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## The Balance of the Hamburg Socialist Conference

### Without sail or rudder

By *Karl Radek*.

The Congress of the London and Vienna Internationals is at an end. Its sole result consists in the fact that the open and the disguised reformists have amalgamated. They have not formed an international. They were not capable of applying any political principles, not even reformist ones, to the questions now confronting the proletariat. They were incapable of forming one unanimous judgment upon the most important facts with which the proletariat is now grappling, much less of laying down any line of action. The broken pitcher cannot be mended, and the Second International, shattered by the war, cannot be set up again.

#### The Collapse of the 2nd International.

The cause of the break-down of the 2nd International lay in its essential character. It was a reformist organization. It is true that it employed revolutionary phrases in its resolutions, but in reality it strove solely for reforms on the basis and within the limits of Capitalism. As it not only rejected the idea of the approaching proletarian revolution, but even the idea of the mental preparation of the proletariat for coming revolutionary struggles—because it assumed Capitalism to be the only possibility within any calculable time—it was bound to stand and fall with Capitalism. But for the parties of the 2nd International, Capitalism is only the general conception of the existing separate capitalist state and economic areas, for every party belonging to the 2nd International is internally bound to its state, to its bourgeoisie. When the capitalist states quarrelled with one another, when the great war broke out, then every party in the 2nd International sided with its own national bourgeoisie, in the hope that the victory of its bourgeoisie would form the foundation for the

uplift of its working class, for reforms within the confines of its own state. Reformism gave birth to social patriotism, and this proved to be the child and destroyer of reformism at the same time. The self-annihilation of the proletariat in the great war enabled capitalism to carry on the war until Europe was reduced to a heap of ruins, under whose debris all possibility of reforms, or of amelioration of the lot of the proletariat, is buried for decades.

#### The Congress and National Defence.

Now they have all met together again. Mr. Vandervelde, minister of His Majesty the king of Belgium; Mr. Henderson, late minister of His Majesty the king of England; Mr. Branting, minister of His Majesty the king of Sweden; Mr. Scheidemann, minister of His Majesty the emperor of Germany, and dozens of others, ministers of its holiness the world bourgeoisie. And the first task with which they were faced was to learn the lesson left behind by the war, to decide for or against the falsehood of defence of native country, for or against reformism, that is, coalition with the bourgeoisie. Could they now openly pronounce themselves in favor of defence of country? 15 millions of human beings lie beneath the sod, victims who have fallen in the interests of the bourgeoisie. The stench of putrefaction still rises to heaven. During the first years following the war, the social democrats attempted to overcome this stench by swinging the censer of pacifism, and shrieking "Never another war!" But now they would only render themselves ridiculous if they took up this refrain again in face of the daily increasing armaments and war danger in Central Europe, in South Eastern Europe and in the Orient, in view of the Anglo-French and Americano-Japanese

antagonisms. What is left for them to do? At the Hague, the Amsterdamers declared: general strike against the danger of a new war. But the old secretary of the 2nd International, Camille Huysmans, declared to them: Let it pass; if it comes to war we can do as we did in 1914. And now the situation has become so threatening that they do not venture to repeat the joke this time. They might be taken at their word to-morrow by the Communists. The conference therefore replied to the fundamental question of the day, to the question of how the proletariat should defend itself against the fresh war danger, by a resolution to the effect that it did not intend to answer this question at all. And so this International is launching out into the stormy ocean without rudder, a derelict, driven before the storm.

