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The Last Attempt of Soviet Russia to Preserve Peace with England

The conversations which comrade Krassin had with Lord Curzon, constitute no negotiations of the two powers, but a verbal repetition of the Ultimatum through the mouth of Lord Curzon. In spite of this the Soviet has decided to make further concessions in order to preserve peace. Comrade Krassin received instructions today (Wednesday) to communicate the following to Lord Curzon.

1. The Soviet Government is prepared, until the working out of an Agreement over the fishing rights of foreign nations in Russian waters, to allow the English the right to engage in fishing outside of the three-mile zone.

2. The Soviet Government is prepared to pay compensation for the shooting of Engineer Davison and for the arrest of Stan Harding, although it possesses proofs that both of these persons were employed by the English spy service in Russia.

3. The Soviet Government is prepared to send immediately the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, comrade Tchitcherin in London in order to negotiate over the Orient question. It submits, that since September 1921 the English Government has not once raised any complaint against alleged anti-English propaganda on the part of Soviet representatives in Asia.

Should the English Government in the future raise such protest the Soviet Government is prepared to examine each case in a friendly manner. It repeats, that it will not carry on any propaganda against England if the English Government will give a similar undertaking regarding Soviet Russia.

This constitutes the limit of concessions which the Soviet Government is ready to make in consistence with Soviet Russia's sovereignty. The only demand which the Soviet Government has not complied with is the recall of the Russian Ambassadors from Kabur and Teheran as well as the member of the Russian Delegation in London, comrade Klishko. All the charges raised by

the English note against these comrades are pure fiction, and there is no doubt whatever that, just as in September 1921 we succeeded in proving that all the evidence brought up by Lord Curzon originated from the notorious Spy bureau of the Baltic Baron Uexkül, so in the same manner will every investigation reveal that not a single citation upon which Lord Curzon bases his present charges is derived from a genuine Russian document. The whole thing is an invention of English espionage.

In the last number of the English conservative organ *The Observer*, the most prominent English conservative journalist Garvin writes as follows: "Before the war it would have been impossible to send such a note to Russia or to any other power." He proceeds: "The Cabinet protests that war is far from being its object. It rejects the very idea of war. And rightly so. The conscious provocation of war is the worst crime of which a government or a minister could be guilty. But the intention to provoke in the note is one thing, and the provocation as a result is another." And Garvin proceeds to point out that Curzon's note is a clear provocation to war, which will bear fruit not only on the Russian frontier but also in the Ruhr and on the Maritza. He shows that without a peace with Russia peace with Turkey is impossible. This condemnation of Lord Curzon's policy by the chief journalist of the English Conservative Party is not to be underestimated. If, after the concessions which the Soviet Government has made, Lord Curzon persists in bringing about the breach he will thereby furnish the best proof that war is his objective, just as it was the objective of the mad Junkers of the Foreign Office in July 1914. In its desire for peace the Soviet Government went further than any bourgeois government ever went. For, while Lord Curzon counts upon buying foreign mercenaries with English gold, the Soviet Government knows only too well that war costs precious blood, the blood of millions of Russian Peasants and Russian Workers. It therefore spares

nothing in order to avert bloodshed. The Soviet Government knows that once the cannon begin to roar in the East the monster of war will devour the Western European Proletariat. For the war would extend beyond the Weichsel. And the Soviet Government is bringing all these sacrifices on behalf of the Western European Proletariat. The government of the World Revolution does not gamble with the mountains of corpses which a world war would cost. It only counts upon the will of the millions of proletarians who are driven by international capital into the struggle for emancipation. The bourgeois and social democratic press sought to incite the working masses against Communism and against Soviet Russia by the lie that Soviet Russia is embarking on warlike adventures, that she seeks imperialistic conquests, in order to stimulate the World Revolution artificially. Should Lord Curzon break off peace relations with Russia he will thereby furnish indisputable proof that not the Soviet Government but the ruling clique of the leading capitalist country in Europe consists of adventurers who are anxious for a new blood bath by means of which they hope to hurl back the European labor movement for decades. Should these adventurers succeed in their plans, then every healthy and honest element in the labor movement will rise like one man to support Soviet Russia in her struggle against these insolent peace-breakers. For this struggle is literally a struggle for the bare existence of the broadest working masses.

Lord Curzon and the new English Government now have their choice: they can maintain peace, thereby promoting more friendly relations between England and Russia, or they can cause a breach which would mean War. After the concessions which she has made, Soviet Russia may calmly await the decision. Should England prefer War she will run her head against the iron wall of resistance on the part of the broad masses not only in Russia but also in England. The English working class is not socialist and unfortunately only a small section of it is revolutionary. But like the mass of the people in every country, it has not lost its sense of justice. The English working class wants peace and will refuse to be cannon fodder for the madly insolent Junkers. Even Henderson, a minister of the English king during the war, protested in Hamburg in the most decided manner against Lord Curzon's ultimatum. What is more, not a single English liberal paper supports his attempt to drag Europe into the abyss of War. May Curzon start the fight; he will not finish it.

POLITICS

The English Campaign against Soviet Russia:

The Soviet Ambassador Vorovsky murdered by the Fascist accomplices of English Imperialism

The note handed by the English representative Hodgson to the Soviet government, on May 8, proves that the English government, headed by Lord Curzon, desires a rupture with Soviet Russia. When a government requests that a foreign ambassador be recalled from its country, it is a sign of very strained relations. But the whole history of diplomatic relations records no single case in which a government has demanded the recall of foreign ambassadors who are not accredited in its own country, but in other states. This demand exceeds the utmost that the victors of Versailles have ever permitted themselves with respect to any people. And England is not the victor in war with Russia. England was defeated in the war which it carried on against Soviet Russia from 1918 till 1920. The White Guard armies organized and financed by England were utterly crushed by the Red Army, and their remnants thrown into the Black Sea.

England's demand that Russia should unquestioningly acknowledge England's will as international law in a question with regard to which no international agreement exists, the question of the extent of the territorial waters of a state, is nothing else than deliberate provocation of a rupture.

In all other questions raised by England, as for instance the question of compensation for the shooting of an Englishman in the year 1920, Russia can bring forward counter-claims exceeding the English ones an hundredfold. In Archangel the English rulers had hundreds of Russian citizens shot; the people's commissaries of Baku, numbering 26, were dragged out on the steppes and put to the sword at the command of the authorized English representative, Tig Jones. Were the English government really anxious for a just settlement of these unhappy accom-

paniments to a war which it carried on against Soviet Russia without a declaration of war, a thousand opportunities are offered it of arriving at an agreement satisfactory to both parties.

But Lord Curzon does not want peace with Soviet Russia; Lord Curzon is the leader of that clique of English imperialists who, reared in the midst of the old competitive struggle for domination in Asia between Tzarism and England, not only hate Soviet Russia, but Russia as such, as a people numbering one hundred and fifty million human beings, dwelling on the frontiers of Asia and Europe, and whose development furthers the development of the English slaves in Asia. Lord Curzon was an adversary of Lloyd George's policy, which sought an understanding with Russia, though at the expense of Soviet Russia. Since the Conservatives have come to power again, Curzon has had a free hand. He wants to renew the policy of throttling Soviet Russia. His calculation is simple. The intervention of the years 1919-20 ended, it is true, with the military defeat of the Entente, but it also resulted in a set-back to Russia's economic development. The two years of peace which Russia has now enjoyed have enabled Russia to make progress towards economic reconstruction, despite the famine of 1921. Last year the workers of Russia starved no longer; the area cultivated has been increased by 20%; and this year's crop justifies the hope that it will be possible for Soviet Russia to export 150 million puds of bread. This would be of advantage to English trade as well. But Lord Curzon, though he holds lectures, for Poincaré's benefit, on the necessity of the economic reconstruction of Europe, does not care a straw for reconstruction, if Russia is also to participate in it.

A breaking off of commercial relations is by no means war. Under present circumstances England cannot carry on war with Russia. But the breaking off of diplomatic relations signifies that English imperialism will mobilize every force against Soviet Russia which it possibly can mobilize. From the vassals of the Entente, such as Poland, Roumania, and the border states, to the Russian White Guards—all will receive their share of English sterling, that they may agitate and even fight against Soviet Russia. In this fresh attempt to throttle Soviet Russia, Curzon leans not only on the military and land-owning circles of England, but on that section of English capitalists who have abandoned all hope that Soviet Russia is going to renounce the social conquests of the October revolution. The commercial houses of the City, whose middleman's profits are destroyed by the monopoly of foreign trade; the captains of industry who, like Urquhardt, have come to the conclusion that the Soviet government does not intend handing over the treasures of Russia to them; these elements are prepared to join in a renewed attack.

The first victim of the conflict inflamed by English imperialism against Soviet Russia has fallen, before the Soviet government could reply to the English note. The murder of the Soviet ambassador Vorovsky in Lausanne, committed by a Swiss-Russian Fascist, the son of the Petrograd chocolate manufacturer Conradi, is a result of the latest English incitement against Soviet Russia. The fable that Conradi's aim was to take vengeance for the murder of his father is utter nonsense, otherwise this Russo-Swiss White Guard would surely have discovered his bleeding heart within a shorter period than five years, and would have taken advantage of the thousand other opportunities of taking revenge on Soviet representatives. If the Swiss government was capable, under English protection, of denying, to the diplomatic delegation of a state comprising one sixth of the world, those rights which the tiny principality of Monaco enjoys, then the murderer could feel confident that no hair of his head would be harmed for this assassination.

And what next? The revolver shot in Lausanne will echo all over the world. It will tell millions of workers that which they might not have gathered from the English note. It will tell them that world capital, under England's leadership, is renewing the attack on the first workers' republic of the world. It will say to the workers and peasants of Russia: Be ready! And it will say to the workers of the whole world: Awake! Soviet Russia, the heroic working class of Russia, is calling you!

V. V. Vorovsky (P. Orlovsky)

By G. Zinoviev.

The Entente murderers have aimed truly. They have robbed our party and the international labor movement of an outstanding personality.

Vazlav Vazlavovitch Vorovsky played his part in the revolutionary movement for more than 30 years. About 1891 he was

one of the leaders of the revolutionary circle of Polish students. Already in 1896 he received his first baptism of fire: at the time of the Coronation festivities he was banished from Moscow to the province of Vologda and placed under police surveillance. In the Autumn of 1896 he became an organized member of the Social Democratic circle, which stood in close connection with the "League of Workers" group. In 1897 Comrade Vorovsky was arrested, and there was found upon him a great quantity of manuscripts and illegal literature. In 1898 he was again banished, this time to Viatka, for 3 years.

At this time the literary activity of our dead comrade began. He wrote in the Marxist literary review, under the pseudonym S. Adamovitch, a series of very promising and in part brilliant articles. In 1901 Comrade Vorovsky made his escape from Perm abroad, where he at once occupied a prominent position among the officials of his party who were then in exile. Abroad he resumed his literary work with increased vigor, contributed to the leading party organs and made ready for work in Russia. In 1903, when the split between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks occurred, Comrade Vorovsky joined the Bolsheviks without the slightest hesitation and occupied an important post in the Bolshevik faction. When the Bolshevik faction published in Geneva its first paper "Vperiod" (Forward), Comrade Vorovsky was one of its editors—together with Comrades Lenin, Lunatcharsky and Olminsky. In 1905 Comrade Vorovsky was one of delegates from the Nikolaievsk organization of our party. After the October days of 1905, Comrade Vorovsky, with the rest of the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, returned straightway to Russia, where he continued his work as one of the members of the "Bolshevik Centre" and as editor of leading Bolshevik papers and periodicals. In 1907 he was, on account of his membership in the party, again prosecuted by the law and banished for 3 years to the province of Viatka. In 1909, at the time of the rabid counter-revolution and its savage persecution, Vazlav Vazlavovitch was a member of the Odessa Committee of the party. In 1910 he was again arrested and brought to trial. In 1912, in the town of Odessa, he played an active part in the election campaign for the IV. Duma, for which he was once more arrested and banished to Vologda.

It is superfluous to mention that, in 1917, Comrade Vorovsky was at his post from the first minute of the existence of the Soviet Power, and took a most active part in all the work of our party.

The splendid articles of Comrade Vorovsky in the old "Iskra", which was edited by Plechanov and Comrade Lenin, as well as in the Bolshevik papers "Vperiod" and "Proletarian" and in a whole series of legal Bolshevik publications, revealed V. V. Vorovsky to us as one of the most distinguished masters of Marxist literature.

Whoever knew our dead comrade, will never forget his great acumen, his remarkable farsightedness and his Marxist profundity. Comrade Vorovsky was one of these comrades, who have not only stood beside the cradle of the Bolshevik movement, but have also been pioneers and originators of the labor movement generally.

The workers of Russia and of the whole world must know what they have lost in the person of Comrade Vorovsky.

The murder was committed in the land of the most advanced "democracy". Comrade Vorovsky came to Switzerland to participate, as the representative of Soviet Russia, in the Conference which was to solve the Turkish question. The arrival of the Soviet representative was a thorn in the side of all those, who wanted, without unnecessary noise, to complete the strangulation of the Turkish people behind closed doors. For some days the papers quite openly wrote, that the nationalist cut-throats were planning an attack upon our envoy. The "great", respectable newspapers conducted only the usual "diplomatic" campaign against our representative, but in reality they have prepared the ground for the Fascist murder.

