

The writer examines in the first place the question as to how it is that, hitherto, all "Third Parties" which have arisen in addition to the two old parties — the democratic and the republican party — after a short time, during which they grew into more or less great mass parties, have, in one way or another, only disappeared. Comrade Pepper gives a short, but nevertheless a most striking analysis of these parties, which serves to fully explain why this is bound to be the case. Viewed outwardly, we see that all these Third Parties have arisen in a period of economic depression, have reached their culminating point during the recurrence of the economic crisis, only to disintegrate with the return of a period of prosperity. This is the historical law which has hitherto governed these third parties.

The first of this series of third parties was the Greenback party (Greenback is a popular name for the dollar note), so called because it fought for a reform of the currency which should bring about a reduction of the farmers' debts. The party united the petty bourgeoisie and farmers, while later on workers joined it. The party was formed during the economic crisis of 1873, which, as is known, extended to 1880. The party gained about 82,000 votes in 1876, and in 1878 one million votes; but the prosperity which set in in 1880 destroyed it. In 1884 it could only command 175,000 votes.

There followed the "Knights of Labor". This party appeared in 1880 as a sect of no importance, but in 1884, a year of economic panic, it rose to more than 60,000 members, reaching its culmination in 1886 with more than 700,000 members and about 6,000 local groups. The period of prosperity, beginning in 1887, led to the decline of the party, which in 1889 had only 220,000 members.

Thirdly, there appeared the People's Party. It traces its birth to the economic depression arising in 1890, reaching its highest strength in the year 1894 when it received more than one million and a half votes. The period of prosperity following destroyed its independence, and it joined the democratic party as its left wing. In the year 1900, when "prosperity was in full swing", this party had disappeared entirely, even as the left wing of the Democratic Party.

The Progressive Party dates back to the crisis of 1907-1908. In 1909, the "National Progressive Republican League" was founded. A similar movement manifested itself in the democratic party as the "Democratic Federation". In 1912 an independent "Progressive Party" was founded, which immediately grew to a great mass-party. It received 4 millions votes from farmers, lower middle class, and workers, while at the same time the Socialist Party gained nearly a million votes. In 1916, during the great prosperity engendered by the war, the progressive party again disappeared.

The writer reveals quite correctly the causes of this phenomenon. All these parties were essentially petty bourgeois parties. Hence their vacillating and ambiguous character, their rapid rise in the periods of crisis, and equally rapid absorption by the great capitalist parties in the period of prosperity. The enormously rapid rate in the development and downfall of these parties seems to depend not only on their petty bourgeois character in general, but on the specifically American character of the petty bourgeoisie, i. e., the tremendous class fluctuations within the American petty bourgeoisie. The American petty bourgeoisie, the principal masses of which are small and middling farmers, are changing at an immensely rapid rate in their personal composition, owing to emigration, changing from farming to industry, from industry to farming, through rising into the large bourgeois class or sinking down to the proletariat or down to the slum proletariat etc. Special causes for the rapid decay of these petty bourgeois parties are, beside the looseness of organization, the want of a fixed economic organization basis, and the utopian, confused and contradictory character of their programs. Hence with all these parties the time arrived when they were taken in tow by the capitalist leaders ruling both the old parties. Either their leaders were bought, or their programs were annexed.

The author has shown by this analysis that the mistrust of the American workers in the existence of Third Parties is quite justified in regard to the former petty bourgeois parties. He shows, however, that all the causes which were responsible for the rapid disorganization of the petty bourgeois parties, would not apply to a workers' party, to a party relying upon the working class and including the small tenant farmers and the mortgage farmers and in which the working class has the lead. The writer considers that the trade-unions should be the organizational foundation of this party. He declares the present moment of transition from the period of crisis to that of prosperity, to be especially favourable for the formation of a workers' party.

The writer then proceeds to the pre-requisites for the formation of a workers' party in the foregoing sense. Two underlying facts are to be noticed which are highly important for the further development of the class struggle in America.

The first is the development of a centralized governmental power, an extensive state-bureaucracy. America has been up to now, and remains even so today for Karl Kautsky, the example of a democracy without bureaucracy and with a far-reaching local autonomy. Kautsky has been dozing during the development of America in the last few years. The non-bureaucratic, decentralized American democracy is already a thing of the past. It was, before all, the world war which swept away this old idyllic democracy and created the modern, centralized state, administered in a bureaucratic manner and protected by militarism. The great war brought about an enormous extension of the presidential power, a centralized governmental control of the whole industrial life (ship building, manufacture of munitions, coal, raw products of all kinds), the centralized governmental administration of railways and telegraphs, enforced labor in the war industries, the espionage act, the censor, a gigantic army and an equally gigantic bureaucracy.

The figures relating to the number of government employees are especially interesting. In 1884, the state bureaucracy had only 13,780 officials, but 278,000 in 1912, 440,000 in 1916 and 918,000 in 1918. At the end of the war, bureaucracy was again reduced to about 600,000 members, but its nature remained; the bureaucratic centralization has remained; the railroads have been given back to their private owners, but state control has been retained. At present we have the interference of the centralized Government as arbitrator in workers' quarrels and as fighter for the interests of the employers in strikes.

The formation of a centralized state power in opposition to the working class is one of the conditions for the formation of a centralized proletarian class party. A second fact is the levelling down of the American working class. The differences between skilled and unskilled, between American and immigrant workers are being obliterated. Of special importance in America up till now was the difference between the native American workers and the immigrant European workers, which often coincided with the difference between skilled and unskilled workers. The war has enabled the great masses, especially the unskilled immigrant workers employed in the metal industry, to approximate their standard of life to that of the old workers' aristocracy. There is no longer any question of these masses going into agriculture. The land is already occupied. These masses, coming for the greater part from the East and South of Europe, descendants of peasants, half-peasants or petty bourgeoisie, are crowded together in enormous factories, transplanted into completely new conditions, and form the soil of the revolutionary development in America.

Further, the writer points out that under the pressure of capitalist concentration on the one hand, and of the social pressure of the working class and petty bourgeoisie on the other, the old capitalist parties are decaying and the soil is being prepared for the formation of parties according to the altered social structure, i. e., a conservative reactionary capitalist party, including the reactionary elements of the democratic and republican party, a petty bourgeois radical party and finally a labor party. The writer considers that the conference of the 3rd of July will provide half a million of members at the very start. If this should be the case, it would betoken an immense progress, the beginning of independent action within the American working class. The American development is of special interest to the European workers. With the rapidly increasing capitalist concentration, with the growth of American forms of capitalism in Western Europe, there develops at the same time the American form of the class struggle: before all in the economic field as recent strike movements have already shown.

We recommend this excellent booklet to the thorough study of all comrades.

#### Correction

In number 49 of the *Inprekorr.*, containing reports of the Session of the Enlarged Executive, Comrade Johnson (Canada) on page 498 lines 8 and 9 is reported as saying: "Although the membership of the Trade Union Educational League was over 2,000,000 . . ." This should read: "Although the influence of the Trade Union Educational League extended to about 2,000,000 workers . . ."

#### Change of Address

In consequence of having taken over another function, Comrade F. Dahlem has relinquished his work in connection with the "Inprekorr." All communications, orders, remittances, etc., therefore, should be sent to the following address: Wilhelm Bartz, "Inprekorr.", Berlin SW. 48, Friedrichstr. 225 III.

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## CONTENTS

- Karl Radek:** Flunkeys to His Most Excellent Majesty! Politics  
**Paul Frölich:** The Atmosphere of Crisis in Germany  
**Arthur Rosenberg:** The So-Called Peace of Lausanne  
**A. Ker:** The Millions in the Ruins  
**M. M.:** A Released Revolutionary: André Marty  
 The Acquittal of the Accused Belgian Communists  
**Thomas Bell:** Left Group Developments in the British Labor Party  
**Hal. M. Ware:** The Farmers in the New American Labor Party  
 Manifesto of Union Socialist Soviet Republics  
**The United Front**  
**W. Lada:** The English Transport Workers and the United Front  
**George Hall:** Seamen and the United Front  
**The Class Struggle**  
**W. Moriarty:** The Class Struggle in Eastern Canada  
**The Labor Movement**  
**George Hardy:** The Strike of the British Dock Workers  
**Andrés Nin:** The Dutch Anarcho-Syndicalists cause a Split  
 The Vienna Congress of the International Chemical Workers
- The Youth Movement**  
 Form the Ranks for the 9th International Day of Youth!  
**The Cooperative Movement**  
**Karl Bittel:** The "Zentrosyous"  
**Red Relief.**  
 The All Russian Economic Exhibition and the International Red Relief  
 For the International Red Relief  
**Economics**  
**L. Ginsburg:** Wages in Russia in 1923  
**Proletarian Art**  
**Frida Rubiner:** A Public Disputation on Futurism  
 Henri Barbusse to Russian Artists  
**In the Camp of Our Enemies**  
**Georg:** Socialist Declaration of Loyalty in Horthy Parliament  
**Fascism.**  
 Anti-Fascist Day in Germany  
**The White Terror**  
 Arrests of Communists in Roumania

## Flunkeys to His Most Excellent Majesty!

By Karl Radek.

The name of Snowden is well-known in Russia. In 1920, during the trade union delegation's visit to Russia, we received at the same time a visit from an elegant lady, Ethel Snowden. On her return to London this lady wrote a booklet for a bourgeois publishing firm, in which she gave Soviet Russia a good trouncing for which she was recompensed with the good money of the bourgeois publisher. This elegant lady, who was seized with the wildest horror at the thought that a Bolshevik louse might find its way into her embroidered undies, is the wife of Mr Philip Snowden, no less well known to the workers of Europe.

Mr Snowden has recently rendered himself famous by two speeches. In the English Parliament, where, as a matter of course, he sits as a labor member, he proved himself worthy of such a wife by making a speech, the content of which was as follows: "Dear Capitalists, would you be so kind as to introduce socialism into England? We should pay you for all your losses."

Having thus presented himself to the British Parliament as a man who can extract teeth painlessly, Mr Philip Snowden proceeded to prove, by means of a series of articles in the *Morning Post*, the leading organ of the most reactionary English capitalists, that "when the working class rules", the capitalists will not only be not a jot the worse, but will, on the contrary find themselves, in a perfect paradise. He promised them that the labor leaders then forming the government will act independently of their party. The party is good enough to be utilized for seizing power for them, and for working out general resolutions; but no man of character—and gentlemen of Mr Snowden's kidney are of course men of character—will accept orders from the great masses of the workers.

A government composed of Snowdens will not touch other people's property, and if it is compelled to nationalize anything, it will pay for it.

To what extent it will be of greater advantage to the workers to pay the capitalist profits by means of self taxation,

instead of producing them for him immediately in the factory — on this point Mr Snowden preserved silence. And as a final soothing word to the capitalists he told them that "so long as any imperialism exists whatever, the emancipation of India and other colonies will not signify the securing of their liberty, but would deliver them into the hands of other great powers lusty for power". These colonies therefore, must remain in the hands of England. And only when they shall have learnt, under the rule of the English lords, how to make proper use of their liberty, will it be possible to emancipate them. All this was published, as mentioned above, in the periodical of the greatest imperialist robbers.

Mr. Snowden recently asked a question in the English Parliament. The reader will probably think that he asked the English government when it is going to cease dropping bombs from aeroplanes on to the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and India, and when it is going to adopt other measures for teaching the Arabians and Hindus to make proper use of their liberty? But no, Mr Snowden asked Lord Curzon if this friend of suppressed peoples is aware that Georgia is living under a heavy yoke, that the church is being suppressed there, and what measures Lord Curzon intends to take to force the Soviet Government to cease from exercising this terror?

The renowned representative of Lord Curzon, Mr MacNeill, known in world history by the fact that he wrote a book on the usefulness of suppressing the Irish, replied with tears in his eyes that he was in receipt of the same news as Mr Snowden; he is only too well aware that the Soviet government has compelled Georgia by force to enter the Soviet Union, but it is useless to combat the Soviet government by means of notes, for the cat listens, but eats the mouse meanwhile. But so far as other and more energetic measures are concerned, these are not possible at the moment. Mr Snowden then inquired of the representative of English imperialism if the government does

not intend to demand the liberation of Georgia as a condition for the recognition of Soviet Russia? Mr MacNeill answered amiably that he was fully in agreement with Mr Snowden, but could enter into no pledges on this point.

The utter infamy of this question, in which Mr Snowden, a member of the 2. International, the comrade of our Menshevik and social revolutionists, addresses a request to the wolves of imperialism to begin a war with Soviet Russia, was further accentuated by a question put to MacNeill by a liberal member, Commander Kenworthy, who asked: if Mr MacNeill was aware that the Red Army marched into Georgia to help the rebelling Georgian people, and that perfect calm now prevails in Georgia? MacNeill gave no reply to this question. Upon which Kenworthy placed the dot on the "i" by calling out: "I greet the new coalition: Snowden—MacNeill. Mr Snowden, sit a little nearer to the government benches." Mr. Snowden, incapable of any feeling of shame, did not even blush at this stinging lash from an honest bourgeois member.

When Mr Snowden and his followers commenced their lamentations about Georgia, we assumed that they did so out of petty-bourgeois lack of comprehension of the position. Mr Snowden has now proved that we were simple-minded infants to believe that such people were sincerely in error.

Mr Snowden, who opposes the emancipation of India, in order that it may not fall into the hands of other imperialist powers, and who demands that Soviet Georgia should be left to emancipate itself unaided so that it may fall into the hands of English imperialism—for after Lausanne he is not so stupid as not to perceive that Georgia, were it not for the Soviet troops, would be dominated by the guns of the English warships—Mr Snowden, who turns to Lord Curzon with complaints against the Soviet government, has proved that he has only been anxious by these means to declare to the English bourgeoisie: Your Highness, I am only a flunkey, ready to perform any service, and when I come into office there will be no dirty work which I will not be ready to do in the interests of the English bourgeoisie.

First Mrs Snowden introduces herself to the Russian workers, and now Mr Snowden. We are grateful to him for his frank avowal of his standpoint. This will enable the Russian workers—and, it is to be hoped, all honest English workers as well—to perceive that we are right in designating people like Mr Snowden as infamous flunkies of the bourgeoisie.

## POLITICS

### The Atmosphere of Crisis in Germany

By Paul Frölich.

Germany is passing through a severe governmental crisis, differing essentially from all former crises. The whole German people is in the midst of a process of disintegration. The whole of the middle classes have drifted from their moorings, they vacillate in their wishes and fears from one day to another, from the extreme right to the extreme left. The social democratic party, which has lasted out the Noske regime, and which has again and again succeeded in retaining its hold over broad masses of the proletariat, and in winning over adherents from the indifferent and petty-bourgeois masses, is now shaken to its foundations. Months ago a mass flight of members set in, and this assumes ever-growing proportions. Even the leaders are in a ferment. The flight of the social democratic leaders from the ranks of the Noske party is perhaps only a sporadic phenomenon at the present time, but the indignation against the handful who shape the official policy is exceedingly great. This indignation was expressed at a conference held by the opposition a few days ago at Weimar, under the leadership of Paul Levi, and which is regarded as the introduction to a split in the social democratic party. In actual fact this party is confronted by the choice: split or absolute decay. And even then it is doubtful whether a split will leave any section possessing vitality enough for continued existence.

