

"There is the 'Message to the World', as Gandhi calls it, the message of India: 'Sacrifice ourselves! The highway to peace is the sacrifice of self'. This is the message of Gandhi!"

One can imagine how gratified must be Tagore, Arabinda Ghose and the whole school of Spiritual Imperialists to read this confirmation of their creed, written in such lyrical words by the master-hand of a French romanticist. Perhaps they would be better pleased had Romain Rolland seen in them, instead of Gandhi, the new Saviour of Humanity, but even in this he leaves ground for hope. Concluding his panegyric on India's spiritualizing mission, he declares:

"The great religious manifestations in the Orient have a rhythm. One of two things must be; either the Gandhi Avatar will conquer, or will repeat itself—just as, centuries before, came the Messiah and the Buddha—unto the complete incarnation in a mortal demi-god of the Life-Principle that will lead us towards the new stage of the new Humanity."

So, if India and the world are to be saved by the rhythmic advent of mortal demi-gods, it is high time that one of these spiritual leaders takes up the role of Avatar, left vacant since the arrest of the Mahatma, and finishes his job, which is, according to M. Rolland, to bring Swaraj to the Indian people by Suffering, Sacrifice and Soul-Force, thus proving to the rest of the world that it can be done. Naturally, when the armed nations of the West behold that great moral victory, they will cast away their weapons and accept the new Gospel, even as they accepted (with ample reservations), the similar gospel of Christ two thousand years ago. M. Rolland speaks pessimistically of the Christian Church as it exists today, but does not despair if a new Church may be founded, to begin anew the work of proselytism. Truly, hope springs eternal in the pacifist breast.

In the eyes of M. Rolland, Gandhi has already scored a moral victory, which will very soon be followed (on this point he is vague but positive) by the granting of Home Rule for India, on the part of the British Government. "I am of the opinion, moreover", he declares, "that this political ideal (Swaraj) will be attained promptly". Of course, such a consummation is devoutly to be wished for, and, besides, it is essential to prove his whole thesis—namely, that Non-violence is superior to Violence, and is the only path to salvation. If M. Rolland can prove that the Mahatma won Swaraj for India by non-violent means, then he hopes also to prove that Europe must abandon her wars and revolutions, in favour of spiritual weapons. "The world is swept by the winds of violence", he declares, "each people devours the other, in the name of the same principles, which conceal the same interests and the same instincts of Cain; Nationalists, Fascists, Bolsheviks, oppressed classes and peoples, oppressing peoples and classes,—all claim for themselves, while refusing it to others, the right to be violent, which appears to them the Law. Half a century ago, Force preceded Law. Today it is far worse; Force is Law. One has devoured the other."

All this is true, and M. Rolland is to be congratulated on having pierced the tissue of lies that, in the name of Bourgeois Democracy, conceals the Dictatorship of the Capitalist class. He does not like it, any more than he likes the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which exists in Russia. Hence, in order to escape from these cruel realities, he flies to the Orient, whose softening perspectives offer him room for hope that there may be found another world, built upon other laws. He suddenly finds in Gandhi a new Messiah, preaching a gospel of Love and Non-Resistance, which sweeps everything before it, evokes a vast popular following, compels a powerful Empire to listen and concede. Here is fresh hope for the tired intellectuals of war-stricken Europe. They behold in Gandhi a brother-pacifist, a Super-Pacifist, who has translated theory into action, words into deeds, and who has conducted a mighty movement that was heading towards violent Revolution, into the channels of non-violent Non-cooperation, based upon Suffering, Sacrifice and Soul-Force.

Well may the pacifists rejoice, whether of East or West. For the first time in modern history, it has been given to one of their creed to guide a movement according to the principles of Non-violence. Well may the Reverend John Maynes Holmes of New York acclaim Gandhi as the greatest man in the world: well may Romain Rolland hail him as the new Messiah. As pacifists, they could not do otherwise; Mahatma Gandhi's their proof, their single illustration, of the efficacy of pacifist theories applied to real conditions. Yet in the midst of their adulation and mystic joy, they forget one single, small, but all-important fact, namely, that the non-violent Non-Cooperation Movement of India, headed by Mr. Gandhi and conducted upon the principles of Suffering, Self-Sacrifice and Soul-Force, has not as yet succeeded

in its objective, plainly stated to be the attainment of Swaraj; that its leaders, including Mr. Gandhi and some twenty-five thousand more, were arrested and sent to jail for various terms of imprisonment, many of which have not yet expired; that the movement, seriously crippled by government repression and its own mistaken tactics, has suffered a serious set-back in the last fourteen months, and is only just beginning to go forward once more, under the very mundane guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and the Swaraj Party, who have given up all talk about Soul-Force, and are sticking to Non-violence, not as a religion, but as a tactic forced upon them by the exigencies of the situation. Far from being won, "Swaraj" is further away today than it appeared in the critical days of 1921-22, when the gigantic mass-movement of the Indian workers and peasants threatened to break away from spiritual leading-strings and become aggressively revolutionary. It was in that crisis that "Round Table Conferences" were spoken of, between the Government and the leaders; that Mahatma Gandhi toured the length and breadth of the country, a free man, challenging the existence of the "Satanic Government" openly, yet the latter feared to lay hands upon him, lest the rebellious masses rise in his defense. Romain Rolland speaks more truly than he knows when he declares:

"Three years earlier, India would have been soaked in blood by the arrest of Gandhi. But the sentence of Ahmedabad was received by the religious silence of India."

Petty-bourgeois pacifism is full of illusions, and hugs them ever more tightly to its breast as the cold blasts of Reality whistle more and more chill. The "religious" silence of India at the arrest of its Mahatma was the silence of inaction, despair and disillusionment; it was the last proof, if proof were still needed, that the non-violent Non-Cooperation Movement, based upon Suffering, Sacrifice and Soul-Force, had divorced itself utterly from the dynamics of mass-energy by adopting the Bardoli Programme, which repudiated all direct action of the masses. Swaraj, which had hovered almost within call, fled away once more like a mocking shadow, and the Mahatma was led off to jail for six years, amid the "religious" silence of India. Let M. Rolland rejoice, if it please him, in the "moral victory" of Gandhism; that does not bring Swaraj any closer to the hungering workers and peasants who had followed the Mahatma so blindly believing when he told them that Swaraj would come within a year—the Swaraj of Non-payment of Rent and Taxes, and a better life for all. Was it not this same Mahatma who denounced the riotous villagers of Chauri Chaura, and ordered them to give themselves up for judgment, which they did, and two hundred and twenty-eight of them were condemned to death! Was it not the Mahatma who called a halt to Civil Disobedience, and who forced through the Bardoli Resolutions, which order the peasants to pay rent to the Zemindars, and which tell the Zemindars that their property-rights will be respected? Yet M. Rolland, hugging his illusions more tightly to him, exclaims:

"I can scarcely believe that Mahatma Gandhi and the Non-Cooperators would accept association in the same Assembly with European and Indian capitalists. But it appears certain that Indian Home Rule is no longer in question. In one shape or another, it is inevitable. India has conquered morally."

There are more things in this world of realities than are dreamed of in the philosophy of Pacifism. It appears certain that the Non-cooperators will very shortly sit in the same Assembly with European and Indian capitalists, if the programme of the Swaraj Party is fulfilled. But Home Rule is still far-distant, and Swaraj has become a meaningless term. The advent of a second Incarnation is still necessary to save India, and thereafter the world. The tired intellectuals of Europe are roaming the Orient in search of new illusions to replace the rags of those torn from them by the holocaust of War and Revolution, but they refuse to see there the same inexorable laws that operate throughout the natural world, whether it be East or West. They speak of "moral" victories and "spiritual" battles and the advent of a new Messiah, without knowing whereof they speak, nor caring to know that beneath the talk about Suffering, Sacrifice and Soul-Force, a people of 320,000,000 souls is struggling to free itself from political, social and economic bondage, by any weapons that come to hand. The laws of economic determinism are at work there as here, and the time will come when this mighty people, tired at last of being slaves, will rise and throw off its shackles, striking great blows for freedom that will shake the world, even as did the great revolutions of the past. When this time comes, heaven help the tired intellectuals of Europe, and the petty-bourgeois pacifists, both East and West, for another, perhaps the last, cherished illusion will be gone!

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## Lenin and Imperialism

By Victor Serge (Kieff).

At the time of the II Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Lenin made the journey to Petrograd in order to speak at the opening session of the congress. He spoke at some length, for two to three hours if I am not mistaken. Not in the manner of a public speaker, but like someone talking easily on a subject with which he is perfectly familiar, and who is anxious to hammer home an idea into the brains of his audience with blows of ever increasing strength. He made no oratorical efforts. But he analysed, described, appealed again and again to pure reason, and even more to sound ordinary common sense. He expressed no sentiments, but only adduced facts, impressive facts. He spoke with humor, and frequently concluded his demonstrations by expressive gestures of both hands. "Do you understand?" He smiled often, and his face, conspicuous with its prominent cheek bones and powerful forehead, was constantly lit up by a sharp laughing glance, full of wisdom, which swept across the meeting, sought out faces, and received understanding from the faces when found.

I listened to Lenin, and as an old anarchist I had the impression that here the greatness of revolutionary socialism was revealed to me in a much more effective form than in the most convincingly written book.

In a few brief strokes, Lenin outlined truly colossal pictures. The word "millions" was on his lips oftener than any other. The abstract human being, the metaphysician, the individual of the anarchist, scarcely existed for him. He calculated with millions and again with millions of human beings, with world-wide humanity, with the mighty social reality. He spoke constantly of the masses, and brought the different races before our mental vision. Armed with Keynes' book, but seeing much further than this, he set forth the calamities which the Versailles peace treaty had already brought upon Europe, and those it is likely to bring in the future. Then he showed the surging up to new forms of social life of the races of Asia: 330 million Chinese, 320 million Hindus, 80 million Japanese, 45 million Malays . . . millions and again millions of human beings, impelled forward by the lash of the plantation owner, the whip of the slaveholder, and the machine guns of the agents of "civil-

ization" . . . masses of human beings setting themselves slowly in motion . . .

And suddenly we asked ourselves in amazement: "How is it possible that we socialists, anarchists, people of good will, could have failed to recognize all these great things for so many years?" . . .

Those comrades who read Lenin's short work: "Imperialism as the last stage of capitalism", now at last published in the French language, will receive, I believe, a similar impression to mine. This work which was written in the year 1915 has lost nothing of its value since. The war, the "peace" of Versailles, the post-war period, the decay of reformist socialism, are only further confirmations of all Lenin's arguments of the year 1915. The scientific value of the methods employed by him is thus brilliantly demonstrated; for only one who is thoroughly conversant with and understands the play of natural and social laws can foresee events as Lenin has done.

Prewar times! The "socialists" pursued a miserable policy of vote catching. Party functionaries and deputies capable of seeing beyond the narrow limits of their constituencies or of parliamentary intrigue were few and far between. The anarchists declaimed the beautiful unsophisticated truths which they had learnt from Grave, Kropotkin, and Réclus, they fought against the old bourgeois society as isolated franc-tireurs, as dreamers, artists, vegetarians, or bandits. Syndicalism, joined by the most revolutionary elements of both tendencies, gradually developed simultaneously a theory and a practice of class warfare. The world hastened along a clearly mapped out path towards war. The majority of those who held themselves to be revolutionists were in reality carelessly and blindly drifting towards it.