The responsibility for the bloody deed lies not only with the leader of Swiss Fascism and the handful of petty bourgeois who stand at the head of the celebrated "democratic" Swiss republic. The political responsibility for this unheard of crime is to be borne, before all, by the Entente Governments, the so-called "inviting" Powers who are the stage managers and masters of the Lausanne Conference.

The shooting of Comrade Vorovsky occurred at a time of excitement. The "Die Hard" section of the English imperialists are moving heaven and earth in order to plunge Europe into the abyss of a new war. All these are links in one chain: the Ruhr, the triumphal journey of General Foch, the ultimatum of Curzon, to Soviet Russia, the murder of Comrade Vorovsky and the incredibly insolent attitude of the Polish bourgeoisie, the growth of international Fascism, the furious onslaught of Capital.

One of the founders of our party, one of the best representatives of international Marxism, one of the most unselfish functionaries in the international labor movement, has fallen at his post.

Let us close our ranks! The time is coming when the murder of Comrade Vorovsky and the instigators of this murder must be made answerable to the working class.

To the Workers of all Countries!

Comrade Vorovsky, the fully empowered representative of Russia at Lausanne, has been murdered by a Swiss accomplice of the Entente. The diplomatic organizers of the Lausanne conference have not murdered him themselves, they did not openly plan his murder. They did it with all the secret arts of diplomacy. They first caused the Fascist poison to be spread by the reactionary capitalist press against the Russian representative, and then the blood hounds from the Swiss "National League" were let loose on his track.

It is evident that even after the publicly expressed threat of the Fascist demonstrators before the residence of the Russian representative, the powerful organizers of the Lausanne conference could have prevented this infamous murder with a single word. It is, however, equally evident that a single secret gesture on their part sufficed to bring about the realization of the threat. And this has happened in the ideal country of capitalist democracy. The Swiss government, by its participation in the preparation of the assassination, shows itself to be true to Entente Imperialism.

In such wise has imperialist diplomacy at the Lausanne conference now gained the victory in the struggle with the representative of Russia. At first it sought to accomplish its end by other means. The leading imperialist governments had invited Soviet Russia to Lausanne to take part in the decision of the Dardanelles question. This happened after the victory of the Turkish national army over the Greek troops in Asia Minor, who were fighting in the interests of British imperialism. The English government was then compelled, for the time being, to substitute diplomatic negotiations in place of the criminal war, and in these it was impossible to ignore Soviet Russia. The English government was calculating that in the peace negotiations, Russia would set her interests against the interests of the Turkish people, and, on the other hand, that Turkey would oppose her interests to those of Soviet Russia, as a result of which the decision would remain in the hands of the Entente Governments. But it turned out otherwise. The representatives of Soviet Russia stood boldly and steadfastly for the national independence of the Turkish people, for the "Dardanelles being open as a trade route and being closed to ships of war". After this failure of its plans, English diplomacy sought to exclude Soviet Russia from the negotiations. For this purpose the negotiations at Lausanne were broken off for an indefinite period and were only again resumed after months of intrigues carried on in secret. It was however very inconvenient for the Entente governments to have to confess openly, by their direct refusal to admit the Russian representatives, that the presence of the latter prevented them from carrying out their plans for subjugating Turkey. They confidently reckoned that no further representative from Russia would come to the conference. When however, comrade Vorovsky came with a mandate from Soviet Russia, admission was neither officially granted him nor refused. He was attacked from an ambush.

That is the meaning of capitalist diplomacy. It is quite possible that the representatives of Turkey now in Lausanne will go down on their knees before a diplomacy of this kind. The Turkish nationalists are not strong principled representatives of the interests of the Turkish people, because they have the interests of the propertied classes most closely at heart. Perhaps their class interests will cause or compel them to betray the national future of the Turkish people to the capitalist magnates of the Entente countries. What would that signify? The Dardanelles is the gateway for British imperialism not only to the expropriation of the Russian naphtha in Baku and of the Russian mineral wealth in the Ural, not only to the domination of Constantinople, but to the colonization of the whole of Turkey. And yet further: Should Turkey capitulate to the Entente, it would also mean the end of the independent existence of Persia, Afghanistan and all peoples from the Mediterranean to India. Through the enslavement of these peoples an end will also be put to the aspirations for national emancipation of the Egyptian and Indian peoples, in fact even to the independent development of China.

The Dardanelles are therefore the key to the freedom of the peoples of Asia, and Soviet Russia is the only great power

which defends this key of their freedom from robbery. The shot of the representative of Russia in Lausanne was also aimed at the national future, at the movement for emancipation of the peoples of Asia. It was accurately aimed. The chief instigator of his assassination, Lord Curzon, has at the same time in his note to Soviet Russia set forth the meaning of this shooting. According to his opinion, the interests of British robbery were everywhere injured by Soviet Russia; liberty of movement was not once granted to the spies of the Entente in Moscow and the interests of the English warships were neither recognized in the White nor in the Black Sea. But the demands of Lord Curzon go still further: Soviet Russia must retain no representative in Persia and Afghanistan who recognizes the right of the Asiatic peoples to national independence. In India, no fighters for the freedom of the people, and no friends of Soviet Russia are to be allowed to live, but only colonial slaves. And the Communist International in its propaganda shall not support the movement for emancipation of the toiling masses of India or Egypt. Thus demanded Lord Curzon, and the act of his accomplice in Lausanne was the logical interpretation of his demand. The British government could not have unmasked itself better. Like a lightning flash, he shot in Lausanne has lit up the situation for all the exploited peoples of Asia. Such a propaganda deed will certainly contribute far more to the revolutionizing of Asia than the Communist International could have accomplished in a year.

The shot in Lausanne was, however, not only aimed at the freedom of the peoples of Asia. It was at the same time aimed at the revolutionary proletariat of Europe and of the whole world. It was a declaration of war on the part of the ruling Fascists against the most powerful moral support of the struggling workers of all countries. And in this also it was accurately aimed. Fighting comrades of all countries, at you it was directed, at the first outposts of your international fighting front. One of the noble champions of your future, one of the greatest sons of revolutionary Russia, fell as the first victim of the international offensive of madly raging capital.

This bloody challenge should not remain unanswered by you. You should answer with the firm consolidation of your fighting ranks, with the enhancement of all your forces in the class war, with the consolidation of your revolutionary alliance with the victorious Russian proletariat and with the hundreds of millions of oppressed and enslaved peoples of Asia.

It is your task to save the world from that chaos into which the imperialists in their robber greed wish to cast it!

Long live the defensive struggle of the united forces of all the exploited and oppressed of the Earth!

Down with the imperialist assassins! Down with the fascist bloodhounds!

Up with the victorious revolutionary proletariat! Up with the proletarian world revolution!

Moscow, May 14, 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International

G. Zinoviev.

W. Kolarov.

The Executive Committee of the Red International of Labor Unions

A. Lozovsky.

The Anglo-Russian Crisis

By M. N. Røy.

Lord Curzon has declared war upon Soviet Russia. This is what his Note means in plain language. The Workers' and Peasants' Republic must bow down before the haughtiness of the noble lord, or he will condemn her to the days of two years ago, to the days when Soviet Russia was attacked, blockaded and isolated on all sides. It still remains to be seen how the Soviet government will take up this insolent challenge of the British bourgeoisie, and how the British working class will react to this new war menace. But it can be safely asserted that whatever may be the immediate trend of events, the days are past when Curzonian politics and methods go very far. One reads nothing of impotent rage and a clear indication of weakness between the lines of the note couched in such proud sentiments and such lofty phrases. Lloyd George has failed to reconstruct bourgeois society by means of his politics of concessions and conferences; now comes Curzon to try his hand. He believes in the big stick, with which he expects to make the world do his bidding. But this crude Curzonian politics is sure to fail more miserably in this advanced period of capitalist decay than it did in India early 20 years ago. If by his stupidity and haughtiness Curzon

only succeeded in stirring up a hornet's nest in India, those methods applied on a world-scale will make for his own ruin and that of the order whose proud protagonist he is.

Curzon may not be very clever; he may only succeed in damaging the capitalist cause by his bull-dog methods; but he is an imperialist to the marrow and of the Victorian order at that. He still thinks of the world in terms of the British Empire, and hinges the latter on its ability to beat back the Russians. He is one of those dense British aristocrats who never learn anything and never forget anything. As a raw Oxford graduate, he wrote about the Russian aggression in Central Asia; as an Under-Secretary of State he talked of the Russian menace to India; as the Viceroy of India he turned the Middle East into a hot-bed of intrigues against the Muscovite Monarchy; as the chief British delegate at Lausanne, he successfully conspired to lure the Turks away from the Russians; and lastly, as the officiating Premier, he is on the war-path against Russia. Russia is Russia to him. Those little changes that have taken place in Russia since the days when Curzon won his reputation as an anti-Russian do not mean much to him. He only knows that the tables have been somewhat turned against him. Since 1917, British influence in the East has steadily declined, and that of the Russians has gained ground. He is unable to understand that the Russia which British Imperialism has had to face during the last years, is not the Russia of the Czars, and that it is this fact which is responsible for the change of feelings in the Eastern countries,—a change which terrifies Curzon and his kind. All that Curzon knows is that in the East, British influence is on the decline and Russian influence is on the ascendency. Therefore, he comes straight to the conclusion that there must be intrigues and conspiracies; because Curzonian diplomacy knows no other method. None knows better than Lord Curzon what a brilliant record of intrigues and conspiracies the British Empire in the East possesses. He also knows how strenuously the Muscovite cousins of the Windsors parried and retaliated in the East. So he is sure that the Bolsheviks, who do not make any secret of their hostility to Imperialism and sympathy for the oppressed nationalities struggling for freedom, must be vying with the British agents in the Courts of Kabul and Teheran in intrigues, bribery and forgery. With this *a priori* conviction, Lord Curzon sets out to imagine and concoct gruesome reports of the activities of Soviet agents in Persia and Afghanistan, and of Bolshevik gold pouring into India. He stuffs his historic note with such questionable evidence in order to prove the lack of faith of the Bolsheviks.

The British Note outwardly is a flourish of Curzonian jingoism, but its real significance and scope do not confine themselves to the moral issue that the Bolsheviks have broken their faith. This is not the first time that Curzon has trotted out those fantastic tales of Soviet intrigues in the East. They have been heard before; but never were they made the sole pretext for an ultimatum.

Under the leadership of Lloyd George, the British bourgeoisie hoped to penetrate peacefully to the economic life of Russia and undermine the political power of the working class by boring from within. They had to adopt this policy upon the abject failure of the project to conquer Russia for capitalism at the point of guns. But the policy of concession-hunting, that of killing by kindness—also failed to satisfy the greed of the British bourgeoisie. The world economy cannot be reconstructed without Russia; but the continued existence and steady consolidation of the Soviet Power constitute a menace to capitalist economy. The British bourgeoisie adopted the policy of concession-hunting, not for the concessions themselves, but to use the concessions for undermining the Soviet Power. In this design they have failed. The Workers' and Peasants' Republic has proved her ability to defend her sovereignty, not only on the military front, but on the political and economic front as well. She has proved herself to be a harder nut to crack than the China of the Tu Chuns, the Persia of the feudals and the Turkey of the Pashas. She would give concessions but nothing more. Capitalist greed, on the other side, would not be contented with a limited profit. Russia must be conquered for capitalism. If this cannot be done, then she must be destroyed, at least condemned to isolation, blockade and renewed intervention. This is the real significance of the Curzon Note. Through it speaks the militant section of the British bourgeoisie, which still has the illusion of conquering the world.

Once it is decided that a policy of threat and bluster should be tried next, it is necessary to find a pretext. Typical of the mentality of the present Tory government, the slogans for the campaign of hate against Russia were found in "God and Empire"—two things dear to the British bourgeoisie, and which can be successfully used in manipulating that amorphous commodity called Public Opinion, the alpha and omega of bourgeois democracy.

War cannot be made with notes, nor an army be raised from those zealots of the Empire who provide the British Foreign Office with the materials for such notes. If not actual armies, munitions must be manufactured and transported to Poland, Rumania and such other border states as cannot live but by the profession of war. For these purposes at least tacit consent, if not the enthusiastic support of the workers has to be secured. But this is where the clay feet of Imperialism are exposed. The British proletariat, which certainly lacks a consciously anti-Imperialist spirit, has no stomach for new wars. Hence the necessity of discovering a redoubt, through which the proletariat can be taken by surprise and made to aid the bourgeoisie in its mad career. The leaders of the British Labour Party are all good Christians, and every good Christian is a pious Imperialist, believing in the mission of civilizing the backward peoples. This being the case could there be found any better cry than "God and the Empire" to retain the services of the Labour Party, in case the Soviet Government should take up the challenge so insolently thrown down by Lord Curzon?

The "godliness" of the Labour Party has already been fully exploited by the campaign of lies over the prosecution of the priests. But the days are gone when a war can be launched with the mere name of God. An additional stimulus was needed. The cry of "Empire in danger" came handy; and who can raise this cry more valiantly than Lord Curzon, the inheritor of the anti-Russian prejudice of British jingoism? Such is the genesis of the Curzon Note, which proposes to set the whole world once again on fire, because a few Indian youths strayed into a school at Moscow, or some enterprising journalist spun out of his fertile imagination some correspondence of the Soviet Representative at Kabul or Teheran. To an ordinary mortal, it looks ridiculous to make such a fuss over these incidents, even if they were real; but to a Britisher, and an ordinary British worker is still proud of being a Britisher, it means a great deal. It means a conspiracy against the Empire: the loss of the Empire means loss of trade; and loss of trade means absence of work which, in its turn, spells such terrible things as no wages, hunger, and so on and so forth. Thus the Empire is a reality to the average British worker. It has been impressed upon his mind since childhood. He reads about it in the daily paper. Even the "Workers' Daily" *Herald* talks proudly of "our Empire". This psychology of the British working class is a reality, and the note is meant to work upon this psychological complex. Soviet Russia is held up, not only as a standing menace to the safety of the Empire, but as working assiduously for its destruction.

