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## POLITICS

### The Conference of Lausanne on the Eve of Settlement

By *L. Louzon* (Paris).

#### The Change of Front in English Policy.

Some days ago the conference at Lausanne was already on the point of settlement. The conflict between French imperialism and Turkish resistance against the colonization of the country threatened once more to destroy the whole peace treaty, even after the term for signing had been fixed for all the governments taking part. According to the latest reports, an understanding has been arrived at in spite of all. The conference has ended with the victory of the Turks on the decisive question. The currency in which the coupons of the former Ottoman debt are to be paid has not, as desired by the French, been stipulated as gold francs.

This was the fundamental question; for if the French demands for repayment of the debt in gold francs had been granted, it would have been all over with the financial independence of Turkey, and, as a consequence, with its economic and political independence as well. The payment of the Ottoman debt in gold would alone have swallowed up one third of the total revenues of the Turkish state. The two remaining thirds would have been completely inadequate for enabling Turkey to cover even her current expenses, quite apart from the new loans absolutely indispensable for the exploitation of the natural wealth of the country. Turkey would not have been able to exist further without the permission of her creditors.

America intent on the Conquest of the Old World.

Why have England and France abandoned so advantageous a position?

The key to the situation must be sought in America. America, whose role in Europe becomes daily of greater importance, has declared that she is standing aside from European politics solely for the purpose of being better able to protect the interests of her own capitalism in Europe.

Anterior Asia is called upon to play the leading role in the future economics of the world. The United States, for whom the markets of the New World no longer suffice, is aware that the best means of paving the way for predominance over the Old World is to occupy the future centre of economics. Thus it has gained a foothold in the south west of Asia. Anatolia and Persia are its first aims.

It is therefore easily to be understood that it has done its best to prevent England and France from winning any privileged position in Turkey, such as would have been obtained by these countries had Turkey been placed under the obligation to pay in gold. This explains the abrupt change of front on the part of English diplomacy. England has abruptly ceased to support France in this question, and Curzon has placed Poincaré in the dilemma of either retiring before the demands of the Turks and signing the peace, or resuming hostilities again. This would, however, have meant that Poincaré had to send troops to Tschannak and Constantinople to aid the British forces there. As Poincaré could not send fresh troops to the Orient, solely for the purpose of protecting the interests of the owners of Turkish obligations, or at least could not do this without committing suicide, France gave way. Ismet Pacha and America are victorious.

#### England's Position.

The attitude taken by England, and her *volte face* in the Ruhr question, fully characterize the change of front in English foreign politics. At the time of the Versailles peace negotiations, the following tacit agreement had been arrived at between the English and French bourgeoisies: France receives the hegemony over Europe, she may do as she likes in Central Europe; on the other hand England reserves for herself the rest of the world, especially the Near East, the key to Asia.

But in the execution of this plan, England immediately collided with America, for America also put in a claim to the "rest of the world". This rival was too powerful for England. She realized that the United States would have to be given a free hand. American imperialism was carrying on an exceedingly active policy in Asia Minor, and even in Persia, where the Standard Oil Co. obtained a concession for the whole of the petroleum on the coast of the Caspian Sea. American capitalists made arrangements for a number of loans, and England looked on without demur.

Compelled to renounce her world policy, England turned once more to Europe. She must attempt to regain in Europe the possibilities of expansion which America had forced her to abandon in the Orient. Her European policy thus becomes more energetic as her oriental policy declines. She beats a retreat on the question of Turkish obligations at the same moment as she arms for a decided intervention in the Ruhr question. She will claim from America her support in her European policy as compensation for her renunciation in the Orient.

In 1919, Lloyd George said to Clemenceau: I leave Europe to you; leave me the world. Today, Baldwin says to the rulers on Wall Street: I leave you the world, but you must help me to suppress France in Europe.

Thus the alternating influences and aggravations of imperialist struggles for power are changing the political groupings in Europe; and not their least effect is the acceleration of the moment of social conflict.

## What is Brewing in Germany?

By A. Thalheimer.

"We are dancing on a volcano, and we are faced by a revolution, if we cannot . . . reconcile the antagonisms."

These words were spoken some days ago by Mr. Stresemann, leader of the German People's Party, in an address to the central committee of this party.

Everyone in Germany feels that we are on the eve of a decisive combat between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Everyone knows that the leaders of the Fascist movement in Germany are feverishly arming for the civil war against the working class. Everyone knows that Ludendorff and Hitler are heading this movement, that numerous officers of the national defence army are closely allied with them and are co-operating with them in preparing to deliver the stroke. The plans formed by the various Fascist elements, and the time chosen for action, have been changed frequently. But there are innumerable reports, mutually confirming one another, which go to show that the moment is really imminent. The lines of procedure are also clearly laid down. The Fascist plans calculate on the impending inevitable defeat of the German bourgeoisie at the hands of Poincaré and the other imperialist robbers. They are taking advantage of the cowardly behavior of Cuno's government, and the failure of the other bourgeois parties and of the social democrats to make good in the national struggle of self defence. They rely upon the discontent of the starving petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, who sympathized with social democracy and socialism in the first phase of the German revolution, and are now severely disappointed. They utilize the hopelessness of broad strata of the working class, rendered indifferent or despairing by the continued treachery of the social democrats. And for what purpose do they want to utilize all this? For the purpose of waging war on the working class under cover of national defence against the Ruhr invasion and the shameful treachery of the Versailles treaty, and for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of Fascism. This dictatorship is to carry out the program of the great industrialists: to shatter the labor organizations, to sweep away every barrier to capitalist exploitation, to establish the ten hour working day, and to transfer all state undertakings into the hands of private capital.

Perhaps the proclamation of the Rhenish republic, which is being feverishly prepared by the hirelings of Poincaré, despite all denials, will set the avalanche rolling. Perhaps some other event.

Nobody can be any longer deceived as to the seriousness of the position. The Fascisti, by themselves, would be insignificant. But they have military support in the national defence army. All sections of the bourgeoisie are ready to bow to them; for all are aware that once the struggle breaks out, it is a question of the dictatorship of Fascism or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Social democracy as a party is not feared. It is incapable of fight. Its leaders will either make a cowardly retreat or submit.

The sole real power which, at the head of the proletariat

masses, can and will take up the fight against them, is the Communist Party.

Our Party is putting forth the utmost energy to render the working class capable of battle and victory. During recent weeks and months it has gained great sympathy and confidence, and won many readers and members. The Party, down to the last member is filled with the determination to meet the Fascist coup with the utmost force and determination. It is carrying on a broad mass propaganda, in order to prepare the workers, employees, and lower officials for determined defence against the Fascisti, and to neutralize or partially win over the petty bourgeoisie.

The struggle will be severe. It will decide the fate of the European labor movement for the next few years.

The decision will also be of the greatest importance for the French working class.

The French working class can alleviate the struggle of the German working class, if it will take up with redoubled energy the fight against the annexation plans of Poincaré, and against the plans of the Comité des Forges for the plundering of the German working class; if it will increase its propaganda among the occupation army and its work of enlightenment among the peasantry.

The Communist Party of Germany has just issued an appeal to the Party (See last number of *Inprecorr.* Ed.), giving exact instructions, politically and organizationally, for the struggle. The fight will find the Party at its post.

## The First Mass Party of American Workers and Farmers

By John Pepper (New York).

### A Party of 600,000 Farmers and Workers.

Summed up in a single phrase, the historical significance of the July 3. Convention is this: the first real mass party of American workers and farmers has been founded in Chicago.

The 740 delegates who assembled in Chicago represented, not less than 616,000 workers and farmers.

The new Federated Farmer Labor Party is a mass party. It is the first mass party of workers and farmers in the United States. Mass is something relative. Historical circumstances decide whether 10,000 or a million stand for a mass. But no one can deny that a party of 600,000 workers and farmers is a real mass party, if one remembers that the Socialist Party has only 12,000, the Workers Party only 20,000 members, and that the old Socialist Party at the zenith of its development had no more than 100,000 members.

The Socialist Party which has already long ago allied itself with the \$25,000 a year labor leaders against the class struggle, declares that the Federated Farmer Labor Party is no real party, because the big official leaders of the national and international unions are not in it, and because it is, in reality, simply the Communist Party under another name. The Socialist Party was not represented at the Convention. It declared that the laboring masses are not as yet ripe for organizing a Labor Party, and that without the big leaders, the Labor Party could never be organized. The Socialist Party press belittles the July 3. Convention because it organized the Federated Farmer Labor Party without the big leaders, and against them, though with the participation of 616,000 workers and farmers. The Socialist Party to-day is only a jackal of the battlefields of the class-struggle. It fears the battle, but always appears after the battle, in order to steal something from the spoils.

The new Federated Farmer Labor Party is no artificial product of a mere doctrine, but is the result of a special American development. It does not ape the British Labor Party. It was not formed from the top by big officials of the American Federation of Labor and of national and international unions. It is a creation of the rank and file, a creation of local unions, city bodies, and state organizations. The new party does not like the British Labor Party, comprise nearly the entire working class, but only the left wing of the labor and farmer movements. And there is another respect in which it does not copy the British Labor Party—it accepted the Communists, the Workers Party, into its ranks, from the very first.

In spite of all Socialist theorists, the American labor movement does not wish to follow the "brilliant" example of the British labor leaders. The American Socialists longed for the time when they could imitate the example of the British Labor Party, the official Opposition of His British Majesty. But Gompers is not Smillie or Macdonald. He sells the workers openly to the capitalists of the old Republican and Democratic parties. And even Johnston and the leaders of the mighty Railroad Brotherhoods do not wish to form a Labor Party. It is

their wish to deliver the votes of the workers and exploited farmers to the La Follette group, to the political representation of the lower middle class and well-to-do farmers. The Cleveland Conference of December 11, 1922 showed clearly that neither the Johnston clique, nor the Socialist Party sincerely wish to form a Labor Party. The progressive officials have shown themselves just as much fakers as the conservative officials.

As the Farmer Labor Party issued the call for the July 3. Convention, that meant nothing else but the liquidation of the last illusion that the big leaders of the American labor movement would ever lead the workers in an independent political struggle. We Communists at that time criticised the split, not because we had any trust in the officials, but because we hoped that if the militant elements, would stay in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, they would sweep along ever greater masses against the officials. At the moment that the split was made, when the militant elements decided to carry on an independent action, the Workers Party accepted the fact, and immediately declared that it would participate in the July 3. Convention.

### Luck and End of the Farmer Labor Party.

The leaders of the Farmer Labor Party—Fitzpatrick, Nockles, Buck and Brown set the rank and file into motion. But as the mighty rank and file, dominated by the militant spirit, gathered at the Convention, these leaders were frightened back before their own bravery and began to fight against the Convention. They called together the Convention, in order to found a Labor Party. But when the Convention took its task seriously, and set itself to forming a Labor Party, they wished to disrupt the Convention. Like Cronos the Greek god, they wished to devour their own child, immediately upon its birth. But the Convention, like Zeus the son of Cronos, showed itself stronger than the officials of the Farmer Labor Party, and dethroned the whole officialdom of the Farmer Labor Party, proclaiming itself sovereign. Fitzpatrick, Buck and Brown played a sorry role in the Convention. In Cleveland they still spoke for the idea of a Labor Party. In Chicago they fought against the idea of a Labor Party. After the Cleveland Conference, Fitzpatrick declared that they were splitting because that Conference merely revived the vague phrase of progressive political action, but sabotaged the organization of an independent Labor Party. In Chicago, Fitzpatrick declared himself for the vague phrase of independent political action, and sabotaged the formation of an independent Labor Party. In Cleveland he made the split for the Labor Party. In Chicago he made the split against the Labor Party.

In Cleveland the Farmer Labor Party officials were still for accepting the Workers Party delegates. In Chicago they conducted a desperate fight against admitting the Communists. Fitzpatrick is an old fighter and an old opponent of Gompers. He has merited much in the labor movement, but at the July 3. Convention he delivered a speech against the Labor Party, against the Third International, against the Communists and against Foster, a speech which might just as well have been made by Samuel Gompers. The tactic of the officials of the Federated Farmer Labor Party has brought ruin to them and to the old Farmer Labor Party.

At the beginning of the Convention, Fitzpatrick was greeted with the greatest ovation and with the unanimous enthusiasm of all the delegates, but his last speech at the Convention was applauded by not more than thirty or forty persons. Fitzpatrick had entered the Ashland Auditorium as the future leader of the American working class, and left it as a politically isolated man. To-day he must choose. Either he realizes his mistake and returns to the militants or he must ally himself with Samuel Gompers against the militants.

### It is a Mass Party!

The Farmer Labor Party officials are now trying desperately to continue the existence of the old Farmer Labor Party. But none of them is a Jesus Christ who can, by miracle, infuse life into a corpse. All state organizations of the Farmer Labor Party have gone over to the new Federated Farmer Labor Party. Only the Cook County organization has remained within the old Farmer Labor Party. The delegates of Washington, Ohio, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Montana, Idaho, and California declared themselves for the new party, and are to-day on the executive committee of the new party. All farmer organizations of Wisconsin, Nebraska and Oregon have joined the Federated Farmer Labor Party. The Non-Partisan Leagues of North Dakota, South Dakota and Idaho and the Progressive Party of Nebraska are to-day affiliated with the new Federated Farmer Labor Party. All delegates of the Miners' union, with the exception of two, joined the new Party. Of the 740 delegates, less than fifty delegates remained with Fitzpatrick, outside of the ranks of the new Party. The old Farmer Labor Party officials may now weep and wail that their Labor Party idea has been stolen, that their name has been taken away, and that they wish

to continue their old Party and will do so. The truth is that not one farmer organization has gone along with them, that all the farmer organizations without exception have joined the new party. The chairman of the new party is a farmer, a leader of the Western Progressive Farmers. The first vice chairman is the representative of the Progressive Party of Nebraska which is a farmer organization. The second vice-chairman is a representative of the farmers of Wisconsin. The Farmer Labor Party has been reduced to a single organization—Cook County. They went forward to conquer the United States, and they have one county—Cook County.

