press for propagating the idea of comprehensive aid in Russian reconstruction. Many committees of bourgeois philanthropists, bankers, children's aid societies, various Red Cross leagues, etc. have followed the example of the Nansen committee, in transforming their famine relief works of the past years of need, into help in the new problems of economics. The International Trade Union Federation has sent large quantities of clothes and shoes to Russia. The International Workers'

Relief has, for years, been actively supporting restoration work in Russia by means of tractors, machines, agricultural implements, and above all by taking over agricultural undertakings entirely. It is to the interest of all peoples that the work of reconstitution thus being carried on by various organizations should be further increased. The International Workers Relief, on whose initiative joint conferences of all groups working for the famine relief were held during the famine years, has again communicated with various international groups on the matter, and is now convening

*a world conference for economic relief and reconstruction of Russia, to be held in Berlin on Sunday, June 17th, 1923*

Invitations to this conference are being sent to all organizations, committees, and individuals, who are already active in the work of economic relief and reconstitution in Russia, on a common economic basis. Invitations have been sent to the Russian government, to the Russian trade unions and co-operatives, to the International Trade Union Federation, to the Nansen Relief Committee, to the Quaker Relief, the Red Cross organizations, to all national and international labor organizations and co-operative unions, as well as to all proletarian organizations working in Russia, as the American Tailors' Union (Hillmann), the Ruter group, etc. The provisional agenda is as follows:

1. The economic reconstitution of Russia and its promotion with the aid of the committees and persons represented at the conference. Speaker: a representative of the Russian government.
2. The working program of the separate committees and organizations in Russia.
3. The possibility of mutual support among the relief organizations working in Russia.

The undersigned organization invites all committees, unions, and persons, who are already working, or are desirous of working, for the economic relief and reconstitution of Russia on a joint economic basis, to take part in this conference

*in Berlin, on June 17, 1923, in the Reichstag.*

Applications should be made before the 10th June to our secretariat, Berlin W 8, Unter den Linden 11.

It is also requested that all written reports and material, intended for distribution at the conference, be sent in by the above date, that these may be translated and duplicated.

For the Executive Committee of the International Workers' Relief.  
Willi Münzenberg. Clara Zetkin.

## RELIEF FROM RUSSIA

### Russian Workers' Aid to their German brothers

The conference held by the trade unions of the Tcherkask district resolved to have a children's home erected for the children of the Ruhr workers, in Novotcherkask, at the expense of the trade unions. The children's home is to accommodate 200 children.

The provincial committee of the Don province remitted 50,000 roubles of the latest currency (1 rouble being equal to 400-500 marks), and decided to open a campaign for enlightening the workers within its sphere of influence as to the real character of the Ruhr events.

The workers of a municipal undertaking in Bachmut contributed one day's wages for the Ruhr workers.

The employees of the central committee of the municipal workers resolved to give 1-3% of their salaries for the Ruhr relief.

The Moscow committee of the Miners' Union published a pamphlet, running to 10,000 copies for the benefit of the Ruhr workers; besides this, the presidium of this same committee remitted 25,000 new currency roubles to the Ruhr workers' relief fund.

The provincial department of Soviet workers in the Kremenshuk province collected 2,000 roubles for the Ruhr workers.

The workers of the Okulov paper factory resolved to send the Ruhr workers a wagon-load of flour. For this purpose every worker contributed an average of 20 lbs flour from his payment in kind for the present month.

The provincial committee of Soviet workers in the Yavka province collected over 5,000 roubles for the Ruhr workers.

In Tver, the provincial committee remitted to the Ruhr workers 2 % of all members' subscriptions paid in January.

The central committee of the building workers remitted 8,000 roubles in aid of the striking building workers in Germany.

The transport workers of Voronezh decided to send 1/2 % of their monthly wages to the Ruhr workers.

The presidium of the central committee of Soviet workers collected 150 puds of flour for the Ruhr workers.

The transport workers of the Lichvin undertaking and of the Murman district decided to give 1% of their wages to the Ruhr workers, from now onwards right to "the end of the fight against the capitalists."

The miners' central committee published an album of caricatures for the benefit of the Ruhr workers, under the title: "The dictators of the Ruhr and Lausanne", and containing an article by Lozovsky and 17 artistic caricatures. Up to now about 300,000 copies have been sold. This yielded a clear profit corresponding in value to about 100,000 puds of grain.