But what are the facts of the matter? If the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement is to be broken, because the abstention from hostile propaganda stipulated in the Preamble has not been complied with, who is to be held responsible for it? In magnificent Curzonian style, the British Note points out the infringements committed by the Russians. Curzon asserts that the Russian Foreign Office knows that the charges levelled against it are all true. The appropriate retort to this would be that Lord Curzon knows he is having a day-dream. But we can give a still better retort. If a bank-note, drawn by the Russian Trade Delegation in London, and found a year and a half later in the Punjab is a proof of the bad faith of the Bolsheviks, what interpretation should we put on the fact that the Ferganas rebels during more than two years used the same rifles and cartridges as are used by the British army in India, and that the insurgent army of Enver Pasha was clothed in British uniform? A particular bank-note can easily stray in the course of a year and a half from London to India, but the same thing cannot be said of the continual supply of war materials pouring in from Chitral. Lord Curzon flourished an imaginary telegram of Raskolnikov, but conveniently forgets the activities of Sir Henry Dobbs and Capt. Humphreys. Lord Curzon has only to refer to his colleague in the India office to find out that Henry Dobbs offered the Afghan government 20 crores of rupees, as the price for breaking off relations with Russia! This was after the Trade Agreement was signed. Lord Curzon intends to bamboozle the naive British working class by an imaginary picture of an army of Bolshevik propagandists sweeping down upon India from the heights of the Pamir, while he can mention but seven students who, by the way, are not Communists, but religious emigrants returning home. These innocent youths will be locked in jail in order to add a touch of reality to the Bolshevik bogey. Will His Lordship enquire in the Criminal Intelligence Department in Simla to find out how many agents have been sent to Russia, not to mention Afghanistan, Persia, Mesopotamia? The anti-Russian activities of the British diplomatic and Consular agents in Persia are an open secret, although they may not find their way into the British press. Then, the grandest violation of all was consummated by His Lordship in person. We mean his diplomatic

exploits at Lausanne. The amount of intrigue and propaganda required for forcing the Turks practically to violate their treaty with Moscow, was enormous, and Lord Curzon knows better than anybody else that by this act alone, he can be held responsible for the termination of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, if it is to be terminated on the ground of propaganda. But he wants to break the agreement and make the Bolsheviks responsible for it, so that the British working class will share with the British bourgeoisie the consequences of this break. Therefore, he bases his note exclusively on propaganda against the Empire.

That the Empire is in danger, there is no doubt. But it is sheer nonsense to think that the Empire is going to burst under any external pressure. It is disintegrating in consequence of the general decay of capitalist economy, and in consequence of the rise of internal forces. Czarist Russia was no more a friend of the British Empire than are the Bolsheviks. But it failed to inspire anything but dread and hatred in its Eastern neighbours. If the Russia of the workers and peasants gets the contrary response from the same quarters, the reason need not be attributed to imaginary propaganda schools and subtle agents everywhere. It is to be found in the great political and moral significance of the Russian Revolution, whose program appeals spontaneously to the subject nationalities.

So, the agents, propaganda, intrigues, etc. are all a pretext. The British bourgeoisie want to make another frantic attempt to choke the Russian Revolution, which objectively is the mortal enemy of Imperialism. Let the British proletariat be on guard, and not fall into the snare of the ruling class.

The Empire is really in danger. The sooner it goes the better. The proletariat has nothing to lose but its unemployment dole.

Newbold's Suspension from Parliament

By J. T. Murphy.

Towards the close of the debate initiated by the Labour Party on the question of the Government's attitude towards the Soviet Government of Russia, which took place in the House of Commons on Tuesday 15th. May, the President of the Board of Trade, who was formerly a very influential representative of the Federation of British Industries, replying to the discussion, made certain vague charges of propaganda against the Soviet Government. Comrade Walton Newbold, who had given his name in to speak, but who, along with Comrade Saklatvala, had never been given an opportunity to do so, immediately challenged the Government spokesman to give examples. He remained equally vague, giving neither chapter nor verse. Comrade Newbold continued to press him, but he treated him without any courtesy. Comrade Newbold then shouted across the floor "The man is telling falsehoods!" He was called to order by the Deputy-Chairman of the Committee (When the House is supposed to be discussing the grant of money to the Crown it is said to be "in committee" and the speaker is not in the Chamber), whereupon Comrade Newbold exclaimed "You have allowed things to be said against me all night and then do not give me a chance to answer, like the bourgeois that you are." A storm of protest immediately came from the Government side of the House and the Deputy-Chairman said "You must not make that sort of remark in the House and I must ask you to leave the House." (*Manchester Guardian*—16th. May 1923.) Comrade Newbold refrained from making any further remark but kept his seat. The Deputy-Chairman continued to instruct him to leave the Chamber. Comrade Newbold kept his seat, whereupon the Deputy-Chairman called upon the Deputy-Sergeant-at-Arms, an amiable old gentleman in Court Dress with a silver-hilted sword dangling at his side, to remove the Honourable Member for Motherwell. Immediately there was an ominous move of Scottish Labor members sitting for constituencies near Motherwell, to take up positions on either side of Comrade Newbold. George Lansbury was observed to settle himself much more firmly into his seat on Comrade Newbold's right. James Maxton, of Glasgow, put out his hand and for some time obstructed the approach of the official until he satisfied himself that no immediate use of force was intended. The Deputy-Sergeant-at-Arms thereupon asked Comrade Newbold to leave the House and hoped that he would cause no trouble. Comrade Newbold replied: "I am here in the name of the Communist International and in response to the dictates of my constituents." Three times he was asked to leave the House, but remained obdurate saying neither "yes" nor "no". The Deputy Sergeant then reported his refusal to the Deputy-Chairman, who, thereupon rising from his seat, suspended the Committee and sent for the Speaker. The Deputy-Sergeant meanwhile lifted the official knoberry known as "The Mace" from

under the table and laid it on the table, whereupon the House was again sitting.

Meanwhile a tremendous uproar occurred. The Government supporters, always noisy after dinner, and on this occasion infuriated at the impudence of a Bolshevik holding up proceedings in the oldest Parliament in the world, threatened all kinds of wild things. The Labor men shouted back to them to come and try to put Newbold out, an invitation which was not accepted for obvious reasons. The Speaker entered the House and for a moment there was calm whilst the incident was reported to him. He endeavoured to give Comrade Newbold an opportunity to explain his position, but when our comrade rose he was immediately met with a tornado of abuse from the gentlemanly benches, and the Speaker, in conformity with the Rules of the House, and obviously contrary to his own desire, had to "name" the Honourable member. The Leader of the House, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, thereupon moved: "that the Honourable member for Motherwell be suspended from the service of this House." The Speaker put the question and the Tories roared out "Aye". The Labor men and some of the Liberals threw the challenge back "No". This was repeated several times and then the matter was put to a vote in the Lobbies. George Buchanan, Labor member for one of the Glasgow Divisions, and George Lansbury, acted as Tellers in defense of Comrade Newbold. The vote was, for suspension 300, against suspension 88. The result was greeted with vociferous cheers and counter cheers, catcalls and howlings. The Speaker thereupon called upon Comrade Newbold to withdraw. Rising in his place Comrade Newbold stated: "Having regard to the unfeeling courtesy with which you have always treated me, Mr. Speaker, I shall now leave the House." He walked down from his place, stopped for a moment in the middle of the floor, bowed profoundly to Mr. Speaker and then walked erect between the members out of the Chamber. This was the signal for tremendous cheers from the Labor and Liberal benches. The Government supporters were dumfounded at the spectacle of a Communist giving a lesson in good manners to the whiskey-soaked gentlemen of England.

What are the lessons which we, as Communists, can draw from this incident? First, neither Comrade Newbold, nor Saklatvala, were given any opportunity to state the case for the Communist International or to voice sentiments in entire endorsement of the Soviet principle. Both had given their names to the Chairman, but they, the only persons in the House who could possibly champion the Communist cause, were forbidden to do so. More than that: Continuous accusations were made against the Communists and insinuations made against Comrade Newbold. He challenged none of these, preferring to give the gentlemen of England the opportunity to show whether or not they could be the sportsmen they boast themselves to be, when their vested interests were at stake.

The Deputy-Chairman is a Captain in the Reserve Regiment of the First Lifeguards, the picked Guard of His Majesty King George, patron and friend of Sir Benito Mussolini. He was formerly a Page of Honour at the Court and is a member of the chief Tory Club. This was the man who called upon our Comrade to leave the House without giving him the opportunity of justifying or withdrawing his remark.

Thus, we may observe how the voice of the only direct spokesman of the Communist International and the Soviet point of view, was silenced. In view of the fact that the Government spokesmen, without the slightest attempt to produce evidence, repeatedly levelled charges of Soviet propaganda either in this country or in the Empire at large or on the borders of the Empire, this high-handed treatment of Comrade Newbold can only be taken as one further illustration of the bourgeois disregard of all parliamentary privileges that conflict with their class interests. Nothing could have been better calculated to further propaganda of the Communist International, than this dramatic endorsement of its arguments concerning the hollowness and hypocrisy of bourgeois parliamentarism in this, the oldest and most venerated Parliament in the World.

The Economic Significance of the new Reparations Note

By *Economicus*.

The negotiations for an understanding between French and German heavy capital continue to drag slowly along, and to come to an occasional standstill. As German heavy industry is desirous of a liquidation of the Ruhr conflict, it has utilized the occasion offered by Lord Curzon's speech to send a new reparations note to the allies, and to the Japanese and American governments.

The economic substance of this note is approximately as follows: The Cuno government proposes a reduction of Germany's total obligations, in money and in kind, to 30 milliard gold marks, of which 20 milliard gold marks are to be paid by July 1, 1927, a further 5 milliards by July 1, 1929, and 5 milliards by July 1931, the sums to be raised by loans in the international money market. The subscription of the first 20 milliard gold marks is to begin at once, the loan interests up to July, 1925, are to be taken from the proceeds of the loan, and a moratorium granted so to speak, for the reparation payments within this time. Should these 20 milliard gold marks not be raised by July, 1927, their rate of interest is to be 5%, their redemption 1%. Should the two allotments of 5 milliard gold marks not be raised within the prescribed term, an international commission is to arbitrate on their payment by Germany. The same applies, in July 1931, to the interest due between July, 1923, and this date. As an impartial international commission the loan consortium is proposed, or a committee composed of international business men, including representatives of Germany, or a board of arbitration consisting of a representative of the reparations commission, of the German government, and a non-partisan. More detailed agreements are to be made regarding payments in kind.

The German government declares itself prepared to undertake special guarantees for the proposed payments. The concrete form to be taken by these guarantees is to be decided upon. Legal measures are also to be taken for the guarantee, securing this by the whole of Germany's economics. Private agreements are to be made respecting payments in kind. The German government also declares the stabilization of the mark to be necessary, but does not lose a word on ways and means.

The note declares further that the basis for an assured exchange of goods of vital importance between the countries participating is to be created by means of private economic agreements, especially in relation to deliveries of coal and coke.

What does the note mean?

A reduction of the reparation obligations from the fantastic sum of 132 milliard gold marks is a matter of course, its necessity evident to everyone. The only question is the amount by which the reparation obligations are to be reduced. But even assuming that an understanding were reached on the basis of the 30 milliard gold marks offered, this would still be a tremendous burden. There is surely nobody so foolish as to believe that an international loan is easier or cheaper to raise today than it was formerly, now that the economic policy pursued by the German capitalists has severely shaken German economics, and the market crisis is further accompanied by the depreciation of the mark. Should such a loan be floated in the "normal conditions" of the international money market, to use the expression employed by the Cuno government, it would be as little subscribed as the internal gold loan. International finance capital, the English and American bankers, are doubtless in a position to raise this one milliard gold marks. But they will not plank down their money when they can participate with the French and German heavy capitalists in the exploitation of the German workers, when they can become co-administrators of the bankrupt's estate, and can thus gain influence and a share in German industry. There can scarcely be a workman left who still believes in the pleasant fairy tales of a pause for breath to be won by a moratorium. The execution of the provisions of the Versailles treaty, apart from the reparations, cost 2.3 billions for the year 1923, reckoning the mark at 20,000 to the dollar. These costs have swelled to at least 4 billions at the present time. The German government has had no cash payments to make since August 1922, but the crisis in German economics has steadily increased in acuteness. Apart from the plans which finance capital intends to realize when participating in a loan, the terms will be hard from a purely financial standpoint as well; they will bring no lessening of the burden, but rather make it heavier.

The proposals made by the German government are thus of great importance from one point of view. But from another viewpoint they signify very little, since the factors decisive for the parties to the negotiations are lacking: the guarantee of German industry, and the proposals for a stabilization of the mark. German industry does not want to guarantee anything, to pay anything. Hence the suggestion of an international loan, the proposal of fresh state guarantees. The government, not possessing the power to compel the heavy industry by any measure, is prepared to pledge the revenues and undertakings of the realm, to sacrifice high finance and independence, to raise loans at the price of submission to an administration on the Austrian pattern.

