

INTERNATIONAL ⁹¹

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 12

1st Feb. 1923

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for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

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From the International Social Democracy, the Emancipator of the Peoples — Good Lord, deliver us!

By *R. Fuchs*.

Only four weeks passed since the gentlemen of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, gathered together at The Hague. Amidst secret negotiations they prepared the wedding feast, and the miracle was to occur before the official wedding took place. A child was to see the light of the world: the robust proletarian action against war.

The representatives of the Amsterdam Trade Union International took part in the Hague conference, and the air was full of figures attesting to the forces which they represented. Twenty four million organized workers, 35 million organized workers etc. these were the figures that, re-echoed on all sides—and all of them, representatives and represented alike, ready to defy death in the fight against war. And those who promised to summon the international proletariat against war were no hot-blooded curly-headed youths. If we looked round the hall, we might estimate every man present to be at least 300 years old. And that which is decided upon by the wise and experienced has to be carried out.

The danger of war is here. The troops of French imperialism have advanced far into German territory, into its densest industrial area. They are laying hands on German coal, and are gradually establishing themselves in the Ruhr valley. One man has already been killed in the streets of Bochum. What will come to pass when Poincaré's policy, his forcible interference with economics, meets with resistance on the part of the German bourgeoisie — that bourgeoisie which is prepared to sacrifice itself for a certain length of time \ddagger , by so doing it can avoid payment? What will happen when this collision stops the wheels and lays desolate the factories? Doubtless Poincaré's present object in the Ruhr area is to force the mining lords to pay,—not to remain in the Ruhr valley. But if he cannot force them to pay, he will establish himself in the Ruhr, and set up an administration enabling him to attain his object.

Will the German bourgeoisie tolerate this? Can it tolerate it? It is possible that the coal barons will reconcile themselves to it, as they have done in the Saar district. Or they will form a trust, conjointly with the French iron kings. But during this time German economics will undergo an unheard of

crisis. The whole burden of the conflict will fall on the shoulders of the middle industries, which are not provided with coal, and are not in a position to buy any from England. The middle class, from which German nationalism draws its supplies of human material, will be proletarianized in proportion as the medium industries are ruined. The wave of nationalism will rise high in Germany, however imbecile its mental and political forms may be. Nationalism is a cry of pain, an attempt at salvation, on the part of a broad stratum of the middle class. And it is a question whether the decision as to the policy pursued by the government lies in the hands of the heavy industrial magnates, or in those of the nationalist masses who are in part armed, and are members of secret nationalist organizations.

There is no doubt that the Polish government does not desire war. It has more to lose than to win by war. It expressly denies the bogus reports of mobilization. But it is a question if the conflagration of Europe will not result in fateful problems being unrolled on the Polish frontier.

The atmosphere is charged with electricity. But what is the Social Democracy, the emancipator of the peoples, doing in this emergency? The international Social Democracy, which only recently swore a solemn oath to organize a mass strike against war? Up to now *no answer* has been received to the appeal of the Communist International, made on January 13. But meanwhile some sections of this glorious company have already given the answer.

And then we have German Social Democracy, the Social Democracy of the country which is the object of the struggle, the Social Democracy of the country threatened by the greatest danger a country can be threatened with, the danger of having its soil torn up by the hoofs of cavalry, and ploughed by shells. Is the German bourgeoisie guiltless of the acute crisis now being experienced by Germany? The social democrat Paul Levi replies to this question in the social democratic *Leipziger Volkszeitung*: "We are convinced that this state of affairs, which arouses that resistance of the nation so longed for by the nationalists, has been encouraged, if not actually brought about, by the men in the government". He represents the conflict as a triumph of Stinnes,

and calls for a fight against the Cuno government. Mr. Levi is a social democrat of a recent date. A residue of one-time communist ideology may still be floating in his brain.

And then we may hear Mr. Hermann Wendel, the herald of *Parvus*, the adviser of president Ebert. Wendel writes in the *Glocke*: "We know to-day that the selfishness of Germany's propertied classes, rendered wealthy by the war and the economic collapse, is responsible in the highest degree for the entanglement in the reparations question." Mr. Wendel cries: "A united front with these Fascist followers of the *hooked cross* (anti-semitic emblem), these Prussian acid squinters and assassins of ministers, nationalist serpents of every description? No thank you!" But at the very moment when Mr. Wendel is exclaiming: "No, thank you", the Prussian minister comes out with: "No thank you? No, yes please!" and he calls upon the Social Democracy to form the great coalition with Stinnes for defying the Ruhr danger.

Are these perhaps mere petty quarrels among liberals? No. The social democratic fraction in the Reichstag is divided into two camps, one of which expresses confidence in the government, while the other endeavors to sneak out of all responsibility. The social democrats are a band of leaders who mutually neutralize one another, and hold the masses of their followers in impotence and passivity. In his article on the united front of the International, Mr. Wendel writes: "But how can the German workers unite with the French, workers when they are united, through their party to the German bourgeoisie!"

And now the other side of the medal. The split in the Belgian Social Democracy must be referred to. One party of the brave men of Brussels are cynically and caudally in favor of the Ruhr occupation. The other washes its hands in innocence, like Pontius Pilate. Finally a common resolution is arrived at, in which protest is made against the present occupation of the Ruhr area, but which states, at the same time that Germany is under obligation to pay the reparations, and very plainly hints what is to be done if Germany fails to fulfil this obligation.

Let us cast a glance at France! Whilst the French communists are being sent to prison, not a hair is touched of Messrs. Renaudel, Blum, Jouhaux, or Dumoulin. M. Poincaré is fully aware that cannon are not necessary to shoot sparrows. Why should he imprison these individuals? The good people appeal from Beezebul to his old grandmother; they run for aid to the League of Nations, created by Clemenceau with the aid of Lloyd George and Wilson. What is the League of Nations? France plus England plus Italy. If England and Italy cannot tame down Poincaré in the darkroom of diplomatic negotiations how can the League of Nations do it in open council? Will Holland and Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark, perhaps attempt to put a bridle on M. Poincaré? The French social democrats and the French Amsterdamers appeal to the League of Nations because they cannot appeal to God. But the League of Nations, like Jehovah, is on the side of the strongest battalions, and to call upon it is merely to cause a vibration of the air.

The *Forwards*, which quotes all these "God help us" international proclamations, reprints the resolutions of the English Labor Party with great pride. But let us examine these resolutions carefully. They demand that all armies of occupation be withdrawn from the occupied territory. Well said! But France is not going to withdraw them; on the contrary, France is increasing them. Does the Labor Party demand that England now withdraw the English troops, and thus isolate France? God forbid! The patriots in the Labor Party know very well that if France remains in the Ruhr area, England will remain too, to divide the cake. And therefore the Labor Party does not demand that the English troops be withdrawn, but that the English occupation authorities do not allow French troops to pass through the districts occupied by the British. Well, it will certainly break M. Poincaré's heart to have to send his troops all round the zone of occupation, at Germany's expense and on German railways.