The central committee of the Georgian municipal workers resolved to appeal to its members to give 1 % of their wages to the Ruhr workers.

The workers of the manufactured-goods factory in Kornevsk gave 170 puds of flour to the Ruhr workers.

The congress of municipal workers of the Poltava province proposed to the members of the union to give 1 % of their wages for the Ruhr workers.

The members meeting of municipal workers in Vologda resolved that every participator in the meeting had to give 3 lbs of flour for the Ruhr workers.

## Who receives the Russian Bread?

By Max Barthel.

In bourgeois circles, the question of Russian bread is the subject of lively discussion. The fairy tales about the Russia reduced to the verge of ruin by Bolshevism are no longer believed, now that Russian bread is filling hungry stomachs in Germany. The professional slanderers of Soviet Russia, the ink-slinging coolies in the service of Stinnes and his press, are inventing fresh tales to render the bread unpalatable to German workers. They maintain that the bread is only distributed to German communists. The instructions already published regarding the distribution of the bread state with perfect clearness: "Those entitled to receive bread are in the first place necessitous unemployed with families to keep, part-time workers with large families, relatives of proletarian political prisoners, and also war cripples and social pensioners. An agreement has been made with the co-operative societies in Rhenish Westphalia according to which these co-operative societies grind the greater part of the rye, bake the flour obtained from the 8,000 tons into bread, and distribute the bread in their stores". It may be that the bread has a bitter taste, but only for those who are enemies of the working class, the hundred per cent patriots. The bread is distributed in the Ruhr area against bread-tickets issued solely by the control committees. These control committees are proletarian, not communist. The control committees issuing bread coupons for the Russian bread, comprise representatives of all labor parties and workers' co-operative societies. The co-operative society of the Christians workers in Bochum is also having Russian rye ground in its mills, Russian flour baked in its bakeries, and Russian bread distributed in its stores.

According to the reports submitted, the Ruhr area itself is not plunged so deeply into misery by the occupation as the surrounding frontier districts, Elberfeld, Barmen, Hagen, Remscheid, etc. The distribution commission, consisting of the national committee of German shop stewards and the International Workers' Relief, will despatch the bread to where the hunger is greatest. They will satisfy the hunger of the Christian workers and the communist workers with equal impartiality.

The proletariat welcomes with the greatest enthusiasm the corn ships sent by the Soviet republic. When the first ships were moored at Hamburg and Bremen, great meetings testified to the intensity of proletarian pride and gratitude. In Bremen, bread was received with impressive ceremony on April 7, even social democratic workers taking part in the mighty demonstration. The first railway train, with 50 trucks, has already arrived at Duisburg for the mill belonging to the co-operative society "Eintracht". In Hagen (Westphalia), the same town in which the instructions for the bread distribution were signed by the Rhenish-Westphalian co-operative societies, the International Workers' Relief, and the national committee of the Rhenish-Westphalian shop stewards—in this same town the proletarian symbols with which the train was decorated had to be removed, on the desire, as it is alleged, of the railwaymen. We know these railwaymen: They are the shop managers and directors, the friends of reaction and Fascism.

The Russian bread has not only found its way to the stomach of the German worker, it has done much more, it has reached the heart of the German proletariat. The German

junkers, the barons of Bredereck and Bredov, of Itzenblitz and Steissbein, who possess thousands of acres in Germany, will curse the Russian rye. Russian rye in Germany is a blow at the German junkers who want to starve out the towns. The first ships laden with corn from Russia show Germany the way of salvation from her present crisis: the closest economic alliance with the Soviet republic: German machinery! Russian bread!

## Russian Workers aid the Political Prisoners of the Bourgeoisie

Despite the difficulties against which the Russian workers still have to fight in their own country, they do not forget their proletarian brothers who are languishing in the prisons of the bourgeoisie. A collection made among the patients in the sanatorium belonging to the Commissariat of Public Health, yielded 1000 roubles. Further, in a public meeting held by the employees of the Moscow railway station No. 1 (line Moscow—Kursk) jointly with non-partisan workers and employees, on the day of the 25th anniversary of the CPR., it was resolved to give a day's wages for the revolutionary fighters incarcerated in the prisons of the west. The *Red Relief Committee* has received a total of 58,167.42 roubles (about 20 to 23 million marks) in aid of the political prisoners.

