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Proletarian Class Justice

By P. Stutschka.

We often find even in Communist papers, protests against class justice in general, and not against bourgeois or feudal class-justice. And we often speak of *Right* in general instead of speaking of *Class Right*. "Advance, you who honor Right and Truth", we hear enthusiastically sung without properly considering what this *Right* actually means.

It required a political trial to bring all these questions to the fore. I refer to the trial of the Social Revolutionaries. A Tribunal whose president openly declared that it exercised class justice, *proletarian class justice!* A tribunal before which deputations of revolutionary workers appeared and pronounced their opinion, not upon the defendants as persons but upon the political party seated in the dock, upon the party calling itself Socialist! An undisguised class justice whose class character was further intensified by the direct pressure of the proletarian masses. One group of defenders after the other forsook their posts; first the "Socialists" (Vandervelde and Co.), then the one-time Socialists, Murayyev and his like.

From the lawyers nothing else was to be expected. Legal ideology is bourgeois ideology par excellence. This has been clearly demonstrated by no one less than Fr. Engels (in 1887 in the *Neue Zeit* in a joint article with K. Kautsky: "When the Christian *Weltanschauung* was obliged to depart, the *legal or bourgeois Weltanschauung* stepped into its place. And this *Weltanschauung* dominates not only the lawyers, Socialists and even Communists not excepted, it prevails also in the heads of laymen and even of broad proletarian masses.

What is *Right*? Consult the maze of legal writings, search the dictionaries, etc., and you will find the short and concise answer, that there is as yet no general conception of *Right*, that the legal authorities seek for it in vain. And I tell you that there cannot be such a conception as long as jurisprudence prates of *eternal right* and *eternal justice*, instead of accepting the class standpoint and recognizing *Class Right*, "a system, an order of social relations which correspond to the interests of the ruling class and will therefore be maintained by the organized power of this class, the state." Can bourgeois society openly acknowledge this class right? No, it cannot do it, for it would be a recognition, a legalization of the proletarian revolution. The working-class and its ideologists must openly proclaim this, for that is their vital interest.

From this, and from this standpoint only, can we comprehend how it comes that the bourgeois lawyers glorify the

murder of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and other Comrades, or are able to treat even the murderers of Ministers, as for instance of Erzberger or Rathenau, with great indulgence, and on the other hand speak of judicial murder when the Soviet government brings to trial the political assassins who kill proletarian leaders and proletarian state functionaries. And we will then be able to appreciate the same views within the ranks of the social-treachorous defenders or perverters of *Right*.

In one of his early writings, Karl Marx proves that it would be a logical absurdity to speak of impartial judges, because right and law are themselves partial. To the opposing class all class justice will appear unjust; there is no common understanding. And it is mere hypocrisy to estimate the justice of a sentence according to the outward formalities of the trial. But the whole of bourgeois justice swears by these formalities. These formalities are even in the best instances technical regulations for getting at the evidence and clearing up the question of guilt.

It is not these formalities which will determine whether a sentence is just or unjust, but the true facts and the class conception of *Right*. And particularly in the case of the trial of the Russian Social Revolutionaries it is not a question of such formalities. It is an unprecedented historical trial, in which it is not a question of persons but of *classes* and class groups.

Revolutionary *proletarian class justice* is not to be comprehended from the bourgeois conception of *Right*. But that does not by any means imply that this justice is quite undefined, that no law exists for it, but only personal arbitrariness. No, like every right, proletarian right also finds expression in law, in revolutionary decrees. It is true that the proletarian revolution abolishes all previous laws so far as they are not embodied in the new decrees. But that does not mean a sudden revolution of the consciousness of right in the people. This revolution is a protracted and difficult process. The retreat to the *new economic policy* which is naturally also a retreat on the legal field, has hampered it very considerably.

Proletarian class justice also means lawfulness, but only *revolutionary lawfulness*. It will hear nothing of formal objections on the part of juridical representatives who appeal to the law books of the overthrown bourgeois government and to the bourgeois legal authorities. And if (what has occurred nowhere else) foreign lawyers as Vandervelde and Liebknecht conferred in French or maintained silence in German, it was

not because of linguistic reasons that they failed to be understood, but because they used the language of another class, the bourgeoisie. It was not class justice that was the objection here, but the fact that so-called proletarian representatives defended anti-proletarian class interests. It is not a question of a simple legal trial, but of a class struggle before the eyes of the working class of the whole world. And these labor leaders lend themselves, not to clearing the minds of the workers but to befogging them with bourgeois legal trickery.

Apart from the great importance of this trial for the cause of the world revolution, it will play an important part in enlightening the working class on the question of class right and class justice. Up to now we had no Marxist revolutionary conception of right and justice, and jurists, and non-jurists repeated the same old wisdoms of lawyer Socialists, which Engels censured as early as 1887. With us in Russia, the revolution introduced a certain change in this respect, but it would have been very desirable if this breach should have occurred outside of Russia before the revolution. The proletarian slogan is not "against class right and class justice", but for proletarian right and proletarian justice! It would be more correct perhaps if the working class of Germany would oppose the bourgeois Supreme Court for the protection of the republic, with the slogan of a Workers' Tribunal.

POLITICS

The Italian Dilemma.

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

Italy may truly be said to be suffering from an insoluble crisis. For three years the financial and governmental crisis has been discussed and debated but without any result. And in the midst of the various aspects of this crisis, bank failures, taxation strikes, ever increasing and ever insufficient taxation, incurable budget deficits, the class war is being waged in an unprecedented manner, the judiciary is being corrupted increasingly in the interest of the political factions, the army seethes with discontent and ministerial crises and party regroupments follow one another perpetually.

The superficial observer is satisfied only with the most striking manifestations of this phenomenon; he sees the financial crash throwing thousands of families into despair, falling ministries, and the impossibility of forming a stable government. For the second time in seven months the ruling class finds it more than ever impossible to find a cabinet capable of prolonging its pacific domination. The fall of the deFacta Ministry places the Crown in a ridiculous position, having to cancel once more the appointments it has just made. This itself shows that this crisis is a reality which is growing more acute every day. Italy is doomed to ministerial crises from which there is no outlet save measures of expediency and these only after many vain attempts. Every recent government has been born weak and sickly, bearing the unmistakable signs of early death. The first appointment made after the fall of deFacta, was that of Orlando, the right Democrat and adversary of similar crises. But these attempts to form a cabinet, contrary to the vote of the Chamber, which demanded a left cabinet, have had no results. Take for instance Bonomi, the Socialist reformist and firm supporter of the Fascisti movement, who was elected in 1921 on the Fascisti list and who during his last presidency of the Cabinet favored the development of the military organization of the white forces. After the fall of the Orlando combination, Bonomi would have been able to form an anti-Fascisti coalition ministry determined to use the police to prevent repetitions of the terrorist acts. But because of his past actions, Bonomi was less fitted than anyone else for such a policy. Italy, used to rapid changes in the policies of her statesmen, apparently believed in Bonomi's intentions, but above all the parties most of whom declared themselves against him and for the Fascisti. These latter, for the better manifestation of their intentions, began preparations for a large-scale action on Ravenna, and declared that Bonomi's nomination was equivalent to a proclamation of civil war in Italy. Faced with this threat, Bonomi gave way, and the King, still in search for a president of the Council, turned to Meda, leader of the Populist Party whose vote had determined the crisis. But Meda declared himself incapable of taking over the terrible heritage.