The German capitalists do not want to pay anything. This is the tenor of the whole note. The fresh burdens are to be borne by the workers, as already set out in the beautiful program

contained in the reparations note of November 13, to which the social democracy stood godfather. International loan, interest borne by the working class, Stinnes' program with a parliamentary majority behind it, reduction of wages, restriction of social legislation, and inevitable unemployment.

The German capitalists do not want to pay, but they are anxious for the understanding, for the Franco-German mining concern. The payments in kind are to be regulated by private agreements, the government set aside, its sole function that of acting as pay-office for the payments in kind. With regard to the delivery of coal and coke: "the conclusion of long term private economic agreements is necessary." In order to remove the last obstacle in the way of this understanding among the capitalists, the German government is prepared, in a concealed form, to agree to a Rhine compact "in order to establish the natural economic connection between production and consumption", and in "the interests of peaceful co-operation between Germany and France" a compact which would come to nothing more nor less than a treaty similar to that under which Tsingtau was leased.

The French capitalists are not in agreement with this plan. For them the guarantee of German heavy industry is still lacking. The actual form in which German and French heavy capital will combine is still a matter of uncertainty. One thing only is certain: German heavy capital and its government is trying, by every means at its disposal, to push the whole burden of reparations upon the workers. German heavy capitalists are ready to come to an understanding with French; they are ready to bargain away the Rhineland clandestinely, to abandon high finance for a loan, to admit an international control.

This plan of the heavy capitalists meets the approval of the social democratic leaders. It has a marked similarity to the social democratic reparations plan of Hilferding and Auriol. On May 1st, the German government sent off the new reparations note. But May 1, is also the day on which the class-conscious workers, in every part of the world where there is a proletariat, showed by mighty demonstrations that they are determined to take up arms against capitalist robber treaties, against capitalist war and capitalist peace. It is incumbent on the working class to frustrate this carefully thought out compact between French and German heavy capital, this compact for the enslavement of German and French workers, for the strengthening of French imperialism.

League of Nations and Saar Government

By W. Zink.

The League of Nations is the controlling authority of the so-called Saar government. According to article 49 of the Versailles Treaty, Germany has to renounce the right of government over the Saar area. The League of Nations receives the mandate to act as trustee.

Four years of Saar politics have sufficed to throw adequate light on this trustee policy. French imperialism, which has been accorded the coal mines of the Saar district as "substitute for the devastated coal mines of North France", has contrived to convert League of Nations and dummy government alike into organs acting in the interests of France. A colonial policy was adopted, at first carefully veiled, but none the less ruthlessly executed, and culminating recently in supporting Poincaré's Ruhr offensive by the notorious penal law which—whilst referring in a characteristic manner to the German law for the protection of the republic—can only be compared to the exceptional laws of the countries of the White Terror, Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, etc.

These emergency regulations (as they were called by the Saar government) made the class conscious workers fair game for reactionary arbitrariness and unbounded exploitation. Any criticism of the thrice holy government, of its members or measures, was punished by loss of liberty. The liberty of the bourgeois press was completely throttled. The end aimed at by the regulations was demonstrated by the immediate suspension of the Communist newspaper for several weeks. The labor organizations are threatened with dissolution if there is a shadow of "suspicion" that they put the peace treaty of Versailles and its honorable trustees in a light "exposing them to contempt". Imprisonment is also threatened for those who "incite the population to form hostile parties".

In the Saar area "democratic France" no longer takes the trouble to mask her real intentions. The French military boot replaces the League of Nations phraseology. Even the petty bourgeois pacifists, led by the Saar S.P.D., are beginning to awaken to a vague notion that the legendary League of Nations

possesses an infernal degree of similarity to French militarism. Despite this recognition, they have again resorted to complaining of the devil to his grandmother. The Saar bourgeoisie, with the worthy S.P.D. leaders hanging to its apron strings and having grown none the wiser as a result of their previous failures, sent a petitionary delegation to the League of Nations at Geneva, begging that the emergency law be repealed and the arbitrary governmental measures, unfavorable even to bourgeois German interests, be limited. The League of Nations held its conference. The French Saar policy was the subject of a session held in camera, and this session—approved the policy! The gentle request made by Branting—who already in advance had been crowned with laurel by the S.P.D. for his skilful management of the matter—that the government commission would be so kind as to withdraw the emergency regulations after the settlement of the miners' strike, which has now lasted three months, was dropped calmly under the table. The League of Nations took very good care not to come to any decision binding the governmental commission of the Saar district to cancel the emergency law. On the contrary, the president of the Saar government, Rault, a disciple of Poincaré's, expressly declared that he had not the slightest intention of entering into any obligation to withdraw the emergency regulations after the settlement of the strike.

Modest individuals like social democrats, who never do expect much, consider that great progress has been made, in that the exceptional legislation accorded to the Saar area has at least been subjected to criticism in Geneva. To prevent any legends from arising, we must hold firmly to the fact that Mr. Branting, this ornament of the 2. International, would have absolutely nothing against it if the emergency law, hitherto employed to suppress the striking miners, remained in force during the continuation of the strike! In actual practice this is equivalent to approving of the military dictatorship being exercised against the strikers, many of whom are members of the Amsterdam International. The White Terror is supported against his own social democratic adherents! The conception of solidarity within the Second International is truly a wonderful thing.

The sanctioning of the French colonial policy by the Council of the League of Nations was even more plainly expressed in the actual resolutions. The number of troops being kept in the Saar area, exceeding those prescribed by the Versailles treaty, is not to be diminished, neither are these troops to be hindered in their attacks on the defenceless working population. The Council of the League of Nations now gives permission for the strike pickets to be bound to the horses of the cavalry. The Saar government is empowered to demand as many troops from France as it deems advisable for the execution of its trusteeship on behalf of the League of Nations. We have not heard that the social democrat Branting has raised any protest against this.

The humble request made by the allied Saar bourgeoisie and Saar social democracy, that the so-called German member of the Saar government be not appointed by this government, but elected by themselves, was replied to by the confirmation of the appointment of a francophile creature nominated by the former German governmental member, Dr. Hector, as worthy successor to himself. As is well known, Hector was convicted of perjury by even Saar justice. His successor is a one-time German jingo patriot and lickspittle of the Hohenzollerns, who possesses the art of utilizing these estimable qualities in the manner most profitable to himself, and who, accordingly, has so far adapted himself to present circumstances as to have become an ardent admirer of France, and, above all, of French currency. This honorable gentlemen has been confirmed by the League of Nations in his mission of representing the interests of the German population. Even in the case of this decision it is not disclosed with what proportion of votes it was arrived at. This point is, however, not of decisive importance for the Saar proletariat, but rather the remarkable fact that again Mr. Branting raised no protest. He participated without protest in this mockery of the right of self determination of nationalities, in this derision of bourgeois democracy. Such is the actual practice of those choice spirits of the Second International, who take every opportunity of impressing on the Communist Party the necessity of bourgeois democracy.

The delegation, consisting of a member of the People's Party, the industrialist Röchling, a social democrat, and a member of the Centre party, returned from Geneva like a set of schoolboys who have been boxed on the ears. Their press is easily contented. It records even this box on the ears as a success, and holds out hopes—for the session of the Council of the League of Nations. But the social democratic workers appear to be wearying of this petitionary coalition of their leaders, and of the League of Nations delusion. At the last party conference held by the Saar S.P.D., there were workers who declared that the policy, of their organization was more bourgeois than that

pursued by the bourgeois parties themselves. This most welcome awakening to a recognition of the truth was followed up by an appeal made by our party paper in Saarbrücken, to the social democratic workers:

The Saar proletariat must review and test its own forces, must ascertain what means it has at its disposal for overcoming the conditions enchaining and suppressing the labor movement. Trust in Mr. Branting and his whole League of Nations will not bring us a step forward.

A congress of freely organized workers must clear away this delusion, which only serves to distract the workers from the struggle. The summoning of a trade union congress for the Saar district is proving a more urgent necessity every day.

ECONOMICS

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

German Austria

In one of his articles Lloyd George names the settlement of Austria's affairs by the League of Nations a "successful effort in the line of artificial respiration". This designation seems to us to hit the mark exactly. The loan now actually received has enabled the crown to be stabilized in Austria; there even seems to be a tendency to a rise in its value during the last few weeks.

But the prices are not stabilized. According to the official index figures the rise in prices was as follows:

$$15.1 = 1\%; 15.2 = 2\%; 15.3 = 6\%.$$

That the price level will rise again in the near future is almost certain, as a result of the newly introduced turnover tax. The amount of paper money in circulation remains fairly constant. In March there was a certain increase, but this was not due to state needs, but to real requirements in economic life.

A slight improvement in economic conditions has lately been observable in Austria, partially due to the revision of wages (reducing the real wage of the workers), and partially to the Ruhr occupation, which has led to an increase in the export of iron and iron products.

Until the middle of March the number of unemployed changed but little; in Vienna there were approximately 100,000 unemployed, in the whole of Austria about 170,000. In March there was a slight drop, caused in part by agricultural and building seasonal work. Despite rising prices, an almost uniform 5% reduction of wages took place in all trades at the beginning of February. Improved economic conditions however, aroused the resistance of the workers again and at the end of March the bourgeoisie was forced to grant a 5% rise in wages.

The measures prescribed by the League of Nations, above all the discharge of superfluous civil servants, and the depoliticization and reduction of the army, have not been fully carried out, owing to the resistance of the Social Democrats and of some sections of the bourgeoisie. The result is the very interesting fact that the Entente ruler of Austria, the financial controller Zimmermann, will enter a formal complaint against Austria at the impending conference of the League of Nations Council, Austria not having adhered to the conditions under which the loan was granted.

Hungary

The 1st quarter of 1923 has demonstrated that the counter-revolutionary White government is totally incompetent — despite the ruthless suppression of the working class, carried through by all and every means — to assist the country out of the economic crisis. We may take the rapid fall of the crown as the external symbol of Hungary's decline. During the second half of 1922 the rate of exchange was kept fairly stable by artificial support. This took place against the will of the industrial bourgeoisie, which hoped that Hungarian industry would be rendered more capable of competition in the Balkan markets by a policy of inflation. Whether it was that the industrialists succeeded in asserting their will, or whether it was—and this is more probable—that the state treasury was no longer able to support the crown, in any case there was a considerable depreciation in the currency during the period of this report. The quotations for an English pound were as follows:

5. January	12 000 crowns
2. February	13 000 "
6. March	16 000 "
6. April	20 000 "

The depreciation in the rate of exchange is due to the passive-trade balance of the year 1922, and to the deficit in state finances.

The budget for 1922/23, submitted in the eighth month of the budget year, shows a deficit of 40 milliard crowns. The deficit has been covered by increased issue of paper money. Within the first eight months fresh notes to the value of 12 milliards were issued. In order to cover the further deficit, the ministry has now decided to issue notes to the value of 30 milliards. But this fresh issue will have to be much greater, as the budget draft was calculated in crowns then possessing double their present value. Moreover, the budget does not take into consideration the new, far-reaching, and justified claims of the state officials. Further, it provides the sum of 16 milliards only for the army, a most improbably low figure, less than the expenditure required by the Austrian national army.

As in Poland, the state of industrial markets is here much better than that of state finances and of the rate of exchange. The extremely low wages paid the working class induces foreign capital to invest; there are very many Slovakian and Czech undertakings which have removed their works to Hungary, in order to profit by the low wages. It is interesting to note that here French capital, represented by *Schneider-Creusot*, is working peacefully hand in hand with *Stinnes*, through the agency of the *Hungarian Credit-Bank*, and that English capital is doing the same through the agency of the *Anglo-Hungarian-Bank*. This speculation in the low wages of the Hungarian workers is clearly expressed in an article published by the "Times":

"Compared with the cost of living, the wages are lower than in any country in Europe. Since the war the standard of living has sunk in all classes and occupations. Before the war the average wage was 50 hellers per hour, for which sum the worker could buy 2 kgs of bread. The hourly wage is now 110 to 120 crowns, and a kg of bread costs 160 crowns."

The wages of the agricultural laborer are lower than ever, and unemployment is great.

The following data from the "Nepszava" give an idea of how low the standard of living has sunk:

	21. July 14. Crowns	31. Dec. 21. Crowns	31. Dec. 22. Crowns
Minimum weekly living wage for a family of 5	42.68	2485.50	11763.68
Weekly earnings among workmen	32.16	1045.95	5301.78
among officials	46.58	685.50	3622.78

The Hungarian workman was able to buy the following goods with his daily wages:

	Jan. 1913—14.	Autumn 1922
Black bread	9.8 kgs	2.9
Potatoes	" 23.0	10.0
Lard	" 1.7	0.4
Sugar	" 3.1	0.8
Linen	" 3.7	0.8

Since the end of last year conditions have become worse. At the end of January the weekly minimum living wage had already reached 13,323 crowns. But the average hourly wage in Budapest and environs at the beginning of February was 123 crowns for skilled workers, unskilled workers 102, other factory workers 75. By the end of February the prices had risen 380 times, the wages 175 times, as compared with pre-war figures. Prices rise unceasingly; during the first three weeks of March alone prices rose by 35%. These facts explain the obstinacy and bitterness with which the Hungarian working class has fought its recent wage battles, and demonstrate at the same time the bankruptcy of the White Terror régime.

Poland

We have insufficient data at our disposal with respect to the economic situation of Poland during the period of our report. It may be said in general that economic life has undergone but little change. The great contradiction between the obvious improvement of production and the further depreciation of the currency has been continued during this quarter of a year. At about New Year 80,000 Polish Marks were paid for an English pound; at the beginning of April 200 000. Poland's incorporation into France's sphere of economic power also continues. In the course of these last three months Poland has received 400 million French francs in state credits, and is also said to have received credits from large French banks.