It is just as ridiculous when the Socialist Party denies that the new Federated Farmer Labor Party is a real mass organization—the Socialist Party which was forced to give up the idea of the N. Y. State Farmer Labor Party, because it feared that the Workers Party would get the majority there, and even in New York City has thrown away the mask of an American Labor Party, and once more put up its ticket in the name of the Socialist Party.

### The Role of the Workers Party.

The new Party is a mass-party. It is a party of rank and file. It is a party, not only of workers, but also of farmers. It is a ridiculous lie to assert that the Federated Farmer Labor Party is nothing but a new name for the Workers Party. The Workers Party is a minority in the new Party, just as it was a minority in the Convention. Of the delegates, the Workers Party had only ten official delegates, and only 170 delegates who represented various trade unions and other labor organizations. And yet, the Convention was almost unanimous on all important questions. The old Farmer Labor Party officials never received more than fifty or sixty votes. It was not the Workers Party which dominated the Convention, but rather the idea of the formation of a genuine Federated Farmer Labor Party, and the Workers Party was nothing else than a driving force and ideological representative of the idea of independent political action of the worker and farmer. It is just as ridiculous to say that the new Party organization is controlled by the Workers Party. The Workers Party is in the minority on the National Executive Committee and the Executive Council of the new Party. The Workers Party has not the ambition to control the new Party. Its only wish is to strengthen the militant spirit of the new Party, to develop its class-consciousness, and to evolve the new Party to a real party of the laboring masses. We do not wish to dominate or control the Federated Farmer Labor Party, but we assert proudly that without the unifying work of the Workers Party, this new Party would not have been organized, and that after the betrayal by the Socialist Party and the bankruptcy of the Farmer Labor Party, the Workers Party is the only political group in this country which fights consciously and militantly for the idea of a Labor Party.

The 600,000 workers and farmers who have formed the Federated Farmer Party, are not as yet Communists to-day. It would have been a blunder if the Workers Party had proposed a Communist program, because a big part of the workers and farmers would have simply run away. In the program of the new Party there are many theoretical mistakes, but that is no harm. The prospects of to-day are such, that even the left wing of the labor movement can be united only with these non-Communist, theoretical half-measures. Only thus could the 600,000 farmers and workers be united for organized action.

But there are two points in the resolutions which are an absolute guarantee that the new Party is not a reformist party, but will be a really revolutionary, militant party. The first point is the one which declares that the masses must first capture political power before they can have nationalization and public ownership. The second point is the one which declares that the land shall belong to its users. These two points bind the Party to the life and death struggle against capitalism.

### The New Immediate Tasks.

The new Federated Farmer Labor Party is organized, but the July 3. Convention means only the first step. We must go further, if we would prevent the movement from ending in a fizzle. Four great tasks face us in the near future.

First, we must give a broader basis to the new Federated Farmer Labor Party. We must call upon the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, and in addition upon all existing local labor parties, to unite with the new Party.

Second, we must exercise a greater and greater pressure from below upon the great national and international unions, to force them to join the new Party.

Third we must organize everywhere, from coast to coast, local, city and state units of the Federated Farmer Labor Party.

Fourth, we must immediately begin an energetic, nationwide campaign for the next convention of the Federated Farmer

Labor Party, to meet early in 1924. At this convention, there must be present, not hundreds, but thousands of delegates. The next convention must unite, not only the left wing, but the majority of the working class for conscious political action, and the struggle against the capitalistic class parties, as well as against the lower middle class La Follette and Ford movements.

## The Soviet Air Force

By I. Amer.

When the Washington Disarmament Conference took place, bourgeois and sentimental pacifists believed that the millennium had come. Wars were gradually to be superseded by the rule of reason, and finally violence would be rooted out.

Two loopholes were left in the conference decisions: each nation could build all the submarines it pleased, and the matter of flying machines was not touched. These loopholes were the safeguards that the capitalist governments wanted, in order to modernize their methods of warfare. *The battleship is obsolete*, as any midshipman can tell. The experiments that were conducted with the battleship "Jutland" indicated clearly that an aeroplane can destroy any ship that floats on the waves.

Hence the mad haste with the leading imperialist nations are building aircraft. France, for some time, has had the lead and today presents a serious menace, not only to Great Britain's hegemony in Europe, but to the very safety of the British Isles. During the first eleven months of 1922, France built 3,300 aeroplanes for military and "commercial" purposes, and placed orders for 1,200 more machines. The program for 1923 calls for 220 air squadrons, of ten planes each. In other words, at the end of 1923, the French air fleet should comprise 6,700 machines!

Alarmed at this stupendous program, the British government recently decided to increase the air defense from 34 to 52 squadrons. This will mean an appropriation of nearly £27,000,000 for the fiscal year. The United States Government has declared that it will not make any larger appropriation in spite of the increased budgets of France and Great Britain.

The imperialist powers are very reticent about giving figures on aircraft. It is clear that such craft can easily be concealed and then suddenly appear on the day of battle. There is absolute hypocrisy in the pretension that their official figures are correct. Furthermore, each is building as many "commercial" machines as possible. Although air lines are being instituted in almost all countries, and are doing excellent service, particularly in the carrying of mails, it is a well-known fact that "commercial" aircraft differ from fighting machines only in the color of the paint. *All the commercial machines are convertible into fighting machines and will be at the front and across the border on the day war is declared.*

What must Soviet Russia do in such a world situation? When the imperialist nations are driving the little nations to the wall! When Bulgaria institutes a Fascist government at the instance of the British Government! When the same fate threatens Czechoslovakia! When all these countries are being prepared for a general assault on Soviet Russia! When all the working class, the revolutionary working population, the Communists, are being mercilessly crushed, maimed and slaughtered. This is done in order to give a free hand to reactionary and Fascist governments, which are the tools of imperialist governments, whose hands are stained with the blood of the 10,000,000 killed in the War and the hundreds of thousands of workers massacred in the counter-revolution!

*Soviet Russia can and must do but one thing. She must build an air fleet that can challenge the mightiest air-fleet in the world.* Soviet Russia, surrounded by enemies, threatened on all sides, must build up a defense that no robber government can dare defy.

The Fist in the Air, with the Red Star emblazoned upon it, must be a challenge to any murderous rapacious governmental hand that will dare to touch the integrity of the republics embraced in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

What is the difference between an air fleet at the command of a Workers' Government and a fleet doing the bidding of imperialist masters?

The fleet of the masters is destined to prey on the weak nations, to oppress still further the colonial peoples who for centuries have been groaning under the heel of exploitation, and today are striving for freedom. The fleet of the masters is to attack and break down the Soviet Government that the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia have established with their blood, their suffering, their courage, their enthusiasm and their death! The fleet of the masters is to be used to suppress the attempts of the workers of capitalist countries to free themselves from the

slavery and misery that capitalism brings them. The fleet of the masters is to keep the working population—the workers in the towns and in the country—in subjection, plagued by hunger, misery, disease and unemployment. *The fleet of the masters is to keep the masters as the exploiters of the earth!*

The fleet of the Soviet Government—the Fist in the Air, with the Red Star emblazoned on it is the safeguard that the Soviet Government, the goal that the workers of all countries strive for, will preserve the Revolution. It will preserve the Revolution and more: It will add to the Red Army another formidable weapon, warning the bloody capitalist governments to keep their hands off the weak colonial nations whom they pillage and loot. It will warn them, even as the growing power of Soviet Russia warns them, that in the struggle that the workers of the world are waging against the tyranny of capitalism, they will find a friend in the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia! A powerful, challenging friend, unafraid and prepared!

*The Fist in the Air is the friend, of the workers!*

The Washington Disarmament Conference did not disarm. The Soviet Government was not invited to the Washington Conference. At Genoa the Soviet Government offered real disarmament to the whole capitalist world! The capitalist governments did not accept. They dared not accept, for their power rests upon force.

Very well! The Fist in the Air accepts the challenge of the masters!

## British Labor Party Conference

By J. T. Murphy.

It is impossible to do more than report the essentials of this conference at this stage and to comment on a few of its features.

The only storm scene of the Conference was provided by the re-appearance of the question of Communist Party affiliation and the retention of the Edinburgh resolutions passed at the previous Conference to make it impossible for the Communists to penetrate the ranks of the Labor Party even as trades Union delegates.

Apart from the struggle on these issues the conference registered a sweeping movement towards the "right". From the moment Mr. Webb propounded in his opening speech the theory of gradual growth through capitalism to socialism via the Fabian route, to the cheap sneers of Mr. Macdonald in the closing stages of the Congress against the resolutions of protest concerning the treatment of subject races within the British Empire, the Conference was subject to the leaders' overbearing consciousness of their prospects as a Labor Government. They declared "We are on the threshold of power". Entranced by the vision they proceeded to eliminate and decry everything which might be deemed a working class measure or a direct challenge to capitalism. These things they managed adroitly by selecting men to move resolutions the very essence of which was a flat contradiction to everything with which they had been associated. Lansbury, known everywhere as associated with Republicanism, was quickly called on to queer the pitch for anyone who might be led to believe that labor would interfere with the monarchy. Bob Williams was called on to lamely defend the gross neglect of the Party on the question of the Rand murders. And so they trimmed their sails towards the spoils of office, shedding every semblance of proletarian loyalty that they possibly could.

Thus the official lead swept onward to all outward appearances triumphant. But the struggle on the issue of the position of Communists and the Communist Party in relation to the Labor Party, compelled other modifications which I will indicate before dealing with the Communist question.

Last year at Edinburgh the Labor Party flashed a resolution through in support of the Social Revolutionaries in Russia. Although another was included in the Executive Report this year, it was never mentioned. Nor did Mr. Macdonald venture to tread even ever so lightly upon the claims of Georgia, although again a resolution was down for reference. Nor did Mr. Henderson dare to make the same references to "Religious persecution in Russia" that he made at Hamburg. This silence is as significant as the tongue in cheek resolutions on the monarchy, the Rand and the Subject Races of the Empire. It means that there was a stronger element at the conference prepared to challenge them than what they wished to be publicly known. It means that the figures so widely broadcast concerning Communist defeat are not true indications of Communist strength or influence either in the Conference or outside. This I will proceed to show.

The card vote figures on the affiliation of the Communist Party were 366,000 in favour, 2,880,000 against. On the face of these figures which, let it be noticed, are characteristic of almost all votes cast on any anti-official resolution, the Communist Party has increased its vote by about 100,000 since the Edinburgh Conference. Now let us analyse the votes a little. There are two kinds in a Labor Conference, one the vote of local Labor Parties and Trades Councils, the other the bloc vote of the unions. It is the latter which counts heavily. For example Mr. Hodges casts on behalf of the Miners nearly 1,000,000 votes. Mr. Cramp, on behalf of the National Union of Railwaymen casts between 300,000 and 400,000 votes. All the Unions meet separately before the Conference and decide how their votes are going to be placed. On this question the Miners' voted 66 against affiliation and 50 for affiliation, but all the votes went against. In the N.U.R., through the absence of one delegate, all the votes went against the Communist Party as was proven when the conference decided on the question of granting the Labor Whip to Newbold. Then the voting of the Railwaymen was 3 to 3 and so in the conference the Railwaymen did not vote at all on that question. These incidents relating to the biggest unions show how unrepresentative is the published card vote. Last year the Communist Party had only seven members present. This year 36. In addition to the scores of union branches sending resolutions in support of Communist Party affiliation it has to be recorded that two unions were giving national support, viz, the Distributive workers with nearly 100,000 votes to cast and the Clothing Workers with nearly 50,000 votes. Both were absent through disputes. In addition, 48 local Labor Parties and Trades Councils, many of which are of great importance to the Labor Party, were pledged to support Communist Party affiliation.

If other evidence is required to demonstrate the growth of the influence of the Communist Party and the reason for the leaders putting the soft pedal on their criticism of the Workers' Republic, the withdrawal of Clause (b) of the *Edinburgh Resolutions* should suffice. It is this clause which was used to exclude the Communists as representatives of the Unions from the Labor Party Conferences, local and national.

It was obvious that 36 delegates would take more throwing out than 7. It was equally clear that such an action would be in flat contradiction to a large body of opinion in the Labor Party. But it was also known that in the event of any attempt to exclude them from the Conference there would be a revolt among the unions. The Labor Party Executive by their keenness to destroy the Communists had interfered with the right of the unions to elect their own delegates according to their own constitution. On the night before the opening of the Conference the Labor Party Executive sent round to the Union Conferences an intimation to the effect that the E. C. would put forward a resolution to withdraw Clause (b) of the Edinburgh amendments to the Constitution. In the Conference the following day Bromley of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen intimated that if any of his union members had to leave because they were Communists, he would have to withdraw the whole delegation of his union. Brownlie of the Engineers was placed in the same position. The Communists stayed and have accordingly won a considerable victory.

After the question of Communist affiliation had been decided, the Conference rejected, by 2,227,000 to 219,000 votes, a motion to extend the Labor Whip to Newbold in Parliament. Next came the discussions arising out of the Executive Report and the Chairman's address. The latter was in marked contrast to the former, which embodied the report of the distinction to the former, which embodied the report of the Hamburg Conference. The first clause of the new Cockney International declares for the class struggle. Succeeding statements approved of extra-Parliamentary action via the Rome resolution. The report came home to roost. The committals of the Labor Party at Hamburg were totally forgotten, whilst the Hamburg Conference and its confusion were entirely omitted from the leading speech of the Conference. It was a thoroughgoing British Constitutional Fabian Speech: in short, Mr. Webb's speech, and in flat contradiction to the retiring Chairman's speech at last year's conference. On that occasion Mr. Jowett declared "The old order in industry and commerce can only be re-established if the worker will consent to lower his standard of living to have sufficient balance to pay the colossal sums of interest on war debt, watered capital, fabricated bankers' credits and inflated rents. It is no use now expecting to remove this massed collection of evil imposition by gradual ameliorative reform. We can make little impression on it that way in the lifetime of a generation. Besides, it is like mowing ripe thistles. As you cut down this year's crop, you scatter the seeds of the next."