Here then are three party leaders, representing the various bourgeois and constitutionalist tendencies, experienced as cabinet presidents and intending to work jointly with the various Parliamentary leaders and the presidents of the Senate and Chamber and attempting the most varied combinations to win over the various groups in the Chamber, but yet have recognized the impossibility of giving Italy a stable government, or of

forming any other kind of government than the ones they have accepted, capable of raising the government from the abyss into which it has fallen.

Such is the fatality which has overtaken the Italian capitalist class. It is obliged to partake in its own destruction without being able to take any other path. Every path leads without exception towards the final ruin. Thus, this class, fully conscious of the situation, has chosen the method of violence which gives it an illusion of attempting to preserve authority while in reality—it serves only to overthrow its rule.

That is why after the Orlando attempt to cover the Fascisti Party with a legal cloak and to introduce its terrorist raids, lynchings, and the frightful crimes of the past weeks into the normal order of the state, Bonomi and Meda, who promised a return to legality and to forbid all violence were successful for a day. That is why, after the absolute veto opposed by the Populists to the entry of the pro-Fascisti Right into the Ministry, these same Populists, hard hit by the fall of their leader Meda, are now offering to participate in a cabinet in which they will be allied with the Fascisti. That is why Bonomi, in spite of his past record as a bloody oppressor of the proletariat, failed in the only illusion of a possible anti-Fascisti reaction. That is why in the same moment that they were attempting to form a Nava ministry, destined to fall in the first days of the autumn session, a combination which it was imagined would give an appearance of government to the state and satisfy constitutional customs impossible in an absolute government, although this in reality existed, Orlando is considered as the man who will inevitably seize the ship of state and continue to direct it in the same direction as heretofore. Orlando is a reincarnation of deFacta. The course taken by recent events has given full support to our judgement; in Italy today, no other policy is possible than that of most ferocious reaction.

It is a terrible warning that in these days which should have marked the liberation of the proletariat, that in Ravenna where the workers had gathered to protest against the Fascisti bands the public forces, which have never lifted a hand in defense of labor halls, the cooperatives, nor the houses of the workers, fired on the helpless crowd leaving a dozen dead and 150 wounded. In addition there were 2000 arrests. The sound of their rifles echoes throughout Italy, and the new ministry, before it even has a name, announces in the blood of the dead workers the future policy of reaction.

English Imperialism in Palestine.

By F. Kapeliush (Moscow).

Lord Balfour delivered his maiden speech in the House of Lords, on the subject of the British "mandate" in Palestine. Balfour defended Zionism with great eloquence and spoke of the "genius of the Jewish race". In his opinion, Christendom is in duty bound to redeem its debt to Jewry. Under these picturesque phrases is hidden the imperialist appetite, which England knows to conceal so well behind beautiful words on the protection of small nations. It is, however, of interest to note that the Lords did not accept Lord Balfour's program.

Balfour stated: "I do not deny that our plan is of a somewhat adventurous nature. But have we never ventured, have we never made new experiments?" But this was of no avail. And the Lords accepted the motion for rejection by 60 to 29 and the Government suffered a complete defeat.

What was the motive that induced Balfour to appear as the benevolent defender of the "genius of the Jewish race"?

Zionist Palestine was to serve England as a means of defense of the Suez Canal and as a mercenary force against the Egyptians and the Arabs. In accordance with the British plan, British influence is to be all powerful on both banks of the Suez. Besides, Britain had already realized during the war, on account of the ever-increasing Egyptian nationalist movement, that Egypt would stand in enmity against her; now England has been compelled to recognize Egypt as an "independent" kingdom. In order to make a gap between Egypt and the Arabs occupying the other bank of the Canal, British imperialism has been busy preparing a plan for the creation of a "Hebrew Fatherland" in Palestine.

The hard facts, however, condemned the chimerical idea of Zionism to complete defeat. The Arabs (who according to the latest statistics of 1921, outnumber the Jews by 700,000 to 100,000) have shown themselves to be decidedly inimical to the Zionists, in whom they see the instruments of Britain. It even came to a bloody pogrom on Jews. Under the pressure of the Arabs, Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner for Palestine, was compelled to state that "no mass influx of Jews would be allowed". In the first twenty months beginning with the 1st of August 1921, 30,000 Jews will be allowed to enter Palestine. In accordance with this, it will take 50 years to settle 1 million Jews in Palestine.

After Britain had exploited Zionist ideology, this extremely reactionary petty-bourgeois Utopia, for its own imperialist ends, it emphatically expressed its unwillingness to keep its promise. The creation of a Jewish State in Palestine did not at all agree with British plans.

Of primary importance in the Palestine question, was the so-called Rutenberg plan. This Rutenberg is a very old friend of ours; he is a Social Revolutionary, the murderer of Gapon, for which deed the Kerensky Government appointed him Chief of Police. As engineer he worked out the plan for the electrification of Palestine which was approved and supported in the British Parliament. The far-reaching character of this plan and its good intentions we do not contest. And it is characteristic that even the Utopian plans of the religious, national, territorial and governmental rebirth of the Jewry, were formulated in a purely practical and economic manner. In the House of Lords Balfour had to meet a series of attacks and emphasized that the plans of Mr. Rutenberg and the British policy in Palestine would in no way lead to the favoring of Jews at the expense of the Arabs, but was inspired by purely idealistic ends. This plan is "approved by the experts of the colonial authorities and is the cheapest and most effective for the Government". Nevertheless, the Lords held to their decision. Lord Sydenham even voiced the heresy that the population of Palestine had a far greater measure of autonomy under the Turks than they have at present.

And so in reality, the Zionist ideal offers on the one hand, a strategic plan of British imperialism for the defense of the Suez Canal against the Arabs, on the other, the opening of a new market for international, especially Jewish finance capital to which the Rutenberg plan offers dazzling prospects.

ECONOMICS

The Policy of the "Comité of Iron".

By A. Ker (Paris).

Now that the Genoa Conference is over, the nationalist war-cry, "Occupy the Ruhr", is again resounding in France.

"Let us occupy the Ruhr", shout the oracles of the Bloc National, "it is our only salvation. Occupation alone can save us from bankruptcy and secure peace in Europe."

Why did "France" cause the shipwreck of the Genoa Conference?

Why is the France of Poincaré considered to be the principal obstacle in the way of European peace?

Why is France heading the world-reaction today?

First of all, who is France? Who represents it? Who speaks in its name and by whom is it governed?

The real French Government does not sit in the Elysée, nor in Luxemburg, nor in the Palais Bourbon, but may be found at No. 7 Rue de Madrid, where the powerful capitalist organizations have their seats. First comes the Comité des Forges (the Iron Kings), then the aeronautic and automobile trusts, the electrical industries, the manufacturers of war-materials, etc., etc.

His Eminence, M. Robert Pinot, the pontif of our reactionary plutocracy, is at the head of most of these organizations in the capacity of general secretary or vice-president. He is also a general delegate of the Metal and Mining Industrial Association, a huge Association of metal, mining, and electrical corporations, numbering 81 trusts, national and sectional, and having more than 6,000 members who are either private capitalists or anonymous societies.