Out of the results of these collections among Russian workers the central committee of Red Relief has remitted, through the various central committees, 1500 dollars to Italy, 1000 dollars to China, 250 dollars to Turkey, 250 dollars to Lithunia, and 250 dollars to the revolutionaries incarcerated in the Bavarian prisons.

The "First Model Printing Establishment", at a workers' meeting, passed a resolution expressing the profoundest sympathy with the political prisoners. The resolution closes as follows:

"The working class will fight for and win a better lot under the leadership of the Comintern."

## THE COLONIES

### New orientation in Indian Nationalism

By M. N. Roy.

After a spectacular career of two and a half years, the Non-cooperation Movement has collapsed. This eventuality was to be expected. Towards the end of 1921 the movement reached its climax. The revolutionary rank and file overwhelmed the pacifist leadership of the petty bourgeoisie. The ship of Non-cooperation was wrecked on the rock of metaphysical non-violence. The pacifism of Gandhi, which killed the great mass movement was however, not merely based upon ethical prejudices. Its real basis was respect for "law and order". The debacle of Non-cooperation and the later development have demonstrated this.

A great crisis began in the Indian movement when, at the end of 1921, the nationalist leadership refused to countenance the revolutionary mass movement then in its highest tide. This breach revealed the innate weakness of the movement. The government was very quick in seizing upon this confession of weakness and inaugurating a veritable reign of terror which, on the one hand drowned the mass revolt in torrents of blood, and on the other hand, sent the nationalist leaders, including Gandhi, to jail. It was no easy task to suppress the peasant revolt which had spread all over the country like wildfire, although it had been thrown into great confusion by the timidity and treachery of the Non-cooperators. The bloody drama of suppressing the rebellious peasantry is not yet completely over. The echo of the stifled voice of the peasantry in the United Provinces, where feudalism reigns supreme, is still to be heard in the judicial farce called the Chauri Chaura trial, in which 172 men have been condemned to be hanged. In fact, the fire of agrarian revolt is still burning, although its flames may have died down for the time being.

But the government found it easier to suppress the petty bourgeoisie Non-cooperation movement. There was a time when the government was willing to give serious consideration to the demands of the party led by Gandhi. But as soon as the petty bourgeoisie set its face against any revolutionary action, the nervousness of the government came to an end. All the prominent leaders were clapped in jail one after another. This drastic act of the government met with no serious opposition. At last even Gandhi, the idol of the people, was safely locked up for six years. The admiring followers looked on in dismay and congratulated themselves upon the success of perfect non-violence.

Thus came to a close the first crisis, the issue of which was Violence or Non-violence. A violent revolt of the masses meant a threat against vested interests, and above all against the right of feudal absolutism; the petty bourgeois Non-cooperators clung pathetically to the formula of Non-violence when the whole country was sucharged with the spirit of violent revolution. The inevitable consequence was, that nothing but a series of formulas and dogmas was left of the Non-cooperation movement. The first stages of the great movement ended in a shameful defeat, for which the doctrine of Non-violence is to be blamed not less than the violent methods of Imperialism.

The first period of crisis was solved, not by the evolution of new tendencies inside the movement, but by severe blows dealt from the outside. It was solved by the government repression, which demonstrated for the *n*-th time that the ethical code determining the guidance of the class-ridden society is not Non-violence, but Violence. In so far as the inner composition of the movement was concerned, the controversy over Violence vs. Non-violence, Physical Force vs. Moral Force, was by no means, over. It only assumed a less ethical and more political appearance. Hence one crisis led up to another and more serious one, which could not be solved by such an easy method as government repression.

The second crisis involved a fundamental political issue. It could not be overcome without a fundamental change in the very theory of nationalism. It demanded a new orientation in the ideology of the movement. The period of this second crisis lasted almost a year. During this period, the social forces behind the national struggle underwent a process of readjustment. The removal of the personality of Gandhi released many conflicting tendencies that were operating inside the medley of Non-cooperation. The petty bourgeoisie was replaced in the leadership by the radical intelligentsia. This revolution in leadership inevitably brought about a change in the ideology of the movement. The first attack was levelled against the metaphysical character of Non-cooperation. The demand of the radicals was that politics should be secularized. The demand took concrete shape in the campaign for the revocation of the triple boycott. Two of the three boycotts, which constituted the political platform of Non-cooperation, had already failed. The boycott of schools and the boycott of law-courts had never been put into practice, except in individual cases and during momentary enthusiasm. So the campaign practically was directed against the third boycott—the boycott of the Reformed Councils. The radical opposition argued that new fields of activities were to be found if the movement was to be saved from inanition. They held up the election campaign as a great opportunity for agitation.