And while the parties of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals are thus demonstrating their will to perfect inactivity, the Amsterdam Commission is convening in Amsterdam. It is studying the war danger. We are afraid that the cannon will begin to speak before the learned gentlemen of Amsterdam have concluded their deliberations.

The Communist International proposed to the Amsterdamers, to the Vienna and London Internationals, that they jointly organize the action against the war danger. The prospects of this joint action are very doubtful. The social democratic International, so far as its leaders are concerned, is bound to the bourgeoisie of its respective countries. The duty of the communists is proportionately heavier. We are the minority of the working class. Alone, we shall perhaps not be able to prevent war. But we must do everything in our power,

so that when the masses are dragged into the war, they will have a rallying centre in the Communist Party, and will gather around us for the struggle which will transform the war of capitalism into the victory of proletarian revolution.

POLITICS

The Occupation of the Ruhr and the Proletariat

By Franz Dablen (Berlin).

To-day is just as it was on the 1st of August 1914, when the German troops assembled on the German-Luxemburg frontier in order to invade France along the Trier-Luxemburg-Longwy railway line. French troops have advanced into Essen from Düsseldorf, Solingen, and Duisburg, for the purpose of occupying the Ruhr area, and this despite the "peace". Just as in 1914, when one of the aims of German imperialism was the ore basin of Longwy-Briey, now the aim of French imperialism is the confiscation of the rich coalfields of the Ruhr valley. German imperialism was not successful in gaining dominance over the combined riches of the ores of Lorraine and the Briey basin, and of the Ruhr coalfields. Now it is French heavy industry which is endeavoring to create this mighty mining trust, which would at one stroke make French industry the strongest power on the continent. And what finally was the real object of the war?

The results of the mad procedure of French imperialism will soon be felt on both sides. The aroused nationalism of Germany will develop Fascism. An even more acute era of reaction will set in. The occupation and plundering of one of the most important areas of German production greatly decreases the limits within which the German workers can be exploited. The German capitalists, who do not however want to cease to exist as a class, will endeavor to maintain themselves by a severer exploitation within their limited area. They will increase the violence of their attacks on the eight hour day, on wages, on the rights of the working class. Up to now the German bourgeoisie has always succeeded in shifting the costs of the sanctions from themselves onto the working class. We communists by no means delude ourselves on this point, and are convinced that the German capitalists in the newly occupied territory will be ready to commit even high treason against their "fatherland" if they can increase their profits by so doing. We know very well that the German bourgeoisie, which at the moment, is prepared to urge the unarmed Rhenish workers against the bayonets of the French, will soon be calling for the aid of these same bayonets against the Ruhr proletariat. We have undergone this experience often enough in the occupied territory since 1918.

The working class in other countries should be equally on their guard. The cause which is being gambled for on the Rhine is just as much theirs. The wave of Chauvinism and reaction, raised by Foch's advance into Germany, will sweep over into France. The coal stolen from the Ruhr area by French heavy industry will involve consequences for the French miners which they do not dream of—for this coal costs nothing. The English miners can prepare themselves for increased unemployment. If the eight hour day is lost in Germany, it is lost in France as well. The increased antagonism between England and France involves fresh armaments, and therefore fresh burdens on the working class. The new and great world catastrophe approaches with mathematical certainty. The working class, hitherto too weak to defy imperialism, must arm. There is no more time to lose, every possible power must be exerted. The Essen conference has shown the way to be taken by the international working class; events confront the workers with the choice: To sink into barbarism and slavery, or to fight and win the victory against imperialism. There is no third alternative.

The German, French, and English workers, and the workers of the other countries of Europe, must throw all their forces into the fight against the capitalism and imperialism of their own countries. They must form fighting organizations transcending the frontiers of their lands. They must organize the struggle against the allied forces of capital by the formation of a united front on a national and an international basis. This is the only way in which they can attain to positions of power, or gather sufficient force to carry on the conflict in the next difficult situation into which world capitalism is rapidly plunging. This is the only way in which the proletariats will be able to realize the words spoken by the Czech comrade at the Essen conference:

"Make the Rhine the grave of European capitalism".

Class war!

By P. Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

At the moment when our funeral dirges are being chanted all around us, at the same moment when the whole bourgeois press is zealously propagating oracular announcements on our approaching end, it is just at this moment that our continued existence, our unabated energies and robust health is once more revealed by the persecutions with which our enemies render us happy!

For this shows that the bridges to the bourgeoisie are, once for all, thoroughly broken down. Bravo!

We have never before felt so strong and healthy as to-day, hurrah!

Do we lose anything by being cured of a disease which certain people hoped would become chronic? In the fortnight in which danger has threatened, those who knew of the danger and have deserted us had time enough to — once more — reconsider the situation. Perhaps they regret their action to-day. But they are all and remain judged.

May all those who have not fled from their posts, but remain fraternally united in the Communist Party, unfalteringly and bravely take up the gauntlet thrown at the feet of the international working class.

What the Iron Works Committee with the finally obtained assistance of its accomplices in German heavy industry is conspiring, is a gigantic plot for the exploitation of the peoples.

It is a plot against the internal and external security of the working class of all countries. Nothing more nor less.

Today there is not a sou in the state treasury for the war cripples and the devastated districts, and to-morrow also there will not be a sou.

So great is the faith in the Ruhr crime that new and mighty taxation robbery of the people is already being announced . . .

And what irony! Mr. Poincaré — Poincaré the Boche-killer, but not at the front, rather in the security of hiding in Bordeaux! — Poincaré, the servant of the combined policies of the Iron Works Committee and of Messrs. Stinnes and Arnold Reehberg, as "Ludendorff's spokesmen"!

From Izvoisky to Ludendorff, what a fateful path!

Thus to each his own!

With us: the poor devils, the workers, the eternal victims of the ruling régime.

With M. Poincaré: the magnates of heavy industry and the generals on the other side of the Rhine, the murderers of one and a half millions of Frenchmen!

Poincaré at Home

By Amédée Dunois (Paris).

The military expedition into the Ruhr area has made a very fine beginning!

It begins, in fact, just as it was bound to begin: by a political attack on the working class and on the Communist Party at home.

The march of the troops of General Degoutte to Essen—the last hope and at the same time the last thought of the National Bloc in its dilemma—required the curtain of the stage to be raised. And yesterday we were spectators of this curtain raising—by the police. The judge of the court of inquiry, Joussein, of whom we have heard nothing for a long time, issued orders for domiciliary visits, and houses were searched. Seven of our comrades fell into the hands of the police. For the first time in its twenty years of existence, the *Humanite* suffered a domiciliary visit. But the CGTU, also enjoyed the privilege of a visit from the spy guard. The judge of the court of inquiry, Joussein, is delighted; he has found his "plot"! Has he really?