"It is the new social order we want. Nothing else will prevent the degradation of labour now. But the Government and all the other forces at the disposal of capitalist ascendancy, including the Press, insist on maintaining the old order. Hostile legislation, and the sequestration of public funds to pay the debt charges make our work on public bodies increasingly difficult."

Thus Mr. Jowett in 1922. And now Mr. Webb in 1923: "For the Labour party, it must be plain, Socialism is rooted in political democracy; which necessarily compels us to recognise that every step towards our goal is dependent on gaining the assent and support of at least a numerical majority of the whole people. Thus, even if we aimed at revolutionising everything at once, we should be compelled to make each particular change only at the time, and to the extent, and in the manner in which ten or fifteen million electors could be brought to consent to it. How anyone can fear that the British electorate, whatever mistakes it may make or may condone, can ever go too fast or too far is incomprehensible to me. That, indeed, is the supremely valuable safeguard of any effective democracy."

"But the Labour party, when in due course it comes to be entrusted with power, will naturally not even want to do everything at once. Surely, it must be abundantly manifest to any instructed person that, whilst it would be easy to draft proclamations of universal change, or even enact laws in a single sitting purporting to give a new heaven and a new earth, the result, the next morning, would be no change at all, unless, indeed, the advent of widespread confusion. Once we face the necessity of putting our principles first into bills, to be fought through Committee clause by clause; and then into the appropriate administrative machinery for carrying them into execution from one end of the kingdom to the other—and this is what the Labour party has done with its Socialism—the inevitability of gradualness cannot fail to be appreciated."

After this the conference came back to the report with sharp challenges from the Communists re Russian and Ruhr Policy.

Mr. J. R. Clynes was severely castigated for his cowardly attack on Russia in the "Financial Times" during the Anglo-Russian crisis. But Mr. Webb refused to go into the matter when the article was produced. Then Comrade Pollitt weighed in on the Ruhr question as follows:—

"I wish to refer back the pages dealing with the attitude of the International towards the Ruhr, and that it be taken as a vote of censure on the Executive Committee."

"The German workers are fighting between two enemies, German Fascism and French Imperialism. We should not betray them but help them. Let this Conference compel the Executive to participate in great international demonstrations."

"Everywhere the Labor Party must organize mass demonstrations at home and rouse the masses to action, to get the British troops withdrawn. It must work for an international general strike as a means of helping the German workers to win their struggle."

The Conference next passed a composite resolution on foreign policy. This dealt with the new International, the Ruhr, Reparations and Peace, and Russia. When one compares it with the Hamburg Conference resolutions, it is seen how much was withdrawn under the fire of criticism from the Communists.

Then a pious resolution was passed in protest against the increase of British air forces and a declaration was made therein that this increase was a preparation for new wars. But the Conference gave not a single moment to the preparation of the workers for action against war.

The debate on disarmament resolutions and the treatment of subject races within the British Empire reveals Imperialism and social patriotism absolutely rampant. Comrade Longstaff, a Labor Party representative from Barrow, moved a resolution of protest against the treatment of subject races. Comrade Tanner, seconding the resolution, said: "Why does British Imperialism oppress native races. Because their subjection is necessary to the dominance of British Finance Capital. If our pious horror means anything, it means that Labor must stand for the complete independence of all subject peoples."

Ramsay MacDonald got up to reply, sweating piety and indignation. His indignation was due to the fact that Barrow is not represented by a Labor Member of Parliament! Longstaff retorted that they had already had a Labor representative, and because he had not fought for the workers he had lost the seat. MacDonald collapsed.

On disarmament two resolutions were moved. One called upon the Government to convene an international disarmament conference. This was passed. The other called on the Labor Party in Parliament to vote against all military estimates. It should be remembered that on the recent debate on Naval Estimates in the House of Commons, the Parliamentary Labor Party came to an arrangement to regard *Naval Estimates* as non-

controversial. This was done to facilitate Labor M. Ps. absence for May 1st Labor Demonstrations.

The motion to oppose Military Estimates was defeated. The Labor Party is therefore free to vote war credits in defence of the Empire.

A variety of minor parliamentary domestic questions were afterwards machined through the Conference.

As if to throw into sharp relief the remoteness of the leaders from the actual every day struggle of the masses, the Conference had hardly closed when a spontaneous dock strike spread from port to port.

The Railwaymen were in national Conference faced with demands for reductions. The Boilermakers had been locked out for more than 2 months. The Miners had been let down by the Government, their national Conference was at hand and not a single proposal had been put forward to help the masses to fight together. Dazzled by the vision of a Parliamentary majority the workers were thought of only in relation to votes.

Thus the British Imperial Labor Party winked at its Cockney International, bowed low to the Empire, shook hands with the middle class and turned deaf ears to the cry of the workers.

## The French Iron-Works Committee and its War Aims

By A. Ker.

In the course of the year 1905, Mr. Robert Pinot wrote a confidential communication in which he expressed his anxiety regarding the disastrous results impending for the great heavy industrial undertakings, should Lorraine revert to France. He expressed solely the standpoint of the Comité des Forges, whose policy is conducted by him, when he advocated the constitution of Alsace-Lorraine as a neutral state, independent of France. This state was to be separated from the mother country by a wall of protective duties in order to guard the economic privileges of the iron-working magnates of Briey, of Pompey, of Creuzot, and of Saint-Etienne.

This attitude was very difficult to defend, and it was doubtless abandoned, for in 1917, a member of the leading commission of the iron-works committee laid down the program of the grenade and armoured plate manufacturers as follows:

"The treaty of peace must restore to us the ore basin of Lorraine. The return of the Lorraine mines to France will secure for us the supremacy in iron, and will open out a brilliant future for the French metal industry, for it will double our production, and deprive Germany of the possibility of conducting a future war against two fronts."

And this leader of industry supplemented these ideas by the following parable:

"If you invite a friend to dinner, you ask him to bring his own bread with him. (This was at the time when bread was rationed.) When we invite the iron industry of Lorraine to resume its place in the French industrial system, we request it at the same time to bring its bread with it, that is, the Saar coal, other wise it cannot be a welcome guest here."

The peace came. The gentlemen of the Comité des Forges, the great victors of the war, believed that now their wishes would be fulfilled. In 1871 there were 38 blast furnaces in Lorraine, whose output did not exceed 200,000 tons annually. In November 1918 these figures had risen to 68 practically quite up-to-date blast furnaces with an annual producing capacity of 3,800,000 tons of ore, thus an increase of approximately 1,800 per cent. This rich prize, at first held by the state, finally passed entirely into the hands of the iron-works committee.

The great hopes set on the return of Lorraine to France have not been fulfilled. The conditions created by the peace offered unexpected difficulties. Under German rule, the metal industry of the Moselle areas was an integral part of the great Rhenish-Lorraine economic district, the Moselle district supplying iron ore and the Ruhr the coke. This natural economic unity, cut in twain by Foch's sabre, suffered doubly, for it was simultaneously deprived of indispensable fuel and of its markets. It is now imperative to re-unite these threads, broken since 1918, if the industry of Lorraine is ever to emerge from a crisis which threatens to become permanent. Saar coal cannot be utilized as a complement to the Lorraine ore; it is not suitable for making coke. Thus of the 11 million tons of coal supplied from the Saar pits in 1922, only 317,000 were supplied to the Lorraine blast furnaces.

At the same time Germany obtained fresh foothold in the world's markets, thanks to the cheapness of her means of transport, her coal, and man-power, which enabled German industry

to charge 50% lower prices than its competitors. Even a substantial reduction in the price of coal proved insufficient to protect even home markets against this competition.

Before the war, France produced 5 million tons of iron, with which she about covered her own needs. The addition of Lorraine and the Saar district increases this producing capacity to 11 millions a year, an increase of 6 million tons over and above the highest home consumption. If these quantities cannot be consumed, it is useless to produce them! This is the dilemma of the French metal industry: it has either to export or to close down its works.

In addition to this, the war brought a threefold expansion to French industry: improvement and enlargement of industrial equipment—geographical reorganization of undertakings—perfecting of industrial and commercial organizational apparatus. And this enhancement of productive power unfortunately coincides with an extraordinary falling off in orders, which is not surprising in view of the limitation of the markets of Central and Eastern Europe. It may be safely maintained that at the present moment, there are at least 100 blast furnaces too many in Europe. Are the furnaces in Westphalia to be extinguished in order that those of Lorraine may be set going again? Up to now it has been Lorraine which has suffered chiefly from this state of affairs, for its customers were those of Thyssen, Roechling, Stumm, the members of the former Rhenish-Lorraine cartel. These were German customers, not liable to be won over at a moment's notice by Briey, Anzin, and Creuzot. Thyssen and Krupp have merely surrendered a part of their trade basis, merely the material and equipment; they have retained their clients. Schneider has been obliged to admit that it does not suffice to seat oneself in the deserted chair of a German industrial magnate in order to take the place of that magnate in the world's markets. The cheapness of the goods created the market, and the profitability of an industry is dependent on its markets. In order to be able to export 6 million tons of iron in the form of finished or half finished manufactures, the sellers must be able to deliver at prices competing with these of foreign suppliers. And thus we arrive back again at the problem of fuel: in order to produce 11 million tons of iron, 13 million tons of coke are required, but the French coking furnaces, including those of Lorraine and the Saar country, and even those in course of construction, can only supply a maximum of 6 million tons.

Where are the required 7 million tons of coke to be found, without which the mighty undertakings of Lorraine are normally bound to work at a loss?

There is only one means: to return to the pre-war supplier, that is, to Germany; to speak more exactly, to the Ruhr valley. This is the sole means of ensuring vitality to French metal industry.

During the peace preliminaries, a coke agreement was laid down in the Luxemburg protocol, providing for a regular exchange of German coke and Lorraine minette: one ton of coke in exchange for 1½ tons of ore. This agreement was not held to by the French. Shut off from those sources of ore, the Germans turned to Austria, Sweden, and Spain; they sought fresh sources of supply, and with such success that within two years they were almost entirely independent of the ore of Lorraine; in 1913, they obtained 26 million tons from Lorraine, in 1922 only 32,000 tons. But the French metal industry continued to require Westphalian coke in as great a degree as before.

Truly it was not necessary "to win the war" to land in such a situation.

But Germany has got to supply coal, and the amount fixed upon since the London conference (August 1922) is 1,200,000 tons monthly for the allies collectively. Only 11,710,365 tons have been supplied of the 13,845,000 to be delivered to France in the year 1922. Thus a delivery deficit of 15%. Up to the invasion of the Ruhr basin, those arrears in delivery were demanded with the strongest insistence, although France and Belgium had ample supplies of coal, so that great quantities of Saar and reparation coal were re-purchased by Germany. The Comité des Forges demanded those quantities of coal through the reparation commission, in order to force Germany to increase her delivery of coke. In this way the delivery figures of metallurgic coke rose from 3,082,000 tons in 1921 to 4,302,000 tons in 1922.

One day the French government had it ascertained by the reparation commission that the delivery of fuel fell 15% below the required amounts. It is every evident that even if these deliveries had been fully carried out, the situation of the French blast furnaces would scarcely have been bettered, for there is too great a difference between the reparation delivery shortage and the actual shortage of the French metal industry. In reality, the Comité des Forges needs new agreements. And therefore the iron magnates marched into the Ruhr valley.

Is it possible to force the rulers of Germany to capitulate on the question of coke and of selling markets, without

annihilating German industry at the same time, or at least subjecting it to the predominance of a few great French metal firms? The leaders of the Comité des Forges have never believed this, and some of their first spokesmen have expressed this very clearly. Thus M. Adolphe Delemer, the chief editor of the periodical *Semaine politique économique et sociale* wrote as follows one year before the Ruhr occupation:

"Tomorrow, when the Ruhr is occupied, as the Rhine was occupied yesterday and today, it will be very doubtful if the Germans will give way. This we know. The matter is perfectly clear. We demand from Germany that she agrees to her own annihilation. And if we go there despite this knowledge then it is because we are seeking something else. What idea is actuating us?"

For us, the occupation of the Ruhr area can only be of advantage if we are resolved, from now onwards, to deprive Germany of her supremacy in the metal industry. The occupation has to be a means of weakening German industry, and of securing for us absolute power over iron. At the present time, Germany is the most powerful competitor in the markets of the world. To exclude Germany from this position by the means at our disposal, and to place ourselves in her position, this is an object worth the venture of the Ruhr occupation, if we really succeed in accomplishing it.

The low value of our currency will then permit us to compete with England, who at the moment is harassed by German competition. The hour will have arrived at last for taking a leading position in the markets of the world."

The weekly periodical *L'Usine* also expressed the same without the slightest circumlocution. And why be afraid of expressing it, when backed up by the most powerful army in the world?

"As lords of the coal reserves in the Ruhr and Saar areas we should be lords of a part of the European market, and I think that we shall know how to impose a duty on the coal supplied to German and neutral industry which will suffice to restore the balance in favor of our industry, and will at the same time provide pledges for our reconstruction.

As lords of the Ruhr we could discuss with English importers as equals, and could impose our terms on them. The most doubtful point would only be the attitude of the German workers towards us, and the question as to whether the passive resistance they are recommended to maintain will really be kept up. We are of the opinion that it will be possible to arrive at a tolerable agreement with them; in any case this is necessary, for there are half a million officials and employees alone."

Such utterances, made a year before the Ruhr expedition, show with the utmost clearness that the clique whose interests were at stake were under no delusions as to the aim and extent of the Ruhr undertaking, and that the seizure of pledges as guarantee for the reparation payments was only intended to serve as pretext for veiled annexation. Besides this, the methods of occupation and organization to be adopted were long a matter of debate in governmental circles. In 1921 it was already determined that the technical leadership of the invaded territory was to be entrusted to a commission consisting of: M. Taiffanell, director of the iron-works of Chatillon Commentry; M. Daume, director of the steel works of Saint Chamond; and M. Ader, former director of the national coal bureau.