Thus we find in Rue de Madrid the organizations that constitute the most powerful capitalist interests: coal barons, iron kings, waterfall owners, owners of foundries, mills, mines, etc., etc. Thus the national riches are monopolized by groups of powerful capitalists who are unknown to the public and at whose head we find M. Pinot.

It would be difficult to understand the various press campaigns, our reactionary policy or our international policy without understanding how the various committees in Rue de Madrid have rendered Parliament, the Press and the Government subservient, and how the capitalist trusts directed by M. Pinot have subordinated the various state organs to their will and caprices.

The "Iron Kings" are not content with defending their interests; they are forging the doctrine that brings them in control of the state. In several statements that he made, M. Pinot has demanded that the Government machine in the economic as well as in the political field be given over to the capitalists. He places the "producers" above the governors, both in the national and international order. The necessity for the reconstruction of

the world having demonstrated the powerlessness of the state, M. Pinot seeks to substitute the state by the powerful trusts and by an international entente of capitalists.

We said a moment ago that the France of Poincaré is rousing the distrust and hatred of peoples. Let us be just; it is the France of M. Pinot that menaces the world with new violence.

The Comité des Forges and the Reaction.

The invisible government of Rue de Madrid, being more powerful than any minister, (for it makes and unmakes ministers), rules the *Chambre des Requirs*, where among 140 millionaires we find Charles Dumont, Francois and Guy de Wendel, Noblemaire, De Dion, the Rothschilds, etc. and the senators, André Berthelot, Billier, Coignet, Clémentel, Doumer, Marsal, Gérard, Raphael, Georges Lévy, etc., all of whom are directly or indirectly affiliated with the Comité des Forges.

At the service of these political pontifs we find a prostituted press that is mostly financed by the treasury of the *L'Union Des Intérêts Economiques* and by the clandestine bank accounts (such as account number 11145 at the *Banque des Pays du Nord*). This press speaks, recriminates, and menaces in the name of public opinion and in the name of "national interests".

We thus get a dazzling glimpse into the policy of the Bloc National:

The electoral campaign of 1919 is prepared long beforehand by the *Union des Intérêts économiques* in conjunction with the subsidies of the Metal and Mining Industrial Association;

The campaign against the Wiesbaden Agreement is conducted by *L'Usine*, the organ of the metal interests, with a view of putting through the restoration of our ruins, an act that is scandalously inhuman, but very remunerating;

The campaign against the eight hour day is conducted in support of the demands made by the Metal and Mining Trusts upon the Labor Minister.

Furthermore the press campaigns for a higher protective tariff, for reduced wages, for the "freedom" of work, against social insurance, for the abolition of the law against profiteering and against the war profiteering tax.

Finally, the campaign against the International Labor Bureau in Geneva; this campaign was carried on by the entire capitalist press in support of M. Pinot at the Geneva Conference against the extension of the eight hour day to include the agricultural workers. But the vassality of the Government towards the industrial barons appears more crassly in the French foreign policy.

The Imperialism of the Iron Kings.

France is rich in iron ore, but the future of its industry depends primarily upon her coal supply. For this reason our iron manufacturers speaking through M. Robert Pinot, demanded as early as 1917 not only the reconquest of Elsass-Lothringen, but also the annexation of the Saar, whose coal surplus covers a part of the Lothrinian deficit. After the War, the control of the Saar and Lothringian industries were taken over by the French iron and steel works in Pompey, Creil, Aiais, St Chamont and Micheville; in the board of directors Röchling and Thyssen the powerful masters of Gelsenkirchen and the Dillingen works, were simply substituted by Schneider, Renault, Peugeot, Japy, Richmond and Theodor Laurent.

Energetic attempts are constantly being made to produce a good smelting coke from the Saar coal; but so far, it can only be obtained in England and in the Ruhr. The demand that the Ruhr region be given as security for the fulfillment of the reparation obligations is only a bait for the uninitiated. The occupation of the Ruhr (so say the spokesmen of the capitalists) is of value to us only if we are determined to make an end to German superiority in the iron industry. We thus see that the occupation of the Ruhr would only serve as a means to cripple the German industry, and to put France on the iron throne.

"Were we the masters of the Ruhr", (so writes *L'Usine*) "we could then negotiate with the English importers on a basis of equality and also force our conditions upon them". The Westphalian expedition whose costs and risks must be shouldered by the country has for its purpose the shattering of the German iron industry for the benefit of a handful of heavy industrialists; and to rob England of the last crumbs of its former monopoly on coal.

French Government circles are working diligently on the plans and methods of occupation and organization of the Ruhr District. As in 1921, a tax was decided upon, which is to be levied on all coal under our control. As regards the technical management of the "colony", it is to be assigned to a High Commission consisting of Messrs. Taffanel, the director of the Châtillon-Commentry Smelting Works, Dhomme, the director of the St. Chamont and Ader Steel Works,—a former director

of the Coal Bureau. Never before has the *Comité des Forges* received a more royal gift.

The demand that 85% of the Silesian mining and iron industries be transferred to Poland, was also the handiwork of the Rue de Madrid trusts, which own two thirds of the shares. These trusts dictate to the Government its penetration and repression policies in Central and Eastern Europe: Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Jugoslavia and Roumania, where the mining and metal industries, the commercial and banking houses pass into their hands one after another.

Creusot alone owns a large part of the Skoda works in Austria: the Huta-Bankova Smelting Works, the Polish War Material Manufacturing Corporation, the oriental railroads, the Franco-Roumanian Railroad Company, the Reval ship-yards, the Putiloff Works, etc., etc. This gigantic concern also has a foothold in Belgium, Morocco, Algeria and Chile. *L'Usine* tells us that this concern is also interested in the development of the colonies.

If you think that M. Charles Laurent represents the French Republic in Berlin, you are badly mistaken. He is the former president of the Metal and Mining Trust, a member of the board of trustees of the Orleans Railroad, the *Banque des pays du Nord* and the Suez Canal Corporation, and president of the Thomson-Houston Company (having a capital of 200 million francs). He may therefore be considered as a worthy partner of Stinnes and Rathenau, representing in Berlin the trusts of Rue de Madrid. He himself told an editor of the *Matin* that his main mission was to reach an agreement between the French and German industrialists on the coal question.

The Iron Barons in Genoa.

In Genoa our metal industrialists acting in the name of "civilization" and of thrice holy private property proclaimed the inviolability of King *Private Interests*. In the name of the same holy principle, they sacrificed the interests of thousands of small owners of Russian bonds, for the simple reason that the latter's property right can never approach that of Mr. Schneider.

Rue de Madrid has not only a coal policy of its own, but also a petroleum policy. In 1919 and in the first half of 1920, the then prevalent coal shortage caused numerous metal industrialists to entertain the idea of substituting coal with oil.

The *Union Parisienne*, which is the French bank of the *Royal Dutch* is partly in the hands of Schneider. *The Bank of Paris and of the Netherlands* also represents the interests of the *Standard Oil* and the *Batignolles Châtillon Works* which are also controlled by Mr. Schneider.