Thus, the deadlock created by the degeneration of orthodox Non-cooperation, was broken by the demand of the radical intellectuals for some political action. The radicals proved to be more advanced than the petty bourgeois Non-cooperators, in that they condemned the metaphysical degeneration of the national movement, and demanded political activities. But they would not take up the leadership of the movement where it had been deserted by the Gandhites. They wanted action; but they would not countenance revolutionary mass action any more than their political opponents. Therefore the only path they could lead the movement into was reversion to the old methods of Constitutional agitation. They repudiated the petty bourgeois tactics of outlawing the "satanic" government and of retiring in holy indignation into the shell of spiritual solation. They contended that the government was there. It did not cease to exist simply because the Non-cooperators in impotent rage chose to leave it alone. The Reformed Councils did not fail to assume parliamentary grandeur and serve the purpose of an apology for Imperialism, because they were boycotted by the middle classes. Left entirely at the mercy of the upper classes, the pseudo-parliaments were packed with exactly the kind of elements the government desired to have there. Basing themselves on these arguments, whose correctness could not be challenged by the ethical concepts of the pure-Gandhites, the radical intellectuals pretended to rally all the elements of opposition in the National Congress with their cry for a "change" in the program.

The radicalism of the bourgeois intellectuals went so far as to demand a change; but no farther. A change could lead to the right, or to the left. The decomposition of the Centrist Non-cooperators prepared the ground for a move this way or that. In the absence of a strong and well organized left wing basing itself upon the striking proletariat in the cities and the rebellious peasantry in the country, the radicals led the movement towards the right. The revolt against the deadening inactivity imposed by the authority of ethical dogmas was so great, that any prospect of a change in the program was hailed by all the vital elements inside the National Congress. The split that followed gave birth to a new party inspired with progressive radicalism and

promising to be the powerful organ of bourgeois Nationalism. In view of the fact that the Indian movement has not yet passed through this stage, the birth of the new party, which is called the *Swaraj* (Self-government) Party, has a revolutionary significance. It makes for the clarification of the social forces militating in the ranks of the national struggle. By a chance coincidence, the petty bourgeoisie is invested with the leadership of the movement during an acute revolutionary epoch. The retarded growth of the bourgeoisie is responsible for this anomalous combination. But in proportion as the economic power of the bourgeoisie grows, its political demands cease to be characterized by the old tactics of "praying and petitioning". On the other hand, through the agency of the radical intelligentsia, the ambitious capitalist class seeks to wrest the leadership of the nationalist movement from the faltering hands of the petty bourgeois revivalists. Thus the birth of the new party signifies the growth of a new orientation in the Indian movement. This new orientation may appear to be weakening the movement for the time being, in so far as it causes a swing to the right; but ultimately it will make for the strengthening of the movement, because a conscious bourgeoisie constitutes an immensely more powerful foe of Imperialism than the degenerated petty bourgeoisie. Moreover, the assumption by the nationalist movement of a clearly bourgeois character will enable the working class to play an independent part in the struggle.

## FASCISM

### Legal Headquarters for CP of Italy in Rome

The CP. of Italy publishes the following notice in *Avanti!*: Although the Fascist government has not issued a formal decree dissolving our Party, the constant and systematic persecutions of our comrades and organizations force our Party to carry on an almost completely illegal existence. In consequence of this, and of the special conditions under which the central organs of the Party function, it is impossible for them to maintain direct intercourse with the individual comrades and sympathizers. For this reason the Party leaders have resolved to form a legal Party bureau, with headquarters in Rome, under the name of: "Central Bureau of the Communist Party of Italy". All comrades and sympathizers desirous of getting into touch with the leading organs of our Party should apply to this bureau. The central bureau consists of the three deputies, comrades Repossi, Graziadei, and Belloni. It will be the task of this bureau to establish connections with all who are desirous of entering into relations with the party executive. The bureau will endeavor to fulfil the wishes of comrades and sympathizers as far as possible. The bureau will further constitute itself as the Italian committee of the International Red Relief, it will help political victims, communists and sympathizers alike, throughout the whole of Italy, and will undertake the material support of incarcerated comrades. It will also publish a weekly periodical for the Party. An address will shortly be given, to which comrades and sympathizers can apply.