The Communist Party is, however, now reaping the fruits of its years of tenacious enlightenment work among the proletariat. Its organizations are growing, its influence even more. One example only: During the last two months the circulation of the *Rote Fahne* has increased by 50,000 copies; the editions printed of the 40 odd other Party papers has increased in the same proportion. The last elections held by the metal workers' union, the average for the whole country being taken, yielded the Communist Party 40% of the mandates to the union conference, and 53% of the total number of votes. Sympathy with the Communist Party reaches far beyond the confines of the working class.

These are the broad outlines of the symptoms of the present crisis, what are its causes?

According to the bourgeois and social democratic press, the fundamental cause is the Ruhr war. And in a certain sense this is right. But it is not so much the French invasion itself which has brought Germany her present disastrous position, as the criminal policy pursued by German capital before and during the Ruhr war. The 3½ years of coalition policy carried on by the German social democracy have placed in the hands of big capital an enormous political power, the possibility of pillaging not only the proletariat, but the whole people. Relying on the possession of power, big capital established its own government under the leadership of the manager of the Hamburg-American Line, Cuno. This was going to be a government of experts replacing the government of dilettantes which had preceded it, a government of strong men after a government of national weakness. This boasted expertness has proved to be complete incapacity to save the state; the government of national strength has paved the way to national impotence.

The first task confronting the Cuno government was to conduct the Ruhr war. Here it showed an unfathomable incapacity such as no single individual in Germany had expected. For Germany, the idea of passive resistance signifies the concentration of all economic forces, the direction of the whole policy of the government to the duty of self-defence. It appears that the government never even thought of drawing up a strategic financial plan. The result was that the separate governmental authorities plunged forward blindly, and that within a very short time the whole government experienced disaster after disaster. Tremendous sums of money have been squandered, and the powers of resistance of the German people have been undermined. The government was absolutely impotent against the sabotage of the Ruhr front by big industry. It did not even venture to take steps against the sale of chemical patents to French capital. It did nothing to prevent mining capital from forcing workers to work at the point of French bayonets. It tolerates the fraternization of Stinnes and Krupp with French and English big capitalists, which means a preparation for capitulation in the Ruhr. And the whole capitalist press, from the *Vorwärts* onwards, deliberately suppresses the publication of these traitorous plans. The government and its officials have not even shrunk from lending aid to French militarism, or from accepting its assistance for the bloody suppression of the working class. Thus the path pursued by the Cuno government has inevitably been the path of capitulation to Poincaré.

But big capital, supported by the Cuno government, has simultaneously seized the opportunity of pillaging the German people on a scale as extensive as it is disgraceful. When Cuno took over the government, the dollar cost about 6000 German marks. Now it has risen to 1,125,000 (at the present moment to over 5 million. Ed.) The secret of this whole piratical raid is concealed behind these figures. The whole of great industry and finance capital has been dominated by the wildest bear speculation. The government has made this possible. It has thrown immense credits into the maw of the industrialists, with the alleged object of enabling the Ruhr war to be carried on; wages credits, credits for carrying on emergency work, tax moratorium to an extent horrifying to those able to judge. These credits not only throw an enormous burden on the finances of the country, but further encourage bear speculation; for the greater the depreciation of the mark, the less the real value of the borrowed money to be repaid. We must realize what this really means. At the beginning of the Ruhr occupation the dollar cost about 7500 marks. When the dollar had reached 75,000 marks, the capital borrowed in January, and now to be repaid, was only worth a tenth of its original value. When the dollar reached 750,000 marks, the debt had sunk to a hundredth part, and by now it has sunk to the hundred and fiftieth part. Those who received a credit of one milliard in January have to pay back this milliard, but in actual comparison with the then value of the currency the milliard is only worth about 65 million marks. The 935 millions are the gain of the debtor. Nobody knows how much money has been squandered in this manner. And to this must be added the mighty credits which have been granted by the Reichsbank, on the same basis, on bills of exchange and goods. The fabulous sums thus wrung from the population have served, in part, for the improvement of the technical apparatus of private enterprises; in part, for the concentration of German undertakings into the hands of a few magnates; and, in a very great part, these enormous amounts have flowed into the secret treasuries of German capitalists as well as the pockets of foreign capitalists.

This pillaging of the German people, and the squandering of the country's revenues, has been substantially promoted by the various actions undertaken by the government and the Reichsbank in support of the mark. These have been carried out

in such a dilettante manner that we had to ask ourselves again and again: Incapacity or crime?

The consequences of plundering the resources of the country were bound to follow. The standard of life of the working class has been reduced to a wretched starvation level. The prices have been screwed up to such a dizzy height—and continue to rise, no longer merely from day to day, but from hour to hour—that the "stabilization of wages" promised by the trade unions, and "carried out" by means of the collaboration policy, has proved a gigantic swindle which has aroused intense indignation in the working class. The German workers, accustomed as they are to bear much, are now in the very depths of want and misery.

And it is not only the working people who have to suffer so frightfully. The past half year has been a war of extermination against the so-called middle class. Whilst all big capitalists could insure themselves against the depreciation of the mark by means of stable value payments, the small craftsmen and small dealers have had to bear, together with the workers, the whole risk of the fall in the rate of exchange. Many have already been crushed by the burden. The despair and indignation among these classes is indescribable. Many are the members of these classes who are cured of nationalism and everything pertaining to it, and who now declare: rather communism than such misery!

To all this must be added the frightful shortage of food, enhanced by the government's insane dealing in securities, and the criminal speculation of the junkers and big capitalists. Hunger revolts have already broken out in various towns, and again the proletariat has had to pay the price of many victims.

In this situation the Communist Party began its propaganda for the Anti-Fascist Day of July 29. The Party had planned great demonstrations all over the country. It was to be a review of the army of the working class. The government was anxious to utilize the opportunity to administer a blood bath to the proletariat, in order to gain a breathing space for itself. It prohibited the demonstrations in the expectation that the result would be collisions, and it mobilized the whole of its legal and illegal forces to be ready for the occasion. For the Party to hold the demonstrations would have signified the taking up of the fight for power, and at this juncture to do so would have been to invite defeat. It consequently abstained from holding the demonstrations, except in Thuringia and Saxony, where they were not forbidden—for at the last moment the Cuno government did not feel itself strong enough for a general prohibition—and in a number of towns in which the Party felt itself strong enough to defy the prohibition. In view of the mobilization of the enemy, the day was a gigantic success for the Party. The bourgeois press, which wrote of a fiasco, estimated the number of participants in the Berlin meetings alone at 160,000. The number all over the country amounted to millions. The Communist Party proved itself to be the recognized leader of the working class.

The destruction of national wealth the general indignation, the advance of the communists—all this has undermined the ground beneath the Cuno government. It is done for. That it has not resigned is solely because there is no substitute for it as yet. To judge from the general situation, and the attitude of the social democrats, we may now expect the Great Coalition, ranging from the party of the large capitalists down to the social democrats. But it can be plainly seen beforehand that this can save nothing. It is doomed to perish even more rapidly and lamentably than its predecessor. For it is not merely Cuno who is bankrupt, but capitalist policy as a whole.

Germany is facing a decisive struggle.

### The So-Called Peace of Lausanne

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

On July 17, at half-past one in the morning, the peace delegates concluded a stormy and protracted session, and departed with feelings of relief from the castle of Ouchy, where the Lausanne conference has been deliberating for so many months. The last obstacles had been removed, and peace between Turkey, Greece, and the Entente was assured. The date for the solemn signing of the treaty was fixed for July 24, and all participants in the Conference lauded the work which they had accomplished.

This Conference, thus concluding so peaceably, is the same Conference before whose doors Comrade Vorovsky was murdered. Even in this cheerful town of conferences blood has been shed in the world war between revolution and counter-revolution. The smooth conciliatory speeches of the bourgeois diplomatists, and their howls of triumph over the victory of their traditional arts of statesmanship, are shown to be hollow lies by the grave in Moscow where Vorovsky's body has been laid. Lausanne has

been one episode in the struggle between international capitalism and proletarian revolution as embodied in Soviet Russia. It has been one episode in the struggle between western exploiters and the oppressed peoples. It has been one episode in the competition between the various groups of capitalists. When the chairmen of the delegations sign their names at the foot of the peace document on July 24, when this document reveals the names of "Venizelos" and "Ismet Pasha" peacefully side by side—all this does not remove one of the matters of conflict which have been at issue in Lausanne.

It must be admitted that a diplomats' conference has, perhaps, never before so completely avoided coming to the actual point as the international company which spent last winter and spring in Lausanne. And never before has a peace been so clumsily patched up as this peace. After the first part of the Lausanne Conference had brought a temporary solution of the Dardanelles question, and had found means of settling the sore point of Mossul, the main questions occupying the second part of the Conference were economic matters. The Conference had set itself the task of establishing the rights of the English, French, and American capitalists in the Orient, and of determining at the same time the liberty of movement to be accorded to the growing Turkish bourgeoisie. What was to become of the old Turkish national debt? Would Kemal Pasha's government recognize all the loans and obligations which had accumulated during a century of Sultans' governments? In the second place, what was to become of all the concessions won in eager competition with foreign capitalist companies in the course of recent years? The solution of these two fundamental questions, as arrived at by the Lausanne Conference, is entirely characteristic. At the last business session of the Conference, the French General Pellé spoke on behalf of the Entente governments on the question of the Turkish debts. He expressed his regret that Turkey does not want to recognize the acknowledged principles of international law with regard to the keeping of contracts. The creditors of the Turkish state maintain all their claims, and the Entente governments reserve the right of taking adequate measures for the protection of the interests of their subjects. Ismet Pasha, in the quiet and ironical manner peculiar to him, replied that General Pellé's declaration is in no way binding on Turkey. General Pellé inquired what this meant. Ismet Pasha answered that Turkey's financial position prevented her from paying her debts in gold. The subject was then dropped. This is the solution of the national debt question, as reached at Lausanne! Turkey has not recognized the old debts; she will pay what she feels disposed to and the creditor states will exercise as much pressure on Turkey as their power permits. That is, the degree in which Turkey pays the old national debts is not determined by any paragraph of the peace treaty, but is a pure matter of power, as before.

The same session debated the decisive question of the petroleum concessions. The concession in question was that granted in the year 1914 to the English petroleum trust, appearing here under the name of the Turkish Petroleum Company. The Turks had granted this same concession to the Americans in the year 1923, with the utmost *sang froid*. The chairman of the English delegation, Sir Horace Rumbold, expressed his regret that Turkey would no longer recognize the concession made in 1914. He continued: "My government is of the opinion that all obligations undertaken in the year 1914 are still in full force, and are binding on the Turkish government in all lands which remain Turkish by virtue of this peace treaty. My government cannot recognize any rights granted to others within the confines of these concessions, and makes the Turkish government fully responsible for any non-fulfilment or obligations entered into." Ismet Pasha replied, in his customary manner, that Rumbold's declaration was not binding on the Turks. The Turkish government is of the opinion that the question can be settled by arbitration. The American representative, Grew, added diplomatically that the attitude adopted by his government with respect to the Turkish Petroleum Co. had undergone no change. The Englishman showed considerable irritation. He declared that when the Turkish government comes to two different decisions on the same subject within 9 years, that is no reason for calling in the services of a board of arbitration. For the second granting of the concession by the Turks is simply contrary to law. Rumbold inquired further, with respect to the Americans, what right a third government has to interfere in a quarrel between an English and a Turkish company? If the rights granted to the English company in 1914 are re-granted by Turkey to another company, the English government has nothing to do with this, and it insists on the carrying out of the contract of 1914. Here the matter was left. The struggle for the petroleum fields of Asia Minor has also not been concluded at Lausanne, but will be continued as a trial of political power. It is precisely in the concession question that the alleged peace conference reveals itself as a lamentable farce.

What has actually been attained by the Lausanne conference? It signifies a great success on the part of Turkey, which has remained victorious in the struggle with the West European capitalists and their Greek agents. The whole of Asia Minor, with Armenia, Kurdistan, and Cilicia are once more Turkish possessions. To this must be added, in Europe, the district of Constantinople and Adrianople. Within the boundaries of this new Turkish realm, the Turkish nationality is absolutely supreme, for the Armenians and Greeks have, for the most part, been driven away or killed. This war of extermination against Greeks and Armenians did not originate in nationalist motives only, but arose from the fact that the natives of these two countries resident in Turkey were almost exclusively members of bourgeois professions. The Turkish bourgeoisie has now rid itself of these competitors, and is master in its own house. The Turkish national movement is being transformed more and more from a struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed peasantry and poorer classes into a speculation conducted by the young Turkish bourgeoisie. This is further demonstrated by the severe measures now being taken by the Turkish rulers against the communists in their country. The Lausanne Peace brings with it the abolition of the so-called capitulations, that is, only Turkish courts of justice will be competent in Turkey for the future. Foreigners, hitherto possessing great advantages in being responsible to their native courts of justice only, are now on equal terms with the Turks.

During the second part of the Lausanne Conference, the English delegation worked most harmoniously with the French, but their combined efforts did not suffice to enable any real decision on economic matters to be arrived at in opposition to the Turks and the Americans. The young Turkish bourgeoisie considers it to its advantage to co-operate with American capital, and the old Anglo-French oriental conflict is to end by both contestants being left out in the cold, whilst a third party runs off with the booty.

Entente capital gained a temporary success at Lausanne, if not against Turkey, then against Soviet Russia. The opening and dismantling of the Dardanelles gives the English fleet the possibility of proceeding without hindrance against the Russian Black Sea ports—as far as Turkey is concerned. But Soviet Russia will find a way to protect her coasts and waters, despite the Lausanne Conference. Even should the Russian government accept the Entente invitation to sign the Dardanelles agreement, this does not in the least signify that Soviet Russia in any way alters her fundamental attitude on the Straits question. Should the Russian signature stand side by side with English and French signatures on the Dardanelles treaty, this practically signifies the official and diplomatic recognition of the Bolshevik government. For when a government is invited to sign a state treaty of such importance, it is not necessary to observe that this government is thus recognized. But the Soviet power knows very well what estimate to put on this "recognition" by bourgeois society. If she signs this treaty, she does so in the consciousness that this agreement mirrors the balance of comparative power at the moment. As soon as this balance of power changes, a fresh situation arises, and Soviet Russia will not be restrained by a so-called recognition from relentlessly utilizing the new position. Taken as a whole, the Lausanne Conference signifies a severe defeat for European capitalism, both in its relations to the Orient and to America. Even though Kemal Pasha's government has given way in the Dardanelles question, it would never have attained its other successes had not the mere existence of Soviet Russia altered the political centre of gravity of the East. The defeat of West European capitalism at Lausanne is a step towards the dissolution of the Versailles system, and thus an objective step towards the disintegration of capitalist Europe.