They were lacking in a scientific method of research and thought. But this method already existed: revolutionary Marxism. But with the exception of the Russians, a minority of Germans, and a tiny minority of comrades to be met with here and there, scarcely anyone knew, or much less applied, this method. But that great things may be accomplished by its aid is clearly and indisputably shown by this little work of

## POLITICS

### The Danger of Intervention against Germany

By Karl Radek.

A few days ago we issued a warning on the danger of intervention against Germany on the part of the allies in the event of a Fascist upheaval or of the German revolution. But even before the present Great Coalition government is threatened with any real danger of overthrow from either the Left or Right, the danger of Allied intervention against Germany looms continually nearer. We have no need to speak of the feverish preparations being made by the separatists in the Rhine country, and carried on in one part of the Rhine country under cover of the French, in Cologne under cover of the English. Two extremely characteristic press organs may serve to show in what direction the thoughts of the Entente and its vassals are tending.

The English weekly: *The Outlook* of August 18., publishes an article on the situation created by the exchange of notes between the Allies. This periodical casts scorn at Baldwin's note to Poincaré. "The reply", declares this paper, "is like an invitation to dinner addressed to a man whose coffin is just being carried out of the house". This journal does not believe that Poincaré will permit himself to be ejected from the Ruhr area by means of notes. It speaks against a division of the Ruhr booty between France and England, for it would not be proper for England to carry off the lesser amount of the spoil. It therefore demands that France be informed by England beforehand that England will not recognize any alteration of the present German frontiers; secondly it demands that England occupy the German North Sea and Baltic ports with or without Germany's agreement. In this manner England obtains control of Germany's exports, she can impose duties, and thus secures for herself her share of Germany's reparation-debt. At the same time the English war-ships in the North Sea and Baltic ports of Germany form a counterpoise against the French tanks and cannon in the Ruhr and on the Rhine. In conclusion the paper observes that it rejects all the drivel on ethics and unselfishness, for "our country, loaded with debts and confronted by a desperate unemployment crisis, has to be selfish."

The paper which we thus quote is no rabid anti-German organ. It is a sober liberal organ reflecting the opinions held in business circles. This paper suggests the dividing up of Germany into zones and the occupation of German ports as the reply to an occupation of the Ruhr area against which England is powerless.

It is characteristic that the paper devotes not a single word to revolution in Germany as a reason for intervention. German weakness, the incapacity of present-day Germany to defend herself against the French—these constitute a sufficient reason for inducing this organ of the humanity-loving bourgeoisie to declare that it wants its slice of cake too. This is the best reply to those who assert that a revolution in Germany would afford the Entente an opportunity of dismembering Germany. The bourgeoisie of the Entente has already torn Germany to pieces. France occupies the Ruhr area and the Rhine district. She is preparing to convert her actual occupation into a legal one. In England the bourgeois world is contemplating counteracting France's occupation of Germany by the occupation of some other part of the country on the part of England.

And now a second voice in the press: In the Polish newspaper *Głos Lubelski* Colonel Josef Schavinsky writes as follows:

We have no real access to the sea. Our corridor cannot be seriously defended until East Prussia is occupied. It will always be Germany's endeavor to unite with Russia—we must calculate with Germany's exercising every effort, to this end, to occupy Polish Pomerania, and at the same time to annihilate us by a blow dealt from the stronghold represented by East Prussia in the midst of Polish territory. This blow will be directed against the adjacent capital of Poland, Warsaw. Either the Germans will take away Pomerania and cut us off from the Baltic, or we shall take from them the Polish part of East Prussia with the line Warsaw, Mlava, Danzig, on the right bank of the Vistula, and neutralize the rest of Prussia in this or another manner. Some decision has to be come to in one way or another, and the next Polish-German conflict may settle the question."

This article is quoted on the 15th. August by the *Gazeta Warszawska* and this paper, the organ of the most powerful Polish government party and of its minister for foreign affairs M. Seida, expressed itself in agreement with the article. And

Lenin's on imperialism. The first thing which this work accomplishes, is immensely to broaden and expand the horizon of all events. The petty happenings of daily life, the drama of your personal life, comrade, the ministerial crises—all these are doubtless of great significance, but they depend on infinitely greater things. The capitalist world is a whole, and in this whole the ministers and all individuals are like the infinitesimally small protozoa of the ocean. Everything becomes and passes away. We are no revolutionists if we cannot recognize at one glance the great main factors ruling all the others, if we are not thoroughly permeated with the feeling of mighty changes.

The capitalist state of society is a system whose mechanism and functions, which are controlled and actuated by fixed laws, must be known to us. The revolutionist requires nothing more than the simple statement of these laws, a resumé of the facts, to be in possession of a superior armour, of an unshakable foundation for his convictions.

When, in the year 1915, so many of our comrades fought for "Right and Civilization"—and it is a heartrending fact that many deliberately took part in the war—; when Sombat and Guesde were ministers in a cabinet of national defence; when Plechanov advocated defence of country; when Kropotkin, Cornelissen, and Malato called upon the anarchists to lead the fight for "democracy" against "Prussian militarism", then Lenin quietly made his marginal notes to the works of the bourgeois political economists, took a row of figures here and there from their statistics, and formulated his diagnosis. Here is a small extract therefrom:

"We are experiencing a period of colonial world policy, which is closely bound up with the latest phase of capitalist development, the phase of finance capital."

This epoch is the epoch of imperialism, the last stage, the predatory stage, of capitalism. This is to be seen from the following:

Trusts are being formed, which replace free commercial competition by monopoly, by economic dictatorship. In the United States the number of trusts in the year 1900, amounted to 185 and to 250 in 1907. In 1904 financial companies were in possession of 23.6% of all industrial enterprises, in 1909 25.6% (more than a quarter). In 1904 they employed 70.6% of the total number of wage workers, in 1909, 75.6% (more than three quarters). The same development may be observed outside of the United States. International trusts are being formed. It is these which drive the various states forward to the conquest of the world. In 1860 England possessed colonies covering an area of 2½ million square miles. By the year 1880 the area of her colonies had increased to 7.7 million square miles, and by the year 1889 to 9.3 millions. She now ruled over 309 million subjects as compared with only 145 thirty years earlier. During this same period France's possessions increased from 0.2 to 3.7 million square miles, the number of her colonial subjects from 3.4 to 5.6 millions. In the year 1880, Germany possessed no colonies whatever. Nine years later she was exploiting almost 15 millions of black subjects. The distribution of the world draws to its close. But as the sharing out is not such as to satisfy the greed of the various robber states directed by high finance, war is bound to break out before long over the question of a different division of the spoil.

Imperialism by its colonial policy thus prepares the crisis which can bring about its own destruction—War. Imperialism would certainly be destroyed by this crisis, and thrown by the proletariat into the grave which it has dug for itself, were it not that the effects of its actions spread like a cancerous ulcer, and paralyse the revolutionary energies of the working class. Lenin shows colonial exploitation to be at the root of opportunism and reformism, and quotes in this regard the letter sent by Engels to Kautsky on December 12., 1882:

"You ask me what the English workers think of colonial policy. Precisely the same as they think about politics in general. No real labor party exists here. Here there are only radical conservatives and liberals, and the workers quietly enjoy with these the colonial monopoly and the goods monopoly possessed by England. What is the result of this? 1. The proletarian parties in England become bourgeois. 2. A section of this proletariat is likely to permit itself to be led by elements corrupted or at least paid by the bourgeoisie." These facts in themselves may be evident, and yet a Lenin was required to reveal this main cause of the impotence of the labor movement to the masses, in the light of the revolutionary fires of Russia. A Lenin was required to observe and describe the importance of the colonial problem and of the new revolutionary movements in the East. Lenin is a revolutionary genius armed with a scientific method.

again we must stress the absence of a single word regarding revolution in Germany. Germany's weakness exposes her to the danger of further dismemberment. The German revolution will have to combat dangers which the German bourgeoisie and the German social democrats have created in weakening Germany to such a tremendous extent. It is already incumbent on the Communist Party of Germany to train the will of the German working masses to be ready to defend the Germany which they will inherit. And the German revolution will perform the task of teaching the German people the art of defence.

### Five Years

By G. Zinoviev.

Moscow, August 30, 1923.

Five years have passed since the attack made on Lenin in Moscow. The first attempt on his life has also been forgotten. Today we shall recall it to our memories.

On January 1, 1918, when Comrade Lenin was leaving the meeting at which he had addressed the first troops of the socialist army going to the front, his motor car was fired upon from behind. The body of the car was riddled, and torn through in some places. Comrade Platten, who sat with Comrade Lenin in the car, was injured in the hand.

At that time our position was extremely difficult. The civil war had broken out. On January 5, five days later, the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s convened the famous demonstration for the constituent assembly. At that time the bourgeois and social revolutionary press was still legal. The organ of the S.R.'s, *Djelo Varoda*, kept up an openly terrorist agitation for some weeks, pointing out "in a polite manner", that "death is to be combatted by death". The impudence of the S.R.'s went so far that the *Djelo Naroda*, on the day after the attempted assassination, wrote cynically of the "arrangement" of the attack, and insinuated that the Bolsheviks themselves had contrived it.

In the whirl of events the first attempt on Vladimir Ilitch's life was speedily forgotten.

On August 30, 1918, the S.R.'s again made an attempt to shoot Lenin. The civil war was now raging. The young and untrained Red Army was fighting on several fronts. Ekaterinburg, the whole of the Ukraine, and a part of North Russia and of the Volga district were in the hands of the Whites. On August 30, 1918, in the morning, Uritsky was murdered at Petrograd, and on the same evening Vladimir Ilitch was severely wounded.

In the first telegram it was stated that Comrade Lenin was wounded in the left hand. But it soon appeared that the injury was not only to the left hand, but that it was much more serious. For days Lenin lay between life and death. Until, September 6, it was uncertain whether he would live or die.

When his life was assured, a sigh of relief went up from millions of workers. Millions of human beings had been waiting with bated breath, in sorrowful anxiety, for the issue of Lenin's struggle with his severe wound. At that time Vladimir Ilitch was already dear to the broadest masses of the working population of our country. But he became even dearer to them during the weeks in which he lay struggling with death.

It is customary—so said the writer of these lines at the session of the Petrograd Soviet on September 6, 1918—to compare comrade Lenin with Marat. Marat became especially dear to the people after his death. Our teacher, Comrade Lenin, was very near to death. Even before the attempts on his life he was dear to the people. But after this treacherous deed the working class regarded him with even deeper affection than before. Marat lived long in the memory of his people, long after his physical life had been destroyed. Lenin, however, will not only live in our minds and hearts, but will live with us in our ranks, will fight further with us, and lead the first socialist workers' revolution to its victorious conclusion.

Five years have passed since then. Sometimes these years appear to us like a moment, sometimes like an eternity. During these five years Lenin has helped to steer our vessel amid the most dangerous reefs. The party which instigated the attack on Lenin has been completely dispersed. It has paid dearly enough for the crimes it committed. At one time the "strongest" party in Russia, today a handful of parasites and spongers on imperialism, lobbying in the ministries of London, Paris, and Prague. All that was really sincere and proletarian in the S.R. Party came over to us. The treacherous attacks on Comrade Lenin's life opened the eyes of many workers belonging to the S.R.'s. History has stigmatized this attempted assassination as deserving of contempt and hate, but Comrade Lenin has led our country out into the open, has helped us to create the United Soviet Republics, and opened up new vistas for humanity.

The author of these lines, when speaking at the session of the Petrograd Soviet after the first attempt on Lenin's life, spoke of Comrade Lenin as the Mont Blanc among the leaders of international socialism. Who can maintain today that this estimate was wrong? The conception of Leninism has become synonymous with the concept of modern communism.