### Order reigns in Fascist Italy . . . .

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

8000 workers were thrown into prison in February, among them 5000 communists, on the pretext afforded by the manifesto issued by the Communist International for the struggle against Fascism. This manifesto—the Italian government asserts—proceeded from the pen of an Italian communist.

The manifesto speaks of the frightful position into which Fascism has cast the Italian working class; of terror, of murder and arson. The manifesto points out that a barbaric regime reigns in Italy, unequalled even by the reaction of Hungary.

But the Fascist government is anxious to maintain its good name in the eyes of the world; it asserts that the manifesto contains nothing but slander, and that the communists who appeal to international solidarity are bought traitors. It arrests thousands of workers, and confiscates their newspapers, in order to prove to the world the joys of life which are among the privileges of the proletariat living under its paternal care. Here are a few episodes from this "idyllic" life, compiled from newspapers in the time between February 24; and March 3.

February 24.

*Conselice*. The workers Gemignani, Poggi, Gardunghi, and Brini, were brought into the hospital, severely wounded by blows from Fascist clubs.

*Lucca*. The Fascisti occupied the town hall and drove out the people's council by force.

*Scandiano*. The worker Adolf Rinaldo, whose brother was killed last year by Fascisti, was killed by two revolver shots.

*Borgotaro*. The railway worker Fantozzi, after being beaten by the Fascisti till he was covered with blood, was arrested by the police on the instigation of the Fascisti; he was set free again after a few hours, but was again attacked by the Fascisti and severely wounded.

*Villa S. Pierino*. A group of communists was attacked by Fascisti; many were injured.

February 25.

*Pola*. In consequence of a defeat at the election of the shop stewards in the arsenal, the Fascisti occupied the entrance to the works, and prevented 1500 workers, known to be communists, from going to their work; many of them were cruelly beaten.

February 26.

*Abbiategrosso*. During the night twenty Fascisti attacked the small factory of Piantamida, destroyed the machines, and severely wounded the nephew of the owner. They then proceeded to the home of the municipal secretary Gino, destroyed the furniture of his rooms, and forced him under the threat of capital punishment to promise to leave the town within 24 hours. Finally they wounded with their cudgels the workman Casaletto, whom they met on the way.

*Brescia*. About thirty Fascisti broke into a workers' cooperative; seven wounded and one dead were left on the ground.

February 27.

*Varese*. A group of Fascisti invaded the Labor Chamber, set the archives on fire, loaded the furniture on a motor lorry which they brought with them, and carried it away; the damages amount to 45,000 lire.

February 28.

*Genoa*. A group of Fascisti met the worker Salomone in the street, and, assuming him to be the leader of an attack made some time ago on the Fascisti, they shot at him several times with a revolver, killing him.

March 2.

*Gallarate*. The Fascisti attacked and destroyed the headquarters of the free-masons lodge.

*Sampierdarena*. The ex-officer De Tomatis, who had used insulting expressions with regard to the national militia, was attacked by Fascisti and severely wounded in the head.

March 3.

*Tricerro*. The Labor Chamber and the war Veterans' Club have been attacked and set on fire by Fascisti, for the third time.

*Gallarate*. The socialist Tronconi, former mayor of the town, was attacked by Fascisti and severely wounded.

It must be specially emphasized that the newspapers are not permitted to publish all reports on the now legalized activity of the Fascisti; the least attempt made by the few non-Fascist papers to report the truth, or even to make a comment, are immediately suppressed. When for instance the *Corriere della Sera*, the bourgeois conservative organ of Lombardy, ventured some few disparaging remarks on the mass arrests among workers, the Mussolini paper *Popolo d'Italia* wrote that five hundred thousand whips lay in readiness for those who had anything to criticize; the Fascist militia was on guard, and good machine guns and grenades were to be had in case of necessity . . .

The manifesto issued by the Third International was wrong in comparing the position of the Italian workers with that of the fellahs and coolies; the bourgeoisie of India and Egypt would not dare to treat their slaves as the Fascisti treat workers and peasants.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Against Esthonian White Terror

Comrades! Workers of all countries!

The government of the White Esthonian democracy is preparing for the coming elections by destroying the best forces of the working class through the use of every weapon of bestial Terror. The murder of *Kingissep* has now been followed by the murder of comrade *Kreuks*, member of the C.C. of the C.P. of Esthonia, an old Party functionary and one-time participant

in the IV congress of the C.I. The Esthonian bourgeoisie seems to be working systematically in murdering the best communists. Kingissep was murdered after a sham trial. In the case of comrade Kreuks there was not even a "trial"; he was murdered when arrested.