The government is perhaps of the opinion that it can frighten and force the communists and revolutionary trade unions into dropping their agitation. By this they only express their own overwhelming fear of the movement which has scarcely begun.

It fears, and rightly so, that this agitation will win over the masses in ever-increasing numbers, those masses which have hitherto been misled by the gilded lies of the bought press, and whose credulity still permits them to imagine that "the Ruhr will pay".

But whatever the government may undertake, our agitation will continue until its inevitable end. As we were already informed yesterday by a short report from the political bureau of the party, the Committee of Action which has been appointed is

continuing its activity. This signifies neither more nor less than that the struggle of the proletariat against the imperialism of capital, which only sows war and reaction wherever it finds a foothold, is being carried on with undiminished vigour.

And all house searches, arrests, and threats of juries and courts of law, will not have the least effect in altering this. On the contrary, they will only accelerate the rhythm of the necessary counter-effects. They will demonstrate to the people that the capitalist raid of the Ruhr area is closely connected with the sharp reactionary attacks in internal political spheres, and that here and there, the government and the ruling classes pursue one and the same aim: the enslavement and systematic exploitation of the masses.

ECONOMICS

The World Economic Situation in the Fourth Quarter of 1922†

I. General Section.

The general situation of world economics.

It is difficult to make a general characterization of the world economic situation during the period of this report.

In the *United States* the favorable state of the market observable in the third quarter of the year has continued, although the consequences of the great coal-mining and railway strikes have not yet been quite overcome. Despite this, the state of the market may be designated as normally satisfactory; the best proof of this is the ever-growing movement among capitalists towards an amendment of the immigration laws, and the substantiation of this demand by the assertion that there is a labor shortage.

In *Western Europe*, in England, France, and the neutral countries, a very gradual improvement became noticeable during the last quarter of 1922.

As compared with this, conditions in *Central Europe* have become rather worse than better. In *Germany* the depreciation of the mark has reached a point where the maintenance of production on the same basis as hitherto is hindered by the acute money shortage. The artificial stabilization of the crown in *Austria* on the other hand, led to an acute crisis in the selling market, and to enormous unemployment. Similar conditions obtain in *Czecho-Slovakia*. In *Italy* the situation appears to be unchanged: The effects of Fascist rule in the sphere of economics cannot yet be ascertained; the improvement in the Italian valute seems to be attributable to the greater faith placed by foreign capitalists in the stability of the capitalist regime in Italy. On the other hand, the increased depreciation in rates of exchange in the East European countries bears witness to the lack of balance in the economic life of Europe.

As an index of the general economic situation, we append a table showing the development of unemployment in the most important countries.

Percentage of unemployed among workers organized in trade unions.

	Engl.	Engl. % of all insured	Belg.	Holl.	Denm.	Swed.	Norw.	Canada	Germ.
July	14.6	12.3	1.9	9.4	12.5	19.8	16.5	5.3	0.6
Aug.	14.4	12.	1.6	9.2	11.1	17.4	12.3	4.1	0.7
Sept.	14.6	—	1.4	9.	10.6	15.3	—	3.6	0.8
Oct.	14.	12.	1.4	—	11.3	—	—	—	1.4
Nov.	14.2	12.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.
Dec.	14.	12.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Absolute figures in thousands:

	Switz.	France	Italy	Czecho-Slovakia
July	52	6	304	—
Aug.	52	6	—	700*
Sept.	49	5	350	—
Oct.	—	—	—	—
Nov.	—	—	—	—
Dec.	—	3	—	1000*

Unfortunately at the time of the compilation of this report, the latest figures have not yet been published. When judging these figures, it must be taken into consideration that unemploy-

†) Beginning with this number we shall print, in sections, the quarterly economic report of Comrade Varga.

*) Non-official estimates.

ment generally increases in autumn, due to the seasonal depression in agricultural and building work.

The development of prices is also of interest in judging the state of the market. This development of prices is naturally greatly influenced by the fluctuations in the rate of exchange, and can aid in judging the state of the market only in countries with a fairly stable currency.

The development of the wholesale trade index figures during the last half year was as follows:¹⁾

	U.S.A.	Swed.	Switz.	Jap.	Engl.	Denm.	Fr.	Italy	Germany	Official
July	131	165	163	201	171	180	326	558	9102	10059
Aug.	131	163	163	195	166	178	332	571	13978	19202
Sept.	136	158	163	192	194	176	330	582	29116	28698
Oct.	144	155	163	190	166	180	338	601	43223	56600
Nov.	150	154	109	—	167	182	352	596	94492	115101
Dec.	—	—	170	—	166	—	—	—	167412	147500

It must be observed that the rise in price levels in the United States is real and corresponds to the improved state of the market, while in England the actual rise in prices, calculated on a gold basis, is covered by the improvement in the English currency which has taken place. The price quotations for France and Italy, and particularly for Germany, are influenced by the fluctuating movement of the currency.²⁾

In order to render an approximate comparison possible, we append a table showing the development of the most important valutas, during the last quarter of 1922, as compared with the dollar and the English pound sterling.

Rate of exchange in New York in cents:

	Par	30. VI. 22	9. X. 22	4. I. 23
England	487	442	442	465
France	19.3	8.42	7.55	7.04
Switzerland	19.3	18.95	18.64	18.95
Italy	19.23	4.72	4.28	5.10
Holland	40.2	38.43	38.80	39.60
Germany	23.8	0.27	0.04	0.012
Austria	20.3	0.0052	0.0013	0.0015

The table shows that in the course of the last quarter the English pound almost reached parity, as did also the Dutch and Swiss currency, while the Swedish crown (not quoted here) was above dollar par. On the other hand, the French franc has depreciated considerably, falling quite rapidly during the first half of January, 1923. The same applies to the other Central European currencies. To judge by the development of the valuta, the gulf between England, America, and the neutral countries on the one hand, and the warring continental countries on the other, has greatly widened during the last quarter of 1922.

The development of the rate of exchange appears much more striking when the values are measured by the English pound sterling, for the Central European currency has so depreciated that when measured in cents, it is difficult to follow the small fractions that result.

In London the quotations for £1 sterling were as follows:

	Par	6. Oct. 22	6. Jan. 23
France	25.22	58	67
Italy	25.22	103	92
Germany	20.43	9 550	39 500
Austria	24.02	315 000	320 000
Czecho-Slovakia	24.02	130	161
Hungary	24.02	10 500	11 500
Poland	20.43	40 000	83 000
Roumania	25.22	725	840
Bulgaria	25.22	750	665
Yugoslavia	25.22	275	425
Greece	25.22	155	390

The French and Italian rates of exchange are particularly conspicuous, as well as the acute depreciation of the Czech, Yugoslavian and Greek currencies, the latter obviously the effect of the lost war against Turkey.