#### Attitude towards Reformism.

Reformism, improvement of the status of the proletariat on the foundation of democracy, by means of democracy! Reforms to the front, reforms to the rear, democracy here, democracy there, and Kautsky declares, in his book on the program of the International for the coming time, that Marx's teachings require correction. Marx declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat lies between the periods of Capitalism and Socialism. When the Russian revolution showed for the first time the actual concrete substance and mechanism of the proletarian dictatorship, the old gentlemen were alarmed. He laid all Marx's books on the floor, put his spectacles on his nose, sniffed and poked about, and finally ejaculated: I have it! The proletariat will gradually gain the majority, and when the counters of the voting papers at last declare: "Aha! here we have a proletarian majority"; then the labor government will come, and everything will be all right. In 1918 Herr Kautsky was still an opponent of coalition with the bourgeoisie. Since then, four years have passed. Social democrats have entered bourgeois governments wherever they have been granted admittance. They have helped the bourgeoisie to establish its power, and have been promptly kicked out as soon as the work was done. In quite a number of countries they are standing like whipped curs, and it avails them little that they express themselves in favor of coalition. Where they still have the chance of entering bourgeois governments, the tasks awaiting them there are such that most of them take fright. Should the German social democrats enter the Great Coalition today, they would not only be unable to offer the proletariat even reforms as a reward for co-operation with the bourgeoisie, but they would have to load the heaviest burdens upon the proletariat. When Herr Kautsky wrote his book on the new program, the social democrats were in the government, and he declared that Marx's teaching should be corrected as follows: It is not the dictatorship which lies between Capitalism and Socialism, but the coalition government. His book was out-of-date by the time it was published. The Fascist movement arose and grew in power in a number of countries. It would be ridiculous to inscribe coalition with the bourgeoisie on the banner of the Second International at the present juncture. It takes two to make a coalition, as it takes two for a love affair. And the bourgeoisie is swinging the Fascist cudgel and calling out to the coalition-seeking social democrats: Here is your coalition, my cudgel will connect itself with you. What is left of the reforms to the front and to the rear, what is left of the poor broken down nag of democracy? By the waters of the Alster they sit down and weep, like the Jews by the waters of Babylon: reaction, reaction everywhere! Hard times. — Nebbich! Let us postpone the question until better days come.

#### The Reparation Question.

And since they are putting out to sea without rudder, and without sail or compass, the storm tosses their weak vessel to and fro, so that they stumble against one another as if drunk. They have to adopt some attitude towards the reparation question. A short time ago de Brouckère, at the congress held by the Belgian social democrats, called Scheidemann a criminal on account of his war policy, and the congress clapped applause. And now they all sit down together, the worthy German social patriots and the worthy Belgian and French social patriots, in the congress hall of the trade union buildings. It is difficult to address one another with the words: Honorable assembled criminals! It is not customary. Thus they let Sidney Webb justice prevail. That has always been the role of the Englishman. And the just man says: All governments are to blame for the war — that is to say, Scheidemann is just such another criminal as Vandervelde. Forgive their trespasses, that they may forgive yours. But then they deal with the reparation question. This question, as is well known, consists of the principle laid down in the holy scriptures — not in the books of Moses or of the New Testament — but in the books of the Versailles peace, and concentrated in the formula

that: Germany is to blame for the war, and Germany has to pay the reparations.

The socialists of the Entente first declared through Sidney Webb, that all governments are to blame for the war. The logical conclusion would be that the congress would protest against Germany being compelled to pay. But the bourgeoisie of the Entente countries continues to repeat that Germany has to pay her debts, and the social democrats of the Entente are afraid of their bourgeoisies. Thus they find that Germany is under the moral obligation to pay the reparations. The German social democrats do not concern themselves about moral obligations, however, unless their fulfillment is likely to be forced at the point of the bayonet. No social democrat has been struck with the idea that the peasants of the Ukraine should be compensated for the looting done by the German imperialist armies during the war. But French imperialism has its army in the Ruhr area. Hence Mr. Hilferding strikes an attitude, and, dripping with morality, he declares: We do not recognize the obligation to pay because there is a pistol at our head, but because we are moral human beings. Upon this Mr. Blum, leader of the French social democrats, presses him to his bosom, moistens his vest with tears, and sobs: Man is noble, helpful, and good. At the same time he utilizes the softened mood of the public to put in a good word for his own much slandered bourgeoisie. Bauer has spoken of French imperialism, and others have also used this objectionable word. But of course no such thing as French imperialism exists. France is merely very much alarmed, is so afraid of German weapons that she has taken refuge in the Ruhr area. And after this speech, the good old seaman Crispin rises, and swears that he has never witnessed so lovely a scene before, not even in the theatre, and that Blum sings as sweetly as the leading tenor soloists of the Second International before the war. The chairman at this festival performance was Emil Vandervelde, whose signature ornaments the shameful document of Versailles. And what resolutions were passed, and how! The resolution on the reparation question was not submitted to the conference, not even read to it. Fritz Adler simply requested the congress to accept the unread resolution in the reparation question, in full faith in the various commissions and sub-commissions. And thus it was done!