## The Billiards in the Ruins

By A. Ker (Paris).

The restoration of the devastated districts has caused the French state, during the last four years, to open its coffers to the big capitalists with the greatest generosity. And the big capitalists have availed themselves freely of the opportunity, while at the same time, many thousands of proletarian families in the same districts are compelled to drag on a most wretched existence. A few figures may serve to give an idea of the extent to which the French state is being plundered by the big capitalists. The Fives-Lille Company received 75 million francs in April 1921. By December 31. of last year this sum had increased to 195 millions. During the same period, the amount paid by the state to the sugar refining firm of Beghin Brothers rose from 63 to 127 millions. The mining company of Aniche has so far received 315 millions in cash and 119 millions in state obligations running

for ten years. The payments received by other collieries are on the same scale. Taken all round, the great colliery companies have been greatly favored with regard to compensation. The mining company of Anzin received, during the course of its last business year, 268 millions in cash and 278 million in obligations. Other mining companies have received similar sums. The mining companies are now in possession of machinery much superior to that of their pre-war equipment; great electric power works have been built for them; they have been enabled to build extensive workers settlements, and have thus a firmer hold over their workers. Their financial situation is splendid, and their dividends evoke the envy of other, less favored industrialists.

An article by Georges Scelle appeared recently in the periodical *l'Europa Nouvelle*, pointing out that the state is ruining itself in the interests of the great profit-makers, and demanding that the law of 1919 concerning the compensation of war losses should be altered. The swindles being carried on under the name of compensation are unheard of. It is well known for instance, that the castle of Moreuil changed hands in 1913 for 100,000 francs, but now, compensation amounting to 7,600,000 francs is being demanded for it. It is imperatively necessary that all claims over 100,000 francs be subjected to thorough re-investigation.

The regulation on the reimbursement of "additional costs" gives ample scope for persons to enrich themselves. Those war sufferers who have restored their own property are entitled: 1) to compensation corresponding to the value of their property in the year 1914, and 2) to reimbursement of the additional costs, that is, of the difference between the value in 1914 and the actual costs of the present restoration. In the majority of cases, not only is the 1914 value greatly exaggerated, but the calculation of the additional costs is made with the aid of an index figure artificially raised to an enormous height; the whole serves to bring about the enormous enrichment of the great undertakings suffering from war losses.

The following question must also be taken into consideration. There are firms who possessed factories in the devastated districts, but which also have factories in undevastated districts of France, and have thus been able to carry on all through the war and gain enormous profits from war contracts. Do such firms also possess the right to claim additional costs for the property in the devastated area? As a matter of fact, the court at Lille for deciding claims for war compensation pronounced a verdict on April 12. disallowing a claim made by such a firm for additional costs. This was a company owning a factory in Tourcoing, and another in unoccupied France. The firm claimed 1,600,000 francs compensation for their destroyed factory in Tourcoing and 5,300,000 francs in additional costs. The court granted the compensation, but refused the additional costs. But numerous other large firms are in a precisely similar position, and it is a question whether their additional costs will also be refused.

The law of 1919 appointed canton commissions for estimating war losses in the various districts (cantons). On each of these commissions the interests of the state are represented by an official whose task it is to reduce the claims of the claimants as far as possible. As far as the small sufferers are concerned this task is easily fulfilled; but it is more difficult in the case of claimants for large sums, for the big industrialists and other heads of undertakings themselves constitute the remaining members of the canton commissions. These gentlemen are thus able to estimate, if not their own losses, at least those of their friends and relations. It may well be imagined that many mutual favors are granted in this way. Anyone possessing a good friend on the canton commission may safely reckon that his application will be favorably dealt with; and failing a direct advocate of this description, then the applicant obtains the services of a lawyer known to possess "the ear of the compensation commission".

When people in petty circumstances apply to the compensation commission, they are requested to supply evidence. If they are not able to produce data, documents, insurance policies, and similar proofs, their statements are not believed. In one case the Germans commandeered furniture to the value of 6000 francs from a workman, but for some reason or other the German officer made out the requisition paper for a much smaller sum. The workman demonstrated the actual amount of his loss to the compensation commission, but in vain. The French commission only believed the enemy officer, and granted the unfortunate man only 826 francs. When such small sufferers apply for compensation for the loss of a bicycle, they receive from the Lille commission the ridiculously small sum of 150 francs for the one machine, but the cycle manufacturer in the same city has his stock reimbursed according to its 1914 value multiplied by 3! The following episode recently occurred before the compensation commission, whose president is the notorious reactionary and big industrialist Mathon. A small shop-keeper, a woman, appeared

and begged for compensation for the replenishment of her stock of goods. She stated the prices she had paid for the new purchases. M. Mathon declared to the woman: "You did not pay these prices, you have been swindled." The woman replied: "I may have been swindled, but I really paid these prices." "Have you proofs?" "I have", and the woman drew out the bills and laid them before the astonished commission. The accounts were from the firm of Mathon!

The "moral" of the whole work of restoration is as follows: Those who had nothing before are to get nothing now. And with respect to the others, here the case is the same as it was once among the bureaucrats of Tsarist Russia: everyone steals according to his rank.

## A Released Revolutionary: André Marty

By M. M.

André Marty is free at last. The release of the hero of the revolt in the Black Sea was a day of great rejoicing for the French worker and peasant class, which has been working uninterruptedly on his behalf for four years, and has energetically demanded his release. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of France, the proletariat has chosen him as public representative 42 times. André Marty has thereby become the most popular man in France.

He possesses sterling qualities as a worker, a lofty conscience, a great soul, and unbounded constancy. His sense of honor allows of no compromise. At the same time he is always most unassuming, retiring and modest in the extreme.

At the high school at Perpignan he gained all the first prizes. After passing the final examination he spent two years as apprentice in the workshop of a copper-smith, subsequently entering the fleet as engine attendant. He beat every competitor in everything he took in hand. He was also the youngest of all who have gained officer's epaulets. He is an extremely capable technician. His works on turbines and Diesel engines met with high appreciation from the ministry. At the moment of his arrest, he was engaged in writing a treatise on the utilization of masut (a residue gained from the distilling of petroleum) as fuel, and the process realized by him experimentally is likely to bring about a thorough reform of industrial methods.

He lived like a stranger among the reactionary officers. In intercourse with his fellow sailors he was always unpretentious, good natured, and brotherly. He was always ready to give a helping hand to his companions, to assist them in their education, to support them by word and deed; he never required night work of them, and above all, never punished them.

When André Marty was sent to the Black Sea with a squadron in November 1918, for the purpose of throttling the Russian revolution at the behest of the Prime Minister Clémenceau, he was indignant at the incapability of the army staff, at the mad waste of millions and above all at the attack upon Russia without a previous declaration of war, and at the bombardment of unfortified cities, and the murder of women, children, and old men.

As a mechanic, and as the son of a father who refused to shoot upon the rebelling workmen during the Commune insurrection in 1871, he could not comprehend that the France of the great revolution had placed herself at the head of the coalition conducting a life and death struggle against the Russian Revolution.

He refused to fight against Russia. But this was not enough for his great heart. He wished to serve the Russian revolution. With an intimately comprehensive grasp of the revolutionary situation, André Marty in 1919, conceived the idea of seizing control of his torpedo boat, and of appearing with it before Marseilles, for the purpose of demanding, with the help of the revolutionary French proletariat, the cessation of the campaign against Russia. This plan, which might have led to incalculable results for the world revolution, failed through the treachery of a sailor. André Marty was arrested on the 16th April 1919, and since then he has personally suffered the merciless treatment accorded to common criminals in all prisons of France.

But he has left prison exactly the same man as he entered it.

After spending day and night at the bedside of his mother, who is dangerously ill, he replied to the magnificent reception accorded him by the population of his native city in the following words, through which there radiates the whole greatness of soul of this revolutionary hero:

"Comrades! I thank you! I have done no more than my duty. If I had to return to Clairvaux (his last prison) to save

you, I am ready to return at once. The proletarians have rescued me from my prison. I remain at the disposal of the working people."

The army of the world revolution may again count another soldier ready to sacrifice himself once more in the cause of revolution.

## The Acquittal of the Accused Belgian Communists

Vandervelde for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

By A. R.

The trial of the Belgian Communists for conspiracy ended on Thursday, July 26, 1923, with the acquittal of all the accused. While, then, this prosecution will have no subsequent ill-effects for our Belgian Comrades, it has, in a much higher degree than other similar political prosecutions, been extremely useful to our movement in both the national and the international sphere. That this trial took place in Belgium, where, in consequence of the invasion of 1914, and of the oppression of the nation by German Imperialism during the world war, the feeling of the workers is still sympathetic to the Labor Party of Vandervelde & Co., is a fact of particular importance for our young movement there.

The accused have not only proved themselves valiant champions of Communism and the Communist International, but have also, by the readiness of their defence, compelled the respect of their opponents. The story of the way in which they conducted their defence has gone the round, not only of the Communist, but of the entire labor press. Thus, for example, when our Belgian comrades met the judge's question as to how far confiscation would go with the ready answer: "That will depend on how far the depreciation of the franc has proceeded at the time". Or when, to the question by what methods of propaganda they expected to advance their movement, our Comrades gave the effective rejoinder: "By such prosecutions!"

The trial reached its most interesting stage on July 20, when Vandervelde and Comrade Cachin appeared as witnesses before the court. The defence first put the question to Vandervelde: "Will the transition from capitalist to socialist society be carried out with or without force?"

Vandervelde: Formerly it was possible to believe that the transition would take place without the exercise of force, but after what we now see before us, it does not appear as if this optimism were justified by the facts. In certain countries, such as England and the United States, the transition may proceed peacefully, but the example of Russia shows that this is not always the case. On the other hand, the example of Italy shows us that when a class finds its interests, threatened by the labor organizations, it may employ force against the workers, thus evoking a violent counter effect.

Counsel for the defence: What do you think of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Vandervelde: The conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat is perfectly clear. We must take into consideration that during the period of social revolution the same thing will occur as in the French revolution, when the Committee of Public Safety took over supreme authority. During the war the government exercised a certain dictatorship in the same manner. The proletariat will probably have to employ a corresponding dictatorship against those who resist the measures which the proletariat has to take in the interest of the common weal.

When questioned regarding direct action and the use of force, Vandervelde adduced several instances in which such action was employed. Thus the workers, when struggling for the eight hour day, did not confine themselves to indirect parliamentary action, but applied the whole of their trade union power. Such direct action as this may become an action involving the exercise of force.

Counsel for the defence: The decisions of the II. International, to which you belong, are surely binding on the whole of the members of the International?

Vandervelde: These decisions are arrived at after free and exhaustive discussion, and when once arrived at, of course they have to be executed.

Vandervelde had further to admit, as former Minister of Justice, that the evidence given by the police spies who attend public meetings is not of much value. He declared further that he and his party were republicans, and would, in certain circumstances, participate in the proclamation of the republic!

One of the next witnesses was Comrade Semard, of the French railwaymen's union. Semard particularly emphasized the fact that he had accompanied Cachin to the conference in Essen with instructions to counteract the fresh massacres bound to arise from the occupation of the Ruhr. He then described

how he himself and the French comrades were persecuted for taking part in the Essen conference. But he and his comrades were now free from persecution. It was, therefore, the greater matter of surprise to him that in free Belgium . . .

Here the judge interrupted him by declaring: "You have not to express opinions here, but only to answer questions".

The last witness heard on this day was Comrade Cachin. He first spoke on the relations between the separate sections and the Communist International. The subordination of the sections to the Communist International is voluntary and perfectly normal, something which is quite a matter of course to anyone belonging to any community. Cachin then emphasized the difference between the Russian government and the III. International. With regard to the Essen conference, Cachin spoke as follows: "It was our intention to come to an understanding with the German workers as to our common attitude to the great dangers threatening the peace of Europe. The German communists declared that they would not obey the civil peace watchword issued by Herr Cuno, for they held Cuno to be equally guilty with Poincaré for the Ruhr occupation. The German communists have kept their word. We also told the German workers to regard the Entente troops as brothers, for the soldiers were not to blame for military undertakings; and we may flatter ourselves that we were, as far as possible, successful in this appeal. The occupation of the Ruhr is as absurd as it is dangerous. France spends 300-400 millions monthly in the Ruhr area, in return for which very little benefit is derived.

Cachin further described the accusation of conspiracy brought against him. He emphasized the fact that the French senate, in which there is not single communist, refused to condemn the accused communists. The state of affairs occasioning his indictment in France was exactly the same as that leading to the arraignment of the Belgian communists.

Despite his crushing defeat in the legal argument, the public prosecutor sought to maintain the accusation. In an interminable speech in the style of his Paris colleague, he described the perfidy of the Communist International and of its Belgian Section in particular, declaring loudly that, according to the laws of Belgium, the guilt of our comrades was fully established. But the speech of the public prosecutor availed nothing. The court was obliged to acquit all the accused.

The result of the trial signifies a further moral victory for our Belgian brother party, which, despite its numerical weakness, has since the beginning of the Ruhr adventure, conducted the struggle against the Theunis Government and Belgian Capital with extraordinary energy. The great strike of the miners, like the strike of the railwayman, proves that the Belgian working class is rallying to the slogans of the little Communist Party, in preference to those of the great Social Democratic Party. As soon as the Belgian bourgeoisie began to fear the C.P., it was decided that our Brother Party be rendered innocuous through the Brussels prosecution. But it was precisely this prosecution which revealed the deep sympathy felt by the Social Democratic and non-party workers for Communism in Belgium. The Social Democratic Leaders were compelled by the pressure of the masses to appear, at the trial of our comrades, as witnesses for the defence. After its victory in court, the C.P. of Belgium will set to work with renewed vigour at the task of freeing the Belgian proletariat from the influence of the Vandervelde Party.

## Left Group Developments in the British Labor Party

By Thomas Bell.

The increased strength of the Labor Party in Parliament following upon the general election was particularly drawn from Scotland. Radicalism has long been a big factor in Scottish political affairs, and in the trade union and political labor movements, especially in the West of Scotland, which is the centre of industrialism. This has increasingly expressed itself in the growth of Labor Representation in Parliament.

There are two aspects of this phenomena. One is the general drift of the working class to the politics of the Labor Party (which is disconcerting to the bourgeoisie) and the other is the effects of this political landslide upon the Labor Party itself. It is common knowledge that Ecclestone Square has never taken kindly to the fresh blood from the North. Nourished on a militancy engendered by the big industrial battles on the Clyde, the respectability and snobbery associated with the House of Commons is alien to the whole traditions of the members from Scotland. When, therefore, Ramsay Macdonald displaced Clynes as leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party the I.L.P.

adherents of Macdonald were hoping for a vigorous lead for Socialism. Macdonald has proved even more parliamentary than Clynes. Since the General Election, the one source of irritation to Macdonald has been the "undignified scenes" and proletarian language used in the House. Repeated attempts have been made in the Party meetings to restrain or modify the attitude of the Scotsmen, but always the result has been to widen the breach and drive the "uncouth" elements further left.