German big industry, having the government of the country at its beck and call, had only one available means of escaping the seizure of the Ruhr: that of admitting the great firms of the Comité des Forges to a 60% participation in the mining and metal undertakings of Westphalia. As the German industrial magnates would not capitulate on these terms, Poincaré suddenly noticed that 15% of coal was short in the German payments in kind for 1922, and a few thousand telegraph poles besides.

The pretext was found. M. Robert Pinot had only to pull the string and the reparation commission marionettes sprang up in unexampled indignation. The 1,500,000 heroes who fell in the war, the sufferings of the devastated areas, the sacredness of the peace treaty, all were remembered once more—and our soldiers marched gloriously into Essen.

## The Release of Marty, a Great Victory for the Communist Party of France

All resistance on the part of the Poincaré government to the storm of protest of the proletariat was futile. On the 17th of July, the strong man, the illustrious conqueror of the Ruhr district was obliged to release Marty from the prison

in Clairvaux. The *Humanité* writes as follows over this event in its leading article:

"Four years and three months after his arrest in the Black Sea, four years and a few days after his sentencing to 20 years penal servitude, has André Marty been discharged from the Clairvaux prison. The bourgeois press lays emphasis on the fact that this act of grace does not yet signify the final liberation of the Black Sea Hero, which will only be decided by the ministerial council on the 20th July. (In the meanwhile the final amnesty for Marty has been announced, Ed.) But that has nothing to do with the matter. André Marty is at the end of his suffering, and no one is in a position to send him back to prison. The Communist Party can record with satisfaction that this liberation is the result of their work. It took the undisputed initiative in this protest movement, it has made the name of Marty popular throughout the whole country. And it has made him the "most elected man in France". The prolonged endeavours of the party have been crowned with success, Marty is free and we have one more active comrade in our ranks. The government has stated that it will make a wide exercise of its right to grant amnesties. We remind the government that the prisons of Lorraine are full of mine workers who were condemned by an unheard of class justice on the occasion of the last strike. We shall also lead a campaign on their behalf. And we are certain that we shall rescue them from the prisons of the bourgeoisie. Would it not be more politic to immediately grant them their freedom?"

After his discharge from prison, Marty proceeded to his native town of Perignan, in order to visit his invalid mother. On his arrival he was given a reception by an enormous crowd of people, flowers were showered down on him and, borne up on the arms of the multitude, he was conveyed to his Mother's house. From Perignan, Marty addressed the following telegram to Comrade Cachin, the chief editor of *Humanité*:

"Perignan, July 18, 1923. Dear Comrade, discharged from the prison in Clairvaux early yesterday, I request you to convey my thanks to all those who have worked for my release. The illness of my mother and a great weariness will keep me for some time in my native town. But I request you to express at once my deep thanks to the great mass of the working class and to the whole proletariat for their unwearied activity on behalf of the great cause of amnesty. I shall never forget, that since the first days of my arrest the workers rose up in protest against my condemnation, and that since then they have unceasingly demanded my release. Also convey my thanks to the right minded people of all parties, to the workers' organizations and to all groups who have been active on behalf of my liberation. In choosing the French Newspaper which bears the finest name as the medium for conveying my thanks to the working class, I do so in memory of the great Jaurés, who gave to the proletariat more than his freedom, namely, his life. When I am finally free and given back to active life I shall settle as to my future prospects and activity. On my release some hundreds of letters were given to me which had been opened by the censor and not handed over on account of the prison regulations. Please inform all those who have so written me, that it is impossible for me to thank every one of them individually and that I must by this means reply to them all at once.

With brotherly greetings,

A. Marty."

On the occasion of Marty's release, the Lorraine Miners' Union sent a telegram to *Humanité* expressing the joy of the Mine Workers over this event. But at the same time attention is called to the many Lorraine Mine Workers, who also, as victims of class justice, fill the prisons. The telegram expresses the conviction that the mass movement of the French proletariat will set free these victims of the mine owners in the same way as it has brought freedom to Marty.

## The Elections in Yugoslavia

By K. Novakovich.

The elections which took place in March in Yugoslavia were influenced by the tendency to racial and national groupings; the main slogans of the electoral struggle were: For or against the centralist Vidovan constitution, for or against its revision. The main groupings of political forces in Yugoslavia are, on the one side, the Croatian Slovene opposition with a federal autonomous constitutional program, and, on the other side, the Servian bloc, which is composed of radicals and democrats,

stands for the hegemony of the Servians in the new state, and possesses a centralist constitutional program. The so-called Vidovan constitution had been pushed through by the Servian bloc in the year 1922. The Croatia-Slovene bloc has fought untiringly against this constitution; it has simply refused to recognize it, it has carried on an energetic counter-agitation among the Croatian Slovene masses, and has even boycotted the Parliament.

During the electoral struggle the Croatian Slovene bloc contrived to utilize the national antagonisms, as well as the system of terror against the workers in general and against the CP. in particular, very skillfully for its own purposes. It succeeded in working upon the poor peasants and proletarians, by means of the most radical watchwords, and in winning these for federal autonomy. Thus the Croatian republican peasants' party (H.R.S.S.) issued the slogan of a Soviet state system, of participation of the workers in the administration of production, and of the maintenance of friendly relations with Soviet Russia. To be sure, a somewhat different form was given to this slogan by the H.R.S.S. in places where electors of a different social position were to be won, in order to unite capitalists and proletarians in a common front. The Servian radicals and democrats also carried on the election campaign from a national propagandist standpoint only. All social questions were set aside, and only the Independent Labor Party of Yugoslavia (N.R.P.J.) gathered a part of the town and country proletariat around it, and held the banner of irreconcilable class struggle steadily aloft, even after two years of white terror.

During the electoral struggle the N.R.P.J. was subjected to the severest persecution. In every part of the country it was prohibited from holding election meetings. The lists of candidates of the party were rejected by the authorities in several places, entirely contrary to law. Almost all the functionaries and candidates of the party were either interned or banished. Such handbills and writings as were passed by the censor were prohibited and confiscated by the police. The authorities and the Fascist bands made it impossible in some places for the voters of the N.R.P.J. to cast their votes in the electoral struggle. Under these circumstances the N.R.P.J. was only able to obtain about 17,000 votes in 17 out of 50 electoral districts.

The terms of the reactionary suffrage law allow the N.R.P.J. no seat in Parliament. The socialists played the rôle of government supporters, and stood for a centralist governmental policy in these elections, "in the name of the unity of the people".

In Croatia, Slovenia, as well as in wide districts of Bosnia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, the parties striving for a revision of the constitution gained an overwhelming majority. The total number of deputies is 313. Of these, 109 seats fell to the radicals, 52 to the democrats, 69 to the H.R.S.S. (Radic), 8 to the Germans, etc. The H.R.S.S. received 50 out of the 60 Croatian seats.

Scarcely were the elections over, however, when it became evident that the Croatian and Slovene peoples had been deceived by their bourgeoisie. It became apparent that the Croatian-Slovene bloc did not represent any revolutionary nationalist movement. Instead of proclaiming a Croatian Republic, the H.R.S.S. began, together with its allies the Slovene clericals, etc., negotiations with a part of the Servian radicals. The remaining small parties, as for instance the Germans, the "autonomist" Montenegrins, etc., had already come to an agreement with the government of the Servian radicals, at the price of a mess of pottage.

The Radical Party, which has emerged from the elections stronger than before, thanks to the government pressure in its favor, possesses no majority in Parliament without the democrats or without the Radic Party (H.R.S.S.). The H.R.S.S., as well as the Clerical Party, which is a bitter enemy of the democrats, are anxious to prevent a governmental coalition of the radicals with the democrats. To this must be added that Radic—after speaking, during the electoral campaign, against participation in Parliament—could not possibly enter Parliament after the elections, as the voters would have at once perceived the mendacity of his attitude. Thus Radic and the radicals came at Zagreb, to an agreement, which was set down in a protocol. In this protocol, which is being anxiously kept secret, the first point laid down is the reciprocal readiness to come to an understanding. The conditions are further stated which have to be fulfilled by the government of the radicals, if they want to prove their readiness to continue the negotiations and to arrive at a final agreement. These conditions include everything required by Radic to maintain his authority and the confidence of the masses in him: the non-application of the severest paragraphs of the centralist constitution and the amelioration of the arbitrary police régime in the country. The main points of the protocol refer to the following: Assurance of the non-application of the

law on the administrative division of the state, according to which Croatia was to be divided into several administrative districts; repudiation of all democratic administrative organs which have persecuted the H.R.S.S.; withdrawal of all political commissaries appointed as authorities in those elective municipalities which refused allegiance to the new constitution; cessation of all persecution of the H.R.S.S.; equalization of taxation (hitherto Croatia and Slovenia have been relatively more heavily burdened with taxation); obligation of the radicals to form the government without the democrats. Besides this, the protocol states that the next elections are to be conducted as far as possible, under the slogan of an understanding between the Servians, Croats, and Slovenes. Although, as already mentioned, the strictest secrecy has been maintained over this protocol, still the masses are already beginning, if vaguely, to see through the game being played. Croatian peasant masses (for instance in Stubica) have already, since the elections, had to bear the blows of the butt-ends of the guns of the royal soldiery, for daring to give expression to their republican views. The working masses of Croatia and Slovenia are suffering under the blows dealt them by the capitalist offensive of their bourgeoisie. The poor masses of the peasantry saw salvation from social misery in their emancipation from the centralist régime. The demagoguery of the H.R.S.S. and the fact that an efficient political balance to this party is completely lacking, enables it to continue to conceal the truth from the masses. But the forces which the centralist régime of white terror has itself awakened, will prove a great danger to it should these forces succeed in separating themselves from the H.R.S.S., and in organizing for the struggle against the whole Yugoslavian bourgeoisie and its reactionary aims. Herein lies the main task of the Independent Labor Party (N.R.P.J.).

The following question now arises for the N.R.P.J.: What are the prospects of an agreement between the bourgeoisies of Servia, Croatia, etc.? Although willingness to agree may exist, a mutually satisfactory agreement is not easily arrived at. The main question is: which of the bourgeoisies is to have the opportunity of utilizing the economic advantages which can only be obtained by the aid of governmental power? The "Croatian Republic" will easily recover from the loss of Radic, but the Servian bourgeoisie will not abandon its privileged position so easily. So long as it can avail itself of the soldiery and police, it will claim the lion's share of the looting being carried on by the state; it will insist on keeping its hold on the whole state apparatus and on maintaining its influence on administration; it will attempt to maintain its position in relation to the great imperialist powers by means of great concessions, in order to secure large loans. Besides this, it will try to win the military authorities and the crown to its side by granting privileges and advantages. The Croatian Slovene bourgeoisie, on the other hand, financially stronger than the Servian bourgeoisie, nationally well organized, and supported besides by the broad masses, will exert every endeavor to gain equal rights in the plundering of the working people. At the moment both sides are trying to gain time to consolidate their position. It is not unlikely that the Servian bourgeoisie will attempt to compel the complete acceptance of the constitution by the country. The Croatian and Slovene masses will then be the more disappointed.

Although the work being done by the N.R.P.J. is, in this situation, beset with many difficulties, still the effects of the bourgeois national antagonisms are preparing the soil for the united front of the proletariat.

## The Trial of the Belgian Communists

By M. Cachin.

On the 9th July, there began in the law court of Brussels, the trial of the 15 members of the Communist Party of Belgium indicted by the Theunis government. Although the jury who have to judge our comrades consists of members of the propertied classes, the invalidity of the indictment is so obvious that it is impossible to believe it will bring in a verdict against the accused. We confidently hope that the Belgian "communist conspiracy" will collapse as miserably as the "plot" on account of which our French comrades were accused. Shortly before the beginning of the trial, the Communist Party of Belgium made clear to the working class the emptiness of the accusation. This purpose was served by three great meetings, held in Brussels, Seraing, and Chatelaineau. All three meetings were highly successful. Thousands of workers enthusiastically followed the slogans of the Communist Party. No doubt the number of our adherents in Brussels and the industrial districts is still few, but a mighty change in the views of the working class is observable in connection with this trial. The Communist Party had called upon the Socialist Party to take part in the demonstrations in favor

of the arrested comrades. The reformists refused this invitation in a shameful and fraudulent declaration. They forbade their followers to take part in the demonstration, but many members of the Socialist Party condemned the attitude adopted by their leaders. Six social democratic town councillors took part in the demonstration which marched in procession through the streets of Brussels as a sign of sympathy with the arrested Communists. The metal workers' union, the building workers' union, the employees' union, and the teachers' union, were officially represented at the demonstration. The procession was followed by a meeting. This had to be held out of doors, as all the halls in Brussels, including the People's House, had been refused to the Communists. At this meeting, several representatives of the trade unions spoke in favor of the communist viewpoint, and the socialist municipal councillor Marteaux, of Brussels, stigmatized in the sharpest terms the cowardice of his party.

The demonstration held in Seraing, the centre of the Belgian metal industry, had an equally brilliant success. In the course of the meeting which followed it, a social democratic deputy, Demblon, protested against the attitude taken by the committee of his party, while the meeting held in Chatelaineau, in the Chareroi mining area, was attended with the same success.

The trial of these 15 communists is being followed with intense interest by the whole Belgian proletariat. The accused are in excellent spirits; they are perfectly aware that the real reason for their trial is that they belong to the 3. International, and because some of them took part in the Essen conference. It is the intention of the Brussels government, by this deed of violence, to place the Communist Party outside of the law. The French comrades are following with brotherly sympathy the trial of the Belgian comrades who have been in prison for 4 months for the "crime" of communism.

## FASCISM

### International Fascism and the Communist International

By Karl Radek.