Our ears are now filled with the rumble of impending events in Germany. The whole world hears the mighty tramp of the German proletariat approaching to give battle, and the hearts of all sincere revolutionists beat more rapidly. Who can doubt that the leading spirits of the German labor movement will act, during the coming events as Comrade Lenin has taught us all? Who can doubt that the spirit of Leninism will inspire all the tactics of the German people now preparing for the decisive battle?

Learn from Lenin! This we say again and again to all workers, especially to the communist workers, and, above all, to our youth. Leninism is the highest expression of revolutionary Marxism in the epoch of the direct struggle for power on the part of the proletariat. Leninism is an incomparable weapon possessed by the proletariat, and renders the proletariat invincible. During a whole historical epoch Leninism will be the powerful torch which lights the way for the serried ranks of the proletarian army of the whole world. Leninism is the best armour against every mental aberration and vacillation. Leninism is the gospel of that generation of the world proletariat which is destined to be the grave digger of the bourgeois social order.

We do not know of any other leader of the people, in the whole history of the world, whose name has become so dear to the masses of the people, so near to their hearts, so closely bound up with them, as the name of our Comrade Lenin. The months of Comrade Lenin's last severe illness have been accompanied by the restless and anxious expectation of millions of workers, not only in Russia, but all over the world. The improvement which has taken place in Comrade Lenin's health during the last few days has called forth profound and genuine joy throughout the world. It is high time that the captain was once more at the helm.

Five years have passed since the treacherous deed was committed. During these years the idea of Leninism has borne rich fruits in proletarian Europe, and has attained its culmination in the mighty movement of the communist proletariat of Germany. Five years more, and the seeds scattered by the great sower will spring up throughout the entire East, that East where hundreds of millions of human beings live lives of unspeakable misery, and where the fate of the proletarian world revolution will be finally decided.

To-day all the love of millions and millions of proletarians is given to Vladimir Ilitch Lenin, the spirit of proletarian world revolution.

### A Strike-Breaker President for the United States

by John Pepper (New York)

The political machinery of the Republican Party made Calvin Coolidge vice-president and death has elevated him to the presidency of the United States.

The presidency of Calvin Coolidge denotes a sharpening of the class struggle. Harding was mediocrity covered with a smile. Coolidge is mediocrity armed with a fist.

Who is Calvin Coolidge?

His best friends, the greatest capitalist newspapers which wish to recommend him to the people of the United States, can single out only one real fact in his life. He is the man who broke the strike of policemen in Boston. Characteristically the capitalist papers, both Republican and Democratic, are very well satisfied with him—for the very reason, of course, that the only heroic gesture of his life is his strike-breaking in Massachusetts. His best friends say that he has always been a very retiring man during his entire political career—but he broke the strike of 1919. Calvin Coolidge has always been silent. His friends write that it is the silence of wisdom. We believe that he is silent simply because he has nothing to say. But his friends, Democrats and Republicans alike, say that he is not a man of words, but a man of deeds. He is the man who suppressed the freedom of organization. He broke the strike in Boston with force. He introduced the offensive of capital in 1919.

Calvin Coolidge was an unknown man in the United States before 1919. He has never had a new idea, never even an old one. He has never written a readable article. He has never organized a movement, except a local party-machine. He has never supported or put through a reform. But his friends praise

him—he destroyed a trade-union and he broke a strike. For this reason he became a vice-president of the United States. Napoleon Bonaparte had his Eighteenth Brumaire when he dispersed the people of Paris with grape-shot. The people of France were thankful to him and made the unknown general First Consul and emperor. Calvin Coolidge had the opportunity of his lifetime with the police-strike of Boston. He brought armed force against strikers and the thankful people of the United States elevated him, the unknown Governor, to the vice-presidency. Calvin Coolidge as governor of Massachusetts accomplished nothing new or significant. As vice-president of the United States, Calvin Coolidge has accomplished nothing new or significant. But his friends say, and recommend him thereby to the workers of the United States, that he accomplished an historical act in destroying a trade-union and in breaking a strike by force.

The new situation will inevitably exercise a great influence upon the laboring masses of America. We have a president today whose only qualification for office is that he is a professional strike-breaker. Jay Lovestone, in his book, has scourged the Harding administration with warm and bitter sarcasm as the "Government-Strikebreaker". He has shown in his book that the government of the United States—administration as well as Congress and the courts—comprises a single, solid machine to oppress the working-class. But at the head of this strike-breaking machine stood Harding—a man with a smile. An enemy of the workers, but conciliating. A man of the capitalists, but at the same time a man of Sunday-school phrases about equality and love. Now at last the government-strikebreaker gets its fitting head—a strikebreaking president.

Calvin Coolidge is too insignificant as a person to be able to decide the policy of parties and classes in this country. Even geniuses can influence only the tempo of events, and Calvin Coolidge is at best, mediocrity personified. And yet, his elevation to the presidency does mean a sharpening of the political situation.

The Republican Party has for a long time no longer been a solidified party. Harding's diplomacy could hold together the conservative and so-called progressives and could even influence the so-called radicals within the Republican Party. Coolidge does not only lack the smile, but he has not even the authority and prestige of Harding. He is an outspoken president of the reactionaries.

Coolidge as president means an administration against the exploited farmers.

Coolidge as president means armed interference of the statepower against every strike of the railroad workers or coal miners.

Coolidge as president means the oppression of every worker or farmer organization which is "red".

Coolidge as president means the advocacy of joining the World Court of the League of Nations of the international bankers.

The presidency of Coolidge is a danger for the workers and farmers; but the misleaders of the working-class wish to hide that from the working class. Gompers even assures Mr. Coolidge of the support of the labor movement. The New York City Convention of the Socialist Party passes a resolution which proffers condolence for the death of Harding, and at the same time the Committee of eleven leaders eliminates the second part of the resolution, which was directed against Coolidge. Gompers is a Democrat; but he promises his support for the Republican Coolidge. Hillquit, Berger, Feigenbaum and the others are Socialists; but they deceive, their own Party Convention and kill with silence the resolution which attacks the Republican Coolidge.

It is the duty of Communists to enlighten the workers everywhere as regards the significance of the presidency of Coolidge, and the new dangers with which the strike-breaker president menaces the labor movement.

New bitter struggles are impending. The working class must provide itself with new weapons. We must strengthen the trade unions through amalgamation. We must strengthen the organized working class through organizing the unorganized. We must make it clear to the exploited farmers that their only remedy is that the land shall belong to those who use it. We must lead the working class and exploited farmers into the political struggle through a mighty Federated Farmer-Labor Party. We can do all that only if the Communist Party, the Workers' Party finds the way to the oppressed workers and farmers. The most important instrument for enlightening the masses and leading them into the defensive struggle is a daily paper. The United States has acquired a strike-beaking president. Our answer will be a Communist daily.

## The Last Capitalist Attempt to Save Germany

By G. Fink (Berlin).

When the Stresemann-Hilferding government came into office, it was not in a position to submit any program to the Reichstag. Stresemann made the attempt, by means of eloquent phrases, to gloss over the fact that the government of the Great Coalition, which designates itself as the "last reserve of the German bourgeoisie", is not in a position to draw up any other program, or take any other course of action, than that of the bankrupt Cuno government, which was supported by the same parties as the new government of the Great Coalition. But economic and financial collapse cannot be restated by eloquent words and by the promise of deeds. In the midst of the praises which the bourgeois and social democratic press accorded to this new government as generously as to all others, in the midst of the confidence that the government of the Great Coalition, that the social democrats, would preserve the bourgeoisie from a second and more powerful elementary outbreak than that of the general strike, there came the Job's tidings of the further depreciation of the mark, of the further rises in prices, of impending extensive stoppages of work. The bourgeoisie had just been hoping that it had purchased peace for a time by its fresh taxation resolutions, the social democratic statistical conjurers had just been imagining that these taxes would cover the expenditure of the country and enable them to break with Hermes' bankrupt economics, and had even been designating these taxation measures as the first step towards the seizure of real values.

The mark fell once more; the prices rose further, reaching and exceeding the level of the world's market prices—the increased expenditure of the country swallows up the taxes immediately, it is not even possible to cover all obligations. The government found itself obliged to do something, or at least to promise something definite.

Thus the government spent some weeks in announcing drastic measures, compulsory measures, and a program. Much was said of the compulsory surrender of foreign bills, of penal servitude for defaulters, and so forth. But the government postpones the publication of its emergency program from day to day, the publication of the "drastic measures". When the Chief Committee of the Reichstag finally held its session, it was discovered, as usual, that nothing was left of the drastic and far-reaching measures. The government had been meanwhile negotiating for days with the National Union of German Industry and other representatives of capital, and had once more allowed itself to be bowled over in these negotiations. It is also highly characteristic that neither the Chancellor nor the Minister for National Economy (von Raumer) spoke at the session of the Chief Committee, or even attended it.

Hilferding's address to the Chief Committee may be divided into two unequal parts. The greater part of his remarks was nothing else than a stock-taking of the bankruptcy of capitalist Germany, an accurate recital of the appalling financial and economic situation. He felt himself obliged to declare that the position was desperate. The prices had risen above those of the world market. The Republic would have to take over the payment of the officials of the provinces and the municipalities, as well as the whole of the expenditure for the administrative bodies of these, if a collapse was to be avoided. Even the new taxes did not place the country in a position to cover its expenses. The undertakings run by the state were working at a tremendous loss; the deficit of the state railways was estimated at 450 billions for the second half year. All other state expenditure was running simultaneously into billions.

After having thus described a situation of complete collapse, Hilferding proceeded to submit the proposals of the government. But even sharp threats of penal servitude for those who do not comply with the new obligation to deliver up foreign bills cannot conceal the fact that the government has no program for finding a way out of the collapse. Besides the general and open introduction of the gold mark as the basis of calculation, it is proposed to introduce a levy on foreign bills, in such a way that 1 gold mark in foreign bills is to be delivered up for every 10,000 marks of the first instalment of the bread levy. The Minister for Finance was wisely silent on the amount to be raised by such a levy on foreign bills. Probably because he is well aware that the sums named some days ago as necessary, 200 to 300 million gold marks, will not be raised. Those who know how the existing obligation to deliver up foreign bills has been circumvented, despite all liability to legal punishment, can easily imagine that the punishments now threatened, whose execution will be in the hands of class justice, will not be sufficient to

ensure even the carrying through of this imperfect levy on foreign bills.

The Berliner Tageblatt criticises the program of the German government as follows:

"There is no longer any question of owners of foreign bills being obliged to state their possessions, and it appears as if considerable influence has again been exercised behind the scenes by the groups having large interests at stake, in order to prevent as far as possible any seizure by the state of private capital. In any case the instalment of gold marks to be delivered up in September in foreign bills has proved a comparatively light burden to the individual, and all the big words uttered by the minister in connection with penal servitude for perjury, and on the confiscation of property, sound more like a cannonade covering a retreat than anything else."

Hilferding's financial program cannot solve even the financial questions of the state. He will neither succeed in covering expenditure by the revenues, nor in raising a fund of foreign bills for the purpose of action in support of state finance. But it is characteristic that the expert of the Social Democratic Party, now become Minister for Finance, follows the same line as that pursued by all preceding ministers of finance, that of attempting to solve the problem from a financial-technical standpoint. The program submitted by the government to the Chief Committee is not a program at all; it does not say a word about the closing down of factories or about the measures to be taken to prevent German industry from becoming incapable of competition, involving cessation of export. These are problems in Germany economics which are not to be solved by any trivial financial-technical artifice.