The shot that killed the most devoted leader of the Esthonian working class is at the same time a blow against the whole working class of Esthonia, which has formed a determined united front, and which at numerous workers' meetings had placed comrade Kreuks and other members of the C.C. of the C.P. of Esthonia on the united front list of the working class as candidates for parliament. At the same time attempts are being made to destroy the class organizations of the proletariat, to throttle the legal labor press; mass arrests have already been made.

This is the clearest revelation of that broad wave of reaction, of White Terror, and of Fascism, which is now spreading over all capitalist countries. The bourgeoisie feels the ground shaking under its feet. It is unable to fulfil those promises with which it fed the workers and peasants in recent years. Hence it resorts to its last remedy: it seeks to prolong its existence through the White Terror, assassinations, and by openly Fascist methods.

The bourgeoisie of the small countries which have lately received, at the hands of the mighty Entente, a pseudo-independence, are especially conspicuous in this respect. They boast of their democracy, but at the same time they proceed with greater fury and savagery against the class enemy than even the executions of the old Tsarist regime. The slighter the weight of this bourgeoisie, the more menial its services to the imperialist states, the more savage its White Terror.

Comrades! Workers of Esthonia and workers of all countries! Our enemies are killing many of your best leaders, but they are not able to kill the working class and its mighty revolutionary movement. Neither the murders of *Rosa Luxemburg* and *Karl Liebknecht*, nor the assassination of *Kingissep* and many other leaders of the working class, have been able to restrain this movement. It raises its red banner higher than ever the banner of the Communist International. In face of the raging White Terror, and of the growth of international Fascism, which threatens the working class with complete enslavement, the working class closes its ranks under the slogan of the United Front, and will prepare itself by daily mass fighting for the final, decisive struggle.

Honor and glory to the memory of those champions who have fallen for the cause of the working class and the proletarian revolution!

War to the death against the murderers of the leaders of the working class!

Long live the Communist Party of Esthonia and its glorious leaders!

Long live the Communist International!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## IN THE R. I. L. U.

### Session of RILU Bureau in Moscow

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, Moscow, in accordance with the resolution passed by the last executive session, convenes

a session of the Central Bureau in Moscow on June 1st, the agenda of which will be announced later.

The 2nd congress of the RILU. resolved upon the following mode of sending delegates:

National federations with 5,000 to 50,000 members send 1 representative.

National federations with 50,000 to 300,000 members send 2 representatives.

National federations with 300,000 to 700,000 members send 3 representatives.

National federations with 700,000 to 2,000,000 members send 4 representatives.

National federations with over 2,000,000 members send 6 representatives.

The minorities of the separate countries are represented in like manner, in accordance with their numbers; all organizations affiliated to the RILU. and belonging to one country shall form a delegation within which the votes are distributed in proportion to the corresponding organizations.

## RILU. to all National Federations and Minorities

The international conference in Frankfort was another step forward on the road to the unity of all proletarian forces. According to a resolution passed by this conference, an

International Propaganda Week is to be carried out in all countries for the purpose of popularizing the Frankfort decisions.

This week began on April 15., and is to end on the 1st of May, for the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against war danger and Fascism.

The march of the workers' battalions must re-echo throughout the world on the 1st of May. For this mobilization it is necessary to utilize the first propaganda week for holding workshop and trade union meetings, in order to acquaint the workers and members with the resolutions of the Frankfort conference and with the tasks of the working masses.

It will then be possible to use the second propaganda week with greater force and success, and to mobilize the working masses in public meetings, demonstrations, etc.

The will to unity and the will to fight in the proletariat must be expressed everywhere:

Against reduced wages, high prices, longer working hours, part time, unemployment, degradation, violent suppression.

Here it will be a task of special importance for the national federations and minorities in every country, local and central, to once more approach and appeal to the members and leaders of the reformist trade unions and cartels, as well as the parties, to form a united class front

against the offensive of capital,  
against war danger and Fascism!

If the leaders are not willing, then it must be made possible to do without them, and to fulfil without their aid the longing of the working masses for unity:

Against the united front of all exploiters!  
For the united front of the proletariat!