The following figures, culled from the "Bergwerks-Zeitung", show the participation of French capital in Polish petroleum undertakings (10. April):

"A few weeks ago French companies founded a *Syndicat des Pétroles Français de Pologne*, with headquarters in Paris. To this syndicate belong:

1. Société Franco Polonaise des Pétroles	165	Mill. Frs.
2. " des Pétroles de Dombrowa	138	" "
3. " Française des Pétroles Premier	135	" "
4. " de Naphte Limanowa	100	" "
5. " Française des Pétroles de Malopolska	30	" "
6. " Financière des Pétroles	25	" "
7. " des Pétroles Wankowa	15	" "
8. " des Pétroles des Potok	12	" "
9. Crédit Général des Pétroles	10	" "
10. Omnium des Gaz et Pétroles	6	" "
11. Société des Pétroles de Grobowa	4	" "
12. " des Pétroles de Zagorz	4	" "
13. " ces Redevances et pétrolifères d'exploita- tions	4	" "
14. " Française des Karpathes	3.5	" "
15. " Industrielle de Galicie	3	" "
16. " des Pétroles Pologne	1.5	" "
17. " des Pétroles de Sambor	1.5	" "
18. " Française pour l'industrie des Pétroles	1	" "

658.5 Mill. Frs.

The "Silva Plana" Co., with its capital of 68 million francs, does not belong to this syndicate.

Another very interesting point is the co-operation of France and Poland in the international coal business, as reported in the "Bergwerks-Zeitung" of the 13th February. The allotment of Upper Silesia has made Poland into the second greatest possessor of coal; production however, is still comparatively small. The above named paper writes as follows:

"Poland's economic co-operation with France is also to be presently expressed in a re-division of coal export. Poland has received instructions from France to examine into its system of coal export with a view to making it correspond in every respect to France's economic plans. The confidence men of the French government in Poland (Korfanty and his companions) have agreed among themselves that, in case of a further decline in the coal market, a further organization of foreign markets is to be undertaken. Germany is to receive Polish Upper Silesian coal to the same extent as before. Poland is to exert every endeavor to extend its coal markets towards the East. Polish deliveries of coal to Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, etc. are to be continued in the future, but on the other hand the projected extension of Polish coal export to Switzerland is not to be carried out on such a large scale as originally intended, for France desires to supply Switzerland herself. France and Belgium will also supply the Northern States to a greater extent than before; hence, Poland will not increase its coal export in this direction."

We are of course unable to vouch for the correctness of these statements; but they seem to bear out the general trend of Polish-French relations.

The situation of industry has suffered a general decline. According to official figures, the number of unemployed exceeded 75,000 at the beginning of January.

With regard to separate branches of industry, the production of petroleum is still receding. In 1922 the output was 44,500 barrels as compared with 50,000 in the year 1921. This is explained by the circumstance that the petroleum strata near the surface are now exhausted, and borings to a depth of 1,600 metres are now required to reach new sources. This demands extensive technical equipment, which has to be imported from abroad, and for which the undertakings do not possess sufficient capital. This explains the constant penetration of French capital into the Polish petroleum industry, the politico-military motives overcoming the economic difficulties. Petroleum imported from America is cheaper than native petroleum.

The Polish textile industry is just passing through a severe crisis; production has ceased to a considerable extent.

Transport is still suffering severely from shortage of rolling stock. 34% of the locomotives are in need of repairs. The shortage of locomotives is estimated at 1,500, of trucks at 43,000.

Foreign trade has improved in so far as the import surplus has diminished; this is estimated at about 20%, but there are no exact data to be had.

Now as ever, state finances are the worst point. There have been innumerable expert conferences, and it is hoped that the deficit will be removed in three years. But in reality the taxation revenues of the state—as in Germany—are quite

insignificant, owing to the rapid depreciation of the mark and retarded payment of the taxes.

The taxes per capita, reckoned in gold francs, are:

	1912	1922
Income tax	0.34	0.13
Ground tax	1.17	0.12
House tax	1.72	0.03
Industrial tax	1.89	0.46

The deficit in state finances continues to be covered by the issue of fresh notes. Total value of notes in circulation, in milliard marks:

January 10, 1923	807
February 10, 1923	965
March 10, 1923	1,301

The amounts invested in savings, which totalled 1772 million gold francs before the war, now scarcely amount to 50 millions. It would thus appear that, despite the improvement in production, the production balance of the country continues to be adverse, and there is still no thought of accumulation.

Czecho-Slovakia

After the protracted crisis of 1922, economic life in Czecho-Slovakia has shown the first signs of improvement within the period of this report. This improvement is in part due to the Ruhr occupation, as orders were received by Czecho-Slovakia for coal, coke, iron, and steel, from Germany and from other countries generally supplied by Germany. The sorry condition of Czecho-Slovakian industry at the beginning of the year is described in the report of the General Council of Czech industrialists:

"In the textile industry:

$\frac{7}{32}$ of the workers are working	48 hours weekly
$\frac{16}{32}$ of the workers are working	27 hours weekly
$\frac{9}{32}$ of the workers are not working	at all.

In the glass industry 12,000 workers are working out of 30,000. The china industry counts 20% unemployed, 35% part timers and 45% fully employed. Only 10% are at work in the ceramic and the stocking industries. The breweries are only producing 40%, the malt factories only 25%, the cabinet making industry 10% of their normal output. The linen spinners are not working at all."

The total number of unemployed is not stated; a correspondent of the "Economist", in March, still estimates them at 400,000. In all probability this estimate is still too low. In December 220,000 were in receipt of unemployed benefit, in January 250,000.

The improvement shown during the 1st quarter of 1923 is very slight and unequal. Some factories are taking up work again, others are just closing down, or working part time, especially in the textile industry.

The Ruhr occupation has greatly improved the position of heavy industry. At the end of December 3 blast furnaces were working, at the beginning of March 7 new ones were blown in. In the coal industry the position is satisfactory; all reserves are sold out, and the mines have orders for a long time to come. The coal export to Germany and France is fairly brisk.

The situation has improved in the iron industry as well.

The improved state of the markets is also partly due to the orders for military supplies received from various countries, above all from Yugoslavia and Roumania.

It remains to be seen, however, whether this improvement is only transient, a result of the Ruhr occupation, or the commencement of a more permanent boom in business. It is a fact that a great deal of industrial capital leaves the country. The textile industrialists, who close down their factories in Czecho-Slovakia, buy large quantities of shares in textile undertakings in Saxony with the working capital thus released.

The extreme duration of the crisis has even shaken enterprises possessing large capital. Two large banks, the Bohemia Bank and the Bodenbank, collapsed in the course of the last few weeks, involving more than 20 other undertakings in their ruin. Both of these institutions were founded by the agrarians, who attribute the breakdown of their enterprises to the competition of finance capital, the Zivnostenska-Banka. This bank collapse has caused extremely strained relations in the government coalition, between the Agrarian Party and the National-Democrats.

The high rate of exchange of the Czech crown is the cause of unending difficulty to the export trade of Czecho-Slovakia. The export of sugar and machinery receded in particular last year. It is interesting to remark, that the high rate of exchange of the Czech crown has the effect of diverting export from

Czecho-Slovakia's natural markets—Austria, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Italy—and directing it to countries whose currencies are also high in value—France, Switzerland, England, Holland. It is also noteworthy that Hotovetz, the former minister of trade and general secretary of the Prague Board of Trade, declared in one of his lectures that *the sole means of escape from the Czecho-Slovakian industrial crisis is to win the markets of Russia.*

Despite the many obstacles which the high value of the crown has thrown in the path of Czech industry, the government still clings to Raschin's policy. At the beginning of the year the crown sank abruptly, but the banking office sacrificed a great deal in order to stabilize the crown again, throwing great quantities of foreign securities on the market. The quotations per English pound have been as follows:

Par.	End Dec. 22.	5. Jan.	19. Jan.	2. Feb.	2. March	End March
24.02	149	162	168	162	160	158

A great part of the foreign securities thus put on the market in support of the crown were Yugoslavian dinars. This measure on the part of the Prague banking office led to the depreciation of the dinar. This caused much bad blood in Yugoslavia, and the Yugoslavian press interpreted it as a breach of the alliance.

We see from the above that Raschin's death has not affected the financial policy of the government at all. His successor is also one of the directors of the Zivnostenska Bank, as Raschin was, and represents the interests of financial capital in the same manner. Every means is to be employed to maintain the high rate of exchange of the crown. On the other hand, it is not likely that the banking office will attempt to drive the rate of exchange still higher, for such an attempt might be disastrous to the weak beginnings of improved economic conditions above described. Prices have risen somewhat since the beginning of the year, chiefly those of agricultural products. The agrarian parties now in power are utilizing the opportunity for the introduction of corn and flour duties, and an agreement on this point has already been reached by the parties of the coalition.

The attempt made by the employers to reduce wages, and at the same time to lengthen working hours—despite the higher prices,—led to extensive labor conflicts during the period of this report. Such conflicts are likely to become more numerous in the immediate future, in view of the improved economic conditions. The passing of the Anti-Communist law "for the protection of the republic", is intended to strengthen the position of the capitalists in this struggle.

The neutral countries

During the period of this report, economic life has changed but little in the neutral countries. The economic development of these states resembles that of England.

Switzerland

The crisis in Swiss economics continues. Unemployment has increased since October. The number of those completely out of work has been as follows:

End October	End December 1922	End January 1923
48,218	53,463	56,275

This growing unemployment is probably due to the standstill in agricultural work. The branches still suffering most are the metal, machine, and textile industries. The slow depreciation of the Swiss franc, which began at the close of last year, still continues. Following are the quotations for 100 francs, in dollars:

Par.	4. Jan.	1. Feb.	1. March	March 1922
19.30	18.95	18.74	18.76	18.55

Prices are very stable. The fluctuation in the index figures does not amount to more than 2 to 3% since August of last year. Basing their demands on the bad industrial conditions, the employers are trying to reduce wages. The state itself has set the example by reducing the salaries of its employees.

The reduction of state expenditures is based on the financial situation of the state. The budget for 1923 shows a deficit of 84 million francs. The deficit originates in railway and mobilization debts. Fairly large sums are used in the payment of unemployment doles. The deficit will be covered by loans; in 1922, 20% of the capital issue was required by the state, and the national debt rose by 400 millions, to 4% milliard francs.

Holland

Holland's economic condition also shows no improvement during the past quarter. Unemployment has increased. We append the number of unemployed:

End Sept.	End Nov.	End Dec.	End Feb.
72,000	85,000	101,000	110,000

The industrialists complain loudly of German competition, and demand protective duties. This movement has been crowned by a certain amount of success. A high protective duty was introduced on tobacco manufactures, and the import of foreign footgear was prohibited until the 1st of January 1924. The occupation of the Ruhr, and the accommodation of German prices to those of the world market, have weakened Germany's competitive capacity, and the situation of Dutch industry has improved correspondingly. On the other hand, the Ruhr occupation has been a great source of trouble to Dutch shipping.

The shipping crisis has gradually become less acute. In 1922 the traffic of the port of Amsterdam had reached its pre-war level, that of Rotterdam approached its old standard. The last quarter of 1922 showed a revival of foreign trade. The foreign trade balance for 1922 is quite favorable. This, and the consolidation of public finances, have resulted in the Dutch florin almost attaining dollar parity.

Denmark

The crisis in Danish economics—after improving somewhat last year—has remained practically unaltered during the last three months. The number of unemployed continues to increase:

October	End Dec.	Middle March
31,000	56,000	58,000

The unfavorable economic situation is also mirrored by the course of exchange of the crown. The following prices were quoted for the English pound:

Par.	January 1922	January 1923	End March
18.2	21	23.7	24.37

Prices show a corresponding upward tendency. The wholesale index figure has risen from 192 to 199.

The crisis has brought about the collapse of a number of undertakings. The greatest shock was that caused by the bankruptcy of the *Landmanns Bank*, whose total losses amount to about 232 million crowns. The state was obliged to give assistance to the bank, and has paid out 111 million crowns up to the present. This sum will cause a serious deficit in the state budget.

Taken all round, the position of Danish economics is not favorable. The capitalists have endeavored to render themselves competitive at the expense of the workers; wages were greatly reduced last year. The industrialists are now bent on the abolition of the eight hour day above everything else. The employers have given notice of withdrawal from the 1919 agreement on working hours, the notice expiring on April 1, 1923. The majority of wage contracts however do not expire until the Spring of 1924. But preliminary friction will soon be felt, for the employers are using the tactics of fighting the working class separately, in groups.

Sweden

During the period of this report, Sweden's economy has improved slowly but constantly. Some sections of industry are already working at their normal rate, but the metal and machine industries are still in a difficult position. The total production of iron industry last year did not reach even one half of the 1915 output.

Unemployment is still rife. Data on this point are unfortunately published very late. In October 15% of the trade union members were out of work, in November—17%. During the winter months unemployment increased still more.

Sweden's trade and payment balance has developed very favorably. In 1922 the import surplus amounted to 12½ million crowns only, that is, about ¼ of that of 1913. This import surplus is amply covered by revenues derived from shipping, and by the profits on foreign capital.