In his speech Hilferding himself designated the Stresemann-Hilferding government as the last political reserve (of the German bourgeoisie), as the last possible constitutional government. The bourgeois newspapers speak of Hilferding's program as the last attempt at salvation. The capitalist economy of Germany is approaching its economic limits. The crisis in German economics is not solved within a capitalist economic system. But this weak salvation program is not even capable of creating a decent pause for breath. The last attempt at salvation is bound to break down miserably, for, as the bourgeois newspapers bear witness, the government gives way before the big bourgeoisie. And Hilferding, as Minister for Finance, will not be able to save the German bourgeoisie either.

## The Prospects of Mussolini's Adventure in Greece

By Arthur Rosenberg.

"This Tell'nj has been killed at precisely the right moment"—thus may Mussolini have expressed himself on receipt of the news of the murder in Albania. Fascist internal politics have run into such a hopeless cul-de-sac that a "national" war would appear to be the best manoeuvre for distracting attention. Up to now Mussolini, despite a great deal of powerful phraseology, has not accomplished more in respect to foreign politics than his "weaking" liberal and democratic predecessors. Mussolini exercised no real influence in either the Ruhr or the Orient negotiations, and he has not made the slightest progress in the Adriatic. But now the murder of the Italian military mission in South Albania presents the opportunity for a really Italian national action.

The external possibilities for a success on Mussolini's part would appear to be given, for Greece has been militarily paralysed since her defeats in Asia Minor. England and France have their hands full with the Ruhr adventure. Mussolini's fleet can occupy Corfu as well as the Romans did after the first Punic War, and he may win more or less bloody laurels on the coasts of Hellas and Albania. But the moment must speedily arrive when the offensive thus taken by Italy will destroy the equilibrium in the Balkans, and with this the equilibrium in Europe, to such an extent that serious complications are inevitable.

The fixing of the South Albanian frontier, General Tell'nj's task at the time of his death, dates back to the famous London Treaty of 1915, which signalized Italy's entry into the great war. Even at that time the French and English diplomats attempted a complicated adjustment of Italian claims on the one hand and Yugoslavian and Greek claims on the other. Already at that time it was decided that the foreign policy to be pursued by Albania was, in future, to be subject to Italian leadership. But the northern and southern frontiers of this Italian vassal state remained an open question. In South Albania the Greek nationality and the Greek church hold powerful positions, and

therefore the nationalist Greek bourgeoisie is anxious to withdraw these districts from the Albanian state, that is, from Italian imperialism. Thus the atmosphere became more and more charged until a climax was reached in the murder of the Italian officers sent to fix the southern frontier of Albania in a manner unfavorable to Greece.

There is at least one Balkan state compelled to stand solid with Greece, and that is Yugoslavia. A conflict running parallel with the Greco-Italian quarrel is that between Italy and Jugoslavia for Fiume. Mussolini has already despatched his ultimatum regarding the Fiume question to Belgrade. Should Italy succeed in defeating isolated Greece, the second act of the play will be performed in Dalmatia. Then Mussolini may establish the autocracy of Italian capital along the whole East Coast of the Adriatic from Trieste to Corfu. The Yugoslavian bourgeoisie would then be seriously menaced with being cut off from the sea, although access to the sea on the part of the free Yugoslavian state has been the main object of Yugoslavian foreign politics for decades. Yugoslavia will thus be obliged to take sides sooner or later with Greece against Italy. And Yugoslavia means the Little Entente. On the other hand, Zankov's Bulgaria is Mussolini's natural ally against Yugoslavia. For the Macedonian and officers' associations of Bulgaria, backing up Zankov's government, would not and could not miss such an opportunity of depriving Yugoslavia of Macedonia again.

A serious menace to the Little Entente in its turn involves France; however disagreeable it may be for Poincaré to be disturbed in his Ruhr policy by a quarrel with Mussolini.

It is easy to understand that the course taken by Greek events is being followed with considerable anxiety in London, for the English bourgeoisie trembles at every fresh shock to the European equilibrium. But the English press appeals in vain for help to the lame donkey known as the League of Nations. Precisely as France's financial crisis drove Poincaré into the Ruhr valley, Italy's social crisis drives Mussolini to Corfu and Fiume. Capitalist Europe goes headlong to its inevitable fate—regardless of all pacifist tinkering.

## Revolutionary Mongolia

By Buriat (Mongolia).

Until the year 1921 Mongolia could be regarded as a country of the middle ages and of serfdom, a country under the despotic rule of a group of feudal lords. It was not until the year of the revolution, the year in which the Chinese military occupation was removed, the White Guards of Baron Ungern driven away, and a new revolutionary government created—the year 1921—that the people of Mongolia was given the possibility of beginning a new, free, and independent life.

The new Mongolian government has existed for about two years. During this time it has succeeded in making a large number of reforms, making many radical changes in the old manner of living of the Mongolian people. Up to this time serfdom prevailed in Mongolia. About 30% of the Mongols lived under the yoke of their feudal lords, who had all power in their hands. The new Mongolian government emancipated all citizens from feudal dependence, and deprived the lords of yesterday of any power whatever over the Mongolian people. All former lords, and also the clergy, were deprived of many privileges, including that of exacting forced labor.

A progressive and general system of taxation has now been imposed on all the citizens of Mongolia. The monasteries and the clergy are not exempt from this taxation. This reform is a considerable alleviation of the unhappy position of the broad masses of Mongolian workers, as in many places half of the total taxes are now being paid by the rich feudal lords and the clergy. All payments in cash and in kind due under the feudal system and representing a sum of several million gold roubles, are now abolished.

The Mongolian revolutionary government is undertaking the most energetic measures against the unlimited rule of Chinese usurious capital, and against all its accompanying phenomena. For this purpose a national cooperative was founded in Mongolia over a year ago, since when it has been operating successfully.

The military service obligation was formerly a burden borne by the broad masses of the people. Almost one half of the population, including the monks, were entirely exempt from military service. There is now universal conscription, and those monks not living in the monasteries, as well as all other citizens, are called up.

A national revolutionary army on the model of the Red Army has been organized, and possesses a wide-spreading network of political schools. The council of war of the Mongolian

revolutionary government makes it its task to teach all its soldiers reading and writing during the three years of active service required of them, in order that they may become enlightened citizens.

A special department for public enlightenment has been established, and this has been able to train a number of primary school teachers, to lay the foundations of a uniform and democratic school system, to decide upon the opening of secular schools, and, finally, to open a secondary school entirely independent of the clergy. A people's university has also been established at Urd, the capital of Mongolia, and lectures will be begun there in the course of the present year. Special courses of instruction have been provided for the practical training of organizers and functionaries for local self-administration. A scientific organization has also been formed—the future Mongolian academy of science.

The revolutionary Mongolian government has substituted the feudal system by a decree providing for local democratic self-government; this has been thoroughly worked out and is being energetically put into practice. A special commission has been appointed for the codification of Mongolian laws, and urgent measures are being taken to organize the financial-economic system of the country. Finally, the revolutionary government of Mongolia, thanks to its state apparatus, has been able to get over a thousand dessatines of land sown, a fact signifying a considerable advance in agriculture for a country which is just emerging from feudalism, and has hitherto only reared cattle.

The largest and most influential groups in Mongolia are the Revolutionary People's Party and the Revolutionary Youth League, both supported by the broad working masses and the intelligentsia. The next group is that of the Theocrats (the clerical party), now in a state of complete dissolution.

Another group also in a condition of complete dissolution is that of the feudal lords, who have been deprived of all economic and political foothold. Another insignificant group is actively reactionary, and the remaining mass simply forms a rotting "feudal rubbish heap".

There is also a small group of princes and clergy of liberal-national views, who are not only not hostile to the new regime, but even express sympathy with it.

The influence of the Revolutionary People's Party and of the Revolutionary Youth League is in general very powerful. These bodies are at the present time the actual rulers of the country. Thanks to the new Mongolian government, supported by this Party and the League, it was possible easily and painlessly to suppress all conspiracies attempted by the reaction. Within the last year and a half four conspiracies have been discovered and nipped in the bud.

The Mongolian counter-revolutionists have derived a certain amount of support from the presence of the remnants of White bands in the frontier districts of Mongolia and Mandschurie, these bands having forced their way into Mongolia with the object of inflaming a counter-revolutionary movement in the Mongolo-Russian frontier districts. But in the course of the past year the Mongolian government and its internal protective apparatus were successful in rendering innocuous all the White Guard bands in the country. The chiefs of these bands have been taken prisoner, for instance the sub-lieutenant Prochorov, the captain Otscharov, Andrej Schubin, the "renowned" bandit Tubanov, who completely destroyed several Russian border settlements on R.S.F.S.R. territory, and massacred the whole of their peasant inhabitants, during Baron Ungern's offensive in the year 1921, and a number of other White Guard leaders.

The internal position of Mongolia has therefore been firmly consolidated, and is secure from all dangers of reaction and counter-revolution.

The carrying out of all the above measures has made severe demands on the strength and energy of the Mongolian government, since the conditions under which it has worked have been extremely difficult: tremendous backwardness of the population of a country whose structure was that of the middle ages, great shortage of workers, sabotage and conspiracy on the part of reactionary elements, and constant threats to the country from Chinese imperialism and Russian White bands.

The rapprochement of new Mongolia to Soviet Russia has given new prospects of development to the creative powers of the Mongolian people. Soviet Russia has awakened the Mongolian people from its slumber, and has given it fresh forms of thought and social development. The isolation of Mongolia from Soviet Russia would be a great misfortune for the Mongolian people, for it would then inevitably fall beneath the yoke of the imperialists of China, Japan, and other countries. The rapprochement of revolutionary Mongolia to Soviet Russia, and the internal creative work which it is accomplishing, will doubtless have the effect of awakening the other sections of the Mon-

golian people, hitherto subjugated by the imperialists of the East and West.

And, on the other hand, the friendship and close relationship between Soviet Russia and Mongolia will doubtless give them, in the immediate future, the opportunity of finding a common language, and of joining hands for the defence of the working masses of the East and West against their common oppressors.

## Political Parties in Spain

By Joaquin Maurin (Barcelona).

### II.

The Socialist Party of Spain has been a sickly creature up to now. Up to the year 1919 it was bound to the Republican Party by the closest ties. Many of its present leaders have come from the ranks of bourgeois republicanism. In fact it is itself nothing more nor less than an ordinary bourgeois-republican party. Its propaganda centres much more around the forms to be adopted by governmental activity than around economic questions or class warfare.

Until the time of the split which the Communist Party of Spain owes its existence, the Socialist Party numbered about 40,000 adherents. Today, its membership is considerably less. It exercises its chief influence in Madrid, Biscaya, Asturia, Galicia, and Andalusia. At the last elections in April 1923, it gained seven seats in parliament, five of which were in Madrid, one in Bilbao, and one in Asturia. In the two provinces last named it openly enjoyed the support of the government. In Madrid, on the other hand, its victory was due to its campaign against the monarchy, which was held responsible for the military collapse in Morocco.

During the most active period of the Morocco campaign, the Socialist Party preserved a discreet silence. It also carefully preserved silence at the time when the White Terror raged in Barcelona. Delighted with this description of "socialist action", the bourgeois government acted most benevolently towards the socialist candidates in the provinces.