The culmination of this continual friction has been the suspension of Wheatley, Maxton, Buchanan and Campbell Stephen. (It is interesting to note that Wheatley comes from a miners' stock, Maxton was a schoolteacher and Buchanan is a pattern maker.) The members attacked the government on account of its policy of cutting down expenditure on child welfare and accused members of the government of being "murderers", holding them responsible for the appalling death rate amongst working class children owing to their reduction of the provisions made for children and expectant mothers. On being asked to withdraw the epithet they refused and took to the country for propaganda. Since then Macdonald had tried, behind the Speaker's Chair, to get Baldwin to lift the ban. Baldwin showed signs of giving way, but the young Tories are bent upon giving the Labor Party a lesson in manners and incidentally widening the breach between Macdonald and the back benches. Everything pointed to an amicable settlement being reached between the Prime Minister and the opposition leader prior to the rising of the House for this Session, when these "rebels" addressed themselves direct to the Speaker and presented themselves for permission to take their seats. On presenting themselves the police refused them admission, but there were no scenes. Meantime the Prime Minister has got the consent of his supporters and, with a mild admonition, has removed the barrier. The stand taken by the four M.P.'s has done much to discredit Macdonald and the moderate policy of the Party leadership. Try as Macdonald may to explain away this incident, it is patent to everyone that there exists the germ of a left tendency inside the Labor Party which if crystallized, should stiffen the Labor Party leadership and prevent it becoming the unchallenged tool of progressive capitalism. This movement, as we shall presently see, has come none too soon.

With regard to the political situation as a whole, it is noticeable that Scotland has been receiving special attention from the bourgeois parties with a view to stemming the rise of Laborism and recovering some of the ground lost last November. Speeches and articles are continually pouring out predictions of the chaos that is coming over the Empire if the Labor Party comes to power. The proceedings of the farcical debate on Socialism in the House of Commons are quite well known. On Friday, 27th of July, the Prime Minister went out of his way to make a speech at Edinburgh in which he definitely attacked Socialism. The speech contained all the hackneyed objections to Socialism and was poor substitute for what we are accustomed to get from the more demagogic and astute Lloyd George. One reference has, however, provoked a retort from Ramsay Macdonald, which must be placed on record for future reference. The Prime Minister had said that, attached to the Labor Party, "you have a whole army of people who would like to believe that by a sudden transformation you can enter into a heritage where, for less work and for more pay, you will get conditions of greater comfort than have ever been known in the world. The preaching of that doctrine — as you get down to the less educated or the unemployed — must be attractive in the highest degree, and the effect of such preaching can only be countered by deliberate, vigorous, and intelligent propaganda in the right direction." Speaking on Sunday, the 29th of July, Macdonald hastened to take exception to the suggestion that the Labor Party stood for "a sudden transformation", and said with regard to the above as a definition of Socialism: "I defy the Prime Minister or any of his Ministers or responsible propagandists to extract, without doing violence to the context, any statement made by us that justifies that description." Here we have this representative leader of the new "Labor and Socialist International", one of the tenets of which is the prosecution of the class struggle, making it clear to all the bourgeois gentlemen of England, that he does not believe in the class struggle and that there is no danger ahead of a Labor Government making any sudden transformation. Everything will be carried out with due regard to the feelings and wishes of the bourgeoisie. There will be no sudden transformation. It is against such bourgeois ideology that the "left" tendency is recruiting its strength and will one day quickly settle accounts with Macdonald. Meantime the Communist Party is alive to the developments.

## The Farmers in the New American Labor Party

By Hal M. Ware.

The whole system of American agriculture and land tenure is bankrupt. During the last census period the farm mortgage debt increased more than it had in 130 years before 1910. It jumped from a little more than 1,500,000,000 Doll. in 1910, to nearly 8,000,000,000 in 1920, and has increased more rapidly since. To this figure add chattel mortgages, taxes, interest, promissory notes, and store debts, and you get a staggering total, with about the same chance of being paid as has the German war debt.

Throughout the country these cold statistics are reflected in the tragic human dramas of foreclosures, tax sales, child slavery, increasing tenantry, and suicides. This is the story the farmers brought to the July 3rd Convention. For the farmer there is nothing left but a new deal. He has reached the primitive necessity to fight for his land.

The usual farm mis-leaders were noticeably absent. But the militants were there. Wm. Bouck, for instance; any one who has followed the National Grange movement knows of his courageous struggle out in Washington. Appreciation of his type of leadership was shown when he was elected permanent chairman of the Convention. And these farmers had come to cement an alliance with the industrial workers, through a Federated Party. Every time a pussyfoot spoke for "postponement," a militant former rose up and demanded the immediate formation of the Party they came to create.

"Dad" Walker, a vigorous, white-haired pioneer member of the North Dakota legislature, voiced the imperative demands from the soil. He had left his farm work piling up, and come 1,000 miles in a Ford with four other delegates, in order to get something done. He wanted no pussyfooting, and said so. He demanded the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Another militant farmer was Brother Bowles, a cherry farmer from Washington, who represented the Farmer-Labor Party. He stated his determination to go with the rest of the farmers in insisting upon the formation of the new party. The Non-Partisan League delegate from California came late, but he soon dispelled all doubt of his position. "I don't know what you've done," he said, "but I do know that a group of farmers back in California will skin me alive if I go back without a Labor Party. Those fellows dug up 10 Doll. apiece to send me here to get it. Our motto is 'We'll stick,' and you can count on it."

W. H. Green, another farmer from Nebraska, and Brother Fedje, member of the North Dakota legislature, were active. A committee of nine was elected by the farmer caucus to draw up the agrarian demands of the Party. It represented a cross-section of the farmers present. Besides Bouck and Bowles from Washington, Walker of North Dakota, Mrs. Hanson of Wisconsin, a dirt farmer's wife, and just plain farmers, there was also Lieutenant-Governor of Wisconsin, Comings, and H. Samuels who ran for Governor of Idaho on a farm mortgage moratorium plank. The latter is also on the National Committee of the Non-Partisan League.

The demands of the farmers were drawn up in five points, as follows:

1. The land was created for all people and we demand a system of land tenure that will eliminate landlordism and tenantry and will secure the land to the users of the land.
2. Public ownership of all means of transportation, communication, natural resources, and public utilities, to be operated by and for the people.
3. The issue and control of all money and credit by the Government, for use instead of profit.
4. All war debts to be paid by a tax on excess profits.
5. A moratorium for all working farmers on their farm mortgages for a period of five years.

Here is the voice of the farmers who have their feet on the soil. Significant above all is the fact that these demands were made in a convention dominated by the industrial workers, and passed unanimously. The alliance between workshop and farm has been cemented. Unlike other political revolts of the farmers, this one has its roots in their economic organizations. It was delegates from farm organizations that joined hands with the rank and file of Labor.

The farmers have no illusions about the new Party. They know it will not have the mushroom growth of the Non-Partisan League, nor will it be a Party dominated by the agricultural elements, as was the Populist revolt. They have learned

the futility of "farmer friends" and "farm bloc," with their miserable patchwork legislation. They have joined the Federated Farmer-Labor Party knowing that it is but the beginning of a long, hard struggle by the workers and working farmers for control of the Government. They know that only through such a coalition, and such a struggle, can they achieve their end—the land.

## Manifesto of Union of Socialist Republics

To all Peoples and Government of the World!

The Soviet republics, from their very existence have been closely bound to one another by ties of working unity and mutual aid, later expressed in the form of treaties of alliance. The necessity of a joint struggle against the capitalist states attacking from without, and against counter-revolution attacking from within, has caused the Soviet Republics to weld the system of the Soviets, representing the power of the workers and peasants, into one complete whole. The solidarity of the toilers has been made the means of uniting them for the realization of fraternal co-operation amongst the liberated peoples. The Soviet republics emerged together out of the victorious proletarian revolution which overthrew the power of the landowners and capitalists. They have suffered together beneath the historical test of intervention and blockade, and have borne off the victory. After unheard of sufferings they proceeded together to the magnificent work of restoring economics on the foundation of a new state of society.

Although they have always been ready to place the whole of their forces and means at one another's disposal, and to lend one another mutual brotherly aid; although they are bound together by treaties of alliance; still they have none the less remained separate states. The further development of their reciprocal relations, and the demands of the international situation, have now induced them to unite in a Federal State.

The increased power of world reaction, the aggressive efforts of the imperialist governments and the resultant danger of fresh attacks, have made the union of the defensive powers of all Soviet republics in the hands of a federal centre inevitable.

Unless the Soviet republics unite their endeavors, the economic reconstruction of the countries devastated by war, intervention, and blockade, will be an impossible task. It can only be carried out successfully when the work is systematically conducted by a uniform economic centre.

The gradual development and strengthening of the new order in the Soviet Republics, owing to the very nature of the workers' and peasants' power itself, will more and more impel these along the path of unity, of concentration of the endeavors all aimed at one common goal.

At their recently held Soviet Congresses the peoples of the Soviet Republics, unanimously resolved to found the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics, a United Federal State. This union of peoples with equal rights is a voluntary union, and excludes all feeling of national hate, and all compulsory retention of a people within the confines of this state, for every republic retains the right of free withdrawal from the Federation, and all socialist Soviet republics, even those which may be set up in the future, are given the possibility of free entrance into the Federation.

On July 6, the declaration, and the treaty agreed to by the Soviet Republics joining the Federation, were confirmed and put into force by the Central Executive Committee of the Federation.

Having regard to the necessity of uniting all the forces of the Soviet Republics for self-defence against outer attacks, it was decided to form a Joint Federal People's Military and Naval Commissariat.

The Soviet Republics have been induced to establish a Joint Federal People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in view of their possessing joint tasks and needs in relation to the capitalist states.

The necessity of completely centralizing foreign trade on the principle of state monopoly, for the purpose of combatting the attempts being made by capitalist states to subjugate the Soviet Republics, has prompted the latter to establish a Joint Federal People's commissariat for Foreign trade.

The systematic leadership of economics demands unity in transport and traffic service, that is, the formation of Joint Federal People's Commissariats for traffic service, as also for Posts and Telegraphs.

The remaining branches of state activity are in part subordinate to the federal centres—each republic possessing its own centre—and in part exclusively in the hands of the separate republics.

The immediate administration of economics and of state finance, the organization of food supplies, the state protection of the rights and interests of wage labor, as well as the carrying out of labor and agrarian inspection and the control of the whole state apparatus, will remain in the hands of the federal centre, in so far as control from a uniform centre is required, and in the hands of the special centre of each federal republic when special control is required.

Those commissariats having special national tasks, connected with national customs and national peculiarities, as for instance public enlightenment, home affairs, justice, etc. are only appointed under undivided leadership in the Allied Republics.

The unity of will of the working masses throughout the whole Federation is expressed in its supreme organ, the Federal Council Congress; but at the same time each nationality is specially represented in the Nationality Council, which will work on the principle of equal rights with the Federal Council to be elected by the Congress.

The Federal State thus created on the principle of fraternal working unity among the peoples of the Soviet Republics has set itself the task: *the maintenance of peace with all peoples.* The nationalities, each with equal rights, will stand shoulder to shoulder, in mutual help and co-operative work; they will develop their culture and well-being, and fulfil the tasks of the workers' power.

The Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics, as the natural ally of the oppressed peoples, strives for the establishment of friendly and peaceful relations and for economic co-operation with all peoples. The Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics sets itself the aim of furthering the interests of the workers of the whole world. Over one vast area of the globe—from the Baltic Sea, from the Black and White Seas to the Pacific Ocean—the Federation is realizing the ideal of fraternity among the peoples and of the supremacy of labor, and is at the same time striving for the friendly co-operation of the peoples of the whole world.

The Presidents of the Central Executive Committee of the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics:

M. I. Kalinin, G. I. Petrovsky, N. N. Narimanov,  
A. G. Tschervyakov.

The members of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics:

A. S. Enukidze, L. B. Kamenev, F. J. Kon, D. I. Kursky,  
D. Z. Manuilsky, A. F. Myasnikyan, Ch. G. Rakovsky,  
J. E. Rudzutak, A. I. Rekov, T. W. Sapronov,  
P. G. Smidovitsch, I. W. Stalin, M. P. Tomsky, M. G. Zchakaya,  
Chibir-Aliev.

The secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics:

A. Enukidze.

## THE UNITED FRONT

### The English Transport Workers and the United Front

By W. Lada.

At the present moment, when the working class must exert its utmost efforts in the struggle against Fascism, the active co-operation of the transport workers is of the greatest importance. Hence the great enthusiasm with which the holding of the Transport Workers' Conference in Berlin was greeted by all revolutionary proletarians. It is no wonder that this event aroused the reformists, who now appear on the scene and try to sabotage the united front of the transport workers just coming into being. Is it not the "social function" of the reformists to hasten to the aid of the bourgeois order as soon as the waves of revolution begin to rise?

Once again this was the course pursued by the English transport workers' leaders,—Bevin, Ben Tillet, etc.—at the conference recently held at Westminster by the English union of transport workers. And this quite apart from the shameful attitude taken by the conference to the dockers' strike; we speak here of their attitude with regard to international questions only.

The world situation, and the danger of a new war, were discussed in appropriate terms. Even English ministers make use of such terms when it is a question of mobilizing "public opinion" against the obstinate Poincaré, in order to induce him to yield in the matter of a petroleum concession in Mesopotamia, or to admit English capital to participation in the heavy industrial undertakings in the Ruhr area. Ben Tillet, too, pointed out that "peace is cheaper than war". And what is the practical

result of all the speeches? It was decided that international intercourse should become more intimate, in industrial and political spheres alike. "Industrial ambassadors" should be maintained in other countries for this purpose. "Social attachés", perhaps, on the pattern of the first candidate for such a position—the former social attaché in Rome and present third secretary of the Amsterdam International—Johann Sassenbach? To be sure! In this way war will become a "thing of the past".

But let us be just to the leaders of the English transport workers. Such humorous resolutions are not their work alone. Under the pressure of necessity they sometimes even pass serious resolutions. And then they calculated once more, in full agreement with their liberal leader Lloyd George, with their conservative leader Baldwin, and with their almost socialist leader Ramsay Macdonald, that the dictates of the Versailles peace are very bad business: it is a "world chaos treaty". Thus the wise leaders of the British transport workers demand no more than "sensible reparations and compensations". A world conference, participated in by Germany and Russia, might also contribute to the restoration of normal business conditions.