Today Fascism is no longer a special-fruit of Italian events, but an international phenomenon. But it is only in Italy that it is in power, and here it has created a Fascist state, just as Russia is the first state of the proletariat. But the waves of Fascism are running high in Germany and in Czechoslovakia; it is beginning its attack in America, in France and in Austria. Fascism, as we shall see further, is a petty bourgeois reaction against the situation created by the war, a petty bourgeois reaction which big capital is anxious make use of for the restoration of its power wherever this is overthrown or shaken. The difference between the position of the bourgeoisies of various countries is much greater than the differences within the working class, and thus the policy pursued by the petty bourgeoisies of different countries is marked by more essential differences than those to be observed in the position and policy of the working classes of the different countries, although these also show numerous points of difference. We shall not occupy ourselves at the moment with the various phases of the Fascist movement in the various countries, but solely with that aspect of the movement which all countries possess in common. For this purpose we must first devote our attention to Central and South European Fascism, for if we extend our observation to American Fascism, or to the Fascism which is only just arising in England, we find that in these countries, the movement is at present nothing more nor less than the preparation of new fighting methods on the part of big capital, which desires to be ready in case state power should fall into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie.

What do we find common to Italian, German, Czechoslovakian, and Austrian Fascism? The most striking comparison is formed by the regime of Horthy, the executioner of the Hungarian workers, and the regime of Mussolini. In both cases, we find orgies of reaction, in both cases the most savage persecution of the labor movement. It may even be asserted that in Hungary the persecutions are ten times as savage as in Italy, although the Hungarian government is not a Fascist one. Every counter-revolutionary power, or counter-revolutionary movement is not necessarily Fascism. In what do the Fascists differ from the Hungarian White counter-revolutionists? The Fascist movement is the movement of broad petty-bourgeois masses, whilst white governments of the Horthy type embody the victory of feudal capitalist groups. White governments of

the Horthy description end by no longer serving the cause of feudalism, nor the cause of the restoration of the purely land-owning state of society, but solely the cause of the banking and industrial magnates. And here the Fascist movement ends too, for in present-day Europe it is only possible to rule on the basis of a proletarian or large bourgeois policy; today, no politics can be based on the petty bourgeoisie alone. But the difference between a Fascist government or movement and a white feudal-capitalist movement consists in the fact that the white governments (as for instance the Horthy government) come into existence in the form of a movement arising out of the old ruling classes, which strive for the restoration of old conditions, whilst the Fascist movements, in so far as they represent the thoughts and feelings of the broad masses fighting under the banner of Fascism, cherish the hope of being able to build up life on new foundations—foundations whose outlines are still very vague, but which it is hoped will free the petty bourgeoisie from all the burdens which the war has cast upon it.

Wherein do the roots of the Fascist movement lie? The root of the Fascist movement is in the proletarianizing of broad masses of the petty city bourgeoisie by the war. The decay of state finances, the disintegration of the currency system, the rise in prices, and the increase of taxation, have led to an impoverishment of the intelligentsia, of the lower officials, of the officers, and of considerable strata of tradespeople. These masses have been everywhere seeking a means of escape: they seek new paths, new forms of life. After the war the representatives of social democracy and of various small bourgeois parties came into power in Germany, in Czechoslovakia, in Austria, and in Italy. The masses of suffering petty bourgeoisie expected that these governing powers would alleviate their situation would change their condition of life. But these alterations can only be attained by a united fight against the big bourgeoisie, by beginning to organize life on socialist principles. Social democracy, afraid of big capital, and lacking in faith in the creative power of the proletariat, has proved incapable of fulfilling this task. It has everywhere not only made compromises, but has actually capitulated to the big bourgeoisie, as a result of which it has not alone secured the actual victory of the big bourgeoisie in every country, and undermined the confidence of broad masses of workers in socialism, but has also driven the enquiring masses of the petty bourgeoisie to the conviction that socialism is a swindle, that it is not capable of building up a new life. And as the situation of these masses has grown worse from day to day, they have had to seek further, and now they have discovered this Fascism, which says to them: down with the deceits of democracy, which means nothing but corruption and profit in the working class to the detriment of the state—let us form a strong power, composed of courageous men who will know how to restore the shattered life of the bourgeoisie with a firm hand, how to set the factories going again, to run the railroads without deficit, to feed the starving petty bourgeoisie, and to give the intelligentsia the position due to them in the state. The leading capitalist groups utilize this Fascist ideology for the purpose of putting an end to the impotent rule of democracy. It is not that democracy prevents them from ruling economic life, but it does not guarantee a powerful apparatus, working energetically and without debate in their favor.

In the conquered countries, the decaying classes utilize Fascism to retain their hold on existence. In Hungary, the feudal-capitalist officers' clique was able to seize power without the aid of a broad petty bourgeois movement, for here the Soviet power had been defeated by the Roumanian bayonets. But in Germany or Austria, power can only be seized with the aid of a broad petty-bourgeois movement, as the working masses in these countries are far too powerful to be placed under the yoke of a White Guard government by means of a military conspiracy. This was demonstrated by the Kapp putsch in Germany, in 1920, when the military conspiracy was strangled by the workers. In Austria, where one sixth of the population is organized in the trade unions, the victory of a small group of officers would scarcely last an hour if it were not backed up by a broad petty-bourgeois movement. For this reason, the landowning and officers' cliques, who lost their state positions in consequence of the military defeats and in consequence of the victory of the revolution in 1918, are now utilizing the misery of the petty bourgeoisie, and the petty bourgeois national feelings, for the purpose of preparing the way to their own victory. The petty bourgeoisie of the vanquished countries is not only nationalist in spirit because it has been so reared during the last decades, but because it only needs to compare its present position with its position before the war, during the reign of the Hohenzollerns and Habsburgs, to come to the conclusion that it was much better off under the latter. Thus it seeks its ideals in the past, and becomes the dupe of those political elements which are to blame for its present misery. All those who are battenning on

the decay of economics, all those who are raking in milliards by speculation: the cliques of capitalist sharks—all these are making Fascism serve their own ends, are using the Fascist bands to get into their hands those working masses who are struggling against higher prices and the ever-increasing misery.

This diagnosis of Fascism determines our strategy in our combat against it. It goes without saying that the Communist Party has to organize the defence of the working masses against the Fascist bands, and it must be ready to defend itself by force of arms against the Fascist bands, for if Fascism attains power, it will signify the absolute sway of capitalism in its bloodiest form. And this will again attempt to restore its economics at the cost of the working people. But we should not assume that it is only possible to fight Fascism by force of arms. This broad movement of the petty-bourgeoisie must also be defeated by political weapons, by a bold revolutionary policy, by the initiative of the proletariat in re-establishing society on new foundations. This will impart confidence to the masses and enable them to believe that a new regime has come, a regime which will rescue them from their growing want and misery. It follows from this that in order to insure our victory over Fascism, we must win over the petty-bourgeois masses, that we must make it plain to them that they are being used as cats paws in the hands of capitalism, of landowners and officers' reaction. Fascism is the socialism of the petty-bourgeois masses, and it is only when we demonstrate to them that their leaders are dragging them further down in their wretched position, that we shall be able to wrest them from the hands of those elements who are living on their impoverishment. It is only in this way that the Communist Parties will not only resist the Fascist wave, but will also be able to direct it into the mighty current of the proletarian movement.

The Communist International differentiates this policy most definitely from the policy pursued by social democracy. Social democracy, by renouncing the combat against the big bourgeoisie, delivered over the petty bourgeois masses to the influence of the iron, coal, and banking magnates, who have delegated their power into the hands of the hands of the officers' cliques, under the name of democracy, in order that the revolutionary labor movement might be crushed. And this same social democracy now shrieks aloud at the dangers of Fascism. Today it shrieks, but tomorrow it will be ready to lick the boots of the Fascisti, or at best to play the rôle of an impotent opposition to the Fascist government. Social democracy, in clinging to the debris of rotten democracy, in displaying the standard of impotent pacifism, and, in the light against high prices, merely folding its hands in its lap, is not combating Fascism; it is merely widening the chasms dividing the petty bourgeois masses from the working class. When we Communists attempt to differentiate between those suffering elements among the Fascisti which belong to the people, and those elements which are utilizing Fascism for serving the purposes of capitalist and landowning reaction, the social democrats cry out that we are making compromises with Fascism. This clamour on the part of the social democrats is merely a sign of their own utter helplessness, of their fear of being further shaken. We however know very well that the working class will beat back that attack of capital whose highest form is Fascism, and will proceed to an attack on the citadel of capitalism itself. And in this struggle it will not only unite the whole working class, but all the masses of the people suffering from the effects of the disintegration of post war capitalism.

## The Fascist Trade Unions and the Italian Proletariat

(By an Italian Comrade)

The principles of Fascist trade union work are the following: Fight against the "trade union monopoly" of the Red unions and for freedom of labor ("Open shop"), education for the co-operation of the classes, protection of the "legitimate" interests of the worker. This whole activity must however be carried out on national principles, and must not disturb national production.

With respect to the "trade union monopoly", the Red trade unions in town and country have been shattered with the greatest brutality. But after the organisations had been destroyed, the monopoly of the Fascist organization was created. Where the Fascisti do not succeed in "winning over" the workers, as for instance, in Molinella, they draft in workers from other districts, and thousands of proletarians are thrown out of work because they do not possess the membership card of the Fascist organisation. The manufacturers and land owners are prohibited on pain of death from engaging workers who do not belong to the

Fascist union. No Red union can work openly in Italy at the present time. Only a few trade unions of this character have been permitted to exist in the town. But even these are kept under the sharpest supervision. They must not occupy themselves with politics, and have to notify the Fascisti beforehand of the sessions and meetings, so that a representative of the Fascist organization may attend for purposes of control. Unions which refuse to tolerate such superintendence, and who strive to maintain the spirit of class warfare are dissolved by the government as seditious organisations. But when the Fascisti attempted to extend their monopoly to the employer's union, they received a very decided rebuff.

With regard to the co-operation of the classes, it is obvious the Fascisti have not succeeded in bringing the employers and workers together in a common Fascist organization. All that has been done towards protecting the justified claims of the proletariat is as follows: In 1922 the Fascisti, in order to make themselves popular, restored the old tariff agreements in many rural districts; agreements which they themselves had formerly combatted with fire and sword. This fact was strongly emphasized in the Fascist newspapers. But after a few months, nothing was left of these tariff agreements between landowners and agricultural laborers. In upper Italy a Fascist regulation converted the small tenants, who hitherto possessed a small piece of land, into landless workers, receiving daily wages according to a starvation tariff. The case is similar with the worsening of the position of the small tenants and agricultural laborers all over the country. The co-operatives of the small holders have everywhere lost their class war character. Every strike is forbidden the agricultural laborers, as it would jeopardize the welfare of the country.

The position of the city workers has deteriorated correspondingly. Whilst the cost of living has enormously increased, wages have been reduced by 30 to 60%. A governmental decree permits the 10 hour day. The laws for the protection of labor have been annulled, and unemployed benefit has been done away with. When the Fascisti, before the seizure of power, went angling for support with their demand "protection of the legitimate interests of the workers", they succeeded in catching a certain number of workers with this slogan. But what this "protection of the legitimate interests of the workers" really looks like, these workers are now experiencing after 8 months of Fascist rule.

## Edo Fimmen on the Necessity of the Defensive Struggle against Fascism

Edo Fimmen, the social democratic leader of the Amsterdam Transport Workers' International, in the course of his suggestive speech recently delivered to the Workers of Aussig (Czecho-Slovakia) said:

"Comrades! We have sent from the International Federation of Trade Unions to the National Centrals, a written request to apprise us of the position in regard to Fascism in the various countries. We have received a communication from Germany to the effect that, in Bavaria, the Orgesch is pretty strong; but nothing was said concerning the rest of the country (!) It is known of course, that Fascism exists in other parts of Germany besides Bavaria, but it has always been imagined that the workers would give it short shrift.(!)

If the working-class in Germany neglects to defend itself; if the workers in Germany fail to do as I have suggested to them in my article in the "Bulletin of the International Transport Workers' Federation", and as the *Vorwärts* has also lately demanded; if they do not proceed to the formation of Armed Hundredshafts (Fighting Units), then Germany will go exactly the same way as Italy and Hungary.

The German workers will be massacred and murdered; it will be all over with the socialist movement in Germany! We see signs of this already.

The property of the German workers is being destroyed, in Munster, a labor printing works was blown up. These are sure indications of what the Fascists in Germany are doing to-day to crush the socialist labor movement.

The bourgeoisie adheres to democracy only so long as it is serviceable to it, only so long as it can thereby deceive and dope the workers. And it proceeds without scruple to adopt violence the moment it believes it can gain more by this than by so-called democracy. I repeat from this platform: We workers hate bloodshed! But we should by crazy if, at the moment when the enemy determines to use armed force against us, we were to rely upon democracy, upon our bare legal rights! (Applause.)

In the struggle which is none of our seeking, and in the fighting methods which are not our invention but which are forced upon us on the part of the bourgeoisie, it is the duty of

the working class — and even if we are a hundred times against bloodshed and pacifists a thousand times over —, it is our duty to proceed against our adversary with the same weapons as he uses (Enthusiastic applause).

And if in your Czecho-Slovakian Republic there are democrats — whether socialist or non-socialist — who remonstrate with you, that this is not the task of the workers, and if tomorrow, the social patriotic press inveighs against Fimmen, then you must call attention to the fact that at Hamburg not one of them had protested against this, and tell them that they are either hopeless donkeys or damnable hypocrites. (Loud applause.)

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Death of Comrade A. Ker

We have just learnt of the sudden death of our comrade and contributor A. Ker, an article from whose pen appears in our present issue.

As a syndicalist, he entered the Third International in its early days and was for a long time a member of the Party Leadership of the Communist Party of France. He was repeatedly sent by the party as a delegate to the various international conferences and as such took part in the conference at Essen. He was also one of the accused in the recent communist trial and was persecuted by Poincaré's agents. Comrade Ker carried on an unceasing activity in the service of the party and in the cause of the working class, and on economic questions in particular he was one of the best authorities. He leaves behind an incomplete and all too untimely interrupted, but nevertheless significant life's work. His economic writings, in particular his recent booklet on the Ruhr Occupation, have added an excellent weapon to the armoury of the Communist party.