The intransigent defense of the property right aimed not only at the prevention of the former French and Belgian capitalists from being eliminated from the profit monopoly of the *Royal Dutch*, but also and above all, to safeguard the rights of the French iron and steel barons in Russia, where their property has been nationalized. The property thus effected as follows: mines, iron works and oil wells in Briansk, in the Caucasus, in the Donetsk Basin, in Ekaterinoslav, in the Volga Basin, in Southern Russia, in Georgia, etc., etc.

The iron magnates refuse to "give up" these far possessions, in the hope that vast profits await them as soon as a reactionary or at least a Menshevik Government comes to the rudder and denationalizes the Russian industries.

We need not investigate whether the French owners of these works acted wisely when they insisted upon the actual return of their property, instead of accepting compensation and damages for them. All we wish to point out is the fact that in 1920 these "poor" victims of the Revolution organized a trust called *Commercial, Industrial and Financial Corporation for Russia*, with a capital of 25 million francs. On the board of directors we find names like Grüner (of the coal trust), director of the Krivol Rog, Putiloff, the inevitable Noulens, and M. de Chevilly.

Of course, it is a pure coincidence that Count de Chevilly, whose fingers are soaked in Franco-Belgian oil, was also a member of the French delegation in Genoa.

From the above, one clearly sees the absolute dependence of the French Government upon its *iron kings*. Limited production for the purpose of killing competition, unlimited freedom of exploitation by the capitalists and the shameless plundering of the state, such is the policy of Rue de Madrid, and therefore of our Government. And our foreign policy is completely subordinated to the coal-policy and to the expansion appetite of the iron magnates.

Behind the Bloc National is Rue de Madrid. All roads, whether in the Saar or in the Ruhr, in Poland or in Russia, lead to *Rue de Madrid*. Everywhere and at all times the "invisible Government" is the absolute master of our fate, of our future. With it lies the final decision of war and peace.

Everywhere we meet with the steel moloch who is still reeking with the blood of a million and a half lives!

Unemployment in England.

By Bill Smith (London).

Since the collapse of the trade boom, about the middle of autumn 1920, the English worker has experienced unemployment to an extent never before known in the history of English industrial life.

The Ministry of Labor reports today 1,371,600 men out of work. In January 1922, there were 1,823,733. These figures registered unemployed men and women represent from five to not include the many thousands who have exhausted their unemployment pay. It must be remembered that two million registered unemployed men and women represents from five to six million persons cut off from the means of life by their enforced separation from the means of production.

The economic causes of unemployment are the same in all Capitalist countries. Whilst the workers tolerate Capitalism they will also have to tolerate unemployment. Our object, however, is not an academic discussion of the cause of unemployment but an attempt to show what effect this protracted and severe period of unemployment is having upon the English working-class.

Owing to the fact that Capitalism became established in England earlier than elsewhere, and that for a number of generations the master class has kindly provided the worker with an "Education" (the sole object of which is to deprive him of all power of independent thought), the English workers have become the most conservative section of the world proletariat. To this must be added the fact that a century of colonial expansion and exploitation has enabled the English capitalist to feed and clothe his wage slaves slightly better than are the wage slaves of other countries.

Having won "the war for liberty, etc. etc." and experiencing during the period immediately following, a period of good trade and wages, successfully gaining improvements in hours, wages, and conditions by ordinary trade union negotiation, and occasionally by extraordinary workshop action under the influence of the Shop Stewards movement, the workers had begun to look forward to an ever increasing prosperity. Alas! a rude awakening was in store, and the present period of unemployment has been indeed a violent awakening from dreams of "Social peace" for large sections of the industrial workers.

Immediately, the shortage of orders arose; the employers resorted to dismissals on a large scale. First to be dismissed of course were those who had taken a lead in the workshop and had been foremost in the agitation for workers' control (thousands of staunch, class-conscious rebels have been without work for two years). Then came short time working, the closing down of whole departments, and finally of the factory. Fearing the effect of this sudden plunging of the workers into the cold waters of semi-starvation, the government brought along a little stimulant in the form of unemployed pay. The amount offered was an insult and in itself should have opened the eyes of the workers to their true status in Capitalist society. However, the unemployment pay together with promises of a "great revival in trade" repeated month by month in the press, effectually staved off any threat of an "ugly situation" which might have arisen. As might be expected the employers at once began to use the unemployed to intimidate those still at work and as an excuse to lower wages. One is struck by the contrast between the week-kneed attitude of the trade union officials and labor leaders on the one hand and the unemployed workers on the other. Leaders calling for increased production and in every dispute betraying the workers and advocating a peaceful acceptance of wage reductions, and the half starved unemployed pledging themselves not to allow the employers to use them as blacklegs, often in disputes acting as pickets and generally assisting the strikers in their fight. An example of treachery on the one hand and remembering the temptations, of a heroic class solidarity on the other.

At the beginning, no unified move was made to organize the unemployed. The Trade Unions had no machinery for dealing with the problem except such as served in normal times, and being unable to see that economic laws made the extension of unemployment a certainty, they did not trouble to erect such an organization as the times demanded. The non-unionist, the ex-serviceman was allowed to drift. The Labor Party seeing no political advantage to be gained immediately, also ignored the unemployed and so lost an opportunity, which a party claiming to represent the workers should have taken, to organize and gain the confidence of the unorganized and politically dormant masses. Nor would the book-Marxist touch the unemployed with a pair of long tongues; they had no economic power and so could not be organized, so ran the argument.

The first attempt to attack the problem was made sporadically by individuals who saw in the unemployed a mass

of workers who were rapidly developing a state of mind which was fertile ground for the seeds of revolutionary propaganda. Their success resulted at a later stage in the formation of the National Unemployed Committee movement which has become a powerful force throughout the country. In the national and local political activities of the unemployed, the Labor Party has stood aside lest its "respectable" middle class following should become alarmed. Occasionally, in purely working class districts, just before the municipal elections, Labor Party candidates have come along and promised to support the program of the Unemployed Workers Committee. It is needless to say that once elected by the assistance of the unemployed they proceeded to "forget" their pledges. And in the demonstrations when the batons of the police descend, well, nobody expected to find the Labor Party there. To the charge, if charge it is, that the Communists have "captured" the unemployed movement, one must reply that the fight not being a battle of words but often including such unpleasant things as policemen's clubs and prison, there was never any struggle for leadership; the field was left clear for the only people who were ready to lead when leadership was rewarded with persecution and imprisonment, the Communists.

Meanwhile, the industrial workers, miners, machinists and others, have suffered a series of defeats preceded by betrayals on the part of the "social peace" merchants. The defeated and betrayed employed workers and the unemployed have to all appearances sunk into apathy. But to those who are of the workers, who know and understand the moods of the English worker, this relaxation is not so much apathy as the sullen mood of a wronged man meditating upon his betrayal and defeat and thirsting for revenge. The coming winter will indeed be a winter of discontent in England.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The National Conference of the Italian C. G. T.

By I. Azzario (Rome).