#### Soviet Russia.

If Versailles is the symbol of counter-revolution in Europe, Soviet Russia is the seat of proletarian revolution. For five years she has stood fast, like a rock in the midst of the capitalist ocean, and all around her the storms of capitalism are raging, as the waves break on the red cliffs of Helgoland. She stands fast, poor still, for she can only work with one hand, being forced to hold a rifle in the other. Her children are still hungry. The mailed fist of the dictatorship not only has to crush every sign of counter-revolution, but it has to keep within bounds all the weak elements, all the vacillating spirits who spread abroad disbelief in victory. The social democrats, who have always held the stirrup of the White generals of the land-owners and bourgeoisie in every conflict of Russian revolution and counter-revolution, who have always lent their aid to every attack made by the capitalist enemy on this stronghold of revolution, who undermine the morale of the garrison—these cannot be treated otherwise than as enemies of the proletarian republic, and they are so treated by this republic. What wonder that they now lament in every social democratic and bourgeois newspaper, and what wonder that neither Weis nor Noske can subdue his emotion at the lamentations of these poor worms. Weis and Noske have only the blood of about twenty four thousand revolutionary workers on their conscience. Workers murdered by Märcher, Epp, Tatter, Ehrhardt, Reinhardt, etc., these brave generals of the Minister for War of his majesty the German bourgeoisie, the proletarian Noske. How can Henderson suppress his tears, when he, as royal minister, has done no more than agree to having the workers of Dublin shot down with their leader Conolly. Therefore a curse on Soviet Russia, persecutor of the innocent. But oh dear! if Soviet Russia be crushed, then the White terror will be victorious, and not only in Russia, then reaction will be victorious all over Europe, and the struggle for spheres of influence in a Russia degraded to a colony will kindle a war such as the world has never seen. Thus the curse on Soviet Russia is followed by a whimper: Hands off Soviet Russia! And they appoint a commission, and this deletes a piece from the beginning of the resolution dealing with relations to Soviet Russia, sticks it on the end, crosses out the middle part and replaces it by fresh phrases. And all this with the utmost wailing and lamentation. The soup cooked at last from all these ingredients would make any goat bleat that had to drink it. And this is called adopting an attitude, on the part of the International Socialist Congress, to the question of the first workers' and peasants' state of the world.

A ship is leaving Hamburg which is leaky as a sieve, with broken masts, with sails like scarecrows, without rudder, without compass, without course, with a crew of tricksters and sharpers. It will be the sport of wind and waves until it is shattered on the rocks.

## THE UNITED FRONT

### The United Front of the Transport Workers

By A. LOZOVSKY.

While in Hamburg the Socialist Congress was proceeding, accompanied by the wildest agitation against Communism and social revolution, in Berlin, there met the conference of the Transport Workers, participated in by representatives of the R.I.L.U. and of organizations affiliated to the Amsterdam International. Hamburg was the rendezvous for the drawing room coalition ministers of yesterday, today, and tomorrow, whose greatest anxiety was the concealment of their nationalist and imperialist antagonism. Berlin was the meeting place of the leaders of the transport workers of all countries, convened with the sincere and honorable intention of finding a common basis of understanding among the workers of different parties. In Hamburg, all participants were permeated with the idea of supporting to their utmost that which has been happily termed by that unhappy child of Menshevism, Abramovitch, "democratic capitalism". Here in Berlin "democratic capitalism", was not talked about, the question dealt with was how best to gather together the scattered masses, for self-defence against the growing capitalist and democratic reaction. On one side a congress where Left and Right combine on the basis of co-operation of the classes, and on the other side, a conference resulting in an understanding for the purpose of united revolutionary class war. And although many hundreds of people took part in the Hamburg congress, including many ministers, while in Berlin it was but a modest gathering, attended by 9 persons in all, not one of whom was a bourgeois minister, still the Berlin conference was of much greater significance for the working class than the empty cackling of the Hamburg geese. What is the real import of the Hamburg congress? The strengthening of the coalition policy, the sanctioning of working unity among the classes, and thus the widening of the chasm within the labor movement. And what is the import of the Berlin consultation? The extension of the anti-capitalist front, the consolidation of proletarian positions, and a stride forward towards the restoration of unity in the labor movement, on the basis of revolutionary class war. And thus the Hamburg congress will be recorded in the history of the working class as a stage of that organizational process which confirms the influence of the bourgeoisie over only part of the proletariat, while the Berlin conference, on the other hand, will be recorded as a stage on the road to the emancipation of ever enlarging sections of the working class from reformist ideology and reformist practice.