He leaves us unexpectedly, while yet young, in the midst of his activities and in the full strength of manhood. The Communist Party of France loses in him one of its most valuable fighters while the Communist International is deprived of a man who remained true to it after a deep inward crisis and was one of its sincerest supporters. To his companion in life, to his relatives and to the French Comrades, we send expressions of our warmest sympathy.

## A Letter from the President of the E.C.C.I. to the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Italy

It was not until the Enlarged Executive of the C.I. had replied to your letter, signed by Nobile, that we learnt of your threat of expelling from the party those comrades who are publishing the *Pagine Rosse*. In this we find evidence of fresh hostility towards the Comintern. We cannot comprehend how you can seek admittance into the Comintern, and at the same time threaten with expulsion those comrades who are carrying on propaganda in the interest of leading the Italian SP. in the direction of the Comintern.

Of what have the comrades of the *Pagine Rosse* been guilty? They stand firmly in unity with the Party. Their periodical fully represents the spirit of the Party. How can you, who regard yourselves as adherents of inner party democracy, of autonomy, etc., deny almost half the Party the right to publish a propagandist periodical? You, who for years could share your camp with the schismatics, reformists, renegades of socialism, with Turati, d'Arragona, Colombino—now you want to expel excellent comrades, devoted to the cause, simply because they are faithful to the Communist International.

In view of the extraordinary situation in Italy, we met the Italian SP. halfway. The reasons inducing us to do this are clearly stated in the resolutions of the Enlarged Executive, and in our letters and telegrams. It was our sincere desire, and is still, to establish connections with you and to fulfil your wishes. But your conduct with respect to the comrades of the *Pagine Rosse* is extremely dangerous. Your conduct arouses the fear that there is extreme tension within the party, so much so that

serious work is prevented, and that the pre-requisites which were present in your party at the time when we passed our resolution have changed. This involves the danger that the mistrust between you and the Communists may re-awaken and deepen, and that union in political and trade union spheres will be rendered extremely difficult. Every worker who is or wants to be a member of the Comintern, and, it appears to us, every worker belonging to the SP. of Italy, will undoubtedly mistrust your sincerity if you do not cease to hinder the propaganda of the *Pagine Rosse* by your preliminary censorship. There is not one worker, whether communist or socialist, who can find an honorable and convincing explanation for this action on your part.

A similar observation might be made on those measures undertaken by you against the socialist youth after the Milan congress. We are not however informed to what extent these resolutions of yours may be regarded as final.

We regard it as our duty to advise you not to carry out your threats, but to give the members of your party the opportunity of freely expressing their opinions, which are identical with the principles of the Communist International. We beg you to inform us what stage has been reached at the present time in the question of the socialist youth.

With regard to the time and manner of your direct connection with us, we are able to accept your proposition. We do not however desire to have the matter postponed indefinitely. We do not consider it superfluous to tell you that it will be very regrettable if you are not meanwhile successful in avoiding occurrences and situations, within the SP. of Italy, which would oblige us to alter the standpoint which we occupied when our first resolutions were passed.

In expectation of your speedy reply, we send you our communist greetings.

The President of the E.C.C.I. *Zinoviev*.

## The Communist Party of Bulgaria and the Recent Coup d'Etat

The attitude of the Communist Party of Bulgaria to the events of June 9.

The *Rabotnitscheski Vestnik* of July 10 contains the following resolution:

The Committee of the Party, after hearing the report of the Party Central on the attitude of the party to the events of June 9, unanimously passed the following resolution:

1. The Committee of the Party completely approves of the attitude adopted by the Party Central to the events of June 9, and declares that the attitude and instructions of the Party Central are in complete accord with the resolutions passed by the Party Committee in January and April, 1923. The attitude which was taken by the Bulgarian Communist Party to the events of June 9 was the only possible one under the circumstances. The Communist Party of Bulgaria could not, on June 9, intervene arms in hand between the fallen government and the new government on behalf of the agrarian policy; a fact amply proved by the failure of the masses to rise in defence of the agrarian government. The Communist Party could not take any action for the immediate establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government, because the overthrow of the agrarian government did not bring about any revolutionary movement among the working and peasant masses, and because the conditions for the formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Government did not yet exist. The attitude of the Communist Party to the events of June 9 was not an attitude of passivity and neutrality, but rather an attitude of independent political struggle in defence of the interests and rights of the working masses, for the realization of the slogans of the Communist Party and for the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government. The Party Committee further points out that the attitude of the Central to the events of June 9 was unanimously approved by the Party. Exceptions in two or three places do not signify the existence of differences of opinion, but are to be explained by the special conditions existing for our comrades in these places.

2. The Party Committee is of the opinion that the differences of opinion which have arisen with respect to the tactics of the party on the occasion of the coup d'etat, between the Executive of the Communist International, on the one hand, as shown by Comrade Zinoviev's explanation at the session of the Enlarged Executive, as well as by the appeal to the Bulgarian workers and peasants, and the Communist Party of Bulgaria, on the other hand, are to be attributed to the insufficient information of the Executive on the events of June 9. The Central of the Bulgarian Party had not yet had the possibility of informing the International and brother parties on the events of June 9.

The Party Central has been commissioned to do this now. The Party Committee is convinced that the Executive of the Communist International, once in receipt of accurate information, will recognise the correctness of the attitude of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

3. With respect to the appeal made by the Executive of the Communist International to the working masses, in which these are summoned to join forces with the leaders of the Peasants' Union, the Party Committee is of the opinion that at the present moment—when the rural working masses themselves recognise the bankruptcy of their leaders, when they are deserting the village bourgeoisie and the men of the agrarian government previously in power, and when the rural masses are already seeking to unite with the workers and peasants who are fighting under the flag of the Communist Party—it would be an error for the Communist Party to restore to the agrarian leaders, who have betrayed the interests of the rural working people, their lost influence. But the Communist Party will not refuse to cooperate with the Peasants' Union and its leaders, if the Union and its leaders should prove ready to form a united front for the common struggle for the demands of the Communist Party and for the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

## The Latest Attitude of the C.P. of Bulgaria

By M. Rakosi.

The Party committee of our Bulgarian brother party, which met from July 1, till July 6, for the purpose of defining its attitude to the coup d'état, has now published in the central organ of the C.P.B. the *Rabotnitscheski Vestnik* of July 9, two of its resolutions on the "attitude of the C.P. of Bulgaria to the events of June 9", and on the "situation after June 9, and the tasks of the C.P.B."

In the first resolution "the party committee fully approves of the attitude adopted by the party central", as "the attitude adopted by the C.P.B. to the events of the 9th June, was the only possible one under the circumstances". It was no "passivity and neutrality, but rather the attitude of independent political struggle in the defence of the interests and rights of the working masses". The contrary opinion of the Enlarged Executive is "to be attributed to the insufficient information of the Executive on the events of June 9".

We shall not enter into discussion of the cheap subterfuge which it is always our fate to hear when opportunists are short of other arguments—that of insufficient information on the part of the E.C. The Bulgarian comrades must be very hard up for arguments in support of their points of view, if they resort to this means. Let us rather once more consider the situation as it was in Bulgaria at the time of the upheaval. On the 9. June, that is, on the day of the outbreak of the putsch, the situation was still quite unclear, and in 12 districts the peasants took up arms—in some places together with the communists. At this juncture the Party central issued, among others, the slogan of neutrality for the Communists, as in the opinion of the central it was solely a question of a fight of the village bourgeoisie against that of the city.

The resolution on the situation, passed on July 6, substantiates the attitude adopted by means of a lengthy analysis, demonstrating that the fallen agrarian government fought more against the workers than against the bourgeoisie, just as any other government trying to pursue a "middle line" is obliged to do. This is doubtless perfectly true. But, on the other hand, this government still had many adherents among the poor of the villages, indeed the majority of the poorer villagers were its followers. The bourgeoisie could not offer the poor peasants anything to induce them to desert Stambulinsky. The communists carried on agitation to this end, but this has its limits, and it is only in conjunction with well thought-out action and tactical manoeuvres—particularly in combination with the united front—that this can be widened to a conquest of the majority of the working class and eventually to the conquest of power. Our Bulgarian comrades have regarded the united front as highly important for other countries, but at home they have not employed it. A certain stagnation has been the inevitable result. The elections, which took place 7 weeks before the coup d'état, showed a falling off in our votes; but they also showed our strength for we received more votes than all the bourgeois parties put together.

When the city bourgeoisie, which did not receive even a fifth of the votes at the election, prepared to launch the coup d'état, our Party issued the following slogans (approved and enumerated in the resolution of July 6): "Combatting of high prices, decrease of taxation, alleviation of the housing problem, rises in wages, shortening of working hours, guarantees for the

rights, liberties, and peace of the Bulgarian people, etc." The slogan of neutrality is now being bashfully concealed behind this "etc."

In reply to all this the Executive, after having received the most important documents, appeals, and articles, declared it to have been a tremendous error not to have gone to the help of the peasants in the struggle against the White Guard bourgeoisie. The excuse that the peasants themselves had no wish to fight does not hold. Days have to pass before such tidings penetrate into the villages, and before peasants just preparing to bring in their crops resolve on armed resistance. But our Party took immediate steps in favor of neutrality, on the first day, before there was any possibility of obtaining a clear view of the situation, and whilst news of armed struggles was reaching Sofia from many places. The Party thus proved that it did not want to fight. If it had not merely issued general slogans—such as our Argentine or Norwegian comrades may well issue, but which are totally inadequate in a situation where bloody fights are taking place in a dozen districts—but had raised the slogan of active resistance, of the general strike, of the united front with the peasantry against the capitalists, then the situation would have been very different. Then the bourgeoisie would not have had the opportunity of sending their officers and gendarmes to the seats of immediate insurrection by means of railway trains run by Bulgarian workmen; then the peasants would have found a few days time to mobilize their powers, and to deal a powerful blow at the weak Bulgarian bourgeoisie, with the aid of the communists. And hundreds and thousands of poor peasants would have been able to learn from this one deed that which thousands of communist meetings and leaflets have not yet taught them: that the communists, and the communists only, are the real defenders of the toiling villagers.

Our Party has missed this opportunity; it looked on, neutral, whilst the peasants so dangerous to the bourgeoisie were murdered—and many a good communist with them. And the resolution passed by the Party committee goes into long-winded explanations as to how the new government is striving for the bloody dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, an "open war" against the Communist Party. 6 weeks ago our Party could have taken up this war in conjunction with the Peasants' League, and could have emerged victorious. Today the most energetic leaders of the peasantry have been defeated, the peasants' organizations are scattered, disarmed, confused. The Party has now to take up arms without the aid of the organized peasantry, and against a bourgeoisie strengthened in self-confidence by its easy victory, and has now to face a life and death struggle. And when the Party committee "fully approves" of the attitude of the central, and opines that the condemnation of the Executive is "to be attributed to insufficient information", then the committee proves that it has not yet comprehended the error, that it either cannot or will not see this error, and that it will repeat it in some form or another. And this would mean that the fate of our Bulgarian brother party would be sealed for long to come!

Despite the unanimous criticism of the Enlarged Executive, the Party committee remains equally unanimous in its approval of the neutrality of the central. It goes even further. At the very moment when it admits that the knife is at the throat of the Party, it still refuses to form a united front with the elements utilizable in the struggle against the bourgeoisie! In the resolution on the situation we read literally: "The socialists (who are still in the government, but are aware of the danger) are already beginning to call for a bloc of the Left, but the prerequisites for such a bloc do not yet exist." The proposition made by the Executive, that the Party combine with the leaders of the peasantry, is replied to in the resolution on the events of the 9th. June as follows: "It would be a mistake on the part of the C.P.B. to restore to the agrarian leaders, those betrayers of the interests of the rural working population, their lost influence. But the C.P. will not refuse . . . to join with these, 'should they be prepared to form a united front for a joint struggle for the demands of the C.P., and for the workers' and peasants' government'."

And these same comrades, who decline a united front with the socialists, and "do not refuse" to join forces with the peasantry under certain circumstances, write an article in their central organ, two days after the publication of the above resolution, and appeal literally as follows to the officers of the white government: "The active and reserve officers are bound to the working people by an indissoluble blood brotherhood."

These are no communist tactics. If the C.P. of Bulgaria cannot realize its errors by means of immediate and relentless self-criticism, if it cannot come into line with the Communist International, it is certain of defeat in the coming battles. It is still possible to save much, but only if the party leaders possess sufficient courage to admit and retrieve their errors.

## The C.P. of China on the Massacre of Striking Workmen

(R.I.L.U.) We have received an appeal issued by our Chinese brother party on the occasion of the murder of several railwaymen on the railway line Peking—Hankau in February of this year. As we have already given a detailed report on the occurrence (see No. 34 (16) of the *Inprecorr.*), we here give only a brief extract from the appeal.

The appeal is to the following effect:

"General Wu-Pei-Fu fought obstinately against the formation of centrals among the railwaymen. He was afraid of any centralized struggle against the militarism now ruling in China. If these railwaymen once gain a firm footing, they will be in a position to act as protectors of the oppressed proletariat. Fear of this growing organization caused Wu-Pei-Fu to suppress the free meetings of the workers by the most bloody means. He ruthlessly struck down the unarmed workers.

Our Chinese comrades close with a summons to rise against the bloody rule of the watch-dogs of Chinese and foreign capital.

## OUR PROBLEMS

### The Peasants' International

By Thomas Dombal.

We request the Party press to reprint this most important article. Ed.

The Enlarged Executive of the Comintern has subjected the question of the practical application of the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government to examination from an international standpoint. The object of this new tactic is clear: the peasant masses, dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, are to be drawn over to the side of the proletariat, and the revolutionary front of the workers thus strengthened. The debate shows plainly that this question has been thoroughly thrashed out, and we can now proceed with our task. It is only a question of formulating the watchword properly, and of creating a guarantee that the rapprochement between proletariat and peasantry is set about in the right manner. All Communist Parties recognize the importance of the agrarian question, of such vital interest to millions of peasants, and the passionate debates on this question at the Second and Fourth Congresses already belong to the past.