The National Conference of the Italian General Confederation of Labor, held at Genoa in the first days of July, was less a trade union meeting than a political tourney in which the various tendencies participated, disputing for the political leadership of the Italian proletariat. The fact that the political aspects of the class struggle have taken the foremost position, shows that the economic struggle for wages, the eight-hour day and against unemployment has now taken on the character of a struggle for the conquest of political power and government. And this further proves that the trade union organization has developed to such an extent that it can no longer remain aloof from the activities of proletarian party politics, but it must take part in them, transform its mass force into a political force, conscious of its goal, ready to take over and solve the general problems of the new society, and at the same time to protect the interests and satisfy the continued needs of the working class which it represents and embraces.

By the fact that the economic crisis has intensified, that the class struggle has become a class war against bourgeois reaction and Fascist dictatorship, the long series of defeats sustained by the workers has had the brutal effect of showing that the proletarian problem is one of force, of struggle and of method, rather than a problem of rights and legality. Even though the collaborationists who constitute the right wing of the Socialist Party, claim that collaboration with the bourgeoisie is the surest and the easiest means of gaining power, only the conquest of which can supply the means for the liberation of the proletariat, *force will be the deciding factor*. The collaborationists conceive of "power" as the force in itself, to be conquered from the outside rather than considering it from an historical and Marxist viewpoint, as being a manifestation of the will of the revolutionary class, determined to supplant the enemy class by economic and political collectivism. That is why these are the most dangerous of all counter-revolutionaries, for they lead the class struggle, now being waged in its most violent form, into the marsh of opportunism, adaptation and pacifism.

The collaboration thesis presented at Genoa by Aragona and his mandarins is a dead weight on the most important trade union organism of the Italian proletariat. This, although slightly modified by the Zirardini amendment, carried last January, found only one group of determined and logical opponents, the Communists. This thesis with the Zirardini amendment invited the Socialist Party Executive to grant to the Socialist Parliamentary group the power of supporting any

government that guarantees the reestablishment of elementary liberties and the putting into practice of a program containing the immediate demands of the proletariat.

The intermediary tendencies represented by the Serrati Maximalists and the "Third Internationalists" (those with a Third International tendency) did not offer any political program worthy of examination. The Maximalists asserted anew their demagogic phraseology which stood them in such good stead during the war, and the "Third Internationalists" ended by supporting the Communist resolution.

The two fundamental theses for and against ministerial collaboration were nearly balanced in the final vote. In fact, although the resolution of the C.G.T. in favor of collaboration obtained 537, 251 votes, the four other opposition resolutions (Communist, Maximalist, "Third Internationalist" and Center, the latter very equivocal) obtained a total of 578,348 votes.

But the C.G.T. motion, obtained a considerable majority, a fictitious majority, it is true, for it consists of an immense number of peasant and workers' votes belonging to the regions devastated by the Fascisti and to confederations and workers organized in the federations which have not been consulted by their trade union executives.

To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to compare the votes obtained by the Labor Unions which held a great number of general meetings either on the Communist resolution or that of the "Third Internationalists", and the votes obtained on the same motions in the federations under the dictatorship of the trade union mandarins:

Votes in the Labor Unions:	
Confederationist	204,896
Communist	152,081
Maximalist	145,490
"Third Internationalist"	23,334
Centrist	22,600
Federation Votes:	
Confederationist	332,482
Communist	97,438
Maximalist	104,982
"Third Internationalist"	11,490
Centrist	20,873

But the best proof of the general uneasiness aroused by the Genoa vote among those who most warmly contest the victory, was the unanimous acceptance of the proposal made by the Communists, that the National Congress of the Italian Confederation of Labor be convened as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, the Congress of the Socialist Party has been held. They hope to remedy the delightful Genoa spectacle by putting a little order and discipline into the hundred sections into which it is divided and subdivided, in order to be able to come before the Congress, decently clad, in the pitiful illusion that they will be able to form a bloc against the rapid Communist advance.

The striking Metal Workers, the workers and peasants in the districts dominated by the Fascisti, the unemployed, the proletarians of the whole of Italy who await from the conference of the C.G.T. a clear and definite program for the defense of their daily bread, will certainly be disappointed by the results of so many days of oratory.

Every proposition of the Communists, even the most effective and substantial, was rejected with a touching unanimity by the Maximalists and Aragona's reformists. This is seen by the vote on the proposal to convene at Genoa the Alliance of Labor and the proletarian parties on the occasion of the Metal Workers' strike; or on the motion in favor of a serious preparation for united class action, namely, a general strike of all workers for the conquest of trade union and political liberties and for the defense of wages and the eight hour day. But if the Communist propositions were defeated at the Genoa Conference they are well received by the mass of the Italian proletariat.

Whilst at Genoa the Executives of the Italian C.G.T. were discussing Ministerial collaboration, the class struggle, wage cuts, trade union tactics,—the heads of the Metal Workers' Union stabbed one hundred thousand striking metal workers in the back who were ready to resist the attack upon their daily bread to the very last.

Genoa marks a step forward. Genoa has shown the Italian proletariat the distressful comedy that has been played by the Reformists, the Maximalists, the Serratis and the Aragonians in the Socialist Party. Genoa has also shown the necessity for the proletariat to fight their revolutionary battle on two fronts: against the bourgeoisie and against the trade union bureaucrats.

The daily disillusion and defeats suffered by the proletariat, the crises, the white terror that sweeps all Italy, hunger and unemployment,—these are the most powerful factors in the coming revolution.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Agrarian Conference.

The questionnaires sent out by the Preparatory Committee for the Agrarian Conference are divided into six chief groups.

These groups are.

1. National economy.
2. Agricultural.
3. General political.
4. Social political.
5. Organization matters.
6. Propaganda.

With these questions the preparatory committee endeavored to embrace all the material appertaining to the vast field of the agrarian question.

The one chief point of view which predominated in the compilation of the questions was the endeavor to obtain completeness. The other point of view which was taken into consideration was the attempt to make the questionnaire in spite of its completeness not too redundant and to limit the questions to those most absolutely necessary in order not to raise insurmountable difficulties in consequence of exaggerated details in the replies to the questions.

The two points of view rather conflict with each other. They are the more difficult to bring into harmony with each other as the countries which belong to the Third International are in very different stages of economic development. One section can readily and exactly answer a question with the aid of its highly developed statistics, while another country is not able to furnish an answer at all even on the basis of approximate calculations.

In the Theses of the Second Congress there has been laid down a definition of the categories of agricultural proprietors which must also be extended with reference to the categories of agricultural enterprises.

The questions contained in the questionnaire were drawn up on the basis of these definitions, and were based on the organization of agriculture. The official statistics however do not provide material on the basis of the organization of agriculture but on the basis of the acreage of the farm. The acreage of the undertaking, however, is of little or no importance.

Adaptation to the official statistics would have facilitated the answers, and at the same time rendered them more reliable, while the division based on the organization of work undeniably places the statisticians before difficult and in some cases insoluble tasks.

In spite of this we had to decide upon the latter, as the only right method of approaching the scientific investigation of this question is by emphasizing the organization of agricultural work. Very valuable material could be collected on this basis, if not rapidly, then by persevering work by the aid of which it would be possible to place the agrarian question in a new light.

From the point of view of completeness the questionnaire has many faults. There is lacking for example those detailed questions with regard to common property. The estates of the churches are also only touched upon although the latter play an important part, especially in the countries dominated by the large landowners. There is no question relating to agricultural hours of labor although this question deserves special attention, as it leads to most of the conflicts between the workers and employers. In particular we could gain valuable assistance from the material of the Third Congress on workers conditions, material, which would be well adapted for practical propaganda from the point of view of the class war.