The movement of the rates of exchange is but very imperfectly characterized by these figures. During this period there

¹⁾ The data are from the "Economist" of 2. December 1922, with the exception of those on Germany, and from "Economics and Statistics", II No. 24.

²⁾ January 5.

³⁾ The American Federal Reserve Bulletin calculates the price indices of various countries on a gold basis. This of course enables us to follow the movement in prices with greater exactitude. But these reports are so delayed that they cannot be used for our surveys.

have been fluctuations up to 30/40 per cent within a single week. To take Germany as an example, there were days in the middle of December when a ton of steel cost M. 100,000 more than the world market price. At that time this was the case with most goods, even with coal. 20 days later, the dollar having risen from 5,500 to 9,500 marks the German prices were again considerably lower than those of the world market.

We are thus able to state that despite the improvement which has taken place in America, in England, and in the neutral states, the world economic situation in the last quarter of 1922, and especially at the time of writing, is completely chaotic.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Trade Union Movement in Egypt

By Avigdor (Cairo).

Even to day Egypt is still mainly an agrarian country, but among all the countries of the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean it takes the lead as regards capitalist development. In some places conditions are still patriarchal, and in one and the same village there may be seen both the iron plough and the up-to-date tractor. Home industry in its most primitive form is being substituted by workshops and factories of exemplary equipment. The economic revolution has however not been carried through quite painlessly. It has created new conditions of existence for the peasants and tenant farmers driven from the villages, and hammered into the minds of these classes an increasing comprehension of their class interests and duties. The following figures give an idea of the social differentiation of the Egyptian population, and of the process of capitalist development in 1918:

1. Agriculture: a) day laborers 2,150,000; b) large holders 28,000; c) small holders 1,300,000.
2. Fishery and hunting: a) day laborers 8,000; b) large leaseholders 100; c) independent 25,000.
3. Textile industry: a) workers 25,000; b) owners of undertakings 525; c) independent craftsmen 32,000.
4. Metal industry: a) workers 16,000; b) owners of undertakings 390; c) independent master workers 10,000.
5. Clothing industry: a) workers 42,000; b) owners of undertakings 1,750; c) independent master workers 70,000.
6. Furniture industry: a) workers 18,000; b) owners of undertakings 330; c) independent master workers 14,000.
7. Building trade: a) workers 44,000; b) owners of undertakings 435; c) independent 14,000.

Besides these important branches of industry, in which the greatest masses of the proletariat and of the artisan class are concentrated, mention must also be made of the transport industry, which is fairly highly developed in Egypt, and occupies about 150,000 workers and employes. About 30,000 workers and 25,000 home workers are further employed in various other branches of industry. If we take into consideration that the total population of Egypt does not exceed 13½ millions, we have thus a proletariat which is no weaker proportionately, than in any country of the Balkans. The process of proletarianizing the masses of Egypt may best be recognized from the following table:

Branch of Industry	No. of workers occupied in 1907—1910	- 1917—1920
Transport	100,000	150,000
Clothing industry	76,500	144,500
Furnishing industry	5,500	47,500
Agriculture	2,500,000	4,100,000

In other branches of industry, as for instance in the metal industry, and in the building trade, there is, on the other hand, a reduction in the number of workers employed; in the metal industry from 35,000 in 1907 to 23,000 in 1918, in the building trade from 75,000 to 45,000 in the same period; this is however mainly attributable to the perfecting of mechanical production and by the lessening of public works.

Until the war the native workers had practically no trade unions; only the European immigrants, especially the Italian, had their organizations, which were quite isolated. The privileged

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Decisions of the IV. Congress and the Italian Socialist Party

By G. Aquila.

The decision of the IV world congress with regard to the Italian question is well known. It culminated in requiring that the 21 points be followed without exception, and that the Italian Socialist Party fuse with the Italian Communist Party into a "United Communist Party of Italy", a union naturally assuming the expulsion of the so-called Vella group from the Italian SP.

The party committee of the Italian SP. debated the Moscow decision in a sitting held on December 30. and 31., and passed the following resolution:

"The committee of the Italian Socialist Party, having heard the report of several members of the (socialist) delegation to the IV world congress of the III International, and having received information on the activity of the world congress with regard to the Italian question, takes into consideration:

that the Rome congress has submitted in the clearest manner to the essential conditions of the international statutes, which—as was made known—do not permit that more than one section of the International exist in one country; this submission has been shown by the exclusion of the reformists and centrists, and by the renewed affiliation with the III International;

that the Party has meanwhile taken up a policy of unity towards the left, a policy which it cannot avoid pursuing, not only because of agreement with the directions issued by the Congress, but because of the present national and international situation;

that—now that a Social Democratic Party (the so-called Italian Unitarian Socialist Party) has been formed in Italy, and a Communist Party also exists—a middle party with the program of Bologna, and affiliated with the III International, would be absolutely absurd;

that since the London and Vienna Internationals have united to form a socialist international (with Vandervelde, Adler, and their companions) in opposition to the Communist International, it is perfectly clear that there can be no doubt as to the choice of the Italian Socialist Party, if it does not want to condemn itself to the sterility of an independent party without international connections, and consequently without definite orientation, and the Committee is of the opinion that:

1. The plan for the solution of the Italian question, as formulated by the IV world congress, and which renders the renewed affiliation of the party with the III International an accomplished fact, is to be accepted in its entirety;

2. The Party delegates who remained in Moscow are authorized to continue working towards practical formulation of the plan of affiliation;

3. The delegates and the executive must be properly informed as to the position in which the party has been placed by recent events, so that objective facts may be the basis for any deviations which may prove necessary for the furtherance of the common aim; and

4. All party organs must adapt their activity to the lines indicated, so that the united front of the proletariat will be sooner realized in the trade unions and political movements alike. As soon as there is a possibility of doing so, the Party congress will meet for the final decision."

The form of this resolution shows clearly that the Party committee is trying to make concessions to that part of the Party which is not satisfied with the Moscow decisions at the present time.

Under the pressure of the latest events in Italy, by which membership of a really revolutionary party, that is, the Communist Party, involves personal sacrifice, there has been a noticeable increase of the more or less open followers of Vella among the "higher" circles of the party, among the party functionaries, the deputies, and editors. Although the affiliation of the Rome congress was clear and unequivocal enough, and everyone was bound to know, then as now, that entry into the Communist International is only possible through uniting with the Italian Communist party, still these people again clung to the name of the socialist party, and rebelled against the above resolution of the committee of the party and thus against the decision of the Rome congress itself.