The antagonists of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions have often, in speech and writing, declared that the United Front slogan issued by us is nothing more than an empty pretext, as the Communists do not sincerely want a united front. Various French hole-and-corner journalists have been particularly active in spreading themselves over this theme. In many countries we have replied to this demagoguery by deeds. Now we can reply with a new international proof. If anyone asks what our United Front signifies, we reply: Read with attention the resolutions passed by the Transport Workers' conference and you will find the answer to this question. But now we put a few questions to our opponents: Can you find in these resolutions, passed by us, anything with which any workman can disagree? Perhaps the war against war? The struggle against Fascism? The defence of Soviet Russia? The creation of organs intended to carry on the struggle against militarist reaction on international lines? Or perhaps the desire of the conference, to overcome the trade union split as rapidly as possible, is unacceptable? We are fully convinced that no worker can contest any one of the points of our resolutions. But now the reformist leaders are doubtless expressing themselves as opposed to these resolutions, for they prefer coalition with the bourgeoisie to coalition with the Communists. This idea appears through all the speeches and actions of the conveners of the Hamburg congress. The reply received by the International Committee of Action against War Danger and Fascism, to its appeal for the formation of a united front, signified: Rather with the bourgeoisie against the Communists than with the Communists against the bourgeoisie! The International Transport Workers' Federation rejected this formula, and declared: Rather

with the Communists against the bourgeoisie, than with the bourgeoisie against the Communists. And here lies the historical import of the unity conference of the transport workers.

Neither of the two parties to the agreement is a victim to any delusion: both parties are fully aware of the difficulty of maintaining unity of action in the present disunited state of the labor movement. Both parties grasped that the fundamental and political differences of opinion existing within the trade union movement are not to be overcome by the joint signing of some few resolutions, but that various opinions and ideas will continue to combat one another. The united front does not wipe out differences of opinion, but it paves the way for bringing the scattered trade unions together, and creates—on the basis of common action—that mutual confidence which is indispensable in a struggle against a common enemy. We, the followers of the Red International of Labor Unions, take our obligations very seriously. We shall fulfil them loyally and energetically, and naturally we expect the same from the International Transport Workers' Federation, which signed the agreement with us. All trade unions belonging to the Red International of Labor Unions, especially the Russian trade unions, have frequently mooted the question of their admittance into the international craft unions. They have invariably been refused. When international capital blockaded Soviet Russia, international reformism carried on a blockade against the revolutionary trade unions of Russia. The goal aimed at by international reformism has not been attained; the working masses of Europe have proved themselves to possess so much class feeling and comprehension of their own interests that they have taken up the defence of Soviet Russia, and of the trade unions created by the Russia proletariat.

Where will this understanding among the transport workers lead us? We should like to see it spread as rapidly as possible to every branch of production. We shall work systematically and thoroughly for the amalgamation of the parallel trade unions in all countries. We shall continue repeatedly to propose joint action to the Amsterdam International and to all international secretariats. The interests of the international proletariat demand this. And woe to those leaders of the labor movement who do not grasp this!

Slowly and painfully the united front of the working class is born. As the roots of the schism in the working class lie in the policy of working unity with the bourgeoisie, the schism is overcome in proportion as the broad masses of the workers, and the organizations created by them, throw over this policy. One thing is beyond all doubt: the unity of the working class can only originate in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and as the conference held by the transport workers set itself the task of combating the bourgeoisie, it thus at the same time created the premises for the unity of the transport workers of all countries. This conference proved the vitality of the united front and hence I close my remarks by repeating the declaration which I made at the Hague International Conference: "Whether you want it or not—the united front will come about. It will come about with you if you like, without you if you stand aside, and against you if you offer resistance."

## Summary of Conference

### Joint Conference of the Representatives of the International Transport Workers Federation and the All-Russian Trade Unions of Railway Workers, Transport Workers and Seamen.