All these failings are to be attributed to the above-mentioned contradictory points of view. Their removal however is rendered possible by Group 7 of the questionnaire which is intended to obviate the incompleteness of the first six groups and on the other hand improve the weak points in the questionnaire and to provide space for the explanation of special conditions of the various countries.

In general the questionnaire was drawn up to give those directions which have to be followed by the conducting of an earnest agrarian movement working on a scientific basis. And even if in the various countries the Communist Parties are not able to give a detailed account of agricultural relations, the

questionnaire can in spite of that be useful as it provides the direction and the principles for future activity.

The incomplete replies can also give extraordinarily valuable material to the conference. The indispensable presupposition for the preliminary work however is that the Parties immediately get into touch with the Preparatory Commission and put the necessary information and material at the latter's disposal.

Only by means of permanent and active connection with the Commission can the result be achieved which the Third International wished to attain when it raised this important question.

I am sorry to say that in this respect very little has been done up to now. It is the duty of the Central Committees to work in that direction so that this question is dealt with in future with the energy which ought to characterize every Communist Party.

A. Hevesi.

Secretary of the Preparatory Agrarian Commission.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

An Agricultural Relief Unit.

By H. M. Ware (New York).

The long Russian winter is over. It has taken its hideous toll and left piles of whitening bones throughout the once-productive valley of the Volga.

Weakened and listless the peasants gaze over their wasted and barren fields. It is Springtime, but the fields are not green with the growing grain which would mean the end of famine. Seven years of war have taken too many Russian farmers and their horses from the land. The armies of the counter revolution have laid waste their fields and wantonly destroyed their agricultural machinery. Then came the droughts of 1920 and 1921. The whole Volga area became a land of starvation which has since been swept by pestilence and death. Throughout the country the same drain upon its agricultural resources has proceeded until Russia, once the second largest exporter of foodstuffs in the world, became a famine stricken country.

Sympathetic organizations the world over sprang into existence to fight the Russian famine. Workers in every country, realizing the menace to their Russian brothers, responded. In America, the *Friends of Soviet Russia* was organized and carried the appeal to all corners of the country.

The immediate necessity was food. And the F.S.R. changed the pennies, nickels, dimes and dollars given by American workers, into food, and sent shipload after shipload to Russia. In the few brief months of its existence the F.S.R. has sent over \$400,000 worth of milk, flour, meats and clothing, each bale and box marked: *From the Workers of America to the Workers of Russia.*

When winter came, clothing drives were organized and the workers of America gave their clothes, thousand of dollars worth. These measures were taken to meet the needs of the famine-stricken people who faced not only starvation but the rigors of a Russian winter.

As Spring came and the Russian Government and relief workers generally were able to take the measure of the famine, it was clearly not a temporary condition but a tremendous agricultural problem to prevent the recurrence of famine in Russia. All Europe depends upon the reconstruction of Russian agriculture. The old primitive agriculture must be rapidly displaced by modern methods of machinery, or famine will sweep the entire continent of Europe.

We have entered the second stage of our famine relief work. Our efforts must now be directed to permanent equipment which will enable Russia once again to cultivate its fertile plains and again to become the bread basket of Europe.

There can be no doubt of Russia's ability and courage, when one hears of peasants who live on acorns and roots and save their seed grain for planting. Picture, if you can, those Russian farmers literally starving, yet plowing in the seed, hoping against hope for next season's crops.

It is in answer to the needs of such men that the F.S.R. is directing its efforts. These men need tools, particularly agricultural tools, and they need also comrades who come with fresh enthusiasm to initiate their brother farmers in the newer methods of American agriculture.

The F.S.R. has organized its first Agricultural Famine Relief Unit. The primary object of this Unit is to plow and plant winter grains in the very heart of the famine valley,—somewhere between Tambov and Saratov, near enough to river and railroads to get fuel oil for the tractors.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Conference of the "Three Internationals" in Amsterdam.

By Gérard Vanter (Amsterdam).

The conference of the Amsterdam Labor Union International, the Vienna and the Second Internationals takes place behind closed doors, with a strict avoidance of publicity. They have come together in order to discuss the possibility of the formation of a united front for the protection of the German Republic and to oppose monarchist and reactionary attacks. . . . They also intend to come to an agreement regarding that section of the "peace treaty" which not only encourages the German reaction in its propaganda against the republic, but also causes the untold misery of the workers in all countries.

At least, this is what we gather from the official *communiqués* which they are amiable enough to publish. These *communiqués* greatly resemble the official communications of the Hague Conference, recently deceased, which also managed to leave so many questions unanswered.

Happily, Mr. Edo Fimmen, in an interview with a bourgeois journalist, a representative of the *Telegraaf*, has added a little to our knowledge.

"When I was in Leipzig, a few months ago," narrated Mr. Fimmen. . . . (It is well known that Mr. Fimmen is practically always travelling, in the interests of the international proletariat, of course.) And when he was in Leipzig, says he, it became quite clear to him that things looked bad in Germany. The Republic, he declared, exists only by the grace of the Entente, which does not now desire the monarchy, for, that would mean the rebirth of German militarism! Despite this, however, it might be possible for the German monarchists to succeed in substituting a monarchy for the democratic-republican state. For this reason, he continued, the Bureau of the Amsterdam International considered it necessary to initiate an international conference of labor unions.

But . . . "Shortly after this, I spoke with Friedrich Adler in Vienna, on the desirability of a meeting of the two political internationals. Adler thought that the Amsterdam Labor International should also participate in this conference, but he feared it was not possible, as the leaders of the Second International had told him that the Amsterdam International did not wish this."

Upon this, he (Fimmen) had immediately proposed the holding of a conference against the German reaction. Adler was in agreement with this. And (when Fimmen was in London) the Second International also agreed.

So came this international conference into being. Who shall not rejoice over the success of Mr. Fimmen's efforts? And over the "discoveries" made by this conference about the effects of the Versailles treaty? Mr. Fimmen beamingly told the representative of the *Telegraaf* of a manifesto, the result of the conference.

"But," remarked the journalist, "do you also intend to do anything?"

"Certainly, certainly," said Fimmen. A commission was to be formed which would undertake an investigation into the economic situation in Germany, and its influence on other countries. It was clear that the Versailles Treaty must be altered, but nobody quite knew what alterations were necessary. This must be enquired into by the commission; it must collect data, diligently collect data; and then get it altogether into one report.

After this report, measures would be taken. . . . What measures?

Then said Mr. Fimmen, triumphantly: *In the parliaments of the various countries, they could all propose, at the same time, the alteration of certain parts of the Versailles Treaty!*

It is obvious that the conference will produce no positive results. Their demands, which are of a purely bourgeois nature, mean nothing to the workers. The thoughtful worker will say: *Much ado about nothing!*

He is right! The conference had indeed a good reason for not meeting publicly. A tactical reason, so that one would not have to make known what for instance, Mr. J. H. Thomas said to the chairman. This man, the hero of Black Friday, who broke up the Triple Alliance of the British workers, who renounced the name "Socialist", and declared openly for the British monarchy and against the revolution,—this man typified the whole conference.