The *Avanti* of January 3. published an article by comrade Serrati, in which the imperative necessity of the affiliation of the socialists with the communists is clearly demonstrated, and shows

position and prejudices of the European workers caused them to hold aloof from the native workers, and to refuse them admission into their unions. Where the natives possessed organizations at all, these were purely of a guild character. Before the war the strikes of the natives were spontaneous, and were not followed by any organization of forces. The war effected a radical change in this state of affairs. Besides requiring Labor Corps composed of native workers, the English military authorities also required a great number of technically qualified workers, and for this purpose set up some special schools giving short terms of instruction, in which about 30,000 natives received technical vocational training. This created the central point which had been lacking to the native proletariat.

Immediately after the war, when waves of national revolutionary movement swept the country, carrying with them even the dense masses of impoverished peasants, the role being played by the native proletariat became evident. The nationalists at once grasped the importance of so powerful a factor, and endeavored to utilize it for their own aims. It was of course not difficult to organize the fairly concentrated masses of workers, already filled with hate against the English military dictatorship, in trade unions, and to induce them to enter upon strikes which frequently received support. Unions sprang into existence one after the other, and very soon these underwent their baptism of fire. The general strike of the railwaymen at the beginning of 1919, the strike of the civil servants, and a number of other conflicts, convinced the English government that it was not merely confronted by a few privileged rebels but by the masses of the working people. But the nationalists were also disappointed in their expectations. That which they had hoped to find a lifeless tool proved to be a living and independent element. The workers speedily ceased to act on the orders of the nationalists, and proceeded to independent action, to struggle for their own economic interests.

It will suffice if we mention that between August 18. and November 31, 1919 twenty four strikes took place, of which the railwaymen's strike in Cairo lasted 56 days, and three others each lasted 40 days. The demands of the strikers were exclusively of an economic nature. Between 1919 and 1921 there were 81 strikes in Egypt, of which 67 were general strikes (comprising the whole of the undertakings of the branch of industry concerned) and 14 partial strikes. 2,000 to 2,500 workers participated in each of these strikes. In most cases the strikes were carried through determinedly, and no native worker acted as blackleg. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the European workers, who more than once betrayed the strikers in the fullest sense of the term. The native proletariat, which is organized on a national basis (the majority of the large factories belong to Europeans), has invariably proved more revolutionary than their European comrades.

Despite this, the strike wave has by no means sufficed to create a powerfully centralized and actual class organization of the Egyptian proletariat. The Egyptian intelligentsia regarded the trade union movement solely from the standpoint of a means for attaining its own political aims, it failed to appreciate the importance of the movement, and in many cases sabotaged it.

During the last two years, in which the various factions within the nationalist movement became evident, the nationalists ceased to take any interest in the trade unions, and these fell into the hands of various political career hunters. Communists and revolutionary trade unionists endeavored to lead the trade unions into regular channels. In 1919 an Italian comrade undertook the establishment of a labor exchange in Cairo, and was at first supported by all the European unions. But the English government speedily put an end to this attempt by expelling this comrade from the country. A second attempt was made at the beginning of 1921 by the young Communist Party of Egypt. After two conferences, participated in by the representatives of the largest unions, the "Labor Confederation of Egypt" was organized, but its initiators were lacking in experience and organizational forces, and the union existed more on paper than in reality. The Egyptian party is now beginning work in this direction on a narrower basis, but consequently with better prospects of success.

The above will be better understood if a few words are given on the influence of the RILU in Egypt. It is hardly necessary to mention that the native worker has little idea of what the Amsterdam International and the RILU, respectively represent. But the Egyptian worker stands for revolutionary struggle against his political and economic oppressors, and therefore he stands "for Moscow". Opportunist tendencies are strangers to the young Egyptian proletariat, and therefore it belongs ideologically to us.

to be of vital interest to the whole Italian proletariat. Pietro Nenni, the present chief editor of the *Avanti*, follows comrade Serrati's article by one of his own, with the naive sounding title of "Liquidation of the Socialist Party?" (in the course of the article he speaks of "liquidation" under "cost price?"). Nenni's article opposes the amalgamation, and demands that a vote be taken of all the party members with regard to the Moscow decisions.*

However "democratic" this demand may sound, the ruse behind it is immediately obvious. It speculates on the difficult position in which the Italian working class is at the present time, and upon the fact that some workers are not prepared to render their position still worse by complete and open confession of faith for revolution. And in case this should not be the case spontaneously, Nenni and his friends attempted to take the party by surprise by a systematically planned manoeuvre. They immediately convened the Milan section of the party, where they hoped to gain the majority, in order to have resolutions passed agreeable to their desires. How well all this was prepared can be seen from the fact that the *Avanti* of January 3, not only published comrade Serrati's article, and followed this by Nenni's, and not only printed the invitation to the members' meeting of the Milan section, but also a long resolution of Nenni's and his companions, which was immediately proclaimed as a resolution of the "majority".

Despite this well-prepared manoeuvre, they did not succeed in getting the resolution passed at Milan. It is true that the members of the Milan section were influenced by the manoeuvre, but it was not possible to get a resolution passed the same evening, and on the second evening comrades Riboldi and Maffi, in the name of the Committee of the Party, explained the resolution passed by the Committee, and further declared that the Committee of the Party had no intention of taking the party members by surprise, and had nothing against a general vote; the effect of this was such that the movers of the "resolution of the majority" thought it better to withdraw their resolution.

Despite this, they brought about an attitude of opposition to the Committee of the Party among the party members in other places. The sole success which they can boast of up to now is Genoa, where they succeeded in getting a resolution of the desired import passed. The fact that the Directive Committees of the Provincial Federations of Rome and Brescia, consisting mainly of party bureaucrats, have expressed themselves in opposition to the resolution of the Committee of the Party, cannot be regarded as representing any real success.

Despite its boasted impartiality, the *Avanti* unfortunately did not publish the resolutions of the sections in favor of the amalgamation, although such resolutions were passed in many places. In Venice, for instance, the whole of the workers demanded the fusion of the two parties.

The situation is clear. The Communist Party, now as before, is honestly in favor of amalgamation, and there is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Socialist Party, headed by comrades Serrati, Maffi, Riboldi, Tonetti, etc., are also in favor of the fusion. A small minority of the party mainly composed of party functionaries, editors, and deputies, would prefer to carry on their old game. There is no place in our ranks, in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, for these people.

The revolutionary proletariat of the Italian Socialist Party is faced with the task and the duty of saying this openly to Vella and his like, regardless of consequences.

The congress of the Socialist Youth Union of Italy took place in Milan on January 6 and 7. The reformists left the congress after they had ascertained that they were beaten. Upon this the maximalists and the III internationalists united in passing a common resolution, the essentials of which were as follows:

1. The Socialist Youth Union continues to belong to the Socialist Party.

2. It continues to belong to the Communist International. The 21 points are accepted without reserve, the old statutes of the year 1907 are to be altered accordingly.

3. A committee of action will be immediately formed, conjointly with the Communist Youth, 3 socialists and 3 communists being represented in this committee.