The Conference took place on the 23rd and 24th of May 1923 in Berlin. It was convened by the representatives of the I.T.F. and the Russian Transport Workers Unions as a result of the previous exchange of correspondence between these organizations.

#### Composition of the Conference.

From the I.T.F.:  
Robert Williams, Chairman of the I.T.F. (England),  
Edo Fimmen, General Secretary of the I.T.F. (Holland),  
Johanna Döhning, Member of the Executive of the I.T.F. (Germany),  
Marcel Bidegaray, Member of the Executive of the I.T.F. (France),  
N. Natans, Assistant Secretary of the I.T.F. (Holland).  
From the Russian Unions:  
A. Andreyev, Chairman of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Railroad Workers Union,  
A. Sodosky, Chairman of the C.C. of the All-Russian Transport Union,  
G. Achkanov, Vice Chairman of the C.C. of the All-Russian Seamen's Union.

A. Lozovsky, Representative of the All-Russian Trade Union Council.

#### Opening and Agenda.

The conference was opened on the 23rd of May. Five joint sessions and a series of committee sessions were held. Robert Williams was elected Chairman of the conference and N. Natans and A. Sadovsky were chosen secretaries. The following questions were discussed:

- 1) The struggle against War and War Danger.
- 2) The struggle against Fascism.
- 3) The United Front of all Transport Workers and their organizations, of the I.T.F. as well as the R.I.L.U.
- 4) The creation of a Relief Fund for the Transport Workers' organizations persecuted by Fascism.
- 5) Fusion of the split unions and the readmission of the expelled unions and groups in the various countries.
- 6) To convene and organize an international congress of all Transport Workers' Unions.
- 7) To appeal to all international trade union secretaries to organize a united proletarian front.

#### General Discussion and Work of the Conference.

The conference was opened with an address by the Chairman, Robert Williams and speeches by comrades Andreyev and Lozovsky. Every speaker, including comrades Fimmen, Döhring, Bidegaray etc., recognized the absolute necessity for the immediate organization of the United Front of all Transport Workers. The exhaustive discussion served as a mutual exchange of information, united the Transport Workers' leaders from the various countries in joint conferences and cleared away many misunderstandings which still existed. The conference was characterized by a general will to turn from words to deeds and to make practical progress towards the creation of the United Front.

#### Decisions.

As a result of the intensive work of the conference, the following decisions were reached which affect the Transport Workers' organizations in every country:

- 1) To issue an appeal in the name of the conference against the threatening war danger.
- 2) To issue an appeal against Fascism.
- 3) To create a joint Committee of Action which is to organize the United Front of the Transport Workers and lead the struggle against Fascism.
- 4) To inform all the Transport Workers and their organizations of the creation of this Committee of Action.
- 5) The program of action formulated by the Joint Commission for the Committee of Action is accepted unanimously. This program of action is to be submitted by the I.T.F. delegation for approval by the Executive of the I.T.F.
- 6) To create a Relief Fund for the Transport Workers' organizations persecuted by Fascism, to support and to reorganize the Italian Transport Workers' Unions.
- 7) To convene an international congress of the Transport Workers' organizations of every country and tendency, in the Autumn of 1923. The Committee of Action is charged with the organization of this congress.
- 8) To draw up a resolution in which the necessity of the United Front is pointed out.

#### Conclusion and Results of the Conference.

The main tendency of this congress was: fewer words and more deeds. The tense political atmosphere, under the pressure of the threatening war danger and of the capitalist offensive, united all participants in the effort to solve the burning questions of the hour. The negotiations were closed with addresses by comrades Williams, Fimmen and Lozovsky, who expressed their satisfaction with the work and decisions of the conference and pointed out its special significance, not only for the Transport Workers, but for the International Trade Union Movement as a whole.

The Secretaries of the Conference:  
N. Natans. A. Sadovsky.

### The United Front of the Transport Workers Organizations of all Countries and all Tendencies

#### Resolution on the United Action of the Transport Workers.

The position of the World Proletariat is deteriorating at an ever increasing rate. The continually extended occupation of German territory by French and Belgian troops, the catastrophic

effects of the Versailles Peace Treaty, the dependence of the countries of the Little Entente upon the West European capitalist governments, in consequence of which Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia are nothing else than the servicable tools of the great imperialist states, the steadily growing reaction, the destruction of the Workers' organizations by Fascism in Italy, the persecution of the working class in Yugoslavia, Roumania, Finland, Spain and other countries, and before all the conspiracy of the reactionary governments to overthrow Soviet Russia, threaten the Proletariat with complete enslavement and misery.