And what are the prospects of international action among the transport workers? Alas, it is better not to inquire. Nothing was known of such action at Westminster. It was first necessary to listen to a few entertaining lectures on what the Second and the Third Internationals really are, and to hear that the conference had not been convened for the discussion of "academic and doctrinaire questions". (Ben Tillet.) Further, the Second International offers a common political basis for all countries; it rejects the communist propaganda of Moscow; it is the organization most suitable for the transport workers. The Third International, on the other hand, is determined on the communist experiment, even before its organization is possible. The Second International stands for practice, the Third for theory. Mr. Ben Tillet, as a practical son of Albion, is in favor of the practical. And, finally, a decisive argument from Bevin: To accept the dictatorship of the Red International would signify splitting the British trade union movement. Democracy and dictatorship cannot be reconciled.

At the final division only seven delegates voted against affiliation to the Second International. These were the only righteous ones left in Sodom and Gomorra. Let us hope that these seven "righteous" ones in the British transport workers' union will finally succeed in leading their trade unions into the path of a struggle for emancipation from the shallow phraseology of Ben Tillet and Bevin. But if this aim is to be attained, our friends will have to work and again work!

One question in conclusion: Where was R. Williams, who signed the Transport Workers' agreement in Berlin?

## Seamen and the United Front

By George Hall.

An international mass meeting attended by over 800 seamen of the various nationalities was held on July 27th at the Port of Hamburg. Russian, English, German and American speakers addressed the audience upon the necessity of national and international unity of all seamen and transport workers. It was pointed out that the world war to come would make the last one look like child's play if the workers could not prevent it or transform it into a class-war. "Who can deny we are on the brink of war when thousands of aeroplanes are being built by all the great powers; with a £10,000,000 appropriation for the construction of a naval base at Singapore by the British", said the Russian speaker. "There is an invisible government in almost every country, this is the Fascist: are we constantly to go on without an international understanding which will mean international organisation of all transport workers? Let us prepare a general strike against war and fascism", said the American Comrade. "The occupation of the Ruhr and the exploitation of the German proletariat by Stinnes and Company will drive us to the united front. The German and French capitalists all agree to fight the workers of both countries, jointly if necessary. They are united in their attacks upon the workers just as the international bourgeoisie is united against any revolutionary movement of the proletariat", said the representative of the German seamen.

All expressed their dissatisfaction with the Executive Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions. We want a United Front built upon the decisions of the Berlin Conference which took place between the International Transport Workers Federation and the Red International of Labor Unions. Hence the following resolutions were passed:

"In every capitalist country in the world illegal and semi-legal organizations of the employing class are maintained, for the purpose of crushing out the activities of the

progressive trade unionists. These organizations are fascist bands, who have already taken their toll of dead in almost every country. Also there are possibilities of the world being thrown into another war owing to the economic antagonisms arising out of the struggle of the various groups of capitalists for the exploitation of the world's workers and its resources.

Therefore: this International Mass Meeting of Seamen and transport workers, held in the "Wulf's Gesellschaftshaus", demands that the Executive Council of the International Transport Workers Federation immediately take steps to create an international United Front of all transport workers; and we demand that the Executive Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions, together with the Executive Council of the Red International of Labor Unions, summon a joint conference as soon as possible to devise ways and means to extend this international United Front against war and fascism.

It is further resolved that this resolution be forwarded to the Executive Council of the International Transport Workers Federation, the E.C. of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the Red International of Labour Unions."

We cannot consider the reconstruction of capitalism when it is collapsing as rapidly as is manifest in Germany today. We demand that the I.F.T.U. take action to prevent a catastrophe and the defeat of the workers' struggle to feed themselves, to emancipate their class from the misery of capitalism, and to construct a Workers Republic. Therefore the seamen demand some action at the coming executive session of the "Amsterdam International" on August 3rd.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE

### The Class Struggle in Eastern Canada

By W. Moriarty (Toronto).

In February of this year, the British Empire Steel Corporation recognized the growing menace of the Steel Workers Union by firing some of the active spirits in the organization. The union at this time numbered approximately 250 workers. The attempted victimisation provoked a spontaneous strike, remarkable for its completeness. The men came out as a body, the ranks of the union swelled to 2,500 workers during the crisis, the Corporation backed down, the discharged employees were reinstated and the steel plants were organized perhaps 80 per cent when the armistice was signed.

Then followed a short period of active organization effort on the part of the Union. March saw the presentation of the demands of the workers. They were working 11 and 13 hour shifts, with 24 hour shifts every two weeks. Wages averaged less than thirty cents per hour. Their demands were for the 8 hour shift and 20 per cent increase in wages, and recognition of the union by means of the "check-off" system. This last clause meant that the company is required to deduct the amount of the union dues from the wages of each man and pay over sums so collected to the union officials.

Negotiations breaking down, the men marched out in a hundred per cent strike on June 28th. Hardly were the men out when the call for troops was issued. Needless to say, the call was heard and troops were rushed to the strike area from all parts of Canada. The miners of Nova Scotia, the province in which the battle was being waged, threatened to call a sympathetic strike unless all the troops were withdrawn. The usual cries of "defence of property" were issued as the reason for non-compliance with the demands of the miners, and the first blood was spilt in the struggle when the troops charged into a crowd of pickets and pedestrians, using their clubs freely.

I. B. McLachlan and Dan Livingstone, the Executive Secretary and President of the District organization of the miners published details of this incident and called for immediate stoppage. While the miners responded to a man, the publication of the above mentioned letter was used as a pretext for arresting McLachlan and Livingstone upon a charge of "wilfully and knowingly publishing a document calculated to injure a public interest". Bail was refused and a further charge is being developed against McLachlan of Sedition. The sedition consisted of being in possession of the Theses and Statutes of the Communist International.

These arrests have stirred the men and have but served to cement their ranks more closely. To the demand that the

troops be withdrawn have been added the unconditional release of the men's leaders. From all over Canada have come vigorous protests against the use of troops.

The Trades and Labor Congress have also added their voice to the swelling song of protesting labor. Added to which, the Federal Government itself shows that it is somewhat hesitant to carry the policies adopted to a conclusion. The archreactionary Minister of Labor, Murdock, is even attempting to clothe himself in the mantle of a protector of Labor's interests by declaring that his department was not consulted before putting into effect the infamous decision to flood Nova Scotia with soldiery. But while this is indicative of differences and fears within governmental circles as to correctness of methods, organized labor is accepting Mr. Murdock's affirmations of comradeship and brotherly interest with the indifference that comes from past experiences.

Meanwhile, from other parts of the Dominion came threats of sympathetic strikes. In Alberta, the rank and file of the miners were for following the example of their brothers in the East. But the reactionary officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America, led by the International president, John L. Lewis, frowned upon such plans. Instructions had already been issued by Lewis to the men in the East to return to work and recognize the sacredness of contract. Western labor was planning a conference to call a general strike to force the withdrawal of the soldiers and the release of the arrested leaders. The urgings of the rank and file mentioned were side-tracked by the implications that a mass strike would follow the talk feast. The heat of the first impulses was thus cooled of and in spite of sporadic strikes of the Western miners, their leaders decided against the sympathetic strike, the proposed conference fizzled out and once again have the workers been "Black-Fridayed".

It now seems extremely unlikely that a general strike will materialise. The battle will have to be fought by the local workers. In spite of the protests by the workers, and the promises that troops would be withdrawn, soldiers are being poured into Nova Scotia to protect the scabs of the British Empire Steel Corporation. John L. Lewis has withdrawn the charter of the Eastern District. Lewis has long chafed under the knowledge that the leaders of District 26 were too virile and too close to the hearts of the workers to be pleasing to reaction. His threat of cancellation, made when this district applied for affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions, has been held up until the present favorable opportunity for realization. With the executive in jail, the workers feeling that the rest of the world has deserted them, Lewis is attempting to apply the knife.

The struggle will now probably develop into a fight between the workers desire to carry on on the one hand, and the force of starvation on the other. The strikers have no funds. As in previous instances the battle is being waged with empty treasuries. The bitterness of the struggle for existence has prevented the accumulation of the necessary funds for such a fight. The 12,000 miners and 3,000 steel workers will fight on until bitter necessity will accomplish what all the troops of the Dominion, aided by the reactionary machine of Lewis, has been unable to do.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### Strike of British Dock Workers

By Geo Hardy.

The unofficial dock strikes in London, Hull, Bristol, Manchester and Liverpool etc., and which also extend to Ireland, in opposition to the reduction of one shilling a day, are a revolt against the gradual lowering of the standard of life of the British and Irish Transport Workers. They are also a challenge to the officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union to decide upon a fighting policy for the union or be repudiated. Never since the unofficial movement launched during the war, has a strike had more potentialities for the revolutionary movement. But to win a victory, more cohesion and national direction is necessary, otherwise, the magnificent struggle put up by the rank and file will be fruitless.

Nearly a year ago the leaders of the Transport and General Workers' Union signed an agreement for a reduction of a shilling a day, and a further shilling reduction which was to take place on July 1st, 1923, if the cost of living index figure fell ten points. At the time the agreement was signed the Red International Transport Workers issued a statement registering their dissatisfaction with such signing away of the dockers' wages. Not only did we consider the officials unable to judge the situation almost a year hence but we disagree with the sliding

scale as a method of regulating wages under capitalism. Nor should trade Union leaders be allowed to sign away the right to strike for an increase in wages if the men are willing to fight. Therefore, we are bound to support the strikers in their struggle, even though we will always fight against division in the ranks of the trade unionists.

The official policy of the T. and G.W.U. is correct when it endeavours to unite all transport workers, with their various groupings, into an Industrial Union. But if the officials merely seek this as a weapon to strengthen the official machine and give themselves a stronger position at the conference table, and if at the same time they seek to prevent action as they are doing today, then they will divide the workers instead of uniting them. The workers confidence will be lost and they will refuse to listen to officials, as 3,000 strikers did in the case of Mr. Bevin and Mr. Gosling in London recently. They all walked out in protest against the official decision to accept reductions without a fight. The sympathetic strikes of the meat handlers, carters and porters of London also proves that a spirit of militancy exists among the rank and file of the other unions. And the steadfastness of the British transport workers should be maintained. If such sympathetic action as was demonstrated in 1911 could be developed, there would be no shilling reduction. But as long as one group fights alone, then the odds are against them. The dockers and seamen are working for the same masters, and are fighting the most powerful combination of shipping interests in the world, yet they still fight alone. The decision to refuse to handle cargo by the conference of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union is not sufficient to warrant a successful conclusion of this strike. This conscious expression of unity of interests should be translated into action by a refusal to accept the pound reduction which they must also suffer this month.

There must arise out of this strike a closely coordinated minority movement. The rank and file committees should be kept in existence. They must become organs of vigilance, and an instrument for revolutionary propaganda. Prepare to overcome the lack of national unity which is evident in this crisis. This can only be done by organizing local committees in every port and linking them up nationally. Then such occurrences as one or several ports going back before the others should never happen again. Discipline and unanimity of purpose are essential for a rank and file movement, but this can only be achieved by all working from one center under a responsible national executive. Above all, in this present crisis, there must be no leaving the front or forming other unions. This would weaken the workers union in future battles and divide the dockers as the seamen are split today: fighting each other. Complete unity of all transport workers must be created and maintained.

Let this bread and butter fight be won. The transport workers of Great Britain and Ireland must be encouraged in their struggle against reaction and capitalism. Sacred contracts and constitutional methods are not issues in the class struggle. "Have we a chance to win?" is the only consideration. If so, then fight, for the bosses will fight us with any and all means at their command, including legal and illegal armed force.

## The Dutch Anarcho-Syndicalists cause a Split

By Andrés Nin (Moscow).

The Dutch "National Labor Secretariat" (N.A.S.) has been backed up by the revolutionary part of the Dutch organized proletariat for 30 years. But the organization has been unfortunate. For a number of years it has been headed by a sort of dynasty, the Lansink family, which has held the leading posts and paralysed the action of the union. The Lansink dynasty has passed the leading positions on from father to son. During recent times, Lansink père has been chairman of the N.A.S. and his son the secretary. The real leadership has been in the hands of the son. Within the N.A.S. itself, the great majority of the workers have been in sympathy with the Russian Revolution and with the R.I.L.U. But Lansink has done his best for two years to prevent the organization from affiliating to the R.I.L.U. In 1920 he supported the organization of an anarcho-syndicalist conference in Berlin, which organization was to create a new International. In 1921 he declined to take part in the inaugural congress of the R.I.L.U., although his organization had chosen him as delegate for the purpose. He, the so-called anti-politician, proved himself in reality to be a sly and cunning "politician", never committing himself definitely to anything. Thus in February 1922, he participated in the work done by the central council of the R.I.L.U., where he carried on the same game, without giving us any opportunity of inducing him to make any definite declaration. After this he again exerted every endeavor,

in his capacity of master of the bureaucratic apparatus and of the daily paper issued by the organization, in order to turn the N.A.S. aside from Moscow. But the will of the majority of the members began to make itself felt. The central council of the N.A.S. declared itself to be opposed to the attempts being made by Rucker, Borghi, and their companions, to found an anarcho-syndicalist International. The central council gave instructions to the same effect to the delegates which it sent to the Berlin conference at Christmas 1922. After this the national congress resolved on affiliation with the R.I.L.U. But Lansink continued his war against Moscow, and went on inveighing against the Russian revolution and the 3. International in the organ of the union.

A plebiscite taken among the members again resulted in a majority for affiliation to the R.I.L.U. But the executive of the R.I.L.U., aware of the schismatic intentions of Lansink and his clique, advised the N.A.S. not to affiliate either with Moscow or with Berlin, despite the results of the plebiscite, in order to preserve the unity of the organization. This has always been our attitude. We took up this position in Finland and in Norway, and shall further recommend it in all countries where affiliation to the R.I.L.U. could form an obstacle to the indispensable unity of the working class. Lansink and his family have however recognized that their positions are shaky, and have decided on a split at all costs.

Lansink convened a conference of the so called "revolutionary, syndicalist, anti-political organizations" on June 24. in Utrecht, 21 organizations were represented at the conference, but the delegates took care to avoid making themselves ridiculous by stating the number of workers represented by these 21 organizations. In Utrecht, it was unanimously resolved that a new central be founded under the name of "Dutch Syndicalist Craft Union", and a new periodical issued under the name of the *Syndicalist*. This was followed by a circular sent by the new central to all organizations, containing the following instructions: 1. Every organization has to resolve by vote on separation from the N.A.S. and affiliation to the N.S.V. (Nederlandsche Syndicalistisch Vakverband). 2. In the case of organizations whose majority is in favor of Moscow, the minority must withdraw from the organization and form a new one. 3. The labor exchanges in agreement with the Berlin International must separate from the N.A.S. and enter into communication with the bureau of the N.S.V. 4. In the case of labor exchanges in which those sympathizing with the Berlin International are in the minority, these sympathizing organizations must withdraw from the labor exchange.

Never before perhaps has a split been carried out with such deliberate cynicism. The new central has but a very insignificant number of followers, and what rôle can this tiny organization be expected to play in a country where there are more than half a million organized workers? This Dutch central is exactly suited to the impotent union which has its headquarters in Berlin, and which is making itself ridiculous by its assumption of the designation "International".