The agrarian question is undoubtedly proving the Achilles' heel of capitalism. In issuing the slogan of the "Workers' and Peasants' Government", the Comintern gains a powerful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The peasant masses of the present day are the heirs of an epoch of natural economy, an epoch of Feudalism. Their ideology is extremely backward, limited, foreign to the views of life held by the proletariat, which was born in the atmosphere of the up-to-date city factory with its developed technique and organized production. Despite this, the interests of the majority of the peasant masses run counter to those of the ruling classes. The peasant masses are dissatisfied with the existing state of society, and are striving to change it. Their chief aim is to obtain possession of their means of production and the land. Besides this, the peasantry is anxious for release from the excessive burden of taxation, and from the burden of military service; it is striving for its share of the advantages gained by the development of the productive forces, and for participation in cultural progress. Some of these demands have proved, from the standpoint of the development of production and of society itself in the direction of collectivism, to be entirely reactionary. But this movement threatens the existence of the capitalist social order. Thus the movement of the peasant masses at the present juncture undoubtedly possesses a revolutionary character, so that the peasantry, more than any other class, is the natural ally of the revolutionary proletariat.

The important question is to find the right forms for the cooperation of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Our agitation and propaganda must therefore tend to increase the strivings of the peasantry for the overthrow of capitalism, and to inspire the peasants with the faith that their hopes can only be fulfilled in closest alliance with the proletariat, and through revolutionary struggle. Comrade Zinoviev was perfectly right in pointing out the experience gained by the

Russian revolution, an experience which must be utilized to the full. He is also right in asserting that we cannot pursue the path of the social revolutionists, but must remain the Party of the proletariat, which, however, leans upon the masses of the peasantry for support in its policy.

What form of cooperation should we now choose in order, first, to cement the alliance between the proletariat and the peasant masses, and, secondly, to avoid the danger of this alliance being influenced by petty bourgeois elements? In the West, we must perform that preliminary work in the villages which was performed by the social revolutionists in Russia before the revolution; for, in the West, there is no party to do this work for us. Here we have to win over the masses of the peasantry and bind them to us organizationally.

It would, however, be an error to formulate this slogan in the manner desired by Comrade Varga, who proposes to supplement the word "peasants" by that of "working"; for a slogan must be short, clear, and simple. The reservation contained in the word "working", or even in the word "poor", is aimless. We must go out into the country with the purpose of creating unity between the workers and peasants, we must show that the peasantry is ruled by a small number of rich peasants, and that the present leaders and representatives of the peasants are betraying the interests of their great majority, and are supporting the interests of the bourgeoisie and land-owners.

Comrade Varga's proposal means an attempt to win over the West for the slogan "Village Poverty", a slogan which has not proved useful in Russia. This would be an unnecessary limitation of our basis of activity. We must lean upon the broad masses of the peasantry, and therefore we must not cut off our road to them. This would however occur, were we to place such a limitation on our most important slogan from the very beginning. Press and agitation are another matter. Here we must and shall make it plain that we are, above all, defending the cause of the poorest peasantry.

From a practical standpoint it is, in any case, necessary to create in every one of our parties a department for the work to be done in the country, and to allot work among the peasantry to a section of our comrades, whose duty it will be to attach themselves to the existing trade union and political organizations of the peasantry, to win the confidence of the peasant masses, and to establish our influence in the country. It is best to select such comrades from among the peasants themselves. Besides this, trade union organizations must be formed among small-holders, and these opposed to the organizations of the rich peasants.

Further, we must create Peasants' Parties under the leadership of persons thoroughly devoted to our cause—members of our Party would be the best. Our Party nuclei must be organized within such parties. These parties will then be completely in our hands, and the influence exercised by the rich peasantry will decrease with much greater rapidity, whilst our influence in the country will grow in proportion. In this manner we can ward off the danger that non-proletarian elements may gain the upper hand in our Party, and at the same time we lean on the broad masses of the peasantry. I cannot see any danger in our creating political peasants' organizations, for if we do not create these, they will originate of themselves, but will then work under the leadership of our enemies.

In order to carry on this work systematically, and to avoid all errors and consequences unfavorable to us, a special organ, a Central Bureau, affiliated to the Comintern, and called "The Peasants' International", must be created. For this purpose it is necessary that an International Peasants' Congress be convened as speedily as possible, and attended by the representatives and leaders of the peasantry of all countries. Our Parties must occupy themselves with the preparation of this Congress. When Stambulinsky called the representatives of the peasantry of a number of countries together in May, 1922, in Sofia, the press raised an alarm. This alarm is for us an indication of the necessity of organizing a Red Peasants' International, which would have to maintain the closest relations with the Comintern, and would be the representative of our work in the villages. The present Enlarged Executive must decide this question, and must appoint a special commission for the purpose of carefully considering the possibility and advisability of forming a "Peasants' International". The existence of such an organization would, in my opinion, immensely simplify our work in the villages, and would mean the realization of our slogan of unity between workers and peasants, our slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The National Question and the Trade Union Movement

By A. Lozovsky.

The principle of the trade union movement as a proletarian class movement, is the formation of the trade unions in accordance with the class but not in accordance with the nation, to which their members belong. This principle is old. But in many countries the influence of the bourgeoisie has caused the national struggle to be carried into the ranks of the working class, so that separate national trade unions have come into being. Separation of this kind is a great evil. It is of course obvious, that the Communists must strenuously oppose any attempt at dividing the trade union movement according to differences of nationality. The application of this principle assumes that the Communists belonging to a ruling nation are capable of a tactful attitude with regard to workers belonging to the suppressed nationalities. Where this is not the case it may easily occur that the simplest differences of opinion, which would otherwise be easily smoothed out, lead to an aggravation of national antagonism within the working class. Let us take a few examples:

In Czecho-Slovakia, which has inherited the "national question" from the Austrian monarchy, we may observe certain facts extremely dangerous for the Communist Movement. Here there are two organizations of textile workers, a German and a Czech. The Czech organization is a definite section of the International United Trade Union Federation of Czecho-Slovakia; the German organization is officially an autonomous section of this same federation. The struggle between German and Czech Communists has arisen on the question of the financial and organizational autonomy of this section within the confines of the large federation. The Czechs are against autonomy and the Germans in favor of it. Thus it frequently occurs that German and Czech textile workers, working in the same factory, are members of different organizations, although both are fighting under the same flag, that of the R.I.L.U. The antagonism as to how the Czech revolutionary trade union movement is to be built up exists not only between Czechs and Germans, but also between Czech syndicalists and Communists. But as long as this antagonism is fought out within the confines of the Czech unions themselves, it is by no means so serious. The conflict is much more serious when it exists between trade unions comprising workers of different nationalities. If the leaders of two such unions can have their differences on some fundamental question of organization, without taking national considerations into question, it is quite impossible for the ordinary trade union members of a suppressed nationality to do so. The German textile workers regard the amalgamation of their section with the great Czech organization simply as an encroachment on the part of the Czech nationality, which, in common with its bourgeois class, carries on an anti-German policy. But this point of view is entirely wrong. The struggle being carried on by our Czech comrades for the formation of a united organization has nothing whatever to do with national predominance. This striving towards unity bears not a trace of nationalism, and yet this struggle reawakes the old national antagonisms.

A further example is supplied us by a country in which no national question existed until recently—France. Until the great war France was perfectly united as regards nationality. But since the war, France has acquired two million German subjects in Alsace-Lorraine. The trade unions and political organizations of the workers in this new territory are constituted on principles entirely different to those employed in old France. The trade unions of Alsace-Lorraine are built on the German pattern, with all its faults and virtues. The violent national hatred still existing between the majority of the French and German populations, renders it necessary to accord special attention to the relations between the political and trade union organizations of France, and the corresponding organizations in Alsace-Lorraine. It is clear that the working people of Alsace-Lorraine are, in a certain sense, the binding link between the French and German proletarians.

It is equally clear that in all social conflicts in Alsace-Lorraine, the bourgeois French state apparatus, already exerting severe pressure on the national French workers, will be doubly severe in its action against the German workers of Alsace-Lorraine. It provides an opportunity for the French bourgeoisie to utilize the national feeling of the French workers. Although up to now there has been no conflict between the Communists of France and Alsace-Lorraine, still such a

possibility exists. For this reason, the Communist Party of France, as well as the C.G.T.U., must occupy themselves systematically with the workers of Alsace-Lorraine. The Party and the trade unions must issue special literature on this subject. The French political and trade union organizations must in the course of their daily activity, show the utmost consideration for the workers oppressed by the French bourgeoisie. For it is much better to prevent conflicts than first to let them break out, and then to seek for means to cure them.

Let us go further. What have the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions done up to now for the trade unions in the colonies exploited by their bourgeoisie? Very little, almost nothing. Whilst the English Labor Party and the English trade unions are working energetically in India, in order to get the leadership of the Indian trade union movement into their hands, the English Communist Party has done little or nothing in this direction. What are the Communists and revolutionary trade unions of the mother countries doing towards aiding the revolutionary trade unions in Egypt, Algiers, Java, etc.? Very little, infinitesimally little. And yet it is clear that imperialism will continue to oppress the workers of the colonizing countries until the workers of the exploited colonial countries awaken to activity. There is still a wide field of activity open here for the Communist and revolutionary trade unions.

### The Munition Workers of Tula to the Krupp Workers

By F. R. (Moscow).

On the last day of the session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern (June 23) there appeared in the hall of the Kremlin, a delegation sent by the armament works of the city of Tula, for the purpose of presenting the German delegation of the Executive session with a flag for the Krupp workers. The work of the Enlarged Executive was already concluded, comrade Zinoviev was about to deliver his closing address. The business proceedings of the conference were interrupted, and the Tula comrades were called upon to address the meeting. At the moment when two workers of the Tula munition works unfurled the magnificent banner, the whole of the delegates spontaneously arose from their seats, and listened standing to the speech delivered by a workman from the Tula armament factory, who then read the address to the workers of the Krupp firm. The address was to the following effect: We, workers of Tula, have now reached a stage where we forge weapons only against the bourgeoisie, and for the protection of the revolution. We no longer forge weapons for our own destruction, as in former days. You, workers of the firm of Krupp, have given up the manufacture of weapons altogether, not because peace has come to the world, but solely because the French imperialists have you in their power. But we are convinced that the hour is approaching when you will once again forge weapons, though not for the protection of your bourgeoisie, but in the name of the revolution — and in the hour of battle we shall be with you!

The banner depicts two working men reaching one another the hand; one is unarmed, the other (the Russian workman) has his rifle by his side. The inscriptions, in the Russian and German languages, bear witness to international solidarity, and to the close ties binding the Russian workers to their class brothers on the other side of the frontier.

This magnificent gift was received from the hands of the Tula comrades by comrade Clara Zetkin, who returned thanks in the name of the German delegation. In words expressing profound emotion, she showed that the thanks she expressed were not merely on behalf of the German delegation, but on behalf of the whole German Communist Party, of the broad strata of the German proletariat, who participate in this gift dyed with the blood of tens of thousands of Russian proletarians, and which has led the Russian masses to battle and to victory. Although today, the Krupp workers are still slaves of capital, though they are manufacturing peace implements for the profit of their exploiters, we shall not rest until the metal workers of the firm of Krupp have become the forgers of weapons in the cause of liberty, armours of the revolution, makers of scythes and sickles for the bread of the broad masses; until they are workers in free Soviet Germany, over which floats the banner bearing the sickle and hammer.

The words of our venerable fighter Clara Zetkin were received with a storm of applause from the meeting. The "International" was sung, and the notes of the anthem of revolution, sung in many languages, further expressed the meaning symbolized in this gift: a bond of union in battle and victory!

## THE COLONIES

### Industrial Conflicts and the Position of the Workers in British India

By W. Lada.

It is perfectly evident to every communist, that the development of the revolutionary proletariat in the vast lands of East India is of tremendous significance for the world revolution. Years ago it was declared, that when revolution seizes the Far East, then the hour of the world revolution will strike. The communists and the Red International of Labor Unions have demonstrated by their daily activity that they regard this old thesis very seriously. How right they are in doing so is best proved by the recent exchange of notes between Curzon and Russia.

Labor struggles and working conditions are phenomena from which we can inform ourselves on the development of the proletariat as a class. The facts we give below are derived from the *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour*, of February, and the *Labour Gazette* of May, supplemented by information from a few other sources:

In 1921 about 400 labor conflicts took place in India, involving over 1½ million days. In 1922 there were only 278 conflicts, participated in by 435,434 workers, and involving a loss of 3,972,727 working days. Evidently an ebb-tide following the flow, a phenomenon which we may observe all the world over. But all the same a really imposing movement, when we consider its comparative youth.

The industries chiefly affected by the struggles are the jute industry, the railways (including the railroad workshops), the cotton industry, machine building, iron and steel works, shipyards, and the jet industry. The five industries together sustained 32% of the total lost working days.

The majority of the conflicts (42%) arose on the wage question, the working staff question accounted for 18% and the working hours question for 12%. 67% of the labor conflicts ended completely in favor of the employers, 12% ended in favor of the workers, and 9% with a compromise. Thus the percentage of lost struggles was extremely high. It is highly probable that the imperfect organizations possessed by the workers frequently place them at a great disadvantage.

The provinces in which the strike movement has concentrated are as follows: Bengal with 1,803,550 lost working days, Bombay with 763,111, Bihar and Orissa with 744,941.

In the June number of our Indian brother organ: *The Vanguard*, which is published in Zürich in the English language, we find further statements on the strike movement in 1923, the figures being taken from the official statistics. In eight provinces of India there have been 72 labor struggles involving 68,759 workers and a loss of 317,783 working days. 33 struggles took place in the cotton factories, 8 in the jute factories. In 35 cases the disputes arose on wages, in 5 the question was that of bonuses on account of increased prices, in 14 the working staff question was the cause of conflict, and in 3 cases only the working hours. Only 16 conflicts were won by the workers, whilst 43 were lost; in 8 cases a partial victory was won.