*) Pietro Nenni has been a member of the Socialist Party for eighteen months. He was appointed chief editor of the *Avanti* two months ago, shortly before Serrati's departure for Moscow. Before entering the Socialist Party, he belonged to the Republican Party, edited the daily paper *Mattino* in Bologna, and filled the columns of that periodical with violent tirades against the socialists. He is a freemason—and this explains everything. Except how he came to be appointed chief editor of the *Avanti*!

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

The Treaty of Unions.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (U.S.S.R.), the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (W.R.S.S.R.), and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republics (Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia), hereby conclude a treaty for their union into a single united State, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, on the following basis:—

- I. The competence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, exercised by its supreme organs, shall include:—
 - (I) Representation of the Union in international relations.
 - (II) Alteration of the frontiers of the Union.
 - (III) Conclusion of treaties for the acceptance of new republics into the Union.
 - (IV) Declaration of war and conclusion of peace.
 - (V) Floating of foreign State loans.
 - (VI) Ratification of international treaties.
 - (VII) Establishment of regulations for internal and external trade.
 - (VIII) Establishment of the general plan, and regulation, of the national economy of the Union, and the conclusion of concessionary agreements.
 - (IX) Regulation of transport and posts and telegraphs.
 - (X) Organization of armed forces of the Union.
 - (XI) Ratification of the Union State budget; establishment of currency and credit systems, and of taxation systems for the Union, the Republics, and the localities.
 - (XII) Establishment of the general principles of land distribution and exploitation, and of the exploitation of the mineral wealth, forests, and waterways throughout the whole territory of the Union.
 - (XIII) Union legislation on migration and settlement.
 - (XIV) Establishment of the principles of court structure and procedure, and also civil and criminal legislation for the Union.
 - (XV) Fundamental labor legislation.
 - (XVI) Establishment of general principles of national education.
 - (XVII) Adoption of general measures of national health protection.
 - (XVIII) Establishment of systems of weights and measures.
 - (XIX) Organization of Union statistics.
 - (XX) General legislation as to the civil rights of foreigners.
 - (XXI) General amnesty regulations.
 - (XXII) Veto of any decisions of Soviet Congresses, Central Executive Committees, and Councils of People's Commissaries of the republics of the Union, which infringe the Treaty of Union.

The Union Congress of Soviets.

2. The supreme authority of the Union shall be the Congress of Soviets of the Union, and, between congresses, the Union Central Executive Committee.

3. The Union Congress of Soviets shall be composed of representatives of the town Soviets in the proportion of one delegate for every 25,000 electors, and of representatives of the provincial Congresses of Soviets on the basis of one delegate for every 125,000 inhabitants.

4. The delegates to the Union Congress of Soviets shall be elected at the provincial Congresses of Soviets.

5. Ordinary Union Soviet Congresses shall be summoned by the Union Central Executive Committee once a year; extraordinary Congresses shall be summoned by the Union Central Executive Committee either upon its own initiative or on the demand of at least two of the constituent republics.

The Union Central Executive Committee.

6. The Union Congress of Soviets elects the Central Executive Committee, consisting of representatives of the united republics, in proportion to the population of each, to the total number of 371 members.

7. Ordinary sessions of the Union Central Executive Committee shall be held three times a year; extraordinary sessions shall be summoned by resolution of the Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee or upon the demand of the Union Council of People's Commissaries or of the Central Executive Committee of one of the constituent republics.

8. The Union Congresses of Soviets and sessions of the Central Executive Committee shall meet in the capitals of the

constituent republics in turn, in an order to be established by the Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee.

9. The Union Central Executive Committee shall elect a Presidium, which shall be the supreme authority in the Union in the intervals between the sessions of the Union Central Executive Committee.

10. The Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee shall consist of 19 members, four of whom, one for each of the republics, shall be appointed by the Union Central Executive Committee as its chairmen.

The Union Council of People's Commissaries.

11. The Executive organ of the Union Central Executive Committee shall be the Union Council of People's Commissaries, consisting of:—

The Chairman of the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

The Vice-Chairmen of the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

" " " " War (and Marine).

" " " " Foreign Trade.

" " " " Transport.

" " " " Posts and Telegraphs.

" " " " Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

" " " " Labor.

" " " " Food.

" " " " Finance.

The Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.

General Provisions.

12. For the purposes of ratifying revolutionary legislation on the territory of the Union, and for co-ordinating the activities of the united republics in the struggle against counter-revolution, there shall be established in the Union Central Executive Committee a Supreme Court, with the functions of a supreme body for court control, and in the Council of People's Commissaries a section of the State Political Department, the chairman of which shall participate in the Union Council of People's Commissaries in an advisory capacity.

13. The decrees and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries shall be binding upon all the united republics and shall be carried out throughout the territory of the Union.

14. The decrees and orders of the Union Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissaries shall be printed in the languages of the united republics (Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian, and Turkish).

15. The Central Executive Committee of the united republics may lodge protests against the decrees and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries with the Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee, but must not suspend their execution.

16. The decrees and orders of the Union Council of People's Commissaries may be set aside only by the Union Central Executive Committee and its Presidium. The acts of the Councils of People's Commissaries of the individual republics may be set aside by the Union Central Executive Committee, its Presidium, and the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

17. The execution of Orders issued by the People's Commissaries of the Union may be suspended by the Central Executive Committees of the united republics, or their presidia, only when they do not correspond with the decisions of the Union Council of People's Commissaries or Central Executive Committee. In such cases the Central Executive Committee of the united republic, or its Presidium, shall immediately inform the Union Council of People's Commissaries and the appropriate Union People's Commissary.

18. The Council of People's Commissaries of each of the united republics shall consist of:

The Chairman.

The Vice-Chairman.

The Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.

The People's Commissary for Agriculture.

" " " " Food.

" " " " Finance.

" " " " Labor.

" " " " Home Affairs.

" " " " Justice.

" " " " Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

" " " " Education.

" " " " Health.

The People's Commissary for Social Welfare.

" " " " Nationalities.

and in a consultative capacity, the representatives of the Union Commissariats for Foreign Affairs, War, Foreign Trade, Transport, and Post and Telegraphs.

19. The Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariats for Food, Finance, Labor, and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the united republics shall be immediately subordinated to the Central Executive Committee and the Councils of People's Commissaries of the united republics, but shall be guided by the instructions of the appropriate Union People's Commissaries.

20. The republics entering into the Union shall have their own budgets, which shall form an integral part of the general Union budget, and shall be approved by the Union Central Executive Committee. The revenue and expenditure sides of the budgets of the republics shall be drawn up by the Union Central Executive Committee. The list of revenues, and the amount of each, forming part of the budgets of the united republics, shall be determined by the Union Central Executive Committee.