The N.A.S. possesses the overwhelming majority of adherents, and has now a daily paper at its disposal which, freed from Lansink's influence, may be hoped to accomplish good work for the cause of straightforward class warfare in Holland. This organization is following the advice given by the executive of the R.I.L.U., and is maintaining a neutral attitude towards the Internationals, whilst championing the cause of labor unity in Holland. This attitude is the best which can be taken in the interest of the Dutch proletariat.

## The Vienna Congress of the International Chemical Workers

The congress of the above named unions was held in Vienna from the 16th to the 18th of June. 48 delegates represented 12 organizations with over 1 million members. The craft international is affiliated to the International Trade Union Federation, Amsterdam, and the chemical workers are organized in the factory workers unions of Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The English organization was not represented, the remarkable reason being given that it did not possess the financial means for the congress.

We did not expect that this conference would be able to solve questions touching the working class as a whole. But it was to be expected that it would discuss the labor problems of the present day, and would lay down lines of action and adopt a definite attitude within its craft international. And if the congress has brought forth some important results, and has left behind it some impressions of importance for the labor movement of the future, then this is certainly not due in any way to the presidium which was elected, nor to any efforts on the part of the

reformist delegates. The agenda laid before the conference, intended to establish the future plan of work for the international, and to clarify its position in relation to the factory and trade union movement, was dealt with by the speakers with the customary reformist superficiality and one-sidedness. There was no clear formulation of boundaries or expression of a definite attitude towards capital, reaction, and Fascism. There was no debate on the attitude and tasks incumbent on the chemical workers in future imperialist wars. The question of active international co-operation between the different countries was not even mentioned outside of the reports.

But, nevertheless, the discussions centred round very important matters. In spite of the extraordinarily difficult circumstances, Comrade Dobrovolsky, the chairman of the Russian factory workers' union, had come to Vienna, and requested to be admitted to the conference, and to be permitted to take part in the debate on the questions at issue. What followed was entirely characteristic of the conference. The presidium and the delegates forbade Comrade Dobrovolsky to deliver the greetings of the Russian proletariat to the delegates, to be passed on to their organizations. They declared that in no case would they tolerate that the Russian representative should speak or take part in the discussion on imperialist wars, capitalist attacks, Fascism, and the formation of a united front. It is typical that at the moment, when, after a long discussion, the Russian comrade had received permission to take part in the conference as a listener only, the congress welcomed as a guest the representative of the capitalist labor office in Geneva, de Rode, and permitted the members of a scab organization, which had embezzled workers' money, to participate in the congress as delegates with full rights. After much tedious discussion, the presidium promised comrade Dobrovolsky that he would be permitted to speak on the situation of the Russian chemical workers.

The conference of this craft international lasted three days. For three whole days the representative of the Russian working class was not permitted to utter a word on the acute problems of the present, and yet every speaker and every debater spoke only of the Russian proletariat, of the Soviet government, and of the communists in other countries. That which has been done by this conference towards combatting Soviet Russia has not been, and cannot be, surpassed by any other section of the Amsterdam International.

But the combatting of communism was not the only important question before the conference; there was much discussion on the differences arising within the International Trade Union Federation over forms and tactics in the labor movement.

Edo Fimmen was present at the Vienna conference in the capacity of a guest, and on the very first day he delivered a speech on the united front, war danger, and Fascism, pointing out with refreshing clarity and distinctness the path to be pursued by the proletariat. He strongly emphasized the fact that it is only possible for us to combat the dangers threatening us if we maintain the closest relations with the communists and the Russian working class. He condemned all those who attempt to sabotage the united front, and spoke repeatedly in sharp terms against the behavior of the reformist leaders of the I.T.U.F., particularly of the German reformists. It goes without saying that the dominant section of participants in the conference opposed Fimmen's views. The chairman of the German factory workers' union, Brey, even contrived to laugh derisively. But this could not alter the great significance of Fimmen's speech.

The first day of the congress was thus given special significance by Fimmen's speech, and in the same manner the last day of the conference was raised above the level of the other discussions when the Russian representative was allowed to give a report on the position of the chemical workers in Russia.

Eight countries were represented at the congress, neutral and conquered countries, and the delegates of the unions concerned made repeated complaints, in the most pathetic tones, that the working class is being forced into a defensive position, that it has to tolerate reductions in wages, that it is being deprived of social rights and social welfare provisions, and that there is no prospect whatever of improving the position of the working people by means of negotiations, but that they are, on the contrary, being delivered helpless into the hands of capital, without means of defence against capitalist governments. All the rights and liberties alleged to have been won were designated repeatedly at the congress as mere pseudo-successes.

Comrade Dobrovolsky reported, in a few simple words, on the wages and social conditions among the chemical workers in Russia. He said that, while 2 years ago the workers received 25 to 30% of their peace wages, they are now receiving 80% of their peace real wage, calculated on the basis of the goods trouble. A Commission appointed by the trade unions keeps up a

current calculation of the index, to which the earnings are adapted.

The eight hour day is adhered to in the factories, and in trades injurious to health it is only permitted to work 6 hours. Only two hours work are allowed in the manufacture of poisonous dyes.

Every worker receives 2 weeks holidays in the year, apart from any question of permanent occupation and output; workers employed in professions injurious to health receive 4 to 6 weeks holidays. There are special laws protecting youth, and holidays adequate for recuperation are provided for.

Expectant mothers receive eight weeks leave.

The output of the individual worker is approximately that of pre-war times; production itself has increased by 250% within the last 2 years.

About 170,000, or 69% of all workers, are organized in the Russian factory workers' union.

The report thus given to the congress exercised a tremendous effect. The statements were more than a mere description of the conditions under which the Russian workers are living. It was a demonstration of the correctness of revolutionary tactics and a damning indictment of the reformists of the other countries. The old and tried leaders of organizations which have existed for decades, leaders who have regarded themselves and their actions as infallible, have here received a lesson whose effects will be of immense importance for the whole working class, if the delegates present at the congress were capable of grasping the full significance of what they heard.

The congress ended without any positive success being obtained for the international working class. The workers of all countries, especially those engaged in the chemical industry, are in duty bound themselves to tackle the solution of these questions, to call their unions to account, and to create the international united front on a revolutionary basis.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Form the Ranks for the 9th International Day of Youth!

We call upon you in these serious times to march forward unitedly with the young Communists of all countries and under the banner of the Young Communist International on the 2nd September to the 9th. International Day of Youth!

The working class and the poor peasants of all countries are faced with violent struggles against the continually more insistent attacks of the exploiting class. The latter have ably succeeded in transferring all burdens, and all the ravages of the war which was "ended" five years ago, on to the backs of the workers and the poor peasants, so that their situation grows continually more unbearable. And your position has also become unbearable!

Your misery which is growing daily, your increasing exploitation, these are the pillars upon which the capitalists and great landowners sustain their riches and their domination. Your exploiters have depressed your wages ever lower and have continually prolonged your working day. And the eight hour day will soon become a mere myth if you do not gird up your loins to enter on the struggle.

Young Workers and Peasants! March forward on the 2nd September. Manifest your will to fight along side of us: Against the unbearable spiritual and bodily misery. Against the abolition of the eight hour day and for adequate wages! For the six hour day!

This however, is not the only necessity of the hour.

In almost every country there has arisen against the working class a much more dangerous enemy: Fascism. Fascism has undertaken the shameful task of overcoming the workers and poor peasants who revolt against their exploiters, and of finally fettering them under capitalist slavery. It especially directs its attacks and efforts against the ranks of the working and peasant youth.

The working and peasant youth must repel it with determination. But not only that. They must occupy the first place in the ranks of the working class which are being formed for the relentless struggle against Fascism.

Proclaim this determination on the 9th International Day of Youth!

The 2nd of September shall, however, at the same time be the reply to all attempts to play off the working and peasant youth against one another as cannon fodder for the highest share of profit of one or other national exploiting class. The danger of war continues. England and France are arming

against one another, while both together are arming against Soviet Russia; America and England are arming against Japan; in short, the whole capitalist world is feverishly preparing for an imperialist war, compared with which the last war will be mere child's play. The working and peasant youth must be on the alert. On the 9th International Day of Youth they must mobilize all forces against the threatening war!

Give the social democratic youth leaders, who have repeatedly spurned our appeals for a common front against the Danger of War, against Fascism and Reaction and against the physical and mental misery, the clear answer: We are not minded, as in 1914, to be again bartered away as cannon fodder of the imperialists. We are not minded to await with beautiful speeches a new war tempest! We are not prepared any longer patiently to sink ever deeper into need and misery! It is our will to march along with those who proceed to the actual struggle against all these dangers!

This, young Workers and Peasants, is what the Communist Youth International has to say to you in regard to the 9th International Day of Youth. March under these signs to the fighting front of the young Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!

But in order to repulse the attack of Capital, of Fascism and of the War Danger you need strong organization, and for this reason we call to you, young workers in town and country: Remain no longer aloof, be no longer divided!

Gather together, come into our ranks, enter the workshop cells of the leagues of the great fighting organization of the working youth of the Communist Youth International!

Fight against impoverishment! Down with Fascism and imperialist war! Long live the firm fighting front of the working youth of the whole world!

Moscow, July 26, 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

### THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

#### The "Zentrosoyus"

By Karl Bittel (Weissenfels).

There exists in Russia today under the leadership of the central union "Zentrosoyus", a powerful and extensive co-operative activity, which is unrivalled in the world, and closely bound up with the first workers' and peasants' state. The high degree of importance attached to the co-operatives has been lately shown by Lenin's article "On Co-operation", the standpoint of which may be summed up as follows:

"A number of economic, financial, and banking privileges to be accorded to co-operation — these must constitute the support of the new principle of organization of the co-operatives by our socialist state."

Today, the co-operatives represent a large apparatus composed of almost 30,000 separate unions, which act as intermediaries between the state organized industry, the consuming population, and the peasantry. The whole is led by the "Zentrosoyus", concerning the activity of which we give below some of the latest figures, as stated at the 8th session of the Co-operative Council held at Moscow in May.

In the first quarter of 1923, the trade turnover was 23,888 million gold roubles, signifying a rise of 26% as compared with the last quarter of 1922; of this, 68.5% falls to articles of daily use, 10.2% to foodstuffs, and 18.9% to raw materials. The sales effected by the "Zentrosuyus" are 80.8% direct to the co-operatives, 13.6% to the state, and 3.6% to private persons. With regard to purchases, the state industry received 63.6% of the orders, (shoes, textile and fancy goods, which are bought almost exclusively from the state industry), co-operatives 33.2%, and private persons only 3.2%. Classified according to descriptions of goods, the state organs bought 93% of all household and domestic articles sold, 92% of agricultural articles, 84% of groceries, 73% of textiles, shoes and fancy goods. Of the food stuffs sold, the state organs purchased, on an average, 50%. The sub-unions and separate co-operatives supplied to the "Zentrosoyus" 8% of its purchases of industrial articles and 41% of its purchases in foodstuffs. The local organs are of great importance in supplying the raw materials purchased by the "Zentrosoyus" accounting for 97% of the supplies.

As is seen, the relations with state industry are very extensive. They are on a purely commercial footing. The various forms of reciprocal intercourse are as follows: a) short-term agreements at fixed prices, b) long term delivery contracts, c) realization contracts (for instance the contract with the

Moscow leather concern for the realization of the production), d) shoe manufacture through the apparatus of the consumers' co-operative societies, e) contracts for executing the orders of the "Zentrosoyus", f) commission agreements (for instance with the sugar trust and the salt syndicate). This last method has been designated as the most advantageous and economical form of business intercourse, given rapid delivery of goods and adequate credit. For this purpose the "Zentrosoyus" has been granted goods on credit by the separate state trusts, and by the supreme economic council, as well as large credits with the state bank, the people's commissariat for finance, and other credit organizations. The total credits amounted to:

- 1. June 1922 . . . 1.65 million gold roubles,
- 1. January 1923 . . . 11.51 million gold roubles,
- 1. May 1923 . . . 17.33 million gold roubles.

As is known, the Russian co-operatives are the sole participants in the state foreign trade monopoly of the R.S.F.S.R.; at the present time they possess their own offices in London, Reval, Constantinople, and New York. In the first quarter of 1923 the exports amounted to about half a million pounds sterling, 56% of which fell to furs, 38% to textiles, and 6% to hides etc. The list of goods export increases steadily. To it has lately been added: oil-cake, oats, sinapic oil, home industry articles; as also corn, butter, and eggs. The export plan for 1923/24 provides for raw materials and furs which alone amount to 40 million gold roubles. 49.4% of the import articles come under the category of metals and metal goods, 17.8% to foodstuffs. The share taken in the herring import trade has been particularly large (27.2% of the whole import of the country). The "Zentrosoyus" further imported about one half of the total import of leather (46.8%) and more than one third of the lubricants imported (38.4%). Of metal articles, the "Zentrosoyus" imported one quarter of the country's import of sheet zinc, more than one half of the country's import in tools, ploughs, and harrows. It also imported a quarter of all imported motor-cars. Among other goods, special mention must be made of cocoa butter, the "Zentrosoyus" participating to the extent of 18.8%, organized private trade 30%, unorganized private trade 15%.

The new system of co-operative goods credits to the workers, carried out in closest connection with the General Trade Union Central, has been further extended. The first goods credits were granted in June 1922, and have developed during this year as follows—in comparison with the goods returns of the "Zentrosoyus":

	No. of co-operatives	Amount of credit in Tschervontzes*)
January . . . . .	53	40,153
February . . . . .	67	121,128
March . . . . .	101	322,575
April . . . . .	74	240,993
May . . . . .	101	250,652

This was distributed among the following groups during the first 5 months as follows: The sub-unions 590,598 Tscherv., the workers' consumers' co-operative societies 219,447 Tscherv., the transport workers consumers' co-operative societies 119,082 Tscherv., the army co-operatives 27,778 Tscherv.

The "Vsekokbank" (All Russian Co-operative Bank), founded in January 1923 by the consumers' co-operative society bank (Pokobank), has developed very well. Today it possesses 14 branches in all parts of Russia, and 5 agencies in Moscow. It corresponds with 9 foreign banks. The balances for the 3 months of March, April, and May, 1923, are as follows in millions of roubles:

	1. March		1. April		1. May	
Capital	9.76	14.9%	11.67	7.9%	29.95	12.6%
Investment	15.30	23.5%	31.01	20.9%	57.74	24.3%
Loan	25.32	38.9%	73.20	49.3%	113.14	47.6%
Profit	11.73	18.0%	27.82	18.8%	26.45	11.1%
Sundry	3.06	4.7%	4.58	3.1%	10.67	4.4%
	65.17	100.0%	148.28	100.0%	237.95	100.0%

Banking activity has thus developed chiefly on the basis of investment and loans on the part of the state bank and the commissariat for finance. The loan account also contains the special state credits for financing the workers' co-operatives and the special measures being taken for agricultural and productive co-operatives. The invested accounts of the provincial branches have risen rapidly, having quadrupled in a quarter of a year. The activity of the goods department extends chiefly to the financing of the commercial operations of the central co-operative organizations. Thus the bank financed an export operation of the "Zentrosoyus" for 200,000 lbs of bran. The agricultural co-

\*) A Tschervontze possesses about the value of an English pound, and its value is stable.

operatives have also been financed in their export operations in tobacco and flax. It goes without saying that the bank has taken conspicuous part in the organization of the workers' credits.