The socialist press is confined to the Madrid daily paper: *El Socialista*, with an edition of about 2,000, and to about 7 or 8 provincial weekly papers, each of which has also an average of about 2,000 subscribers. Almost all the notables of bourgeois republicanism contribute to *El Socialista*. If the party has, up to now, never nominated a candidate for bourgeois state power this is not owing to class consciousness, but solely to a republican state viewpoint. It cooperates zealously with the government in the institution for social reforms, where socialists and bourgeois intelligentsia make a joint study of social laws.

Pablo Iglesias is the best known representative of Spanish socialism, but his age and poor health have obliged him to abandon all public activity. His fundamentally republican standpoint has always prevented the Spanish socialists from separating from petty bourgeois radicalism. Iglesias is responsible to a very great extent for the error of making Madrid the centre of socialist activity, and for abandoning Barcelona, a great industrial city with over 300,000 proletarian inhabitants, to monarchist influences.

On the trade union field, the Socialist Party works through the organ of the General Labor Union, built up on the local unions and the national industrial federation. At the turn of the year 1919—1920 the General Labor Union comprised about 250,000 adherents. At its last congress, held in November 1922, the business report mentioned 218,000 members. As a matter of fact the number of members cannot much exceed 100,000. About one half of its members are peasants. It possesses not the slightest influence in the industrial districts, as for instance Catalonia. The socialist tactics pursued by its leaders, Largo Caballero and Saborit, have completely disorganized the labor groups in Biscaya and Asturia, so that here there is nothing left of the old trade union organizations except the old bureaucratic framework. The reformist policy of the General Labor Union has caused some important trade unions, such as the Madrid Woodworkers' Union, to leave this Union and to remain autonomous. Shortly before its November congress it expelled several revolutionary sections and some Biscayan trade unions from its ranks. And since this congress 29 further trade union sections have been punished for their communist views by expulsion. The leaders of the General Labor Union are at the present day the firmest pillars of Spanish capitalism in its wage cutting offensive.

Between 1902 and 1912, the working masses in Barcelona were under the influence of a governmental agent, the republican Lerroux. When the dissolution of the radical party set in, anarchist propaganda found an excellent soil in the Barcelona

environment. Workers who had been led by the nose for 10 years by a "revolutionist" in the pay of the government, were very easily induced to follow the slogan: "Down with all politicians!" Pablo Iglesias, this remarkable socialist, withdrew himself entirely from the great labor centre, Barcelona, so that the small anarchist groups were able to seize upon the leadership of the proletarian movement.

Segui, who was murdered on March 11, of this year, showed the Spanish workers the road from anarchism to syndicalism. Thus the anarchists heading the labor movement became syndicalists. Between 1912 and 1915, Barcelona went through a period of complete confusion. The radicalism of Lerroux became disintegrated, and anarcho-syndicalism arose. In the year 1918, the National Labor Confederation of Catalonia was founded. This was the beginning of the formation of unified industrial labor unions.

The mass movement centred round the fight for higher wages. The terrorism exercised by the workers, the formation of united unions, and the relatively good state of the markets, tended to increase wages. There was a triumph for the National Labor Confederation, which held its second annual congress in December 1919, attended by the representatives of nearly a million workers.

Until April 1920 this magnificent Catalonian labor movement was under the leadership of the syndicalist elements of the confederation, headed by Segui. Then the anarchists commenced to fight to obtain power. The trade union committees passed into their hands. Since this time the organizations—this must be plainly stated here—have gone from one defeat to another. The great look-out was followed by the period of suppression, two great strikes in Barcelona were lost, and in November 1920, the government began a White Guard regime. The murder of all workers' functionaries became systematic. This period of murder and violence lasted until November 1922.

The reorganization of the trade unions was taken up at the end of the year 1922. The National Labor Confederation of Spain, whose main centre of support is in Barcelona, survived the White Terror and probably comprises about 250,000 workers at the present time. In Barcelona it has a daily paper at its disposal: *Solidaridad Obrera* (labor solidarity); this has a circulation of 30,000. The confederation has also about 8 weekly periodicals with an average edition of 3,000 copies.

The National Labor Confederation is composed of local trade union sections and regional unions and confederations. Affiliation to the Communist International was resolved upon at its annual congress held in 1919. But in June 1922 the national council of the confederation withdrew from the R.I.L.U. in consequence of a campaign of anarchist agitation. At the present time the National Labor Confederation is undergoing a severe crisis. The anarcho-syndicalism which has hitherto maintained the leadership is in a state of complete dissolution, and this dissolution reacts on the trade union organizations. Before the period of White Terror, the watchword of the movement was "direct action". Terrorism was frequently held to be a means of attaining improvements. This description of direct action led however to a collapse. The employers were equally skilful in the employment of terrorism as a weapon, indeed they far outdid the workers in this. When the period of suppression neared its end in 1922, the anarchists were ready with the new slogan of "cultural work": The salvation of the proletariat was now to be sought in the organization of schools, in instruction, in lectures. The anarcho-syndicalist press speaks of nothing but education, of moral qualities, and such desirable things. No stone is left unturned to make strikes impossible. The masses are offered a program for the improvement of housing conditions, betterment of street hygiene, etc., on a—communal basis!

The anarchists still at the head of the movement show an obvious lack of understanding of class war. Most of them are still exponents of the republican radicalism of Lerroux. They are one-time republicans who have been converted to anarchism. Having once been deceived by bad leaders, they cherish a deep antipathy against anything under the name of politics. They are inveterate federalists, speak unceasingly of liberty, revel in admiration of the French revolution, maintain closest intercourse with the republicans, but create an ever-widening chasm between themselves and the socialists and communists.

The situation resulting from these facts is exceedingly critical. The masses stream into the trade unions, but the lack of any revolutionary leadership and the hollow phraseology on individual culture disappoint them bitterly. The trade union committees resign their offices one after the other, and the persons composing them change frequently. Strikes break out, even extensive wage strikes, as for instance the last transport workers strike in Barcelona, but there is no one to undertake their determined leadership.

Under such conditions there can naturally be no victory. On the contrary, every struggle is bound to lead to defeat as soon as it becomes prolonged. The disintegration of anarcho-syndicalism will last some time yet. A reorganization centre has already been formed: the revolutionary trade union committees, composed of communists and syndicalists. These are gradually gaining ground. We believe that they will succeed in inducing the National Labor Confederation to descend from its Utopia of anarchist philosophy and to return to the solid ground of class warfare, so that it may be once more a powerful trade union organization fully equal to its tasks.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The National Congress of the French Unitarian Railwaymen

A happy omen for the General Trade Union Congress of the CGTU. in Limoges.

By Pierre Semard (Paris).

"The masses will spit upon you"—this was shouted at me by an amiable opponent, at the session last held by the national committee of the CGTU.

Meanwhile, the masses of the railwaymen have expressed their minds at their conference, which was conducted with the utmost dignity, and at which, far from being spat upon, we received unqualified support. If we look back upon the predictions made by our adversaries, we may fairly say that at this congress the tables were completely turned.

And yet our opponents had done their underground work very efficiently. Their circulars followed each other with such rapidity that a trade union chairman belonging to the Paris-Orleans Railway received no fewer than 8 within a week. And mere official circulars were not all; recourse was had at the same time to all manner of anonymous articles, patched together from cuttings and quotations from the *Populaire*, the central organ of the Socialist Party, and the *Libertaire*, the organ of the anarchists, and provided with more or less skilful commentary.

However, despite this tremendous waste of paper, and despite all the personal pressure, the railwaymen—belonging to the Paris Lyons and Mediterranean Railway and the Paris-Orleans Railway have proclaimed their confidence in us. They approved our business report, confirmed the affiliation to the R.I.L.U., and expressed agreement with our resolution on trade union tactics.

This is a fact which must be accentuated in view of the campaign of agitation against us, which represented us as hirelings of Moscow or of the Communist Party, and assured everyone who would give ear, that we had been bought in order to deliver over the trade union movement to the Communist Party.

These romancings have happily found but bitter response among the railwaymen. Their sympathy for Russia has remained as keen as ever and our congress has given the clearest proof that they are not minded to have the question of affiliation with the R.I.L.U. brought up again at every moment.

Certain elements of the opposition who, ever since the congress at Saint Etienne, have been endeavoring to discredit proletarian Russia, her leaders, and institutions, and who have systematically combated the R.I.L.U., spoke from the platform of our conference with considerably less clearness and self-assurance. Some maintained that under certain conditions they would remain the adherents they had always been of the R.I.L.U.; and not one ventured to speak categorically against the R.I.L.U. How is it possible to explain this attitude in view of the fact that these elements are affiliated to the Berlin Syndicalist International, which recently declared that: "The R.I.L.U. is the most inexorable and dangerous enemy of international syndicalism. The union of the Berlin and Moscow internationalists can only be effected by the extermination of the R.I.L.U.?"

We are of the opinion that this assertion is equally clear and categorical. Almost simultaneously with this, M. Renaudel of the "Left Bloc" wrote in the *Populaire*: "Unity will arise out of the self-annihilation of the unitarians." And then he cheerfully predicted the speedy collapse of the C.G.T.U. Whilst the extreme Left was working to have the R.I.L.U. set aside, the electoral tricksters of the extreme right were engaged in endeavoring to destroy the C.G.T.U. for their own purposes. And thus the two extremes once more met on a common ground of determined enmity against Moscow, the R.I.L.U., and their adherents. They are joined in their hue and cry by the many

would-be politicians à la Frossard, who have hypocritically defended the Russian revolution for many years, and now cry murder at this same influencing of syndicalism which they formerly preached most zealously, so long as it was a question of furthering their own despicable political ambitions.

Our congress calmly set aside all these quarrels of cliques and the devices aimed at confusion introduced by the political careerists and saviours of syndicalism, and voted unanimously for a united resolution demanding the convocation of a congress of the three Internationals for the purpose of attempting their amalgamation. Doubtless this amalgamation will at first encounter very great resistance, until the mentality of the fractions has fundamentally changed, and the opposition ceases to hope to realize national and international unity by means of the destruction of the C.G.T.U. and the R.I.L.U.

"Political unity appears to us impossible until trade union unity has been restored." Thus Renaudel and Frossard declaim in one breath. To this I reply that trade union unity has nothing to do with that description of political alliance so much desired by the mandate-hunting politicians. This unity will come about sooner or later, nationally and internationally, without their aid and quite apart from them, and will be in the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

In my opinion, the attack made on proletarian Russia and its institutions at our congress relaxed its severity solely from tactical reasons, for the minority felt that it would only lose ground by continuing the attack. And that the discussion on the trade union fractions in the Communist Party excited so little attention, and passed off almost without remark at our congress, although this question gave rise to the most vehement debates at the conference of the building workers' union, is due to the fact that the delegates had expressed their intentions clearly and unequivocally in the discussion on the business report, and felt no inclination to waste time in needless talk and endless discussion upon a question lying outside of the trade union movement.

The question of the trade union commissions, which has formed the chief argument of those who assert that the trade union movement is being subordinated to the Communist Party, has ceased to act as a bugbear to the masses, and our opponents will be well advised to provide themselves with some other weapon for the general trade union congress at Limoges.

In spite of this, it is interesting to note that these same people, who recently wrote that the Russian revolution came to an end in the year 1920, and that there is nothing left of it but a purely democratic regime which only those profiting by it should defend, did not consider it necessary to produce any documents or evidence for our enlightenment and for convincing the congress. Their systematic attitude of opposition for opposition's sake has opened the eyes of many colleagues. The truth is that the Russian revolution is proceeding on its forward path; there is no turning back, but it advances steadily towards its goal: the realization of communism for the welfare of the proletariat and the development of the world revolution.