21. A uniform civilian status shall apply to all citizens of the united republics.

22. The Union shall have its own flag, coat of arms, and State seal.

23. The capital of the Union shall be Moscow.

24. The united republics shall modify their constitutions as required by the present treaty.

25. The Union Congress of Soviets is the only competent body for the ratification of, alteration or addition to, the Treaty of Union.

26. Each of the united republics retains its full liberty to leave the Union if it so desires.

Moscow, December 30, 1922.

THE COLONIES

"Bolshevism" for India: a Melodrama

By Santi Devi.

"Bolshevism for India." These electric words adorned the conservative British press of the "Times" and "Morning Post" school, on December 21st and 22nd of last year, and were flashed across the seas by Reuter to startle the unwary nationalists, about to assemble in the last week of December for the 37th annual session of the Indian National Congress. What must have been the feelings of bewilderment and concern with which the worthy gentlemen of the National Congress, the majority of them devoted followers of the imprisoned Gandhi, awoke from their innocent slumbers on the morning of December 22nd, to find their favorite Congress organs bristling with the dire project of Bolshevism aims in India, by which Reuter saw fit to describe the three columns of a mild social-democratic program drawn up for the consideration of the National Congress by exiled followers of "The Vanguard" party. And what must have been the outraged horror of the Indian capitalist and landlord class, whose "loyalty" to the alien government, has been so often and so loudly proclaimed by their every speech and action, to discover, in the moderate nationalist or Anglo-Indian daily which interprets the world's events for them, that Bolshevism, overflowing the confines of Russia, was at last spilling its poisonous water into India and inundating the land. Again, picture the mad fury of the choleric Anglo-Indian, I.C.S. or military, accustomed to look upon India and the Indians as their sole, legitimate prey, to read, as cabled by the faithful Reuter, that someone across the seas was dreaming and writing of "complete national independence, free from all foreign rule", which must precede the fulfillment of the rest of an amazing program calling for economic and social, as well as political emancipation,—the abolition of big landlordism, nationalization of public utilities, reduction of land-rents, graduated income-tax, industrial profit-sharing, an eight hour day,—in short, the program of that heretic body, the British Labour Party, applied to India.

But to complete this feast of the imagination, one must conjure up two more mental images,—the vigilant finger of the British Foreign Office and of its Agent, Scotland Yard, upon the pulse of Indian public opinion, as reflected in the Extremist, Moderate and Loyalist Press, reacting to that carefully-timed and theatrically-staged cable of Reuter on the eve of the National Congress,—and the amazed concern followed by delight, of that

faithful little band of exiles, authors of the Famous "Program" to behold their propaganda efforts rewarded in so unexpected and unheard of a fashion. "Imperialism, mad with rage, destroys itself."

Such in short, are the various elements of the Dramatis Personae who willy-nilly, enacted the tragi-comedy planned by British Imperialism and so skilfully staged by Reuter and the Indian press. Enraged Anglo-Indians, dumbfounded Moderates, trembling Nationalists and gleeful Vanguardist danced momentarily to the tune of the Imperialist piper. But the end of the drama is not yet. The Program, so lovingly planned and so laboriously broadcasted among what was hoped a tiny section of the Indian intelligentsia, by the Vanguard Party, seized upon so ruthlessly and flung to the breeze of countrywide publicity by the cunning Imperialist, will do its own work in its own way, among that section of the population to whose deepest needs and highest aspirations its clauses correspond. The end is not yet in sight. "Imperialism, mad with rage, destroys itself."

If the purpose of the Official Prompter behind Reuter was to terrify the Extremist Nationalists and to draw the loyal Moderates yet more closely within the Imperial embrace, one must congratulate him upon his temporary success. Indian Landlordism and Capitalism have run, shrieking, to the arms of their Protector; so-called Indian Extremism has shudderingly disclaimed all identity or sympathy with a program which does not go farther in its demands than the advanced republicanism of modern Europe. The attitude of both classes is characteristically revealed in their press. Says the liberal "Leader", organ of the Moderates:

"The program is drawn up in accordance with the modified principles of Bolshevism, and is intended to appeal to the cupidity and self-interest of the masses.—We neither believe in Utopias, nor in the efficacy of direct action for attaining them.—In the existing conditions of India, attempts at revolution would lead to a terrible reaction."

Thus it is made clear to the Imperial Overlord that the Liberals, that growing politically-minded class of big industrial capitalists, will stand by the Government against any attempt to upset the existing order, in which they possess a sufficiently large stake. As for the Landlords, always outspokenly Tory in sentiment and notoriously pillars of the Empire, let them speak in the words of the President of the Bengal Landholders' Association, addressing the Viceroy on December 24th:

"Your Excellency can rely on the ungrudging support and sincere assistance of the landlords in the maintenance and preservation of law and order. We trust that Your Excellency's Government will not lend countenance to the agitation which may be engineered by interested parties against the rights and privileges of the Zemindars (landlords) which have been long enjoyed by them, and which have been recognized by the sovereign powers for centuries."

To which His Excellency, the Viceroy, replied:

"You may rest assured that I realize the great services rendered by your class in the past, and that I look to the maintenance of close and cordial relations. You may feel confident that your rights will not be disregarded, and that your aims and aspirations will receive sympathetic consideration at all times.—I am not unmindful that from one quarter, an attack has been made upon your rights and position. I gave you the clearest assurance that it is a mischievous campaign of this kind takes definite shape, you may rely on the government to afford you the fullest support of the Law in combatting it."

We may assume from the above citations, that the Government has been successful in rallying its two main props to meet a threatened (and fictitious) crisis,—the Big Landlords and the ambitious Liberals, constituting the upper strata of the Indian bourgeoisie. This alone was worth the expense of an excessively long cable.

But this is not all. The consternation that reigned in the Extremist camp at the publication of a program gratuitously attributed to Bolshevik sources and coupled with the names of some of the Nationalist leaders threw the entire Congress into confusion worse confounded, and in their extreme haste to white-wash themselves of any evil intentions, certain very interesting confessions of faith have been made, not less interesting for true Indian revolutionaries, determined to overthrow existing evils, than for a government equally determined to maintain them. The class-character of the majority of the Congress Extremists has been revealed for what it is,—petty-bourgeois reformists, bent upon winning for themselves a place in the sun, ready to use the bent shoulders of the masses to climb thereto, but in no way willing to lift those masses higher than their present miserable state. Harken to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, organ of Extremist Nationalism and erstwhile champion of the oppressed proletariat and peasantry:

"Our first duty is to avoid, by every possible means, antagonizing any section or class of our population at this juncture. For India to accept what may at best be described as political and economic experiments as the solution of our problem, will be far from safe. What lines the National State in India will take to work out a reasonable reconciliation between the conflicting interests of landlord and tenant, of capital and labor, must be searched, discovered and adopted by us, after we have secured control of our own state life. In the meantime, all classes or interests in the community must combine to work together."