The Bureau and General Council of the International Transport Workers Federation, empowered by the congresses of the I.T.F., as well as the All-Russian Unions of the Transport Workers, Railway Workers and Seamen, empowered on their side by the All-Russian Trade Union Federation and by the Transport Workers' Unions holding the view-point of the Red International of Labor Unions, consider it as their first task to bring about the unity of the Transport Workers in all countries, especially in those countries where the movement is split, and to prevent future expulsions as well as the creation of new parallel organizations.

For the purpose of carrying out this task, the representatives of the I.T.F. have conferred with the representatives of the Russian Transport Workers Unions, authorized by all the Transport Workers' organizations holding the view-point of the R.I.L.U. on the 23rd and 24th of May in Berlin in order to realize this common aim.

The conference, at which the I.T.F. was represented by Robert Williams—Chairman, John Döhring—Vice Chairman, M. Bidegaray, Edo Fimmen—General Secretary, and N. Natans—Assistant Secretary, and the Russian Railway Workers, Transport Workers' and Seamen's Unions by A. Andreyev, A. Sadovsky, G. Atchkanov as well as the All-Russian Trade Union Federation by A. Lozovsky, adopted a series of resolutions, the carrying out of which, the organizations concerned on both sides are most expressly charged.

#### It was decided:

1. To form an equally represented International Committee of Action whose task it will be to propagate, organize and carry through the struggle of the Transport Workers, Railway Workers and Seamen of all countries and tendencies against Militarism, Danger of War and Fascism.
2. To organize a constant control of all transport of munitions, in the first place by the creation of Control Committees at the factories, the important docks, Railway Junctions and Frontier Stations.
3. To convene a world congress of the Transport Workers of all countries and tendencies for the purpose of creating a united fighting front and for the setting up of the united national and international organization.
4. To adopt the necessary measures for the common support of Transport workers of all countries persecuted by Fascism, especially through the creation of a common fund.

The conference expressed the hope that it would not only succeed in the near future in realizing the unity of all Transport Workers and effectively carrying on their common struggle against Militarism, Danger of War and Fascism, but that the international secretariats of other industries will create the unity necessary in the interests of all the workers.

### Against War!

#### To the Transport Workers, Railroad Workers and Seamen of all Countries!

Comrades!

The solemn promise of the capitalist governments that the great World War which we have just passed through would be the last of all wars was a despicable lie.

The bourgeoisie never for a moment believed in the truth of this promise. It was nothing but a deceptive catchword which it found necessary to employ in order to incite millions of proletarians to engage in mutual slaughter, instead of uniting in the struggle against their common enemy: International Capital. Today we are further off from the promised peace than ever. Capitalism has emerged out of the War more predatory than ever. Throughout the world, capitalist interests conflict with one another. On all sides the combustible material is accumulating for new bloody conflicts, conflicts among the capitalist states themselves, but more particularly between the capitalist states on the one side and the Workers' Republic on the other. The occupation of the Ruhr area by French and Belgian troops, the journey of Marshall Foch to the countries of the small Entente, Lord Curzon's note to the Russian Government, the endeavours of the

Lausanne conference to subjugate the Turkish people, — all these are unmistakable signs of the efforts of the imperialist governments to plunge the world into a new blood bath. The hatred and aversion towards the New Russia evinced throughout the and reactionary and conservative world still continues. The most cherished ideal of the propertied classes in all countries remains that of exploiting the inexhaustible treasures of this vast country. The first desire of all the enemies of the struggling proletariat is, to overthrow the present form of government in Russia, i. e., the rule of the Workers and Peasants.

#### The Working Class in all countries wants peace.

In all capitalist wars the working class has nothing to gain and all to lose. No matter what the issue of a war, capitalism is always the victor, the international Proletariat always the vanquished. A war of the united capitalist states against Russia would inevitably mean a new world war. The overthrow of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic would be the severest blow which the International Proletariat could sustain. For no matter what the differences dividing the Proletariat internationally, theoretically and organizationally, one thing is certain: Soviet Russia is the last stronghold against the growing international reaction which threatens to submerge the revolutionary Working Class.