## OUR PROBLEMS

### Political Enlightenment of C.P.'s

By Edwin Hürnlé (Moscow).

It is necessary to draw the attention of the Communist Parties to a resolution passed by the IV World Congress, a resolution which is easily forgotten amidst the rush of conflicts and urgent duties of the present moment. The World Congress passed a resolution to the effect that the Communist Parties are to carry on systematic and organized educational work amongst their members and amongst the broad masses. For this purpose, they were to appoint a special secretariat with the central committee of the Party, and entrust at least one comrade with the responsible leadership and control of the work of political education. Was this resolution necessary?

The first duty of communist educational work is to keep all members of the Party systematically informed of the most important decisions of the world congresses, of the sessions of the enlarged executive, and of the party conferences of the section in question. Even to-day, there are thousands of members, in almost every Communist Party, who have at most merely cursorily read the important resolutions determining our fundamental attitude, our organization, our propaganda, in short, the whole of our daily tasks. Are there many sections, even today, in which newly admitted members are systematically informed on the principles, tactics, and history of the Party of which they are becoming members? Is a Communist Party capable of accomplishing work at all if it leaves the enlightenment of its members as to program and statutes to mere chance? The Communist Parties differ from the reformist precisely in being based entirely on the purposeful activity of their members, who have to perform the main work in the workshops, trade unions, and all proletarian organizations. A Communist Party whose policy is determined by a handful of leaders, and whose members have not really grasped the actual purport of the resolutions, or of the necessity of carrying them out, runs the risk of failing in moments of serious action, and of becoming the shuttle-cock of opportunist or anarcho-syndicalist tendencies. The systematic arrangement of information evenings, in which all members of the party participate, whether to learn, to teach, or to stimulate, is one of the most important political tasks of every Communist Party.

But the Party must not content itself with well-informed members. To be informed upon, and to comprehend, the most important resolutions, no more than the political minimum constitutes below which the mass of members must not sink. Beyond this, every Communist Party must aim at giving at least its responsible party workers a Marxist training. Evening classes must be arranged for this purpose, and the economic teachings of Karl Marx and the basic outlines of historical materialism thoroughly studied. But this instruction must by no means be given on lines of dry abstraction and pure theory. The work of communist enlightenment, even in its scientific phase, must maintain the closest relations with the requirements of the daily struggle. Marxist teachings must be applied to current events and daily problems, the students must be encouraged to relate their experiences in the workshops, in fraction work in the trade unions, in meeting activities, etc. The Marxist theories are then to be explained in relation to these.

The lack of teachers is of course a great disadvantage, as our parties are still young, and this lack is often used as an excuse for neglecting the work of education. This shortcoming will be met to a great extent by the publication by the central bureaus, of a number of useful instruction pamphlets for information evenings and discussion evenings. Where the instruction is carried on in the form of a vital discussion relating to daily work and daily struggle, the need of a perfectly theoretically trained teacher is felt much less; what is then much more required is a comrade possessing a certain amount of practical experience in party work, and having a sound revolutionary instinct, tactical insight, and the most important elementary knowledge. There are such tried and tested party comrades in every local group. These must come to the aid of the smaller groups.

Despite this, every party must naturally devote attention to the systematic training of a staff of schooled theorists, capable of taking up positions as teachers in the party schools and in scientific evening classes, or as chief editors or political secretaries. For this purpose the parties should establish central party schools wherever possible, in which a number of carefully selected students, chosen for their tested qualities and Marxist knowledge, receive instruction for a certain time, during which they are relieved from all other party work. Such a central party school is certainly somewhat expensive to keep up. The Parties will therefore maintain such schools, to the extent, and for the length of time rendered possible by their means. But it is not possible for any Communist Party to exist permanently unless the leading party functionaries can be replaced by members who have received such methodical instruction. At the present time a plan is under consideration for a socialist academy for advanced Party students, at the headquarters of the Executive.

Another important branch of education is the introduction of the responsible party workers into their special spheres of activity. The slogan: To the masses! forces the Communist Parties to penetrate into every labor organization, into municipal and state representative bodies. Hence the communist functionaries must not only be equipped with general politico-economic knowledge, but at the same time with a certain amount of technical knowledge; they must be well informed in their special line, for instance in the history and methods of the trade union movement, in the problems of municipal or agrarian politics, in the questions of instruction and education, cooperative work, etc. The Party functionaries must meet together for periodical consultations, according to their special lines of work; for courses of instruction, or instructive conferences. The instructive conferences are especially suitable as preparation for definite Party campaigns, or for the carrying out of important Party resolutions.