"Absolutely nothing was said in this conference about the Third International", stated citizen Fimmen.

The personnel of the Unit is well adapted to the work. Most of them come from America's Northwest, the Dakotas and Canada, broad and husky as the West makes them. All have been farmers in the grain country; but all of them have received their engine and tractor experience in different schools; some right on the home farm, others from aeroplanes and tanks. All together, and that means eleven men, including one doctor, they are a husky, modern set of American farmers whose varied experience and cheerful courage fits them for the inevitable hardships and the job of handling a complete modern grain-farming equipment.

In the organization of this equipment, the F.S.R. has kept its primary object strictly in mind, that is, actual production of food on a large scale. It has, however, equipped the Unit so it may be of the utmost service in assisting the Russian Department of Agriculture in demonstrating and teaching modern machine farming. Fifteen thousand feet of moving picture films, showing internal operation of engines and the construction and operation of farm tractors and agricultural machinery in the United States, are part of the equipment.

They plan to teach specially qualified Russians, by actually working beside them, every detail of American methods. It is the replacement plan. The Farm which the Unit will establish will at the end of the season be turned over together with all its products to the Russian comrades who have learned to handle its equipment.

To grasp fully the completeness of this Unit and what it is capable of, it is necessary to outline just what machinery these Americans take with them. First of all come the twenty big farm tractors, each pulling three fourteen-inch plows, capable of plowing at the rate of 3 miles per hour, and so turning over 20 acres per hour or 200 acres per 10 hour shift. Carbide lights go with each tractor, so that it will be possible to run two shifts, keeping the tractors in operation at least 18 hours per day, with an average of 300 acres turned over each 24 hours. This can be accomplished, beside the harrowing after each tractor, to preserve the precious moisture which the dry air sucks out of the fresh furrows. In America a sturdy farm team of two good horses and a modern walking plow and one man do well to turn over an acre and a half per day. In Russia the weakened horses and men, with worn-out and antiquated plows, would do far less. Surely the very difference in acres per man accomplished by the Americans and the Russians whom they teach to run tractors will have great educational effect on the community generally. Nor must the amount of actual food produced be overlooked, considering delays, breakdowns, etc. In fifty days of work the Unit should plow fifteen thousand acres. Ordinarily the Russian peasants, with improved machinery, deep early plowing and modern methods of conserving soil moisture, and lastly, with improved seed, the yield will at least equal the old figure. On that basis more than 200 thousand bushels of grain should be harvested in the summer of 1923 from the direct effort of this Unit. That means over one million pounds of grain—enough to fill the bread ration for eight to ten thousand people.

It is easy enough for a "Book-taught Bilkins" to sit down and push a pencil over a paper farm and make wonderful "records". The F.S.R. Unit is not organized or equipped for fancy farming. The calloused hands of its personnel and the aggregate experience of the Unit as a whole fits it to grapple with the inevitable difficulties to be encountered in Russia. One of its most important parts is a complete machine shop, especially equipped for repairing tractors. It is this necessity for repairs that Russia feels most. Almost everyone reports having seen tractors standing idle, not in Russia alone but in the United States.

Besides the twenty Case 15-27 tractors, modern power lift drills, gang plows, cultipackers, disc harrows and spike harrows, there are included one Ford car and one Ford light truck, also a Fordson tractor to pull the fuel tanks and wagons about from tractor to tractor as they work in the field.

Tents for sleeping, eating and storage are being taken. No matter where the Unit is dropped, it is "ready to go". Food, dishes, medicines,—all are included in the equipment which is planned to feed and house twenty men for six months.

Each man goes fully aware of the personal risks involved. Each knows the danger of typhus and cholera. But all are convinced that real famine relief on a permanent constructive basis necessitates a fair demonstration of modern methods. In this spirit they go to teach by doing rather than by talking. They realize that farmers the world over believe only when they see results.

The entire equipment has arrived in Perm, Soviet Russia. Plowing has begun. 25,000 bushels of seed are on the way. *May the harvest be heavy,—should be every worker's wish.*

Certainly! We believe it! We know also what these gentlemen want. They want to extend, on an international scale, what has already taken place in Germany: the unity of the Social Democratic parties in coalition with the bourgeoisie.

They want to sabotage the real United Front of the working class, just as it has been sabotaged in Berlin. The working class will soon give these gentlemen a drastic answer. Their hope, that the Third International may be isolated, is too foolish.

In the present world situation, it is not possible to isolate from the masses the Communist International, the Party of the Russian Revolution, the Party of Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

Coming Fusion of the Second and 2¹/₂ Internationals.

By Marcel Ollivier (Paris).

The Communist forecast of the unification of the Second and the 2¹/₂ Internationals, is now taking place before our eyes. Nobody could fail to observe that the recent decision of the German Independents to participate with the bourgeois parties in a coalition government, and the formulation of a "working agreement" between the two Social Democratic parties in the Reichstag, are decisive steps in this direction. Decisive steps, we say, but not the first steps. One has only to remember the Frankfurt, Brussels and Amsterdam Conferences between the representatives of the Second and 2¹/₂ Internationals; the many joint retreats of these two international Social Democratic organizations during the last few months, to realize that we have here a rigorously logical combination of facts, the conclusion from which is still easier to draw because we have foreseen it all so long ago.

The division of the old International into three distinct sections is not a fortuitous incident, resulting from the malevolent intentions of certain individuals—as the Social Democrats gladly affirm—but an historical fact of the first importance resulting from the intensification of the class struggle on the morrow of the imperialistic war; an intensification which caused an explosion of that profound antagonism existing between certain currents of the international working-class movement, which, until then, had existed side by side in the heart of the same organization. Despite the temporary weakness which this division brought to the working-class, it really meant an undeniable advance in the regrouping of the working-class movement on a new basis, adapted to the new conditions created by the imperialistic war.

From this point of view, the formation of the 2¹/₂ International resulted only in retarding this regrouping, by keeping, within the ranks of the Social Democracy, an important section of the international proletariat, disheartened by the treacherous policies of the old Social Democratic leaders, and who, but for this new body, would have passed on into the new International, the *International of Revolution*. In this sense, therefore, one may say that the 2¹/₂ International has saved the bourgeoisie, at an hour when it had good reason to fear for its existence.

The possibilities of this role being now exhausted, and in the face of the increasing progress of the Communist International, there was but one thing left for the leaders of the 2¹/₂ International, and that was to dissolve the latter by amalgamating it with the International of traitors which they had been combating until then. It is well-known what gave rise to the creation of the various parties, today comprising the 2¹/₂ International. It was the opposition to the "War Socialism" represented by the Second International. In Germany, the Independent Party separated in 1917 from the old Social Democracy, because the latter made common cause with the bourgeoisie and abandoned the principle of the class struggle. Even Kautsky, Hilferding and Bernstein declared that they would have nothing more to do with these "Kaiser Socialists". In France, the United Socialist Party, whose attitude during the war, was no improvement on that of the German Social Democrats, left the Second International, "the International of cabinet ministers and traitors to Socialism". Thus, also, the Austrian Social Democracy. This party left the Second International because it had abandoned the principle of the class struggle in order to place itself at the service of the bourgeoisie. Fritz Adler, the assassin of Stürgkh, was president of the party and, later, of the 2¹/₂ International, which announces its mission as the unification of international Socialism on the basis of the class struggle.