The Government may rest content, but one interested in the freedom of India is tempted to enquire, "How, without the determined backing of the masses, are you going to secure control of your own state life?" And how, given the inevitable class-affiliation between Indian landlords and capitalists with the Imperial overlord, are you going to make every section of the Indian community combine in cooperation?

The *Independent*, organ of Congress Extremism, writes editorially in its issue of Dec. 24:

"The Program stands condemned on its own merits, because in its plan (of mass action and a countrywide general strike) there is no room whatsoever for Love Force; our faith is in Non-Violent Non-cooperation based on Love Force."

The Government should chuckle, and probably does, but we would enquire: "How are you going to do it when Mr. Gandhi, a greater prophet of Love Force than any one of you, tried it for two years and failed?"

The *Bangalor Katha*, organ of Mr. C. R. Das, himself the author of a new "mass" program, said by the Anglo-Indian press to bear a close and tell-tale resemblance to that of the "Vanguard" party, defines its attitude thus:

"We do not agree entirely with this program. The class which will be victorious in a conflict between classes will lord it over the rest. That state of affairs cannot be called the freedom of the whole country. We want freedom for the entire Indian people,—we are not content with the liberation of a particular class."

The Government, hugging the two richest and most politically minded classes to its bosom, may rejoice at this doctrine of class-reconciliation and freedom for the entire Indian people, but we would point out to Mr. Das and his followers that the experience of that "perfect" democracy, the United States of America, of France and Switzerland and post-war Germany, prove that it cannot be done. The class-domination exists, whether it be of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat. Champions of the working-class prefer the latter, as in Soviet Russia.

In conclusion, we will quote a few choice sentiments from *The Mussulman*, classical organ of Mohammedan Extremism, at which the Government (theoretically) quakes. Let it quake no longer. The world of Islam, if one may judge by the words of *The Mussulman*, is on the side of the rich and privileged minority, and against the oppressed majority. In its editorial comment of Dec. 29 it declares:

"The Program,—advocates the abolition of landlordism and confiscation of all large estates without any compensation. It is a silly proposal. It advocates nationalization of all public utilities. The acceptance of this proposal means the destruction of all charitable and religious endowments. Neither Muslims nor Hindus will tolerate such interference. The proposal of universal suffrage, if adopted, would mean chaos. Countries which have been enjoying parliamentary institutions for centuries have not yet been able to extend the franchise to every man and woman. The fixing of an eight hour day for five and a half days a week as the maximum duration of work for all laborers, including agricultural laborers, would, instead of furthering their interests, be prejudicial to them and would not, we think, be in the best interests of the country."

So much for religious extremism, which, exposed in its true colors, becomes rank reaction. British Imperialism will sit tight for many a long day, while such philosophy is safely indulged in and propagated in India, both by orthodox Gandhists and Mussulman Khalifatists. The little experiment in melodrama has borne rich fruit for the Government; it has found out many things which it might have, but apparently did not know before.—the bogey of Bolshevism blinded its usually keen intuition. "Imperialism, mad with rage, destroys itself." The Vanguard program of mild social democracy, sown like the Dragon's Teeth throughout the length and breadth of India, thanks to the insensate fear and fury of blind Authority, has sunk deep in the soil and will spring forth, one day, in the shape of new leaders, armed with the power of a new Idea, which will sweep the Indian people on to Victory and Freedom.

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G. m. b. H., Berlin SW. 48

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 13

6th Feb. 1923

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

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Hullo, Fimmen, Vandervelde & Co.

What has become of your International Strike?

By A. Lozovsky.

Three weeks after the representatives of the Amsterdammers and of the Second and 2½ Internationals, together with the bourgeois pacifists swore that they would prevent a war at any price, French troops marched into Germany. The far sighted apostles of peace had thought of every possibility of war, only this one had never occurred to them.

At the Hague we heard many speeches on *Red militarism*, and on the imperialist intentions of Soviet Russia. Every time that the leaders of the socialist and trade union movement—those leaders whose longing for the ministerial port folio is passionate—happened to speak of Russia, they adopted a particularly pathetic attitude. *Vandervelde* boiled like a samovar. *Jouhaux* exposed the *Red militarism* in fragmentary but powerful terms (he has a very loud voice). *Abramovitch* wept on the bosom of the pacific professors; pacifist ladies wiped his tears with their aprons, and were for their part plunged into the deepest sorrow because Soviet Russia is not built up on the pattern of their magnificently democratic and liberal fatherlands. When the Russian delegates made the proposal to consider the question of the Lausanne Conference and the impending occupation of the Ruhr, the reformist and pacifist gentlemen saw in this proposal only a despicable trick of the Bolsheviks against liberty-loving France, and found it more convenient to put our proposition under the tablecloth.

How many beautiful speeches against war were made! All the terrors of war were vividly reviewed, and painted in the most glaring colors. Radek, Rothstein and myself, were so touched that we wiped our tears away with our fists. "Now there will be no more war," we thought; "it is no joke when *Vandervelde*, *Jouhaux*, *Huysmans*, *Renaudel*, *Thomas*, *MacDonald*, and the other *Grumbachs* flourish their hands about like this! Mars will certainly be frightened away by these long-winded phrases and astronomical gestures!" After having wept with emotion for four days, we proposed to the speechifiers of the Amsterdam

and Second Internationals, on the fifth day, that we cease flourishing and really get to business in the matter of war against war. But our proposals wounded their finest feelings. When we were leaving the congress hall, one of the leaders of the reformist French C.G.T., *Dumoulin*, asked me: "How many renegades are there, in your opinion, at this congress?" To this I replied: "You will be able to ascertain the exact number of renegades at the first military conflict". You can now draw up the list, citizen *Dumoulin*, and do not forget to let us know what you personally have done towards organizing the international strike.

That which every body could see was going to happen, that which should have been energetically counteracted at the Hague, has happened. The French and Belgians, creators of peace, who swore to prevent any bloodshed in the future, are sitting at home and praying to the League of Nations, but do not breathe a syllable about a general strike! The only real protest against *Poincaré's* adventure, the only serious attempt to hold back the wild beasts of war, came from the Communist parties of France and Germany, and from the revolutionary unions of both countries. The printer's ink is not yet dry on the pacifist resolutions of the Hague, and the leaders of this congress, the leaders of the reformist and socialist trade union movement of Belgium and France, have already proved what anyone could foresee, namely, that the interests of the bourgeoisie are nearer to their hearts than those of the proletariat. *Dumoulin* can now make a count of the number of renegades in his own organization. And if he goes on to count the renegades in Belgium and in other neighbouring countries, he will find many old and familiar faces, the same who at the Hague raved against *Red militarism* and against the representatives of Soviet Russia.

Once again the reformist workers have been deluded, once again they have experienced an unheard of betrayal, another