Twice in succession has our congress clearly expressed itself, by a five-sixths majority vote, to be in favor of the R.I.L.U. and of Soviet Russia. It has plainly proclaimed its wish to take active part in the work and struggles of an International which has so brilliantly stood the test as a revolutionary factor. And though it may be, as has been asserted, that the unitarian railwaymen are not evincing any great revolutionary activity at present, yet they are working with equal energy and perseverance at their task of reorganizing their trade union, for they have suffered severely through the struggles of the year 1920, and through the split.

The influence of our organization among the masses of railwaymen grows daily, and I am fully convinced that as soon as circumstances demand it, the railwaymen will be found fully equal to the revolutionary tasks which fall to their share.

## The General Strike in the Czecho-Slovakian Mines

(R.I.L.U.) On August 20 the Czecho-Slovakian miners went on strike. Nothing could be more erroneous than to regard the conflict being carried on at the present moment between the colliery owners and the miners as a struggle complete in itself. It is on the contrary, the continuation of the spring struggles, and these were again a link in the chain of defensive actions which the Czecho-Slovakian miners have been obliged to undertake during the last two years in reply to the offensive directed against their wages, working conditions, and social rights and liberties.

It is true that the tremendous crisis which has convulsed Czecho-Slovakian economic life for almost two years has a paralysing effect on the striking power of the Czecho-Slovakian working people, and renders their struggle more difficult. But it is no less true that the reformist leaders of the trade unions are most closely bound up with that democracy which has been "specially prepared for the mentality of the Czech people"—read: "specially prepared for the rule of the Czech money bags"—and are thus entirely hostile to any movement likely to "impart a shock to economic life".

In view of the continuous attacks on the conditions of life of the miners, the three great miners' unions of Czecho-Slovakia—the Czech free trade union, the Czech nationalist union, and the German (reformist and separatist) union—were compelled by the pressure of their members to form a coalition. This coalition has, however, up to now not proved the increased source of strength expected by the miners, for the leadership is dominated by a bureaucracy as conservative as that of the separate unions. The bureaucrats have not been desirous of utilizing the coalition as an instrument of class warfare, but merely for the purposes of their economic strategy and their funds.

The struggle commenced in the Ostrau Karvin district. After repeated negotiations, and after the miners had frequently announced that they were not prepared to agree to the 30% reduction in wages demanded by the employers, and had brought forward the counter-claim that coal should be cheapened by means of a reduction of the colliery owners' profits, the social democratic leaders made an agreement with the employers and with the government, according to which the miners were to submit to an 18% wage cut. The national conference and the separate conferences in the colliery districts alike rejected this piece of opportunist bungling. Fresh negotiations had no further result. The leaders of the Czech miners' union could not venture to go to the miners with a new wages reduction agreement.

On August 16 the decisive national conference of the miners met. It adopted the following resolution:

"In consideration of the decision reached by the colliery district conferences, and in consideration of the fact that the negotiations going on since Monday have not enabled any agreement to be arrived at respecting the regulation of wage conditions, either in the separate districts or for the whole of these, the national conference of miners resolves that work be stopped in the whole of the colliery districts of the republic on August 20. The strike rules previously issued hold good for the period of the strike and for its leaders."

The following resolution does not alter in any way the fact of the rejection of the agreement concluded between the Czech reformist leaders and the government and coal barons, and, in itself, it certainly constitutes no vote of confidence in these leaders:

"The national conference expresses the fullest confidence in the coalition of miners' unions for the manner in which the negotiations have hitherto been conducted, and expressly empowers it to carry on the struggle and to conduct any negotiations which may take place. The national conference expects that all socialist parties will support to the utmost of their power the struggle forced upon the miners. It is a necessary part of this support that the political parties do not interfere in the leadership of the struggle. Besides this, the national conference has taken all measures for carrying the struggle through and has imparted the necessary instructions to the delegates. From today on the central strike committee is in permanent session, at present in the premises of the coalesced unions in Prague."

Perhaps the reformist Brozik and his companions would have been successful on this occasion in imposing their will on the national conference, but the employers themselves frustrated this. On the very day when the bourgeois and social democratic press believed that it would be able to announce the end of the conflict, because the reformist leaders had concluded an agreement, on this very day the employers in the North Bohemian lignite districts gave notice of withdrawal from the collective agreement, in order to be free to cut down wages considerably.

The workers had thus the most striking proof that it was not merely a question of the Ostrau miners alone, but that the employers intended to reduce the standard of life of the whole of the miners.

And beyond even this, the miners' struggle is not only their own cause. The wage reduction agreement had scarcely been concluded when the employers' press began to demand that

other categories of workers should show the same "comprehension" of economic needs as that evinced by the miners. The whole working class grasps the fact that the defeat of the miners inevitably involves the defeat of the whole proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia. It therefore does not wish to content itself with moral solidarity only. It is endeavoring to form the united front of all workers as a means of establishing active solidarity.

This trend of feeling in the broad proletarian masses has naturally been most clearly expressed by the communists, above all by the Red International of Labor Unions. The International All-Trade Union Federation in the Czecho-Slovakian republic invited the other trade union centres to discuss the necessary steps. In the same manner the International Federation of Railwaymen appealed on former occasions, and again in the present instance, to the other socialist railwaymen's associations. The reformists replied with insults and abuse. Although they invited the Czech nationalist trade union centrals to a discussion, they refused to allow the Red International of Labor Unions to participate. The national socialists naturally did not appear, as the miners' organization founded by them, and possessing practically no members whatever, was not admitted to the negotiations. Czech and German reformists thus remained in undisturbed enjoyment of each other's company. The workers are by no means in agreement with the proceedings of the reformists. This was already plain enough at the national conference held on August 16, but was even more distinctly expressed by the Ostrau miners, who expressly demand that a conference be convened in which the International All-Trade Union Federation takes part.

The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions are of course not permitting the foolish attitude of the reformists to detract from their active endeavors in support of the fighting miners. A demonstration held in Prague on August 19, on the occasion of the proletarian culture exhibition, took the form of a mighty proclamation of solidarity with the mining proletariat engaged in the struggle. On the same day, the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia issued a fighting appeal to the whole of the workers of Czecho-Slovakia, stating that the official strike committee had only to issue a summons, and the whole of the workers were at its service.

Bourgeois agitation against the miners has already begun. The Prime Minister's paper designates the strike as an action hostile to the state, and demands that the government adopt the severest measures against it. It is a fact that the government is not averse to such measures. But it is very questionable if it would attain its ends by these means. The miners in the whole of the colliery districts have taken up the proclamation of the general strike with the greatest enthusiasm. The fighting spirit leaves nothing to be desired. Even the Amsterdam bureaucrats, in view of the evident fighting determination of the miners, are making great speeches. But the experience of the last few years has unfortunately shown us only too often that the speeches delivered by the bureaucrats of the Amsterdam International are but rarely in agreement with their subsequent deeds. It must be stated that all experience hitherto gained in the struggles of the Czecho-Slovakian miners justifies the conclusion that on this occasion the reformist trade union leaders will again do their utmost to bring about the defeat of the workers.

## ECONOMICS

### The Harvest in Russia

By R. St.

Moscow, 8th August 1923.

Harvesting is in full swing. In South Russia the corn sown last autumn has already been garnered, and that sown in the spring is now being harvested. The question of the yield from the corn crop is one of supreme importance for the whole of Soviet Russia, and results may already be given with a fair degree of accuracy.

The crops promised to be medium, and are in fact just below medium taking the whole Soviet Union together. The yield from the different provinces varied greatly. The Ukraine crops are above the medium, whilst the crops of the north eastern provinces (Perm, Vyatka, Vologda) are a failure owing to the drought.

A factor of the greatest importance in calculating the yield is the size of the area cultivated, and in this respect Russia has made great progress this year. The period in which the area cultivated diminished from year to year is now a thing of the past. As early as 1921, after the requisition system had been

abolished and replaced by taxation in kind, an increase in the area under cultivation could be observed in several provinces, especially in central and north Russia. But the failure of the crops in that year, which devastated the most fruitful provinces of the east and south east, retarded progress and even caused a renewed diminution of the cultivated area, for the peasants in these provinces, despite generous aid lent by the state and by foreign organizations, could not obtain sufficient seed corn and cattle to enable them to cultivate their fields again even to the same extent as in 1921. It was not until last year's crops were harvested that a real change for the better took place in all provinces. A leading role was played by the state, which aided the famine provinces in 1922 by providing over 40 mill. puds of seed corn. The development of the area sown may be seen from the following figures (in million pud dessjatines):

Year	Area cultivated
1916	80.4
1920	62.3
1921	54.8
1922	49.5
1923	59.4

We see therefore that in the current year the area cultivated is not only larger than last year's, but larger than that of 1921. Compared with last year, the increase is 20%.

What are the prospects thus offered for the total yield of the crop? According to the report issued by the chief Statistical Office on July 20, the total crop including the potato crop, the whole being reduced to rye units, will exceed 3 milliard pud, probably 3.2 milliard pud. This yield is considerably larger than that of the last 3 years, the years 1920 and 1921 being failures, and the year 1922 being at a disadvantage owing to the area cultivated being reduced by 10 million dessjatines.

Year	Crop in million puds
Average 1911—1915	4258*)
1920	2500
1921	2100
1922	2750
1923	over 3000

The progress thus made in the most important branch of agriculture, that of corn production, is accompanied by progress in all other branches, in cattle rearing, dairy produce, and in growing plants of economic utility. The figures relating to cotton cultivation may be adduced as an example. As is well known, the cotton plantations in Central Asia were completely abandoned during the years of revolution, as the factories in Central Russia were cut off from Turkestan during the civil war and the cotton found no buyers. The population took to the cultivation of corn. In the course of the civil war, which lasted until 1922, a great part of the irrigation plant in Turkestan was destroyed by the "Basmatz" bands, and the total area under cultivation (rice, corn, etc.) decreased by 60%. In 1922 a commencement was made with the work of restoring the cotton cultivation so important for Russia. In 1915, the total area given over to cotton cultivation (Turkestan, Chiva, Buchara, Caucasus) amounted to 650 dessjatines, and the cotton crop almost completely covered the requirements of Russian industry, increased through these were by the war. But in 1922 the results obtained by the cotton campaign were still very small; there was a lack of seed, of capital, and of faith on the part of the Dekhan (Turkestan peasant). Only 50,000 dessjatines were devoted to cotton growing, with the result that the crop could not meet Russia's requirements and she was compelled to purchase expensive Egyptian and American cotton. But in the present year we can observe a distinct and decided improvement. 185,000 dessjatines have been cultivated; the irrigation system has also been, greatly extended, so that by next year it will be possible to lay down about 430,000 dessjatines for cotton growing. The development is proceeding plainly and rapidly. What are the prospects for Russia's economy as a whole economy in view of the revival of agriculture? Russia is an agrarian country. The prosperity or decay of agriculture is decisive for the whole economics of the country. Agriculture supplies the raw materials for industry: skins, sugar, beets, flax, hemp, cotton, linseed, tobacco. The agricultural population buys the products of industry. Good crops signify increased purchasing on the part of the peasants, and with this, increased markets for industrial goods, improved conditions in industry, and finally, alleviation of unemployment and an improvement in the position of the town workers.

But it is not only industry which is closely bound up with agriculture. The revenues of the railways, waterways, and ports, are in a great measure dependent on the crops. Before the war

\*) In a somewhat larger district.

the railways transported 7 milliard puds of goods, of which over a milliard puds were corn and up to 700 million puds comprised other agricultural raw materials and products. These figures of course cannot convey a proper idea of the actual influence of agriculture on transport, for following on a good harvest, all industries experience a revival and the traffic on the railroads and waterways is thereby further increased.