That the wage-slave drivers among the English in India are beginning to take alarm at the labor movement may be seen from the decision to publish statistics of labor conflicts regularly in future. This is to be the barometer showing the trend of feeling obtaining among the Hindu working masses.

In this same number of our Indian brother organ we find a notice to the effect that for the first time in Madras, the first of May was celebrated by two mass meetings, as a proletarian festival and fighting day.

The general course taken by the latest struggles may be seen from the results of the textile workers' strike in Ahmedabad, which broke out in consequence of the determination of the manufacturers to cut down wages by 20%. Besides the introduction of scab labor an extensive propaganda of lies, was conducted against the refractory wage slaves re-inforced by lock-out measures. One part of the workers chose rather to return to the villages than give in. The struggle lasted for about 2 months. Finally the employers carried off the victory. But the hate which they have sown — and continue to sow — in the hearts of the vanquished, by compelling these to work for starvation wages, they will reap as a whirlwind — and without the aid of the "seditious propaganda" of Soviet Russia, of the CI and the RILU!

The truly starvation wages paid to the Indian workers are forcefully commented upon in an interesting report made by

the Bombay labor bureau, published recently in the organ of this bureau, and containing the following statements, taken from the May number of the London *Labour Gazette*:

The investigation extended to the households of 2437 workers' families and to 603 unmarried workmen; 49.5% of these were factory workers. The average family in Bombay consists of 1.1 man, 1.1 woman, and 2.0 children; besides this, an average Bombay family has 0.6 relations outside the city. One hundred families yield 154 productive workers, these comprising 104 men, 42 women, and 8 children. The average weekly income of a family amounts to a total of only 17 shillings and 3pence. It is perfectly obvious that this income means an existence on the verge of starvation. And there are many who do not earn even as much as this, whose total income is only about 13 shillings a week. For this the workers can naturally buy little else than rice for food, and rice is the staff of life for 95% of the workers' families. For the Hindus, 5.5% of the Indian workers eat beef. Mutton is eaten somewhat more, milk is consumed by only 47.7%, and a sort of native butter by 48.9%.

Even more palpable evidence of the misery of life Indian workers is afforded by the housing conditions. 97% of the workers' families live in dwellings consisting of one room. In 1921 in Bombay there were 3,125 one-roomed dwellings, inhabited by one and more families, and of these there were 1,955 "dwellings" inhabited by two families, 558 by three families, 242 by four, 136 by five, 42 by six, 34 by seven, and 58 by 8 and more families! The beds were common property of several persons. The report states that there is great infant mortality in these "over-populated" dwellings. With that love of truth so characteristic of every son of Albion — including of course Lord Curzon! — the report further admits that the housing conditions "leave much to be desired".

A further proof of the misery in which the Indian workers live is given by the statistics on indebtedness. 47% of the workers' families are in debt, and have to pay 75% and even higher interest. 37.2% of the families buy on credit, 29% partly in cash and partly on credit. This signifies that they are firmly in the clutches of usurers in money and goods.

These side-lights may serve as a preliminary illumination of the situation and struggles of the Indian proletariat; that proletariat which Lord Curzon, with paternal care, is endeavoring to protect from the "demoralizing" influence of Soviet Russia, of the CI, and of the RILU.

## THE UNITED FRONT

### The Fight for the United Front

By V. Vaksov (Moscow).

The International Federation of Transport Workers, and the Russian Unions of Railwaymen, Transport Workers, and Seamen, took the first steps towards a proletarian united front against the attacks of reactionary bourgeoisie, on the occasion of the joint conference held in Berlin. The conservative section of the ITWF, protested energetically against the formation of a united fighting front of the proletariat. This resistance will be the less calculated to detract from the united front of the proletariat now in process of formation, if the other craft internationalists rapidly follow the example of the transport workers, and take up the joint struggle against War, Reaction, and Fascism. The revolutionary minorities must work in this direction with increased energy.

It is now the turn of the International Metal Workers Federation. This forms the strongest and most decisive organization belonging to the Amsterdam International. The International Metal Workers Federation numbers about 3 million members. But the Metal Workers Federation is not firmly organized, it is lacking in international discipline. But on the other hand it counts among its members such gigantic organizations as for instance, the German Metal Workers Union, with its 1½ million members.

A powerful opposition exists within the ranks of the IMWF, an opposition representing the ideology of the Red International of Labor Unions. The strength and influence of this opposition varies in the different national unions, from almost 50% (German Metal Workers Union) down to 10 or 15% (in a number of unions in Great Britain). The origin and growth of this opposition has a two-fold effect; in the first place the reformists (especially those of the extreme right) are roused to boiling point; they cause all sorts of repressive



measures to be brought against the communists, and against all the oppositional workers; in the second place the reformist wing is compelled to recognize the right of the opposition to represent thousands of class-conscious organized workers. To this must be added the acute political situation; the fresh attempts at war being made by the imperialist bourgeoisie, especially in the Entente countries, and the ruthless raging of Fascism. All this has forced the honest elements among the reformists to thoroughly review the situation. As a result we have the formation of a left wing within the Amsterdam International, especially accentuated by the attitude of the Transport Workers' International. Whilst in the Berlin local group of the German Metal Workers' Union a great deal of vindictive agitation against the communists has been carried on of late, and efforts have been made to expel hundreds of communists, in Friedrichshafen, a preliminary agreement was arrived at between the International Metal Workers' Union and the delegation of the All Russian Metal Workers' Federation. This agreement deals with the affiliation of the Russian federation to the International Metal Workers' Federation, and contains a clause providing that the resolutions passed by the conference of the Transport Workers (held 6 days later) are to be laid before all metal workers' organizations for discussion. Of course, it is not a question of discussion. Discussions can and ought to be held, but when it is a matter of forming a fighting front against reaction, then we must proceed to deeds.

The international conference of revolutionary metal workers, which was held in Berlin on May 27., decided to propose to the International Metal Workers' Federation, that the latter follow the example of the Transport Workers without delay, and form an International Committee of Action from the representatives of the International Metal Workers' Federation and those revolutionary metal workers' organizations which are in agreement with the RILU.

This proposition was to be discussed at the session of the executive bureau of the Metal Workers' International, which was held in London at the beginning of June. As the organs of the IMWF issue but scanty reports on this session, we are not informed as to whether the session passed any resolutions on this point. Nevertheless, the cause of the united fighting front is the cause of all metal workers! It is the duty of the revolutionary metal workers of all countries to exert every endeavor to establish the international united front among all metal workers, and to this end they must carry on energetic propaganda in every direction. At the moment when Fascism is more rampant than ever in Italy, France, Germany, Poland, and other countries — at this moment the international working class must not lose an instant, but must set to work to establish and develop its self-defence organizations!

## ECONOMICS

### The Struggle for an Increase in Real Wages

By G. Fink (Berlin).

Whilst for some months, there was no great strike movement to be observed in Germany there have now not only been great successive struggles (Ruhr strike, Upper Silesia, agricultural workers' strike in Upper Silesia and East Prussia and the strike of the metal workers in Berlin), but a large number of smaller struggles have also broken out in every part of the country (seamen, transport workers in Hanover, Berlin wood-workers, etc.) expressive of spontaneous demands for higher wages and bonuses. These demands have generally gone beyond nominal rises in wages and bonuses. The struggle for a real and actual rise in wages has begun.

For years the real wage of the workers has fallen lower and lower, the standard of living has sunk further and further. But never have the great working masses demanded a rise in real wages so extensively as during the course of recent developments. The acute worsening of the position of the German working class during the current year, caused to a great extent by the "stabilization of the mark", has convinced broad masses of workers that the tactics adopted up to now, of fighting for nominal wages which limp slowly after the rises in prices, has got to be changed.

Today one of the most important questions for the working class is, therefore, the problem of how to put a stop to the

depreciation of the real wages. In Germany the state of affairs is such that the paper mark is only valid currency among retail dealers, workers, clerks, officials, and at the Reichsbank. Not only the importers of foreign goods, but also the manufacturers and wholesale dealers, invoice their goods in foreign currencies, or with the aid of an index figure; and though a great part of these accounts are paid in paper marks, it is at the corresponding rate of exchange of gold, dollar, or guilder that the invoice is made out.

It is only the retail dealer who is obliged to price his goods in paper marks; the demand for a price enabling him to repurchase fresh supplies renders him, however, to a certain extent, independent of the risk involved in the depreciation of the mark. The paper mark credits granted by the Reichsbank enable the German capitalists to do excellent business at the expense of the workers, for they pay the credits back again three months later in depreciated marks. Thus the mark risk is thrust entirely upon the shoulders of the workers, clerks and officials.

The workers of every party are agreed that the depreciation of real wages must be put a stop to. The question is how to stop it. One and the same demand has been formulated under varying designations in the resolutions passed in the factories and workshops all over the country: "gold wages", "peace wages", "stable value wages", "payment in gold marks", "payment in dollars", etc. The trade union bureaucrats have tried to utilize this confusion of ideas for their own purposes. They saw that it was no longer possible — as it still was in the autumn — to suppress all discussion on "gold wages", and to restrain the workers from urging their demands. Thus a large section of the press of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany propagated the demand for "gold wages". The workers were in many cases of the opinion that a "gold wage" signified a peace wage, that is, the amount in paper marks, corresponding to about 32 to 46 gold marks. While the workers expected this, the trade union leaders idea of a "gold wage" was merely the maintenance of the present wages.

The demand for the gold wage has now been replaced by that for the so-called "stable value wage", the stability of value to be attained by having the wages adapted, according to a definite system, to the depreciation of the mark and the higher prices. This practically signifies the introduction of index wages. The Christian trade unions propose that the index of the official statistical authorities be taken as a basis for the increased wages. But as this index is calculated incorrectly and much too low, its employment would bring about absolutely no stability of value in the worker's wages, entirely apart from the fact that the worker gives the employer his work in advance, whilst his wages are adapted to the index at a period when the prices have risen further.

It is, however, the most dangerous delusion of all when the workers believe the assertion of the trade union leaders, that the index at least secures the present wage, and releases energy for fighting for a higher real wage. Quite the contrary is the case. The real wages are further depreciated, the depreciation legalized by the index, and a sharp fight for the maintenance of the real wage rendered necessary, but certain to be sabotaged by the trade union bureaucrats by every possible means, especially by the means of pointing out that a tariff agreement has already been concluded.

None of these demands can attain the aim striven for by the workers. The struggle must rather be carried on for a peace real wage, that is, for a wage enabling the workers to buy the same amount of goods as in pre-war times. There can be no doubt but that the slogan of a peace real wage meets the demands of the broad strata of the working class, that it is possible to gather together the overwhelming majority of the workers, clerks, and lower officials in the fight for this. It must, however, be made perfectly clear that the peace real wage does not represent any such recipe as the "index wage", etc., but that the struggle for the peace real wage shakes the foundations of capitalist economics, and cannot be carried through within the boundaries of the capitalist economic system in Germany. The struggle for the workers' government, the struggle for the seizure of real values, and for the control of production, are thus simultaneously transformed into a struggle for the existence of the working class, for the improvement of its position. And though the workers' government will not be able to pay peace real wages tomorrow, still there is no other way of fighting for the real peace wage than by fighting for political power.

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## The Constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

(Formally ratified at the 2. session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Federation on July 6. 1923.)

### Part I.

#### Declaration on the Establishment of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Since the Soviet republics were formed, the states of the world have separated into two hostile camps: the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism.

There, in the capitalist camp, rule national enmities and inequality, colonial slavery, Chauvinism, national hate and pogroms, imperialist cruelty and wars—here, in the socialist camp, reign mutual trust and peace, national liberty and equality, peaceful mutual life and brotherly co-operation among the peoples.

The attempts made for many decades by the capitalist world to settle the nationality question by hindering the free development of the peoples, by means of the system which permits one human being to exploit another, have proved futile. On the contrary: the knot of national conflicts becomes more and more entangled, and threatens the existence of capitalism itself. The bourgeoisie has proved incapable of initiating co-operative work among the peoples.

It has only been possible in the camp of the Soviet republics, only under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship supported by the majority of the population, to nip national hatred in the bud, to create an atmosphere of reciprocal confidence, and to lay the foundation stone for peaceful co-operation among the peoples.

It is solely owing to these conditions that the Soviet republics have been successful in warding off the attacks of the imperialists of the whole world; it is solely due to these conditions that they have been able to bring the civil war to a successful termination to secure their own existence, and to proceed to peaceful economic reconstruction.

But the years of war did not fail to leave some traces behind them. The devastated fields, the silent factories, the shattered productive forces, and the exhausted economic sources—

the inheritance of the war — all these rendered the separate efforts of the individual republics insufficient. The reconstruction of political economy is impossible when each republic exists for itself.

On the other hand, the uncertainty of the international situation, and the danger of fresh attacks, renders the formation of a united front of the Soviet republics against the outer capitalist world an imperative necessity.

And finally, the international character of the Soviet power, rendered international by its class nature, urges the working masses of the Soviet republics in the direction of unity in one socialist family.

All these circumstances imperatively demand the uniting of the Soviet republics into one unitary state, which can guarantee external security and internal economic prosperity, and freedom of national development of the peoples.

The will existing in the peoples of the Soviet republics, who, at their recently held congresses, unanimously passed the resolution on the formation of a federation of Soviet republics, is the best guarantee that this federation is a voluntary alliance of peoples with equal rights, that every republic possesses the unfettered right of withdrawal from the federal state, that admittance to the federation is free to all socialist republics, both to those already existing and to those which come into existence in the future, that the new federal state will be a worthy consummation of the beginnings of mutual life and brotherly co-operation among the peoples, already made in October 1917, that it will be a faithful support in the struggle against world capitalism, and will represent a new and decisive step on the road to the alliance of the workers of all countries in one socialist republic.

### Part II.

#### Treaty.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR.), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR.), the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (WRSSR.), and the Trans-Caucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (SZFSR.) (the Socialist Soviet