On August 15, the All Russian Exhibition for Agriculture and Home Industry in Moscow will be opened. This will be extensively participated in by the co-operatives. Special co-operative pavilions are being erected, in which the whole of Soviet Russia's co-operative system will be represented, supplemented by exhibits representing the various co-operative organizations of western Europe.

### RED RELIEF

#### The All Russian Economic Exhibition and the "International Red Relief"

The Russia of the workers and peasants is preparing for its first All Russian Economic Exhibition. During the two months of the exhibition, from August 15, till October 15, worker and peasant Russia will demonstrate to the whole world the greatness and extent of All Russian economics. And despite the tremendous economic tasks involved, the Russian workers and peasants will once more prove the depth and power of the idea of international solidarity inspiring the masses of the Russian people.

This gigantic exhibition will be opened with special reference to the relief action for the political prisoners now in the prisons of the international bourgeoisie. The first three days of the exhibition will be devoted to the interests of the "International Red Relief" (I.R.R.). Artistic circles in Moscow are already engaged in preparations. The opening celebration will be arranged by the head director and manager of the Moscow "Grand Opera", who will be assisted during the three days of the celebration by all the revolutionary artistic organizations of Moscow, by the co-operation of the proletcult and of the sport and other organizations of Moscow. There will be theatrical performances, cinematograph displays, mass choirs in the great exhibition pavilion, vocal music, ballets, concerts, public entertainments of every description, children's and sporting festivals, etc. In addition, there will be large meetings, lectures, etc., under the direct management of the Central Committee of the International Red Relief, at which the most prominent Russian comrades and the most prominent representatives of foreign parties in Russia will speak on behalf of the International Red Relief. At all these celebrations and meetings there will be regular collections taken in aid of the I.R.R. The collections, meetings, and lectures will extend over the first three days of the exhibition, and 35% of the net proceeds will be placed at the disposal of the I.R.R. in aid of the victims of the class war. The I.R.R. is represented in the large exhibition pavilion by a special "Mopr" corner. The I.R.R. corner, or, as it is called in Russian, the "Mopr" corner, will be placed opposite the "Lenin" corner of the exhibition pavilion. Besides a statistical information section, in which the work of the central committee of the I.R.R. and the work done by the various sections will be clearly set forth, there will be an artistic-propagandist department, in which the life of the prisoners and the activity of the I.R.R. are to be presented in pictures. The organization and arrangement of these two sections of the "Mopr" corner has been undertaken by the revolutionary artists of Moscow. The exhibition will also include a special art department (pictures, wood carving, sculpture, etc.) participated in by leading Russian artists, and in which the revolutionary artists' organizations will exhibit and sell pictures for the benefit of the political prisoners. The proceeds from the sale of the pictures will be put entirely at the disposal of the I.R.R. The Russian artists have already up till now, sent in over 60 pictures for exhibition and sale for the benefit of the political prisoners.

The exhibition will not only prove a great source of help, but will become a centre from which the idea of international, practical, and active solidarity with the victims of the class war, and with the international fighting proletariat, may spread with renewed activity and increased strength into the most far-off provinces.

#### For the "International Red Relief"

At the session held by the Central Committee of the "International Red Relief" in Moscow on June 26, conjointly with the delegates of the separate Communist Parties, the following resolution was passed with regard to the report of the I.R.R.: "Beyond doubt Red Relief is one of the most urgent tasks of the international labor movement, and this work

must be taken up in every country with the greatest energy. A section of the International Red Relief must be organized in every country, the organization draft of the central committee of the I.R.R. being taken as a basis. The session specially appeals to the Communist Parties and all other labor organizations, in those countries in which the White Terror does not hold sway, to at once take up Red Relief work, not only because these countries possess the best possibilities and are in duty bound to provide large means for the Red Relief, but also because they may themselves, sooner or later, be placed in the same position as the working masses in the countries where the White Terror now prevails. It is therefore the duty of these sections, in their own interest, to start work on the broadest possible basis for the Red Relief, to organize a section of the I.R.R., and to awaken the spirit of international self-sacrifice among the working masses."

In addition to the above, the following resolution was passed on emigration:

"After having heard the report on emigration, the joint session of the Central Committee of the I.R.R. and the delegates of the separate parties approve of the instructions issued and the attempts made up to now by the Central Committee of the I.R.R. towards the settlement of the emigration question. It expects, from the separate sections of the I.R.R. and from the central committees of the Communist Parties alike, that they will make every effort to order and regulate political emigration. Emigration to Soviet Russia, as the main centre of emigration, is in particular only to be permitted by the Central Committee of the C.P., and by the sections of the I.R.R., in the most urgent cases."

### ECONOMICS

#### Wages in Russia in 1923

By L. Ginsburg (Moscow).

The first attempt at wage agreements in 1923 was accompanied by a general stabilization of wages. An examination of the chief agreements which have been concluded in the industrial centres, as well as the comprehensive reports on agreements made, show that the rates of wages fixed in the agreements have, on the whole, remained unaltered.

Thus the comprehensive agreements of the metal workers with the National Office for the metal industry, and the management of the metal works, contain the same rates of wages as obtained in December. For the miners of the Donez district, last year's agreement remained in force until April. The railwaymen's wages have also increased but little. The same result is shown by the following:

Wage rate of the 6. (middle) wage class as per agreements in large scale industry (in percentages of the household requirements fixed by the State Distributing Commission\*):

	January	February	March
Metal workers . . .	151	152	152
Textile workers . . .	167	167	167

The curve of actual wage payments to workers within these three months shows, however, a certain rise, less observable in the statistics for the whole of Russia, but clearer for the two chief cities:

Actual working wages, classified according to industry, in percentages of the household requirements fixed by the State Distribution Commission.

	For the whole Republic		For Petrograd		
	Jan.	Feb.	Jan.	Feb.	March
For all industries . . .	162.3	163.7	190.8	204.6	220.4
Metal workers . . .	159.1	179.7	204.4	208.3	254.9
Textile workers . . .	131.8	130.6	154.6	149.6	183.8
Chemical workers . . .	—	—	193.9	192.0	237.2
Typographical workers . . .	—	—	240.0	273.8	264.8
Foodstuff workers . . .	—	—	196.0	196.0	232.5

\* Household requirements are estimated by calculating the cost of the articles of daily use customarily found in the worker's household before the war. The index for household requirements thus corresponds to the movement in the prices of such objects as are actually bought by workmen. The amount for household requirements before the war was 10 roubles in Moscow and Petrograd.

	For Moscow		
	January	February	March
For all industries . . . . .	191.4	199.0	224.9
Metal workers . . . . .	204.1	224.5	263.8
Textile workers . . . . .	157.4	160.1	156.1
Chemical workers . . . . .	200.5	214.1	248.8
Typographical workers . . . . .	257.0	250.6	275.8
Provision Trade workers . . . . .	234.5	223.3	246.5

In comparison with December of last year, we observe in stable wages rates a rise in the average earnings, for Russia, of 11%, for Petrograd (in March), of 22%, and for Moscow (in March), of 18%. This rise is partly explained by a readjustment of the wage class system. The increase in wages is, however, chiefly attributable to the somewhat greater stabilization of prices in the first months of the year. The rise in retail prices during this period (calculated according to the consumption standards) is as follows:

Index of prices (for household requirements) in percentages of those of the previous month.

	For the whole of Russia			For Moscow			For Petrograd		
	January	February	March	January	February	March	January	February	March
January . . . . .	128.1	—	—	121.4	—	—	112.5	—	—
February . . . . .	114.2	—	—	133.7	—	—	132.2	—	—
March . . . . .	—	—	—	121.2	—	—	114.3	—	—

In comparison with the same months of last year, the rapidity with which the prices have risen is three to four times less. There was also to be observed a considerable improvement as regards prices in comparison with the end of 1922.

When it is remembered that the amount of the wages is generally calculated for the 15th of the current month, and that payment is generally made at the beginning or in the middle of the following month, it will be seen that a certain stability of prices exercises a favorable influence on the amount of the actual wage\*).

If the movement of the real wage for the first quarter of 1923 is compared with that of the last quarter of the past year, we observe a certain slackening in the rate of increase of wages.

This lessened increase is due to the fact that in a number of branches of light industry wages have nearly regained their pre-war rates, and in some branches of production have even exceeded these rates (see appended table); in such cases a further rise in wages will only be objectively possible if the general productivity of these branches of industry is enormously increased, markets improved, etc. In heavy industry, on the other hand, the crisis is not yet overcome, and here rises in wages are inevitably slow.

If the wages of the separate branches of industry are compared, it appears that heavy industry, represented in our table by the metal workers, is beginning to make progress with regard to the absolute amount of wages. All over the Republic the metal workers already occupy a leading position, and have exceeded the general average standards everywhere.

These are the absolute figures; compared with pre-war wages, heavy industry still takes the last place:

Wages in January, February, and March 1923 in percentages of pre-war wages (1913)\*\*)

	For the whole Republic			For Petrograd		
	Jan.	Feb.	March	Jan.	Feb.	March
For all industries . . . . .	54.3	54.3	72.0	59.6	63.6	72.0
Metal workers . . . . .	35.5	38.1	59.0	47.5	48.4	59.0
Textile workers . . . . .	53.9	53.4	82.0	68.7	66.5	82.0
Chemical workers . . . . .	—	—	82.0	67.3	66.7	82.0
Typographical workers . . . . .	—	—	77.9	69.4	79.1	77.9
Provision Tradeworkers . . . . .	—	—	100.0	86.4	87.9	100.0
For Moscow	January February March			January February March		
For all industries . . . . .	76.6	76.6	90.0	76.6	76.6	90.0
Metal workers . . . . .	61.8	63.0	79.0	61.8	63.0	79.0
Textile workers . . . . .	71.6	72.8	71.1	71.6	72.8	71.1
Chemical workers . . . . .	87.8	93.1	108.2	87.8	93.1	108.2
Typographical workers . . . . .	80.3	78.3	86.1	80.3	78.3	86.1
Foodstuffs workers . . . . .	111.7	106.3	117.4	111.7	106.3	117.4

It will thus be seen that whilst in all branches of industry a standard of wages amounting to 54.3% of pre-war wages has been reached for the whole Republic, to 72% for Petrograd, and

\*) The amount of the actual wage is ascertained by the Office for Labor Statistics from the data supplied by the accountants' reports issued by the factories on the monthly payments; the paper money is reduced to goods roubles on the basis of the prices obtaining on the first day of the month following the month of the report.

\*\*\*) Pre-war wages taken from the factory inspection reports.

to 90% for Moscow, the metal workers are drawing wages amounting to 38.1, 59.0, and 79% of pre-war wages.

The great difference between the figures of the absolute wages (calculated in household requirements) and the wage coefficients showing the relation to pre-war wages, will be understood when it is recollected that before the war the wages drawn by the metal workers were one and a half times as much as the average wages for all branches of industry. It is naturally impossible completely to restore pre-war conditions, not only because the great economic upheavals which the country has undergone do not permit it, but also because pre-war wages were determined by a number of factors which have now partly lost their significance (demand and supply, development of labor organizations). There is, however, no doubt but that the amount of wages paid in heavy industry does not correspond in any way to the rôle played by this industry in the country, nor to the highly skilled labor performed by the workers occupied; the necessity of raising wages here is very real.

Our calculation of actual earnings does not include the circumstance that some communal undertakings paid their workers at reduced rates. The resultant increase in wages may be taken at about seven per cent.

If this correction is made, it will be found that the average wage for all branches of industry for the whole republic amounting in February to 58 per cent of pre-war wages, while as regards Petrograd, this figure was attained in March. In some branches of industry in Moscow, we have a rise exceeding the pre-war level, as for instance, 15.8% for the chemical workers, and 25.6% for the provisions trade workers.

## PROLETARIAN ART

### A Public Disputation on Futurism

By Frida Rubiner.

Moscow, July 1923.

Great posters on the walls announce: In the Great Hall of the Conservatorium, under the presidency of the People's Commissioner A. Lunatcharski — Public Discussion on LEF. What is LEF? "LEF" means "lion" in Russian. But what does this false "lion", the LEF., mean? In Russia the abbreviation of names to their initial letter has become so customary that everyone can understand: "LEF" means "Lewi-Front", that is, Left Front. The futurists designate themselves artists of the "Left Front", and for some months they have been publishing a periodical under the name of the "LEF.", edited by the well known Majakovsky and his colleagues.

Even before the revolution Russia provided a field for the most variegated forms of art, bearing the most impossible names: Imagists, Egoists, and even Nitchevoki (from the Russian "Nitchevo", meaning indifference). During the years of revolution these art tendencies contrived to eke out a more or less wretched existence in wretchedly heated rooms. But when the Soviet power was finally stabilized, fresh life began to pervade the world of art. Not to mention the poets and minor poets who help the NEP. people to pass their time pleasantly in the cabarets and cafés of the Tverskaya in Moscow, modern poetry, and above all futurism, is striving to win the hearts and minds of the Russian youth, that youth which is being educated in the spirit of Marxism to be good proletarian revolutionists in the Sverdlov universities and labor faculties. Youth, including proletarian youth, is accessible to every good or evil influence, and it listens eagerly to the strident cantons of the futurists, which sound so attractively venturesome and "revolutionary". Does this interest in futurism not form a danger for revolutionary ideology, for proletarian youth? The question between futurists and Marxists, proletarian writers and bourgeois poets, experts and casual public, is here to be thrashed out publicly.

Not only is the great hall of the conservatorium filled to bursting, but there are still hundreds shouting and singing outside, hoping to obtain admittance. What sections of the public are interested in futurism? First of all, the youth: proletarian, proletarianized, semi-proletarian, would-be proletarian, and would-be proletarian; and then, soldiers of the Red Army, young men belonging to the world of artists, elegant young ladies with carefully tinted lips; further NEP. people who do not want to miss anything, and finally—good solid Party comrades with an old Party past, who take the matter seriously.

The meeting begins two hours after the time fixed. Many of the invited guests are missing: the futurists chieftain Mayakovsky has just fled to Berlin, the theoretical leader (as the

meeting is informed by a disciple) has just been taken to a lunatic asylum a few hours earlier. This piece of information causes one section of the audience to break into peals of laughter, whilst another section hisses indignantly and applauds. Altogether there is a frightful amount of hand-clapping, shouting, and interrupting in the overheated hall.