Comrades!

Convinced that the Working Class of all countries can only offer resistance to the threatening war danger and the ever-increasing reaction, when the strongest United Front is formed, the representatives of the International Transport Workers' Federation and of the Russian Trade Unions of the Railway Workers, Transport Workers and Seamen, empowered by all the Transport Workers' organizations which accept the view-point of the R.I.L.U., have decided to create a *Joint Committee against War and Fascism*.

Determined to overcome all existing divisions in the Transport Workers' movement, an inspired by the wish to create a strong unified power in the interests of the International Proletariat, the representatives of the International Transport Workers' Federation and of the All-Russian Transport Workers' Unions, appeal to the Transport Workers, Railway Workers and Seamen of all countries and all tendencies to follow their example and to proceed to common action against the threatening War and Reaction.

Comrades, Transport Workers, Railway Workers and Seamen, do your duty! Set the example to the workers in other industries.

Be on your Guard!

Continue the strictest control over the transport of munitions and other war material in all countries! See to it that this control is as stringent as possible and that not a single consignment of war material escapes your notice! Notify your organizations of everything and keep them in constant touch with everything that comes to your notice! Be prepared for all emergencies!

War against War!

Down with Militarism! Down with Reaction! Down with Capitalism!

Long live the United Front of the Transport Workers of all countries!

For the Delegation of the International Transport Workers' Federation:

Robert Williams, Chairman.  
Edo Fimmen, Secretary.

For the Delegation of the All-Russian Unions of the Transport Workers, Railway Workers and Seamen, empowered by all the Transport Workers' Unions standing on the platform of the R.I.L.U.:

A. Andreyev. G. Atchkanov. A. Sadovsky. A. Lozovsky.

### Against Fascism!

#### To the Transport Workers, Railway Workers and Seamen of all Countries!

Comrades,

The representatives of the International Transport Workers' Federation and the All-Russian Railway Workers' Seamen's and Transport Workers' Unions, (the latter having a mandate from all the rest of the Transport Workers' organizations standing on the basis of the Red International of Labor Unions), convened in conference on the 23rd and 24th of May 1923 in Berlin, urgently call attention to the serious dangers which threaten the Transport Workers, as well as the whole of the Labor Movement, from the side of Fascism and Reaction.

In Italy, under the Fascist dictatorship, Trade Unions have been forcibly dissolved, their funds confiscated, their buildings destroyed, the labor press suppressed and leaders and members of workers' organizations arrested. All working class organizations which challenge capitalism are subjected to the severest persecution.

In Yugoslavia, in Italy, Spain and Bavaria as well as in the rest of Europe, the danger threatening the working class movement from the side of armed Reaction grows daily. Capitalism, shaken to its foundations by wars and armed peace, shrinks at no form of barbarity for its defence. The White Terror in Hungary, the Fascist tyranny in Italy, the mobilization of special constables in England, are all phases of the international Class Struggle.

Fascism is forming its shock-troops from the military trained bourgeois youth, from the Russian White Guard emigrants, from the impoverished and desperate middle class and even out of the backward sections of the workers. These shock-troops of the bourgeoisie will be employed as instruments for strike-breaking and for terrorizing the militant working masses.

The Transport Workers of all countries must take up the defensive against these dangers threatening them from Fascism and Reaction, by systematic counter-measures and solidarity among themselves as well as with the organized workers in other industries.

As the unity of the Trade Union movement is a prerequisite to the defeat of Fascism, the conference held in Berlin between the I.T.F. and the All-Russian Transport Workers Unions has decided, with all emphasis, to work for the setting up of the United Front of the Proletariat. The conference turns to the Transport Workers and also to the whole working class of all countries and appeals to them to put an end to all petty strife, to establish the unity of the Trade Union movement and thus undertake the first step for the systematic and ruthless struggle against Fascism and World Reaction.

The danger is great. Fascism is becoming more and more one of the most fearful weapons of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Against this movement it is necessary immediately to mobilize all forces. Otherwise it will be too late and the power of Fascism will for a long time exceed the forces of the organized proletariat. The greatest determination is necessary in the defensive struggle against the armed class enemy.