There is no need to point out how close is the connection between the prosperity of state finances and the welfare of the chief taxpayer—the peasant. In Soviet Russia the connection is the more obvious in that the amount of the taxes is determined by the amount of the crop.

There is still another sphere in which agriculture has a decisive importance i. e., that of foreign trade. In 1913 the total value of Russian exports amounted to 1,500 million roubles, of which 1200 million roubles, that is, 80%, represented the agricultural products. The value of the corn alone (about 700 million puds) amounted to 6000 million roubles.

Russia, whose corn had disappeared from the markets of the world for several years, and who was herself even obliged to purchase corn in the years 1921 and 1922, is now once more appearing as an exporter of agricultural products. At the beginning of this year, when it appeared that there were still free surpluses from last year's crops in the country, Russia began to export corn. The quantity sold was not great in the first place, but it paved the way for future export; and in the second place it was a test for the state and the economic institutions engaged in organizing export: for the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, for the railways, for the ports, for the state bank and the cooperatives. All organizational and technical deficiencies were exposed, so that the experience gained in this trial export may be taken advantage of so that this year's export may be carried on under much more favorable conditions. It is expected that 150 to 200 million puds of corn will be exported, and this will represent a considerable item in Soviet Russia's trade balance. But the use made of the proceeds will greatly differ from that of pre-war Russia; the money received in foreign currencies will not be employed for paying interest on foreign loans, but for the purchase of generators for electric power plant, machinery for factories and mines, agricultural machines for the peasants, cotton, and chemicals.

This year's crops, which exceed last year's by 300 million puds, create a broad basis for increasing the scale of industrial production and export, and will mark a fresh stage in the process of recuperation in transport service, state finance, and general economics. The Russia of the workers and peasants, refused credits for her reconstruction by the capitalists at Genoa and The Hague, is now rising, slowly and laboriously, but surely, by her own unaided powers.

## IN THE R. I. L. U.

### Results of the Third Session of the Central Council of the R. I. L. U.

By A. Lozovsky.

The Central Council devoted its main attention to practical organization on questions of the international trade union movement. The congresses hitherto held have shown what is to be done, but how the resolutions adopted are to be actually realized can only be taught by experience, and it must be admitted that during this period we have gained wide experience in every sphere of the labor movement. That which was merely a slogan a short time ago has now become a living reality, and we are now confronted by the task of further developing the methods for the conquest of the masses. The most important questions occupying the last session of the Central Council were: united front, attitude towards reformist and anarchist pacifism, strike strategy, the national question in the trade union movement, combatting of Fascism, labor emigration, the problem of the factory councils, the conversion of craft unions into industrial unions, organization of the trade unions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the relations to the craft internationals and the tasks of the International Propaganda Committee, the relations to the Amsterdam international, the organizational development of the opposition, work amongst women and youth, representation of the R. I. L. U., information and communications, trade union press and trade union literature, tactics of the adherents of the R. I. L. U. in Spain, activity of the Trade Union Educational League in America, fight against the split in the trade unions, fight against the sabotaging of the decisions of the International Conference of Transport Workers, opposition tactics in the German trade

unions, the League in Czecho-Slovakia, etc. This mere enumeration of the questions dealt with shows the mighty growth of the revolutionary trade union movement, and it is a particularly characteristic feature of the present position of the R. I. L. U. that concrete practical answers had to be given to every question.

The present stage of development in the R. I. L. U. is determined by the raising and debating of the question of strike strategy.

So far as I am aware, no international congress has ever occupied itself with this question. It is true that even before the war there were discussions on the political strike, but no attitude has ever been adopted, from the standpoint of the general class strategy of the masses, towards the economic strikes and conflicts of the working class. Despite the extremely extensive experience gained in strike movements, we have not penetrated far into the question of strike strategy. And yet, when everything which we have gained in the way of experience in this respect during the last twenty to thirty years is given due consideration, we are in a position to draw extremely interesting conclusions of a general strategic nature. If we draw comparisons between the amount of matter written on the methods of conducting war, and that written on the methods of conducting strikes, an amazing contrast is revealed. Thousands and thousands of volumes have been devoted to the art of war; every country has its military schools occupied in studying past wars in the interests of a more adequate organization of the next; there are countless specialists studying the technical, social, economic and political lessons of the latest struggles; in every country there are thousands of text-books enabling any one to become familiar with the fundamental problems of strategy. And what auxiliaries have we at our disposal in the sphere of the economic conflicts between capital and labor? The great conflicts are scarcely studied at all, the experiences gained in the struggle are not utilized. Everything new and creative brought forth by the working class in its struggle with capital is passed over without observation. It is not only that there are no academies placing these questions on their syllabus, but the mere idea of publishing text-books dealing with strike strategy has not yet occurred to anybody. Is the struggle of 1,200,000 English miners, which shook all England for thirteen weeks at a stretch,—is this mighty collision between two classes of less significance than the battles of Sadowa or Mukden? And if such class struggles are of great significance, why are they not universally studied, why is the experience to be drawn from these struggles not made common property? Because the labor movement did not become international in action until the last four years, because the internationalization of the working class struggle did not commence until the C. I. and the R. I. L. U. came into existence. The moment has only just arrived for taking up the united economic struggle, and for undertaking the systematic study of the extensive but hitherto scattered experiences of the international strike movement. The Central Council has done excellent service in bringing up this complicated question, and in facing it despite being aware that many years of work will be required before even so much can be accomplished in this direction as has already been long accomplished in the science of war.

Among all the questions dealt with by the Central Council, I have selected the one which was not definitely answered in the form of a resolution. I have done this with the object of showing what gigantic tasks—in the truest sense of the word—are facing us. The R. I. L. U. does not shrink from the complexity and difficulty of these tasks for everyone in contact with the international trade union movement feels the daily growth of the revolutionary movement. It is not always easy for us to express this growth in figures, but that the process of the radicalization of the masses is going forward continuously is admitted today even by the Amsterdamers. During the last session of the Central Council every participant felt distinctly that the R. I. L. U. has become an international organization, and that the organizational content established between its separate national sections, has been mightily strengthened and extended. No doubt many years will have to pass before the R. I. L. U. has won over the millions of workers organized in the reformist trade unions, and the still greater masses of unorganized workers. Much water will have flowed under the bridge before the R. I. L. U. will have a secure ideological and organizational foothold, for the difficulties to be overcome are too great, the influence of bourgeois ideology on the proletarian masses is too great. We do not know how many years we shall need. But we do know, without a shadow of doubt, that with every day we come nearer to unity, that every congress, every conference, is one step further on the road to the creation of the leading fighting organ of the international trade union movement. The last session of the Central Council justifies our looking forward into the future with healthy optimism.

## OUR PROBLEMS

### The Question of Strike Strategy

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, issues the following appeal to the organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U., with the object of having the strike question brought up for discussion and clarified.

During the third session of the Central Council a special commission for strike strategy was appointed, and this submitted the draft of a resolution to the Central Council. As this problem is extremely complicated, and has not yet had light thrown upon it from all sides, it was resolved to lay the question before all organizations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. for debate, and to place it on the agenda of the next congress of the R. I. L. U. after all press opinions have been carefully collected, and all suggestions thoroughly worked out. You are being sent the material which we have at our disposal, and the draft of the resolution drawn up by the commission. The Executive Bureau begs that you devote your most earnest attention to this question. You yourselves will be well aware that the strike movement, though involving every year millions of workers in all parts of the world, has as yet been but little investigated. Methods which the working class frequently resorts to spontaneously in its impulse towards liberty, and which gain victories for the workers of this or that country, or of this or that branch of production, have not yet become the common property of the whole international proletariat. The wide experience which has been gained in the matter of strikes is not properly utilized. The question of strike strategy, which forms an inseparable part of the universal class struggle, has never yet been placed, so far as we know, on the agenda of a national or international congress. In this respect, as in many others, the working class has lagged behind the bourgeoisie. It suffices to draw a comparison between the work accomplished by the bourgeoisie in the study of war experience and that which has been accomplished by us towards a utilization of the experience of class warfare. Every diplomatic conflict, however small, every military collision and separate battle, has been accorded the profoundest consideration. Every country possesses an extensive war literature, war schools and academies, where the most thorough examination is given to everything which may serve to throw fresh light on the forms, methods, and accompanying phenomena of military conflicts. What have we to show in respect of study expended on the strike movement? Practically nothing! Some few articles, notes in our chronicles, expositions of the external situation of strikes and strike forms in union organs, and a large number of books and pamphlets. That is all. But was the strike of 1,200,000 English miners, which shook the mighty British Empire to its foundations, of less importance from the standpoint of historical evolution than the battle of Sedan? Is the strike struggle which swept over the whole world from 1919 to 1920, and which awakened millions of workers, not worthy of being studied down to the last detail? Will our class be able to carry off the victory if we do not call ourselves to account for even the slightest expenditure of energy, and for everything which we have accomplished in the struggle? Strategy is in itself an exceedingly complicated matter, and our class strategy is much more difficult than military strategy. In war there are definitely outlined firing lines—fronts. We all know where the enemy is. In class warfare the case is very different. We have first to convert millions of proletarians to a realization that a class front exists at all. Millions of workers, organized in the reformist unions, are still obeying the commands of their headquarters, although these include many conscious and unconscious agents of the bourgeoisie. If the adherents of the R. I. L. U. in every country would devote greater attention than heretofore to strikes and to the causes of the outbreaks of strikes, to the forms and character assumed by the negotiations, to the activities of auxiliary organizations during the strike struggle, the nature of the collisions with the authorities, the methods of combatting blacklegging, the rôle played by the bourgeois press during the conflicts, the moral mobilization of the strikers, further, the rôle played by the members of the strikers' families in diminishing the energy of the strike, the activity of the pickets, the effects of boycotts and spontaneous sabotage, the corruption of the leaders, the forms of organization adopted by the employers' unions and the nature of their resistance to the workers, etc.—if accurate data were collected, sifted, and studied on all these points, we should be in possession of an inexhaustible mine of information for the

internationalization of our tactics, and could render the results of our experiences accessible to all. The indications we have given will enable you to judge of the significance of what has just been said. We have, accordingly, complete confidence that you will take all necessary steps to make possible the serious study of the comprehensive data of strike struggles, and the working out of strike strategy.

## THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### The Russian Cooperative Organizations

By Karl Bittel (Weißenfels).

In connection with the export activity of Soviet Russia and the great All-Russian Exhibition for Agriculture and Home Industries in Moscow, reports are frequently published on the Russian cooperatives. The appended survey of the largest cooperative central unions may therefore be of interest:

#### 1. Zentrosojus.

The Zentrosojus is the central union of Russian cooperative societies. It comprises 87 provincial unions (Gubsojus), divided into 48 district unions, these again comprising 455 localities with about 27,000 cooperative societies and over 40,000 stores. Among the societies affiliated to the central union are the "Workers' Supply Section" (Ceram section), the "Transport Section", the "Union of Transport Cooperatives", and the "Military Cooperative Directorate", which last comprehends the whole of the military cooperatives of the Republic.

In order to give an idea of the complex machinery of the "Zentrosojus", the following departments may be named: Bread supply (provision of cereals such as rye, barley, oats, groats, etc.); meat and fats (meat, butter, eggs); groceries (sugar, spices, sweets); fish, salt (fish, herrings, caviare, salt); manufactured and fancy goods, footwear (linen, cloth, wool, textiles, lace, shoes); provision of raw materials of every description; department for household articles (objects of household use); department for economic and technical publications (book publishing and book selling). Industrial activity is very highly developed, as well as export and import. A model cooperative store, completely equipped, is to be erected at the exhibition, combined with a cooperative tea-house.