The discussion begins with a recital of the futurist creed by a disciple who explains at length what futurism is and what it wants to be. It would go beyond the scope of this article to enter into the essential character of futurism. But as a social phenomenon it must be emphasized that even at this literary discussion those taking part consider it necessary to emphasize the assertion that they are, above all, adherents of communism and of the revolution. It is a well known fact that in Italy the drummer-boy of futurism, Marinetti, has gone over to the Fascisti with his disciples; in Russia the futurists are communists, and emphasize this fact themselves. Why? One of the debaters declared candidly: the futurists are in favor of power, no matter whether Red or White power! No program is discussed, for what program can a literary group draw up? To one member of the group the whole is a matter of the studio, to another it is a question of obtaining domination over the minds of others. One of the leading Russian futurists, a real and by no means insignificant poet, the gifted Tredyakov, is the only representative of the group really capable of stating anything definite on the aims which it pursues. He speaks quite in the jargon of present-day, Russia, and names the work of the poet and writer "production"—he produces influence on the state of mind of the reader. But if the attempt is made to convert Tredyakov's beautifully turned sentences into the language of the pamphlet, the result is next to nothing. But the opponents of futurism, from various camps, are not capable of much more either. Every speaker expounds his own program and his own views with all the individualism and boastfulness of the author and intellectual. Each speaker is enthusiastically applauded by one part of the audience and opposed with equal energy by the other.

The question arises: What is the attitude of the proletariat to this current of art? There are rumours among the audience that in one factory the workers read only the "LEF.". Who can test this assertion? A star turn is then given by the futurists to a real workman, a living proletarian, who delivers a speech in favor of futurism. The futurists are reproached with writing incomprehensibly. This does not matter—so says this workman. After we have taken the trouble to grasp what they intend to say, we are rewarded by a feeling of satisfaction similar to that felt in production when we have accomplished something.

Although the discussion lasts for many hours, it gets no further. Comrade Mestcheryakov, the leader of the state publishing establishment, where the "LEF." is published, adopts a purely liberal standpoint—that a publishing enterprise must accommodate every art tendency. He himself is opposed to the futurists, but he publishes their productions in order that they may seal their own fate. Mestcheryakov develops the theory that proletarian culture is really an impossibility, for when the proletariat has reached a point at which it is able to produce art, then it will cease to be a proletariat—a truly remarkable point of view.

One thing is certain: our tried and tested comrades, who have the question of ideology very much at heart, do not know how to deal with such phenomena as this "LEF." and its supporters. The means of propaganda, literature, and art, employed in the period before the revolution to awaken the masses, are now no longer suitable for the accomplishment of the next step, for the proletariat, having seized power, must now move forward to cultural and economic reconstruction. It is easy for the comrades to believe they can dispose of all the devils of futurism with a few sharp phrases. Whether these futurists are merely running a "stunt" or whether they are really sincerely striving after new forms and modes of expression, is beside the question. It is certain that the revolutionary Russian youth, even a part of that youth which passed through the fire of civil war, is now interested in, even enthusiastic about such questions. This is easily comprehensible; the fighting has ceased, and in periods following such acute struggles there is always a certain reaction; in periods whose tasks are of a peaceful nature, there is bound to be a keener search after new tendencies in art and culture.

But it is equally certain that this "LEF." has nothing whatever to do with communism and proletarian ideology. There is a contradiction in the fact that Comrade Lunatcharski, the tried Marxist and revolutionary champion, should take this "LEF." under his high protection even whilst criticising it, for the

"LEF." contradicts the spirit of the KPR., the creative and constructive spirit of Soviet Russia.

There are increasing signs that the fight along ideological lines, the question of culture, will soon become one of the most urgent tasks of the Communist Party of Russia.

## Henri Barbusse to the Russian artists

Comrade Henri Barbusse has addressed the following communication to Comrade Slavinsky, the president of the All Russian Artists' Association:

"It was with the greatest that I received the letter informing me of the great honor your sixth congress has done me by appointing me honorable member of its presidium. I feel greatly honored by the spirit of cordial brotherliness with which you reach out your hand to me. But at the same time this brings me in contact with the great work being accomplished by Russia, the work of establishing a new world in the midst of the hostility of all the old powers of oppression. The Russian people, the élite of humanity, is successfully accomplishing its great proletarian mission, despite the enormous obstacles thrown in its way. The artistic genius of Russia shines with ever-growing brightness.

Comrades and brothers! I greet in you the peerless land of Art and Labor! Long live the world revolution which you have begun!

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### Socialist Declaration of Loyalty in the Horthy Parliament

By Georg (Vienna).

The Horthy government recently prohibited the social democratic central organ *Nepszava* from appearing for 8 days on account of inflammatory articles, etc. The printers responded in Buda-Pest by a unanimous strike, thus preventing the other newspapers from appearing. They declared that they would continue the strike for so long as the government maintained the prohibition. This strike resolution is of immense significance. Since the fall of the Soviet government, it is the first strike movement openly pursuing political aims.

On the same day, a "truculent" declaration was made by the social democratic fraction in parliament. But on the following day, after some secret bargaining with the Horthy government, the fraction made a fresh declaration in the Horthy parliament, a declaration remarkable even in the history of this infamous party of the 2. International.

The social democratic party leaders signed a declaration laid before them by the Prime Minister, in which, among other statements we read: "The action of the printers in ceasing work was not an attempt to force the re-appearance of the social democratic paper by terrorist means, but a spontaneous action on the part of the printers. The party leaders have already taken steps towards the immediate calling off of the strike. . . . The party leaders were not aware that a declaration made by Wilhelm Böhm (social democratic emigrant, former commander in the Red Army) was to appear in the central organ, and disapproves of its having been published. (Böhm belongs to the same 2. International as the Horthy socialists). The party leaders expressly declare that they have nothing in common with Bolshevism, that they condemn it with the utmost severity, and have no intention of giving a free advertisement to Bolshevik leaders (the social democrat Böhm!) by the publication of their declarations. (This declaration was made at a time when 100 workers had just been arrested as "communist conspirators"). It is equally far from being the intention of the party leaders to arouse any spirit of excitement in the masses. They will take care that in the future, the contents and tone of the party newspaper correspond with this viewpoint, and are kept free from any foreign influence."

After this declaration of loyalty on the part of the social democrats, the Horthy press was right in stating that: "The socialists submit to the government; they disavow their own newspaper; they make a declaration of loyalty entirely unique in the history of social democracy."

It is not entirely unique. This despicable declaration is but an ordinary occurrence in the life of this party of the 2. International.



## FASCISM

### Anti-Fascist Day in Germany

The appeal issued by the Communist Party, to demonstrate on July 29 against the Fascist danger, was responded to by millions of workers in all parts of the country. The bourgeois press prepared for the day with a savage pogrom agitation against the working class, and especially against the communists, with the cry that "the communists are going to strike their first blow on the 29." The government of the Republic impressed upon the provincial governments that all public demonstrations and meetings were to be prohibited. The majority of the provincial governments immediately followed this advice, above all the minister for internal affairs in Prussia, the social democrat Severing. It was only in Saxony and in Thuringia that the governments were unable to issue any prohibition against demonstrations, owing to the pressure of the working masses.

After the prohibition had been issued, the Communist Party gave out the watchword of *closed meetings*, i. e. meetings in public halls and enclosed spaces. Social democrats and bourgeois rejoiced at the retreat of the communists. But the 29th of July showed that this apparent retreat was in reality a mighty advance of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party. Never before has a summons issued by the C.P. been followed by such enormous masses. In Berlin, where 17 meetings were arranged for, overflow meetings had to be held in every case. Despite the prohibition, and despite the large force of constabulary brought into service, the workers did not allow themselves to be forbidden the streets. Those who took part in the meetings left the buildings afterwards bearing red flags, and singing revolutionary songs. Thanks to the iron discipline exercised by the working class, there were no bloody collisions on Anti-Fascist day. But the day before, the police fired on workers demonstrating against starvation in Neuruppin. The result was two dead and seven severely wounded.

According to bourgeois estimates, 160,000—180,000 workers took part in the demonstration meetings in Berlin. We do not over-estimate if we judge the number of participators to have been a quarter of a million.

The demonstrations in Saxony and Thuringia, promoted with the idea of the united front, were of an especially impressive character. Here there were no police to be seen, and the workers marched out headed by their defence units. In Dresden 20,000 workers took part in the demonstration processions, in Chemnitz 50-60,000, in Leipzig 30,000, in the Zwickau district 17,000. In Bad Elster, the demonstration took the form of a fraternization festival with the workers of Czecho-Slovakia. About 200 comrades

from Czecho-Slovakia took part in the procession, which numbered 12,000.

In Jena, the number taking part in the demonstration was 10,000, in Gotha over 25,000, in Meiningen 15,000, in Gera over 8,000. The meetings everywhere in Thuringia filled to overflowing.

In Halle, an attempt made by the Fascisti to attack the workers' institutions was defeated by the workers' defence units. In Breslau, over 10,000 men demonstrated, and all over Silesia the meetings were equally well attended.

In the strongholds of Fascism, such as Potsdam, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, the workers held fast to their right to demonstrate. In Munich there was even a demonstration procession. In Wurtemberg 5 localities held demonstrations, with a total of 100,000 workers.

In Baden, where there was no prohibition, the Mannheim comrades arranged a demonstration participated in by 17,000.

In the occupied territory, where the French soldiery worked hand in hand with the German Fascisti against the Anti-Fascist day, great demonstration meetings were held in spite thereof. Over 20,000 workers demonstrated in the sport grounds at Ernst near Hamm. And in other places in the occupied territory the demonstrations were attended by large numbers.

The Fascisti, who had announced great counter-demonstrations, sneaked quietly away. The day was a complete victory for the Communist Party, a review of the millions of our army before we enter into the great struggles which are approaching.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Arrests of Communists in Roumania

The Roumanian police recently undertook a domiciliary visit to the publishing offices of the Communist Party periodical appearing in the Hungarian language. The edition of the paper containing an appeal issued by the Party against the high prices, was confiscated, while 22 members of the Party were arrested, including 2 members of the central leadership. It is characteristic of the arbitrary methods of the authorities, that the same appeal, as issued by the Party in the Roumanian language in the form of handbills, was allowed to be distributed without hindrance.

Besides these scandalous arrests, the secret police also made an attempt at framing up a new "assassination affair", in order to be able to deal a fresh blow against the Communist Party. A workman named Badulescu, a member of the C.P., was secretly asked by three police spies to assassinate the former minister Argetbiano. The workman informed the police, so that the "Sicuranza" fell into its own trap for once. In spite of this, the workman was arrested, and has not yet been set at liberty.

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## CONTENTS

L. Trotsky: The Tasks of Communist Education

Politics

Karl Radek: The Impending Bankruptcy of the German Bourgeoisie and the Tasks of the C. P. of Germany

John Pepper: The Slogan of Workers' and Farmers' Government

Georg: The Sinaya Conference

E.C.C.I.

Resolution of the Enlarged Executive on the Hamburg Amalgamation Conference

The Labor Movement

J. T. Murphy: The English Dock Strike

The United Front

W. P. Earsman: The United Front in Australia

In the Colonies

P. Bergsma and T. Malakka: Communism in Java

In Soviet Russia

S. Turki: The Fifth Anniversary of the Narkomsdrav

Economics

A. Ker: The Profiteers of Restoration

Fascism.

Giacomo: More "Victories" of Mussolini

In the Camp of Our Enemies

L. Amter: The Death of President Harding

## The Tasks of Communist Education

By L. Trotsky.

### The "New Man" and the Revolutionist.

It is frequently asserted that the task of communist enlightenment consists in the education of the new man. These words are somewhat too general, too pathetic, and we must be particularly careful not to permit any formless humanitarian interpretation of the conception "new man" or the tasks of communist education. There is no doubt whatever but that the man of the future, the citizen of the commune, will be an exceedingly interesting and attractive creature, and that his psychology (the futurists will pardon me, but I fancy that the man of the future will possess a psychology) will be very different to ours. Our present task, unfortunately, cannot lie in the education of the human being of the future. The Utopian and humanitarian-psychological viewpoint is, that the new man must first be formed, and that he will then create the new conditions. We cannot believe this. We know that man is a product of social conditions. But we know too that between human beings and conditions there exists a complicated and actively working mutual relationship. Man himself is an instrument of this historical development, and not the least. And in this complicated historical reflex action of the conditions experienced by active human beings, we do not create the abstractly harmonious and perfect citizen of the commune, but we form the concrete human beings of our epoch, who have still to fight for the creation of the conditions out of which the harmonious citizen of the commune may emerge. This, of course, is a very different thing, for the simple reason that our great-grandson, the citizen of the commune, will be no revolutionist.

At first glance this appears to be wrong, it sounds almost insulting. And yet it is so. The conception "revolutionist" is formed by us out of our thoughts and wishes, out of the totality of our best passions, and thus the word "revolutionist" is permeated by the highest ideals and morals which we have taken over from the whole preceding epoch of cultural evolution. Thus it seems to us that we cast an aspersion on our posterity when we do not think of them as revolutionists. But we must not forget that the revolutionist is a product of definite historical conditions, a product of class society. The revolutionist is no psychological abstraction. Revolution in itself is no abstract principle, but a material historical fact, growing out of class antagonism, out of the violent subjection of one class by another.

Thus the revolutionist is a concrete historical type, and in consequence a temporary type. We are proud of belonging to this type. But by means of our work we are creating the conditions of a social order in which no class antagonisms will exist, no revolutions, and thus no revolutionists. It is true that we can extend the meaning of the word "revolutionist" until it comprises the whole conscious activity of man directed towards the subjection of nature, and towards the expansion of technical and cultural gains. But we have no right to make such an abstraction, such a limitless extension of the conception "revolutionist", for we have by no means fulfilled our concrete historical revolutionary task, the overthrow of class society. Consequently, we are far from being required to educate the harmonious citizen of the commune, forming him by careful laboratory work, in an extremely disharmonious transition stage of society. Such an undertaking would be a wretchedly childish Utopia. What we want to make is champions, revolutionists, who will inherit and complete our historical traditions, which we have not yet carried to a conclusion.

### Revolution and Mysticism.

What are the main characteristics of the revolutionist? It must be emphasized that we have no right to separate the revolutionist from the class basis upon which he has evolved, and without which he is nothing. The revolutionist of our epoch, who can only be associated with the working class, possesses his special psychological characteristics, characteristics of intellect and will. If it is necessary and possible, the revolutionist shatters the historical obstructions, resorting to force for the purpose. If this is not possible, then he makes a detour, undermines and crushes, patiently and determinedly. He is a revolutionist because he does not fear to shatter obstacles and relentlessly to employ force; at the same time he knows its historical value. It is his constant endeavor to maintain his destructive and creative work at their highest pitch of activity, that is, to obtain from the given historical conditions the maximum which they are capable of yielding for the forward movement of the revolutionary class.

The revolutionist knows only external obstacles, to his activity, no internal ones. That is: he has to develop within himself the capacity of estimating the arena of his activity in