State finances are also balanced. The deficit is insignificant. This explains the fact that the Swedish crown is above dollar parity. As we mentioned in our last report, the *Reichsbank* undertook an "action in support of the dollar", by increasing the number of bank notes in circulation and buying up dollars; but this attempt was given up after a few weeks, and the paper money in circulation diminished again.

The high prices have come down slightly of late. The period of acutest economic crisis was utilized by the employers for reducing wages to an extent far exceeding the lowering of the cost of living. At the present time, now that economic conditions are improving, the working class is beginning to put in claims for wage increases. The struggle between capitalists and workers led to the recent fall of the social democratic Branting government. The bourgeois parties—conservative and liberal—combined to pass a vote of censure in order to defeat Branting's plan of giving state unemployment benefit to locked-out workers.

Norway

Norway's economic condition appears to be improving at a greater speed than that of any other neutral country. Many branches of industry are already fully occupied, and the most important industry, paper making, is undoubtedly flourishing. The merchant marine is also well occupied. On the other hand the fishing trade, another very important branch of industry, is in a very disadvantageous position. Unemployment data are as follows:

End December	Beginning February	10. March
26,000	28,000	24,000

At the present time about 15,000 persons are occupied with emergency work. The improved state of the market is shown by the fact that the price level began to rise in February, after a long standstill. The paper money in circulation is being slowly reduced.

Foreign trade, calculated by the prices of 1913, has developed as follows:

	Import	Export	Import surplus
	in millions crowns		
1913	524.86	367.03	157.83
1920	765.28	330.90	434.38
1921	462.05	234.47	227.58
1922	540.08	335.52	204.56

The trade balance deficit is chiefly covered by the revenue accruing from the merchant marine. The gross freight takings of Norwegian shipping in 1922 is estimated at something over 400 million crowns.

In the sphere of political economy, the conclusion of the customs and commercial war with Spain and Portugal is of interest. These two countries combined with France to take measures against the sale of Norwegian fish and against Norwegian shipping, in order to force the import of heavy wines, which had been prohibited for three years. *It is characteristic for capitalist economics that Norway has been forced, by special commercial agreements, to buy 1.75 million of heavy wines and brandies from the above named wine countries, although the Norwegian prohibition laws forbade this being sold in the country itself, and the contracts forbade its being re-exported.*

The liberal government was overthrown on the alcohol question, and the new conservative government is now laying a bill before parliament once more allowing the export and sale of wines containing 24 % of alcohol. In this manner the prohibition of alcohol in Norway is being undermined by the wine producing countries.

Profits, Mergers and Trust Busting in the U. S. A.

By I. Amter.

The profits that American concerns earned in 1922 and in the first quarter of 1923 have been equalled only a few times in the history of the country. In 1922, the railroads earned \$776,000,000 the General Motors Corporation \$66,000,000, the Indiana Oil Company \$55,000,000. United States Steel divided \$50,000,000. The coal operators' profits amounted to \$400,000,000 above those of the year before, despite the coal strike. In the first quarter of 1923, the Standard Oil group paid \$33,000,000 in dividends, the third highest on record. In February, the railroads earned \$60,000,000.

In 1920, the United States Supreme Court declared that "stock dividends" were not subject to taxation as income. This was an excellent method for the big corporations to "fleece" the government. In ten years, Standard Oil paid nearly \$1,000,000,000 in dividends, all of which might have been subject to taxation. By distributing the dividend in stock—that is to say, by increasing the amount of capital stock and making a gift of such stock to the stockholders—the corporations obviated the necessity of paying these taxes . . . which means a pocketing of hundreds of millions of dollars.

The ruling of the Supreme Court came as a godsend to the financiers and big capitalists of the country. The consequence has been a riot of stock dividends. In 1921, 129 concerns paid \$777,000,000 in stock dividends, the dividends varying from 3% to 700%. In 1916, Armour and Company raised their capital from \$20,000,000 to \$100,000,000, simply by issuing a stock dividend. Standard Oil, from its "dissolution" in 1911, when it was "busted" by order of the court, up to 1922 declared dividends varying from 10% to 2900%. The latter prize was captured by the Indiana Oil Company in 1912, the company increasing its original capital stock from \$1,000,000 to \$30,000,000 overnight. Today, by the accumulation of dividends, every original shareholder owns \$84 worth of stock for every dollar he put in. In ten years, the Standard Oil companies have returned in dividends about 100% of the original capital.

The years 1922 saw another riot of dividends. — \$2,000,000,000 being declared in stock dividends alone. The top notch was reached by the Evening News Association, which declared a dividend of 19,900%. Then followed other concerns with dividends of 16,000%, 9,900%, 7,500%, 3,233%, 2,000%, 1,400%, 900% to a mere 100%. It is a merry chase in this day of big profits and big dividends—and the law lets the issuer of stock dividends slip through the door of liability to taxation so nicely that the large concerns have dared to declare their tremendous dividends.

Did this law not exist, there is no question that the capitalists would not attempt to flaunt their "earnings" in the face of the workers as they do today . . . at the same time complaining about the high wages they must pay and demanding the admission of more labor to the country. This they are doing on the specious grounds that there is a "shortage of hands". What the employers understand by "shortage" is the absence of a reserve army upon which they may draw in order to reduce the pay, particularly of unskilled labor.

Capital in America, furthermore, is passing through a period of concentration and centralization. Despite the existence of a supposed law contravening such procedure, a steady process of concentration is taking place. Mergers are becoming daily occurrences. Although the Secretary of the Interior threatens with his big stick, the financiers pay little heed to him, having received "tips" from Washington.

Harding promised that the Republican Administration would interfere little in business. He went into office with the slogan—the main one, as far as capital was concerned—of "less government in business". Communists recognize that this is a mere pleasantry, since the government of the United States, as of every capitalist country, is a mere agent of the capitalist class.

Hence, recognizing the immense value of concentration and following that classic trend, despite years and periods of seeming abstinence, the large concerns of the United States are merging with concerns of equivalent power, absorbing the smaller ones. This process is taking place in all branches. The most notable mergers have been that of the Amaconda Copper Co. and the Chile Copper Co., the merging of which produced a concern with a capital of \$470,000,000. The Armour Packing Co., and the Morris Packing Co., under the tutelage of Wall Street, merged into a \$550,000,000 concern. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation and the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Co. have merged, this making them the second largest producer of steel in the United States. A third concern—the Cambria Steel Co.—is about to enter the merger. There has been a merger of nineteen public utilities companies into a \$200,000,000 corporation. Oil companies, knitting mills, match manufacturers and banks are following suit.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has upheld the merging of the Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific Railways. A proposal had been made to merge the western railway lines of the United States into nine systems. Since the above-mentioned merging, a four-system proposal has been made, with considerable likelihood of its being approved.

With Wall Street—that is to say, the financial world—behind all of these moves, the power of capital is being centralized with tremendous speed in America.

The increase of cash and particularly of stock dividends has brought about increases in the capital stock of large concerns. Today there are five corporations in the "billion dollar" class. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, recently increased its capital stock to \$1,000,000,000 thus overtopping the United States Steel Corporation whose capital stock amounts to \$950,000,000. Then follows the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, which is capitalized at \$825,000,000, but with property far in excess of \$1,000,000,000. The General Motors has a

capital of \$1,200,000,000, this including \$500,000,000 worth of debenture preferred stock. The Pennsylvania Railroad Co. is capitalized at 660 millions, which is generally recognized as very conservative compared with the immense holdings of the company.

The concentration and centralization of capital naturally evokes the antagonism of the petty bourgeoisie, which endeavours to stop the process of time. Just as Roosevelt and the petty-bourgeois liberals „muck-raked“, that is to day, dug into the infamy of big capital and decided to break it up, in order to give „every American boy a chance to become a Rockefeller“, so today again, the petty-bourgeois muckrakers are tackling the big job of „trust-busting“.

Then again, election is coming, and slogans must be found to attract the dissatisfied farmers and fascinate the workers and shopkeepers. The arch-representative of the petty-bourgeoisie, its main champion and St. George, *Senator La Follette*, has declared war on the trusts in stentorian tones. In 1923, he intends to repeat what Roosevelt failed to accomplish in 1910—1912.

The Anthracite coal trust is to be „investigated“ and dissolved, to be sure. The railroad companies controlling it are to be completely dissociated from it, the government insisting upon the officers and stockholders of the railroad companies being separated from those of the coal companies. The sugar trust is to be investigated, since La Follette is convinced that, through its monopoly, it has fixed prices. Although the packing trust has been organized, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace has declared that he will take the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. The banks, copper companies and railroads are on the alert, since they fear similar proceedings against their recent mergers.

La Follette has ranted particularly against the Standard Oil Company. He has pointed out that since its „dissolution“ in 1911, the power of the company has constantly grown. The various components have divided up the domestic field, and have delegated the retail field in the British Isles to the Anglo-American Oil Co., Ltd. By control of the pipe lines, Standard Oil is said to have complete control over all competing groups.

The government is not to be outdone in pandering to the farmers and petty-bourgeoisie. It is answering the siren call to „bust the trusts“, in this manner aiming to raise the lean prestige of the Harding administration and break the lance of La Follette and of the other liberals who do not share this propensity with La Follette.

Year by year, following economic laws, Wall Street is accumulating power through dividends, profits and mergers. The shrill voice of the petty-bourgeoisie cannot stop history.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Postponement of RILU Executive Session

According to a telegram from Moscow, the Plenary Sitting of the Executive Committee of the R.I.L.U. is postponed until the 25th of June. The reason given for this, is the political complications which have arisen owing to the English note and the necessity for all leading comrades remaining in their own countries for the time being.

FASCISM

The International Committee of Action to the International Socialist Congress at Hamburg (Letter)

Hamburg, 21st May 1923

To the
Presidium of the International Socialist Congress,

Hamburg.

Dear Comrades,

The International Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism, elected by the International Workers' Conference in Frankfurt, which was convened by the Rhenish and Westphalian Shop Stewards on March 18th-21st, 1923, considers that the working class situation in the entire world is extremely serious and dangerous. Consequently, in a session held on the 17th May 1923, the International Committee of Action decided to send a delegation to you in the name of its component

organizations, namely, the Communist International, the Red International of Labour Unions, the Communist Parties and the Revolutionary Trade Unions of Russia, England, France, Germany, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland; the Shop Stewards of the entire Reich; several local Social Democratic organisations of Germany and the German Independent Social-Democratic Party,—in order to confer with you on how to organize and struggle against the threatening War Danger and Fascism.

In an Open Letter addressed to your Congress the International Committee of Action has made clear its opinion about the present situation and the necessity for united action. The undersigned delegation, representing the International Committee of Action, now desires the opportunity to appear in a plenary session of your Congress and to explain and justify verbally the practical proposals of the International Committee of Action, and to examine, together with a Committee to be nominated by your Congress, the details of common action.

We anticipate, that in this most critical situation of the world proletariat, you will meet us in our efforts to organize the common fight.

For the Delegation of the International Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism.

A. Andreoff, G. Ashkanoff, Russian Trade Unions.
A. Rosmer, J. Béron, France.
H. Pollitt, T. A. Jackson, Great Britain.
E. Ambrogi, E. Quagliarini, Italy.
W. Koenen, F. Heckert, Germany.
B. Smeral, V. Vacek, Czecho-Slovakia.
H. Valetzky, Poland.

The Illusions of Fascism

By Gum (Rome).

In a certain sense Mussolini is right when he maintains that Italian Fascism is unique in its way, and that the various Fascist currents abroad are only bad copies of his work. It is only possible to comprehend the origin and development of Italian Fascism if we subject the economic and social structure of Italy to detailed examination. From the standpoint of modern state and capitalist economic organization, Italy is the youngest of the European nations. Thus the process of crystallization and solidification of the separate social classes is far behind that of the western and central European nations. Until quite recently Italy lacked a ruling class with a definite economic physiognomy. Although industrial capital had gained the political ascendancy to a certain extent during the last decades, the industrial development of Italy was still too slight to enable the city bourgeoisie to gain an absolute supremacy over the factors of the other economic strata. Thus it happened that Italy was ruled by groups of various economic tendencies, representing for the most part narrow local and clientele interests. This economic backwardness corresponded in home politics to a regional disunity, in foreign politics to the lack of a definite policy.

These premises explain the circumstance that anti-proletarian reaction did not polarize in a definite and economically determined class of society, but that those elements which were originally regarded by the anti-proletarian offensive as tools, and were supported as such, assumed political independence, and raised themselves to masters of the situation. To the socially differentiated elements of which Fascism is composed correspond its ideology and its programmatic principles. From the very beginning Fascism inscribed on its banners: War to class war! and never wearied of explaining that it did not combat the working class, but merely the „historically obsolete ideology“ of the inherent incompatibility of class interests. The harmony of the classes in mutual „national“ interests is the pivot upon which the whole programmatic apparatus of Fascism turns. So far there is nothing original in this. All petty bourgeois parties do homage to the same idea. But while these imagine that harmony among the classes is to be reached along democratic lines, Fascism chooses the path of dictatorship and absolutism. A sort of enlightened absolutism, in the middle of the 20th century!