#### 2. Selskosojus.

The Selskosojus is the All-Russian union of agricultural cooperatives; it unites four All-Russian central unions, 47 provincial unions, 50 district unions, and 25 local unions, comprising a total of 200,000 agricultural undertakings. The activity of the Selskosojus consists in the sale of seed corn, corn, oil-cake, chopped straw, cattle rearing products, butter, cheese, eggs, game, poultry, tobacco goods, skins, bristles, horse-hair, horns and hoofs, raw wool, feathers and down, fish glue, medical raw materials, flowers, plants, vegetables, and other agricultural products. The main objects imported by the Selskosojus are agricultural machinery and implements, technical requisites for small agricultural undertakings, seed, remedies against insect pests, artificial manures, cattle and poultry for breeding purposes, and other aids to agricultural production.

#### 3. Vsekomprosojus.

This is the Russian union of craft cooperatives. It comprises 170 local home craft unions with a total of 4,000 workers' cooperatives (artels).

#### 4. Lnozentri.

This is the Russian central cooperative union of the flax and hemp growers.

#### 5. Vsekobank.

This is the All-Russian cooperative bank developed in January, 1923, from the cooperative societies' bank (Pokobank). Today it possesses 14 branches throughout Russia, and 5 agencies in Moscow. It corresponds with 9 foreign banks. The activity of its goods department extends chiefly in financing the commercial operations of the central cooperative organizations. Thus this bank financed an export operation of the Zentrosojus in bran. The agricultural cooperatives have also been financed in their export operations in tobacco and flax. It need not be said that the bank has taken a conspicuous part in the organization of labor credits.

For the purpose of furthering joint work for the Exhibition, the whole of the cooperative organizations have formed an Intercooperative Exhibition Committee, which will doubtless

prove of great importance even outside the Exhibition, implying as it does systematic joint work among the whole of the cooperative organizations of Soviet Russia, and thus forming a strong rampart against the economic system of private commercial enterprise.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Events in Turkey in July

By Henri Paulmier.

The month of July brought victory to the Kemalists in Turkey. Wherever candidates of the so-called "People's Party" were nominated, they were victorious in the election. The opposition had been deprived of any possibility of defending its program before the masses of electors, and it will be as well here to draw public attention to the methods used by the Kemalists agents in pursuance of their aims.

When the voters approached the ballot box, they were given a sealed envelope containing a voting paper of the People's Party, and were obliged to throw this into the box under the supervision of the polling clerks who consisted of spies. In this manner they were forced to vote for Kemal and his followers.

The signing of the peace treaty was celebrated with unprecedented pomp. The governor of the city gave 3000 francs to the national socialist organization for the arrangement of a demonstration. And this demonstration was then arranged with all possible promptitude. Tramway traffic was stopped for several hours, in order to allow the workers to take part in the demonstration.

The persecution of the communists continues. Thus comrade Riazim, already indicted at the last alleged communist conspiracy, was refused leave to quit Constantinople to go to his place of employment in Kerazunde. This practically amounts to a sentence to death by starvation as the gates of every factory here are closed to him. On the application of the state attorney, the conspiracy trial was passed on to the court of cassation in Sivas. This has now quashed the decision for acquittal pronounced by the court of justice in Constantinople in favor of the 18 imprisoned comrades. The communist trial will thus begin all over again.

Party comrades in all other countries must now concentrate their attention on Angora and Constantinople, which will presently be the scene of two trials of a class character. The law upon which the indictment of our comrades is based provides for hard labor as a minimum sentence and a maximum sentence of capital punishment.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### The American Labor Year Book 1921-1922

By I. Amler.

The fourth issue of the American Labor Year Book made its appearance some little time ago. First published in 1916, the Year Book has been a good survey of the labor movement, especially of the United States.

This fourth issue gives one a comprehensive review of conditions in America, of labor legislation, unemployment, the open shop movement, espionage, cooperation, the situation of the Negro, the farmers, the labor organizations, of the socialist and labor movement abroad and of the Internationals. The last section is a lengthy review of the Socialist and radical movement of the United States.

The editors of the Year Book are Alexander Trachtenberg and Benjamin Glassberg. And therein lies a tale. The title "Year Book 1921-1922" is a fraud. It is a fraud perpetrated by the Socialist Party and the Rand School of Social Science, which recently had to give up its ghost as a socialist school and become the educational center of the New York Central Trade and Labor Council as a trade union school.

The book was compiled in 1921, when Trachtenberg and Glassberg were still teaching at the Rand School and covered the year 1920 to 1921. At that time, the Socialist Party did not

dare proceed to the demand that all members of the board of directors of the Rand School must be members of the Socialist Party. But the fight between the Communists and those constituting the "Workers' Council" group on the one hand, and the Socialist Party on the other, became acute, and the S.P. knew no better way to conduct the fight than to cut off its own nose and cause Trachtenberg and Glassberg to leave. The manuscripts were finished and in the hands of Algernon Lee, director of the Rand School in October 1921. And in his hands they remained for more than a year, then to be published as the annual of 1921-1922.

The mental lethargy of these "proponents of revolution" is manifest in this book. They were too lazy, too irresponsible to attempt even to bring the book up to date. Instead, they have published statistics of 1920, while those of 1921 were easily available. Even the big strikes of the summer of 1922 are not mentioned; nor are the statistics of the A.F. of L. for 1921-1922, which could easily have been procured, since the convention of the A.F. of L. and a meeting of the Executive Council took place in 1922. Even statistics of the Socialist Party are limited to 1921.

It is amusing to read in this book an article on the 2½ International, by Fritz Adler, containing the following statements: "Those parties which left the Second International, but could not join the Third without coming into conflict with their Socialist consciences, are not deluding themselves that their international federation constitutes a new International. They refuse to call themselves the 'Fourth International' and leave it to their opponents to speak of them in cheap mockery as the 'Two-and-a-half International.'" The newly established "International of Socialist Parties" takes the position that it is little as the so-called Second and the so-called Third International fulfills the requirements of a real International. And two years later, the 2½ joined that so-called Second International, which, we agree, does not "fulfill the requirements of a real International." It is unnecessary to take up his quarrel with the Third International: these pseudo-revolutionists have found that revolution is a much sterner, more serious matter than they believed and therefore want to get back safely into the fold wherein lies security under the protection of the bourgeoisie—at least for a short while.

But the height of stupidity and of impudence in the Year Book is attained in the article on the Communist International. After enumerating the 21 points, the Year Book continues: "The thesis adopted at the Fourth Congress of the International, meeting late in December, 1921 (sic!), nullified these demands, declaring the imperative necessity of working class unity and the desire of the workers of the world to effect such unity (sic!)." The mixing of dates is pardonable; one should not ask too much of a socialist brain. That the Communist International nullified the 21 points will come as a revelation to socialists in other parts of the world. Unfortunately these hair-brained socialists of the United States cannot understand the difference between the United Front policy of the Communist International, which has met with tremendous success and was the spirit that led to the Frankfurt Conference and the conference of the International Transport Workers in Berlin, and organic unity, which the Communist International rejects unless based upon the 21 points, which have not been nullified. On the contrary, the Fourth Congress, which met on Nov. 7, 1922, confirmed the 21 points and demanded of the future Executive Committee that "it enforces these most strictly."

That socialists make such small mistakes is to be expected; that is quite in line with the other mistakes and omissions and commissions they have been guilty of since 1914. But the article on the Communist International is unsigned, so that it may be attributed to the authors of the Year Book. This is a lie. The authors of the Year Book are members of the Workers' Party—Trachtenberg is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Party. The real author of the article is Algernon Lee, director of the Rand School, one of the "leaders" of the Socialist Party. The same Algernon Lee, who as a member of the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York, voted for an arch commemorating the deeds of American soldiers in the World War, an arch bearing the inscription *Murmansk, where American soldiers shot down Russian workers!*

To be sure, the honor and self-respect of Socialists is not very high—and this should be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, it is necessary to apprise the intelligent workers of the world of the omissions and commissions of these "emancipators of the proletariat."

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## POLITICS

### The German Junkers take Command

By Karl Radek.

The German Chancellor, Herr Stresemann, first made his bow to the sovereign Reichstag, but after having fulfilled this duty he boarded a train and proceeded to Mittelwald in Bavaria, where the Bavarian Prime Minister, Herr von Knilling, is spending his holidays. The Fascist *Völkische Beobachter* asks derisively why Herr Stresemann did not first visit the Saxon Prime Minister, the social democrat Zeigner, but gave precedence to one of the heads of German counter-revolution, the head of that Bavarian government which publicly expressed its lack of confidence in the Stresemann government immediately after it was formed.

Herr Stresemann was able to reply to this that the Social Democratic Party Committee, was quite capable of itself keeping the worthy Zeigner within bounds, but that it was incumbent on the chancellor himself to come to an understanding with the counter-revolutionary elements.

In order to facilitate this task, the coalition government has communist organizations dissolved, communist newspapers prohibited and factory councils persecuted, although the Minister for Finance, Herr Hilferding, declared at the recent conference of the Second International in Hamburg that socialism is no longer a final goal, but is already being attained by the factory workers who are endeavoring to take control of production.

All the efforts made by the Stresemann-Hilferding government to pacify the German counter-revolutionists have not only been entirely unsuccessful, but have encouraged the counter-revolutionists to such an extent that they are openly preparing to overthrow the Stresemann government. Here we do not speak of the press of the German National and National Socialist Parties, which have stated their attitude to the Stresemann-Hilferding government with refreshing candour. Candour has always been a virtue of these counter-revolutionary organizations.

We speak of the decision arrived at by the German National People's Party, which met on August 28 in the Reichstag and, after first hearing the speeches of Messrs Hergt, Helfferich, Schiele and Reichert, adopted an official program of subversion.

What does this program contain? With reference to foreign politics it makes the following demands: Annulment of the Versailles Peace, arming of the German people, continuation of the resistance in the Ruhr by every means available. This foreign political program is, however, a mere blind. When Kapp chased the Ebert government out of Berlin in 1920, he at once announced that his government would fulfil the terms of the Versailles Peace as far as possible. And Kapp's advisers at that time were the same Dr. Helfferich who is now the political leader of the German National People's Party, and the same Colonel Bauer who is now the leading strategist of the nationalist military secret societies. And there is no doubt whatever that if the Fascist coup were successful, Herren Hergt and Helfferich would try to come to an understanding with the Entente. They have now drawn up a fighting program against the Entente, hoping thus to regain the support of the masses of officers and nationalist intelligentsia who left the junker party to join the extreme nationalist organizations.

The main item of the program is to be found in the domain of economic policy. When the workers left the factories in the first week of August, the junkers granted the new taxes in their alarm lest there might be a revolution. Now they declare with characteristic impudence that this was done solely for the purpose of reinforcing the defensive struggle in the Ruhr and on the Rhine, and of enabling better order to be maintained at home. "The premises are no longer the same" The French are still in the Ruhr and on the Rhine; order at home is threatened more than ever; only one thing is changed: the reactionaries have got over their fright, and therefore the German Nationalists declare that they demand postponement of tax payments, and that the national food supplies can only be assured if the present government is replaced by one capable of gaining the confidence of the junkers. At the same time they demand that the creation of a really valid currency should be placed in the hands of the economic professions.