Several years have passed. The erstwhile adversaries of "war socialism" have today become the apostles of reconciliation. For several months past, Kautsky has been carrying on an active campaign with a view to the amalgamation of the two German Social Democratic parties. He demonstrates convincingly that there is no longer any difference between the two parties, and that there is no serious reason for opposing their fusion. Fritz Adler, who killed a Minister to show his opposition to war and to the treacherous politics of the Second International, today fraternizes with his enemies of yesterday. Paul Faure, whose former violent diatribes against "the royal Minister Vandervelde" we well remember, now writes with regard to a meeting with "our dear comrades", Wels, Thomas and Vandervelde: "We have, among us, numerous differences, but our flags are the same, the same hopes of international peace inspire us, the same sentiments fill our hearts, the same ideas occupy our minds. And above all, immediate pressing events urge us on from all sides. Nothing can now check the re-assembling and regrouping of the forces of international Socialism. The current carries us irresistibly with it."

These are coward's words. It is less their will than events themselves which carry them along. What is then this necessity, superior to the human will, which compels the Social Democrats of both wings once more to unite, in spite of past differences? It is the necessity of defending themselves against the progress of Communism which threatens to assume the guidance of the working-class movement.

The fusion of the Second and 2¹/₂ Internationals is the logical consequence of the tactics of the United Front adopted by the Communist International. At the same time, it demonstrates how well founded was this tactic. The clearest result of this tactic has been to compel all the working-class parties to abandon phrase-mongering and to take up a definite position: either with the proletariat or with the bourgeoisie. And the Social Democratic parties have shown that they are with the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat; and that they are, in fact, nothing but bourgeois parties in disguise. This demonstration, when it occurred, was so clear and evident that it threatened rapidly to discredit the Social Democratic Parties in the regard of the working-class. One means only remained to them,—to oppose to the United Front of the proletariat, as proposed by the Communists, the united front of Social Democracy against Communism, in an attempt to isolate the latter and so cause it to lose its influence over the masses. The unity of the national and international organizations of the Social Democracy is nothing more than a desperate attempt to resist, in their struggle for existence, the rising power of Communism.

There is no doubt that this will have as a result, the temporary strengthening of the position of the enemies of Communism, by aligning, against the Communists, a force superior in numbers and organization. But, at the same time, this will immensely hasten the clarification of ideas in the working-class. Whatever happens, the Social Democracy will show more and more that it is nothing else than an auxiliary of the bourgeoisie. By uniting, the better to combat Communism, it works for its own destruction!

APPEALS

Decision of the E. C. of the C. I. on the Activity of the Communists in the Cooperative Movement

In confirmation of the decision of 3rd Congress, with regard to the organization of the cooperative section of the Communist International, the Executive Committee states that in most countries the committees for organizing the activities of the Communists in the cooperative movement have done nothing and that in many countries this work is only carried on in a sporadic and unorganized manner. It therefore decides:—

For the purpose of fighting the social treacherous elements in the cooperative movement, cooperative committees must be formed by all central committees of the Communist Parties which will be charged with the following tasks:

1.—To assemble and organize all the comrades working in the cooperative movement, to keep a record of the comrades engaged in this work and to mobilize them by means of party discipline, etc.

2.—To maintain through the Central Committees a permanent connection with the cooperative section of the Communist International in order to obtain from it general instructions and to inform the section on the progress in the respective countries.

3.—The next task of the cooperative sections in the various Central Committees, is to prepare for the convocation of an International Conference of Communist cooperators a week previous to the opening of the 4th World Congress of the Communist International.

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The Revision of the German Indemnity, and International Indebtedness.

By Karl Radek.

The Bankruptcy of Germany.

The Allies will shortly again be confronted with the question of the revision of the economic sections of the Versailles Treaty. During the peace negotiations, responsible French statesmen in the course of their demands, mentioned sums so tremendous that they actually exceeded the French national treasury deposits. It appeared as though they had promised themselves to enrich France out of the proceeds of the German reparations payments. When the Allies finally sent Germany an ultimatum, in the Spring of 1921, the amount of the demands had reached 132 billions of gold marks. Naturally, this was an impossible amount. It represented the half of the national assets of Germany, and, even if divided into thirty annual payments, could not possibly be procured. Next came the proposal that Germany should pay two billion gold marks annually, as well as 26% of the value of her total exports. At that time, May 5, 1921, the dollar equalled 60 marks; thus, the required two billion gold marks equalled about 28 billion paper marks. Germany made the first payments, and German currency began rapidly to fall. In March of the present year, the Allies reduced the money payment for the year 1922 from two billion gold marks to 720 millions. But even this amount, reduced by more than half, was worth 51 billion paper marks. At the same time, the hope that foreign credit would be extended was shattered, as the American bankers were not willing to grant any loan unless the economic provisions of the Versailles Treaty were altered. This led to a new downward plunge of the mark: the dollar climbed up to the 349 mark, and, after Rathenau's murder, it rose to 540. (Since the writing of this article, the dollar has risen to over 800 marks.—Ed.) In June, the 720 million gold marks amounted to 80 billion paper marks, instead of 51 billions as in March. Thus we obtain the following pretty results: When, in the early part of the year, Germany was subjected to a tribute against which the whole country rebelled, it amounted to 28 billions paper marks. And then, when, a year later, the Allies charitably reduced the sum by more than one half, the amount of this "diminished" tribute rose to 80 billions. Germany paid again on the 15th of July. She is not in a condition to pay more. And, on August 15th, another payment is due.

Under Allied Control.

Germany desired a moratorium for three years. Before consenting to grant this respite, the Allies demanded that Germany abandon to them the control of her national finances. Germany assented. The Allies will have two financial commissioners in Berlin; one will control the income, and the other the expenses, of Germany. And at the same time as the budget is presented to the Reichstag, it must also be submitted to the Entente financial commissioners, not, of course, to provide them with entertaining reading, but so that they may order alterations. All the financial supplementary bills of the government, all financial laws, must pass the censorship of the Entente's agents. All statistical data must be given to them. They have the right of control over the expenses of the governing authorities, and the right to investigate as to whether these expenditures have actually been incurred. The German governmental press explains proudly that the state of Germany, in spite of all, cannot be compared with that of Turkey, as Turkey was compelled to place a certain portion of her national income at the disposition of foreign capital. Quite right! Between the position of Turkey and that of Germany there is an important difference. The highly civilized German people must submit to control over their entire public finances. The German situation is ten times worse than the Turkish. The German government has entered into a compromise which signifies the renunciation of Germany's financial independence, in the hope that, they would not only gain a breathing spell in the form of a respite of money payments, but that their submissiveness will aid them to secure international loans which will render possible the restoration to health of the German economy. Capitulation, however, has already taken place; but the respite is not yet granted; for this concession does not depend only upon the good will of England and France.

The Interallied Debts.

France finds herself in such a situation that she cannot forego the German cash payments. The French budget has developed such an enormous deficit, that not even the carrying out of the German payments would cancel it. At the outbreak