In the sphere of economics Fascism represents the principles of liberalism. It denies to the state all capability of creating or leading economic organisms, and, as a result of this principle, Mussolini's government is energetically at work handing over to private capital a number of undertakings of public utility, such as railways, telegraph, telephone, etc. As for the antagonism between the interests of employers and employed, necessarily resulting in the class struggle, this Fascism thinks to smooth out by uniting the organizations of workers, and employers, in the Fascist corporations, and determining the working conditions on dictatorial lines. This principle, which asserted itself in one

of the last sessions of the "Great Council" of Fascism (the actual government), aroused a certain degree of opposition from the employers' organizations, represented in the "Great Council" by their spokesman Corgini. Up to now the Fascist corporations have comprised organizations of the employed only, whilst the employers' organizations are completely independent. With the introduction of this novel monopoly of organization Fascism deals a heavy blow to the theory of non-intervention of the state in the economic mechanism. To be sure, Mussolini and the other great chieftains of Fascism have hastened to pacify the employers, and to assure them that "Fascist syndicalism aims at one goal only: the attainment of the maximum production and well-being, in which the separate interests of the various categories must however be subordinated to the highest interests of the fatherland". We Communists, who still cling to the "obsolete superstition" that the "highest interests of the fatherland" are absolutely identical with the lowest profit greed of the capitalists, look on with much interest to see what the masses confined in the Fascist organizations will say to this sort of class harmony.

This prospect appears to fill some liberal groups of the bourgeoisie with anxiety, and the brighter intelligences among the bourgeois politicians are convinced of the untenableness of the social and economic experiments of Fascism. The Milan "Corriere della Sera", one of the most respectable bourgeois organs, has recently aroused the indignation of the Fascist press by its oppositional attitude. The "Corriere", like the press by its oppositional newspapers ("Mondo", "Stampa"), do not forget to emphasize their appreciation of the services rendered by Fascism as "anti-Bolshevist" reaction, but still do not omit to express their fear that the present régime will come to a bad end some day, and that then their own hour will have come. Fascism has taught the proletariat a great deal! Therefore it is certainly more advisable to return to the old and tried system of political liberalism! But what causes most anxiety to the far-seeing bourgeois politician is the endeavor of Fascism to absorb all parties related to it in character (this has already happened in the case of the Nationalists), and slowly to disintegrate and demolish all the remaining bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties still possessing a certain amount of influence in the country, such as the "Popolari" (Catholic People's Party). This polarization of all bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces would certainly be a source of strength for the time being. But on the day on which Fascism falls there would be no other bourgeois party to replace it, and the power would fall automatically into the hands of the proletariat. From our point of view it is therefore desirable that Fascism succeed in its present enterprise. For us Italian communists the necessity arises to keep the numbers and quality of our party organizations as intact and active as possible, so that on the day on which the funeral bell tolls for Fascism, the Italian proletariat may possess a vanguard ready to guide it with a sure hand to victory.

The Women's Struggle against War Danger

By Hertha Sturm (Berlin).

For 4 years the proletariat has been retreating step by step before the attacks of capital; at a thousand fronts it quivers beneath the blows of its hereditary enemy, the bourgeoisie. The proletarian women, the working women of the whole world, have had bitter experience of this in their own lives: longer working hours at reduced wages, unemployment, high prices and lack of housing, want and misery for children and mothers, in such frightful forms as have never been experienced before. And all this need never have reached such a point, had the working class, and above all the working women, placed themselves energetically on the defensive. International allied capital would never have succeeded, after the so-called revolution, in systematically bringing one proletariat after another beneath its yoke again, and drawing the noose around the neck of its victim, if the proletarian men and women of all countries had been more prompt in closing the ranks of their international fighting front.

And now the international proletariat is confronted by a new and gigantic danger. The capitalists on both sides of the Rhine, of the English Channel, and of the Atlantic Ocean, greedy for spoil, are threatening to decide the reparation conflict on the Ruhr by a new world war. In every country the Fascisti are arming, that they may drown in blood every revolt of the working class, against the rule of sweat and blood of their hereditary exploiters.

Do the women of the proletariat want a new war? If there are any in whom the horrid memories of the four years of the great war have faded, they should cast a glance at some of the preparations being made by the capitalist world for the next war. According to a speech by Lloyd George, had the last war continued, the allies would have been able to employ a gas—*Lewisite*—by means of which, experts declare, the whole population of Berlin could have been exterminated within 24 hours. In the meantime even this gas has been surpassed. Thus the American state laboratory, in which more than 4,000 investigators are engaged every day in experimenting for fresh means of chemical destruction, has produced a liquid poison of which the amount to be carried by one aeroplane would suffice to annihilate every living creature within seven miles. There are similar laboratories in almost every country in the world.

A French expert, speaking with regard to experiments made with sinapic and other gases, declared that there was one gas among them "whose employment causes temporary incapacity to think, converting human beings into idiots or rendering them intoxicated for the time being." (Extract from Fimmen's speech at the Hague peace conference.)

The horrors of this threatened capitalist war should make proletarian women shake off their lethargy, and take up the weapons of defence.

Class-conscious proletarian women do not shrink in terror from all recourse to force; they do not faint away if they see a drop of blood. They have experienced so much bloody misery and violence against themselves, that they fully realize that force can only be broken by force: And in the class war they will take their place in the ranks against the capitalists, even with weapons in their hands.

The proletariat must rebel against being driven to the shambles again, as in 1914, for the profits of the capitalists; it must avert this war, for it would immeasurably intensify the sufferings of the proletarians, of their wives and children, instead of opening out an avenue of escape from chaos and misery.

If the women of the proletariat are seriously determined to prevent the imperialist war, they must put a speedy end, to the proceedings of those elements which are endeavoring to incite the working class to stand for a war of "national emancipation", in the hope that they may thereby seize the opportunity of crushing the revolutionary labor movement, and of establishing the naked and brutal dictatorship of the exploiting bourgeoisie. The National Socialists¹⁾ or Fascisti, the bitterest enemies of the class-conscious working class, must be prevented by all possible means from setting up their unlimited sway over the whole world, as they have already done in Italy. Have proletarian women not seen enough of the "legal" White Terror let loose by class justice the world over? Have not victims enough already fallen on the battle-fields of the class war, are there not yet enough languishing in the prisons of the class states? Are not the prisons of Germany and France, Poland and Yugoslavia, filled with revolutionary fighters? Are there not hundreds of political prisoners slaving in the mines of Walachia in Roumania, many of them delicate women and girls? Are not the ears of all proletarian women filled with the cries of the victims tortured by the Hungarian executioners?

Will the women of the proletariat tolerate conditions in their own countries like those which prevail in Italy? Where Fascist bands go unpunished when they set workers' houses on fire, beat workmen, ill-treat women and girls, murder sons before their mothers' eyes, shoot down women with their children in their arms, and throw pregnant women out of the windows?

It is only by closely joining forces in self-defence organizations, only by the creation of proletarian defence units, that the working class can ward off these evils. May there be many more such courageous spirits as those among the working women of Zella Mehlis in Thuringia, who with calm determination formed female defence units or had themselves enrolled in the units belonging to their factories or locality.

In this spirit the women of the proletariat must join with their husbands and children in meetings and in demonstrations, must unite in proclaiming their determination to fight with every means at their disposal against every attack made on the life

^{*)} It would seem as if the bourgeoisie have been making use of this or a similar gas for quite a number of years past at election times and particularly on the outbreak of war. A report from Moscow states, that there is quite a large establishment devoted to the production of this gas situated within one hundred miles of Amsterdam! . . . (Ed.)

¹⁾ The name adopted by the German Fascisti.

and interests of the working class, against fresh capitalist wars, and against Fascism. They will oppose the front of international capital with the international united front of the men and women of the proletariat!

THE WHITE TERROR

The White Terror in Yugoslavia

By E. A. Buck.

Among those countries where the White Terror rages in all its fury, Yugoslavia is doubtless second only to Horthy Hungary. We have already frequently reported on the shameful deeds committed by Serbian reaction, the exceptional laws, the assassinations arranged by spies, the persecutions of the communists. Anyone suspected of being a communist is arrested and delivered over to the mercy of the exceptional laws.

Comrade *Nikolai Peneff*, member of the C.C. of the Bulgarian C.P., deputy of the Bulgarian parliament, was obliged to travel via Belgrade (the capital of Yugoslavia) to Vienna and Berlin, on private affairs. In the course of the journey he remained a few days in Belgrade, in order to visit his friends; he was provided with a passport for this sojourn. He was however followed by the secret police and arrested. The "crime" committed by comrade Peneff consisted of his having met the Yugoslavian comrade *Zekitsch*, and that he had taken part in the IV. Congress of the C.I. as a delegate of the C.P. of Bulgaria. He was placed in a prison cell, and beaten until he dropped unconscious to the floor. He was kept without food or drink for three days, and it was not until the 4th day he was given a piece of dry bread and some water. The mattresses and rugs brought by his friends were not given him for 8 days. Until then he had to lie on the cement floor. Comrade Peneff was kept like this for 18 days, until his condition was such that he was in serious danger of his life. On the 18th day after his arrest he was put half dead into a railway train, and sent to Bulgaria.

The international proletariat must raise energetic protest against this unheard-of scandalous action of the Serbian bourgeoisie.

Police Frame-Up in Madrid

We are in receipt of the following appeal from the Defense Committee for the accused in the Dato trial. It will be remembered that the Spanish comrade *Fort*, who had sought refuge in Berlin, was extradited to Spain by the Social Democratic minister of justice *Radbruch*.

In every country the bourgeois dictatorship is seeking to retain power with the aid of innumerable crimes. This applies to no country more than to Spain, where reaction has persecuted the labor organizations during three years of violence and murder. But there are few crimes in the annals of Spanish reaction which can be compared with the shameful deed now in preparation: the impending proceedings against the alleged murderers of Dato in Madrid. The prime minister Dato, one of the leading originators of the White Terror, who robbed the Spanish trade union movement of its best comrades, was killed in 1921 by *Ramon Casanellas*, who is at present in Russia. Thereupon the police made a large number of arrests among our comrades. The mass arrests were so groundless that the police was recently obliged to release a number of the arrested comrades after 18 months imprisonment. The shameful and scandalous conspiracy contrived by the Spanish police is continuing however. The remainder of the accused will presently be brought to trial. It is already known that the prosecutors will demand the capital sentence for comrades *Mateu* and *Nicolau Fort*, and 15 years penal servitude for comrades *Bajatierra*, *Delgado*, *La Llave*, and *Miranda*. All these accused are not guilty. The originator of the assassination of Dato is known, and is beyond the reach of the Spanish police. The working class of the world must not permit the bourgeoisie to take vengeance on the guiltless.

Upton Sinclair Arrested

A report from New York states that Upton Sinclair, the well-known socialist writer, has been arrested in America. Sinclair is a member of the International Workers' Relief, which body has sent the following telegram of protest to President Harding:

Mr. Harding, President U.S.A.,
Washington.

Receive with indignation the news of the arrest of our member Upton Sinclair. Protest. Demand immediate release.
International Workers-Relief.

Maxim Gorki. Clara Zetkin. Willi Münzenberg.
Anatole France. Andersen Nexö.

The International Workers' Relief has addressed the following telegram to Upton Sinclair:

Upton Sinclair, Los Angeles,
California.

Hear with indignation of arrest. Have protested to Harding. Brotherly greetings from us all.
International Workers' Relief.

Upton Sinclair has replied to the above telegram of sympathy in the following manner:

"Do not bother, quite usual in America. Upton Sinclair."

In spite of the grim humor expressed in the reply of Upton Sinclair and which reveals the true character of the "Government with the greatest democratic freedom in the world", the advanced revolutionary American workers will let Mr. Harding know that they will not for a moment think of putting up with Pinkerton justice in this case.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Left Wing in the American Unions

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

During the past year the American revolutionaries in the trade unions have been gathering their forces and clarifying their program, under the leadership of the Trade Union Educational League. Owing to the fact that it was necessary to overcome 30 years of dual unionist education, this process has taken longer than the objective situation would justify. Certainly there was never a labor movement more in need of the rejuvenating influence of an organized left wing than the American unions, choked to death by Gompersism. But in spite of the obstacles, and spite of the influence of the temporary economic revival which has removed some of the pressure on wages and hours, the left wing has succeeded in its appointed task, has brought order out of chaos among the militants, and is now proceeding to the task of setting up the organization machinery which will put its program into effect in the life of the labor movement.

Amalgamation and a Labor Party.

The two slogans upon which the left wing is concentrating are "Amalgamation of the divided craft unions into solid industrial organizations", and "An independent Labor Party to combine all the political forces of Labor". Both of these slogans, issued by the Trade Union Educational League, have been taken up by hundreds of thousands of unionists and are stirring the entire labor movement to its depths.

On the issue of a Labor Party, the League has just finished issuing a referendum ballot to the 35,000 local unions throughout the country. The response has been widespread, covering the entire country over 35 States, and representing more than 40 International Unions. More than 98% of the ballots have been in favor of a Labor Party, with a tremendous majority of them carried unanimously. This is all the more significant as the ballot was accompanied by the Manifesto of the T.U.E.L. on the question, which definitely sets up a revolutionary goal for such a Party.

The Amalgamation slogan has had even wider acceptance. The resolution originally put forth by the League has been endorsed by organizations representing approximately 1,500,000 members. This includes 13 State Federations of Labor, seven International Unions, and scores of city central bodies, not to speak of the thousands of local unions. Ideologically, the rank and file have been won over to these slogans—of that there can be no doubt.

The Bureaucracy in a Panic.

All this has created a panic among the Gompers bureaucrats. Almost every official journal of the large unions is carrying on the most vicious propaganda against the League and

its secretary, Wm. Z. Foster. Headed by the *American Federationist*, organ of Samuel Gompers, which devotes several pages every month to denouncing the League, its Secretary and its program of Amalgamation and a Labor Party, the trade union official press is doing its utmost to rally the rank and file against the new force which is challenging the old leadership. The League is described as "the arm of Lenin in America", and the workers are frantically warned not to have anything to do with it.