In many countries the proletariat has found sufficient resources to create certain educational institutions, proletarian schools for adults. The Communist Parties must try to influence these proletarian educational institutions, to give them really revolutionary Marxists as teachers, and thus to transform these schools into instruments of revolutionary class war. At the same time the Communist Parties must strive to influence the educational institutions belonging to proletarian trade unions and co-operative societies by continually criticizing the reformist teachings, by proposing revolutionary Marxists as teachers, and by advocating the treatment of political and economic problems in their relations to the fighting tasks of the proletariat. It is also possible to carry on work of systematic communist enlightenment in the labor organizations. The shallow and reformist lectures and entertainments are to be replaced by enlightenment on the tasks of the workmen's sport clubs in the revolutionary class war, and on their co-operation with the Party and trade unions, so that the interest of the working class sportsmen may be aroused for a profounder marxist education.

This work goes far beyond educational work within the actual limits of the party; it is mass educational work. Mass educational work must adapt itself to masses ruled by primitive motives and feelings, it must employ means which possess a powerful suggestive effect on the senses and the will. Such mediums are that of song, of choral singing, recitations, speaking choruses, political dramas, photography, cinematograph, etc. In public meetings, at demonstrations, at proletarian festivals and revolutionary memorial celebrations, the Party has the opportunity of appealing to the broadest masses by means of suggestive and artistic mediums. Above all, much impression can be made by means of living and dramatic representation of proletarian experiences, of revolutionary fights; the treatment of political problems in the form of dialogues or trials. The work of mass education must never be separated from propaganda, it must lead directly into propaganda.

The ever-rising prices render it more and more difficult for the proletariat to buy any theoretical or historical books beyond the most ordinary daily reading matter. Systematic educational work therefore involves the establishment of Party circulating libraries, large or small according to the powers of the local group in question. Instructions as to the arrangement and administration of such lending libraries are issued by the central bureaus, as well or lists of books supplemented with an introduction for self-instruction. It is of the greatest importance to attempt to introduce Marxist and communist literature into the libraries of the trade unions and co-operative societies and into the municipal libraries and reading rooms. The Party publishers must be induced to sell books on the most advantageous possible terms to the workers' libraries, and to the participants in communist courses of instruction.

The Communist Parties should lend energetic support to the special educational work of the Communist Youth organizations, and should put premises at their disposal, supply them with teachers, lend financial aid, permit the use of Party libraries, and endeavor to induce youthful workers to take part in all educational institutions belonging to the party. The importance of communist education among proletarian children should not be underestimated. Here our task does not consist merely of instructing and enlightening the children on the existence of classes, the class war, and the final aims of revolution, but in drawing the proletarian child into the actual struggle and work being carried on by the adults, as for instance, the Communist Children's groups have most successfully done in their work for the proletarian famine relief, and in other work for the collection of funds. Proletarian children are also quite capable of raising protests against the national jingo agitation carried on in the schools, and of carrying on a lively work of propaganda among their school-fellows. Revolutionary educational work, wherever and whenever carried out, among old or young, must invariably be an intimate combination of teaching and fighting, theory and practice.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### 4th Executive Session of the Y.C.I.

The E.C. of the Y.C.I. has decided to convene the Fourth Session of the International Bureau of the Young Communist International on July 1st of this year, in Moscow.

The following provisional agenda has been drawn up:

1. The political situation and report on the position of the Communist International. By *Zinoviev*.
2. Report of the Executive Committee. By *Schüller*.
3. Struggle against war danger and Fascism.
4. The organization of factory nuclei. Speaker *Gyptner*.
5. Program of the Y.C.I. Speaker *Schatzkin*.
6. Sport questions. Speaker *Doriot*.

Further committees are to be formed for educational work, economic trade union work, and practical anti-militarist work.

17 of the most important sections of the Y.C.I. are to take part in this session.

Since the III world congress of the Y.C.I., the communist youth leagues have carried on unceasing work for the execution of the resolutions passed at this congress. A large number of congresses held by the most important leagues have accepted the resolutions passed by the world congress, and have also created a basis for the carrying out of these resolutions. The executive session has the task of analyzing the practical results obtained. Another important question to be dealt with by the executive session will be the program of the Y.C.I.