After one year of work under this barrage of official denunciation, the League is stronger than ever. Not being able to check it from the inside, the labor leaders have turned to the Government for assistance, which was promptly forthcoming. The trial of Wm. Z. Foster, one of 32 Communists arrested in the State of Michigan as the result of this great movement, is already known throughout the world. The failure to convict Foster in his first trial was a great blow to the Gompers machine; but now that Ruthenberg has been held to be guilty, they have renewed their promises to send Foster to prison.

The capitalist daily press during all this time has been full of attacks upon Foster and the League. It has also been lavish with advice to Gompers and Co., as to the best method of stopping the "red menace". Thus the *Chicago Journal of Commerce* said: "The cause of unionism demands the expulsion of every leader of the Foster type". So far the bureaucracy, feeling the sentiment of the rank and file and fearing the result, has not accepted this advice. It is now, while this is written, feeling its way along this road by threatening to revoke the charters of several city central bodies which have adopted the amalgamation program.

Building the Left Wing Organization.

The creation of the left wing groups throughout the various industries, with a program for each fitted closely to the immediate needs of the struggle therein, is now an accomplished fact. The fruits of more than a year's untiring effort by thousands of militant unionists are to be seen in the fact that well-coordinated bodies are now established in each major industry which are playing a forceful part in the life of the unions.

Today, the left wing has the following International Committees (covering the United States and Canada) which are carrying on intense propaganda and organization work:

International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry. — International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry. — International Committee of the Needle Trades Section. Trade Union Educational League. — General Committee for Amalgamation of All Unions in the Food Industry. — General Amalgamation Committee of the Textile Industry. International Committee for Amalgamation in the Printing Trades. — International Committee of the Shoe and Leather Industry. — International Committee for Amalgamation in the Building Trades. — Progressive International Committee of the United Mine Workers of America.

Some of these Committees have held Conferences of delegates from all over North America, and others are preparing Conferences for the near future. One of the most important of the latter is the Conference of the Progressive Miners to be held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on June 2nd. and 3rd. Alex Howat is touring the mining districts organizing the left wing for that Conference which, it is confidently expected, is to mark the beginning of a life-and-death struggle with the bureaucrats.

The Second General Conference of the entire left wing movement has been called by the Trade Union Educational League, to be held in Chicago on September 1st and 2nd. This Conference will be the first at which well-defined organization of the revolutionists in every industry and covering the entire United States and Canada will be represented by tried and true fighters with a program which, based upon the general program of the Red International, will establish revolutionary unionism as a permanent factor in the intimate life of the American working class.

Seamen in the International Labor Movement

By A. J. Smolan.

There is no profession in which organization encounters so many difficulties as in the seafaring profession. Here conditions differ considerably from those in industry and agriculture. Even if the crew of a ship have been successfully organized, the months or years of absence involve the removal of the newly won members from the sphere of influence of the organization. They become estranged from the organization.

The organization is thus robbed of every opportunity of educating the members further for the organization, of making competent agitators and functionaries of them, etc.

Sailors have no experience in the sphere of organization, and it is thus very difficult for them to form an independent judgment. The form and constitution of their organizations are often entirely accidental. Here they have an organization intended to include all on board, there we find half a dozen miniature organizations represented on one ship. The captain and the few ship's officers have their own union, the engineers have theirs. A third group is formed by the seamen, the fourth by the stokers, the fifth by the cooks—and all this in a crew which frequently comprises less than twenty men.

This scattering of forces is to be seen in the international sphere as much as in the national. At the present time there are five or six international organizations catering for the seamen.

The I.T.F. (International Transport Workers' Federation), which included the majority of organized seafarers before the war, will represent but a mere fraction of the international seamen at its next conference, to be held in London this month; the resolutions passed by this "seafarers' conference" will possess no significance for the seafaring proletariat. Under the most favorable circumstances the conference will, at most, represent, 40,000 seamen belonging to the most insignificant organizations. Among these may be mentioned the French Federation, whose membership has sunk from 46,000 to less than 20,000; further the "Stewards Union of England", with about 10,000 members, the Danish and Swedish stokers' unions, and finally about 6/7,000 German seamen belonging to the German Transport Workers Union.

The "real seafarers' international", the International Seafarers' Federation, led by that notorious English nationalist, Havelock Wilson, is not quite so insignificant. Thanks to the overwhelming supremacy of the English seamen's union, it numbers almost three times as many seafarers as the I.T.F. These include 90,000 belonging to the English union, 6—7,000 American seamen, the Swedish and Danish seamen's unions, and finally the small syndicalist organization "Eendracht" in Holland, with perhaps 800 members.

Many seafarers' organizations which formerly belonged to the I.T.F. or to the I.S.F. have now become affiliated to the R.I.L.U., or are on the way to doing so. Today, the Red Trade Union International includes almost as many seamen in its ranks as the I.T.F. and the "Wilson International" together. The unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. are as follows: "Russian Seamen's Union" 55,000, "Chinese Seamen's Union" 50—60,000, "German Maritime Union" 20,000, "Australian Seamen's Union" 11,000, "Unitarian Seamen's Federation of France" 10,000, Turkey 4,000, "Dutch Federation of Transport Workers and Seafarers" 4,000 members, of whom 1,600 are seamen, and the "Finnish Seamen's Union". To these must be added various organizations sympathizing with the R.I.L.U., which have not been affiliated for formal reasons, such as the "Norwegian Sailors' and Stokers' Union", and the "Federation of the Seamen and Dock-Workers of Greece", which has about 8,500 members and works together with the Communist Party. Another international organization is the "Marine Transport Workers Union", which has been confined to America up to now, but strives continually to become a world organization of seafarers. We cannot even estimate the number of its membership; it is composed solely of seamen who have left Furuseth's union and turned to the I.W.W.

The fifth, and at the same time the least significant organization is formed by an "International Seamen's Union" whose whole field of activity has hitherto been confined to the German Baltic seaport of Stettin. This was founded last autumn by a baker's dozen of individuals who, headed by the local group leader of the German Maritime Union, Rieger, had withdrawn from this latter organization. This remarkable "International", which can scarcely possess one hundred paying members at the present time, and whose existence is due to an energetic personality, has for its part affiliated itself to a second and equally questionable organization: the syndicalist Free Workers Union of Germany, and has done this for the somewhat peculiar reason that: "we have no other choice".

If all these organizations are subject to close examination, every thinking seaman is bound to come to the conclusion that the only one worth considering by him is the R.I.L.U.

The I.S.F., under Havelock Wilson's leadership, is so chauvinist in character, that no seaman who is convinced of the necessity of international solidarity can think of joining this yellow organization. The I.T.F., under Fimmen's leadership,

has of late evinced a certain tendency to follow the line of revolutionary class struggle, but we must first await its development before we can be sure whether it has really abandoned the traditions of its reformist past.

The M.T.W.U. is at present only a national movement, not an international one, and the same applies to the "International" in Stettin, which is not to be taken seriously at all.

The R.I.L.U. has at the present time already overtaken all the organizations with which it is competing in regard to the extent of its sphere of influence, which already reaches over three parts of the world. Should the I.T.F. justify the expectations which it has recently raised, and be really prepared to fight in one front with the seafarers affiliated to the R.I.L.U., we shall find ourselves many steps nearer our goal.

Latest Congress of Dutch Labor Federation

By *Bouwman* (Amsterdam).

The question of affiliation to one of the existing labor internationals was the foremost topic in the debates at this congress. The vote taken on April 1 gave 99 votes for affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions and 84 in favor of affiliation to the Syndicalist Labor International (Berlin); 9 members of the congress withheld their votes.

This resolution is only provisional, for a plebiscite is to be taken within a short time, enabling every member of the N.A.S. to vote individually. The results of the voting justify the hope that the plebiscite will also yield a majority for Moscow. The 99 votes for the R.I.L.U. represent at least 9,000 members, and the 84 votes for Berlin about 7,000 members. To be sure, much still depends on the activity and participation of the members in the plebiscite. There are members in favor of Berlin in the organizations which voted at the congress for the R.I.L.U., and vice versa. Further, nothing can be predicted as to the attitude which will be taken by the comrades whose representatives withheld their votes at the congress, or who were not represented at all (about four thousand members).

The followers of the R.I.L.U. may, in any case, feel well satisfied. Their victory signifies more than if the result had been reversed with the same proportion of votes, for up to now the opponents of Moscow have had in their hands the most important mediums of propaganda.

De Arbeid, a paper which is read by many members and certainly by all the committee members of organizations affiliated to the N.A.S., is still in the hands of Lansing jr.. *De Gemeenschap*, the paper of the municipal workers, *Het Organ*, of the factory workers, *De Metalarbeider*, *De Tabakbewerker*, and *De Textilarbeider*, are all still under the leadership of the opponents of Moscow. Only *Het Transportbedrijf* and *Het Bouwvak* are in the hands of followers of the R.I.L.U. But we know, in spite of this, that there is a majority in favor of the R.I.L.U., not only in the transport and building workers' unions, but also in the woodworkers' and municipal workers' federations, while those federations whose leaders are pronounced antagonists of Moscow, still possesses fairly powerful minorities in favor of the R.I.L.U.; so we may assert without exaggeration, that the spirit of the R.I.L.U. prevails in the N.A.S.

It must here be observed, that the Berlin syndicalists—although the N.A.S. committee had resolved to invite neither a representative from the R.I.L.U. nor anyone from the Syndicalist International—sent Souchy to the congress, and that he took every advantage of the opportunity of agitating for his "international", while we followers of Moscow were unable to oppose him.

The congress had agreed to let Souchy give an address of greeting. But he had scarcely uttered the greetings of the Berlin Syndicalist International, when he plunged immediately into the discussions being held by the congress regarding affiliation with Moscow or Berlin. He informed the congress that he had been present in 1920, at the christening of the R.I.L.U. At that time Lozovsky first negotiated with the reformists from the English trade unions, among others with Robert Williams. It was only when these negotiations were a failure that Lozovsky (so Souchy asserted) turned to the syndicalists. And what syndicalists are now affiliated to the R.I.L.U.?—asked Souchy. Only the French C.G.T.U. No other syndicalists in the world are affiliated to the R.I.L.U. As Souchy then related a lot of utter nonsense about Russia—about the pressure put

on the workers by the Soviet government, in order to induce these to become members of trade unions under communist leadership; about the way in which workers are deprived of the right to strike; as to the Soviet government having ceased to be a revolutionary government and the syndicalist comrades being thrown into prison in Russia—such a tremendous protest was raised at the congress that it was impossible for Souchy to proceed further.

Two important resolutions were passed relating to international affiliations.

A motion by the organization of journeyman painters in Amsterdam, that the N.A.S. should not affiliate to either Moscow or Berlin, was rejected by 177 votes, against 5, 7 votes being withheld. Another proposal, emanating from the textile workers' organization of Enschede, to exclude the followers of the R.I.L.U. from the N.A.S., was defeated by 118 votes against 57, with 4 abstentions. After this the representatives of the cigar workers federation moved a resolution, proposing—in an even more demagogic form—that all those who regard the decisions of the C.P. as binding should be excluded. This motion was also rejected by 104 votes, against 57, with 17 abstentions.

From this it may be seen that the members of the N.A.S. feel no inclination to destroy the unity of the N.A.S. Despite this, Lansing jr., and with him a number of others, declared at the congress, and in *De Arbeid* of April 7, that he as a follower of the Berlin international cannot follow the N.A.S. on its road to Moscow. At the close of his article in *De Arbeid* he says literally:

"The followers of Berlin cannot take part in the movement to Moscow; to do so would be to abandon the principles and ideals for which they have fought for 30 years. There is no reason whatever for them to do this. Let us stick to our slogan of: "Be true to principles and ideals!"

At the congress, Lansing made a declaration on behalf of 60 leaders of organizations affiliated to the N.A.S., expressing opposition to the R.I.L.U., and maintaining the opinion that the annulment of mutual representation in the statutes of the R.I.L.U. is a formality which does not alter anything in the fundamentals of the R.I.L.U., and allows connection with the Comintern to be fully maintained. According to Lansing and his friends, however, the aims, the principles, and the fighting methods of the Berlin International and the N.A.S. run on parallel lines, and therefore the N.A.S. should affiliate as soon as possible with Berlin, in order to examine into the possibility of unity with the R.I.L.U. with the aid of this body.

But even this misleading declaration was not able to create a majority for "Berlin" at the congress.

As many "independents" are with us, who are by no means communists, but stand for the R.I.L.U. because they hold the united front of the revolutionary trade unionists to be imperatively necessary, we await the result of the vote with confidence.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Communist Youth of Essen to English Workers

Essen, 21st May.

The Conference of the Communist Youth of Essen have telegraphed the English Labour Party as follows:

10,000 Young Workers, among whose ranks a youthful worker has just been murdered by French agents, call upon you to fight against world reaction and war danger and for the protection of Soviet Russia. Youthful Workers demonstrated against French Imperialism and German Capitalism and demand your support in this fight.

Communist Youth of the Ruhr District to the C.P. of England

10,000 Young Workers of the Ruhr District send you fraternal greetings. Continue the fight with us against World Reaction, and War Danger and for the defence of Soviet Russia. Our demonstration today (Whitsun) at which a young worker was murdered by French agents was directed against French Imperialism and German Capitalism.

Fraternal greetings from the Communist Youth League of the Ruhr District.