Transport Workers of all countries!

The power and importance of your organization is great. Therefore the responsibility which lies upon you is also great. It is up to you therefore, by determined struggle, to lead yourselves and the whole working class to victory. You have a decisive part to play in the struggle against Fascism and Reaction.

Transport Workers! Comrades!

Our conference which is of great importance for the whole of the working class has passed important resolutions. It now lies with you to convert these resolutions into deeds:

1. To carry on an unwearied and systematic propaganda in the press and through meetings among the working masses in order to enlighten them as to the character of Fascism as a class weapon of the bourgeoisie.
2. To make use of all given opportunities, including the parliamentary tribune for the struggle against Fascism.
3. To oppose the direct action of Fascism with the direct action of the working class, the armed attack of the Fascists with the armed defensive action of the proletariat.
4. To organize systematically a watch over the movements of Fascist Bands and the transport of munitions by special Control Committees at the railway centres and docks.
5. To establish connections for this purpose with all labor organizations concerned in the question (Trade Unions, political parties, cooperative societies etc.).
6. To devote special attention to the work of enlightenment among the backward and unorganized sections of the Transport Workers, in order to hinder the possibility of these being used as tools against their own class brothers. This work of enlightenment is to be conducted within the Fascist trade unions themselves, so that their proletarian elements are brought back to the class struggle.

Transport Workers! Comrades!

See to the carrying out of these decisions!  
Down with Fascism!  
Down with Reaction!  
Down with Capitalism!

Long live the United Front of the Transport Workers of all countries!

For the Delegation of the International Transport Workers:

Robert Williams, Chairman.  
Edo Fimmen, Secretary.

For the Delegation of the All-Russian Unions of Transport Workers, Railway Workers and Seamen, empowered by the Transport Workers Unions standing on the platform of the R.I.L.U.:

A. Andreyev. G. Atchkanov. A. Sadovsky. A. Lozovsky.

## The Hamburg Socialist Conference and the United Front

### The Reply of the Congress

Fritz Adler made the following declaration at the Hamburg congress:

The communists — this time in the form of a committee for combatting war danger and Fascism — have sent us various printed invitations to join them in forming a united front. Today they send us an ultimatum, which has to be answered by tonight, as to whether we will negotiate with them at this congress or not, and whether we will give them the opportunity of explaining their projects here.

Our organization committee is of the opinion that we are obviously not in a position to put any further burdens on this congress, which is already overburdened with difficult tasks, the more so as the negotiations proposed offer very little prospects — at least in the opinion of the organization committee — of our coming to any agreement with the communists.

We believe that, when the United Front is spoken of, the first necessity is that we make it perfectly clear to those using this term that there can be no thought of a united front, unless the communists acknowledge the democratic basis within the proletariat, the equal rights of all the proletariat. This democratic equality of rights is the sole basis upon which we can reach decisions for joint action. We consider the proposed negotiations to have little prospect of success, for we differ from them in principle, since experience has taught us that our organization only progresses when we adhere to the principle that only the majority of the proletariat has the right to decide upon the action of the proletariat.

There is consequently little to be gained by entering into negotiations with persons upholding the dogma that the minority shall decide on the actions of the proletariat, and no amount of speeches will serve to mislead us; we must first be perfectly clear that those who wish to join forces with us in one united front, are willing to recognize that the right of self-determination is decisive for the proletariat, and not the fact that within the proletariat there is a small clique desirous of dictatorship."

## POLITICS

### Soviet Russia will not submit

Speech delivered by Comrade Chicherin at the Enlarged Executive Session of the Moscow Soviet, on May 12, 1923.

Today we mourn the loss of our old comrade V. V. Vorovsky, one of the veterans of the revolution, slain by the bullet of a despicable murderer whilst heroically standing at his post in Lausanne, where he was conducting a strenuous fight against world imperialism. The immediate guilt for the murder is borne by the Swiss government, which omitted to take the necessary precautionary measures, despite the threats of the Lausanne Fascists. But the governments of England, France, and Italy, share the guilt, for these invited the Russian delegation to Lausanne without providing for precautionary measures. The tragic end of comrade Vorovsky is a striking symptom of the present historical moment, when world reaction is preparing to aim a blow at the Soviet republics, a blow which is fully expected for, and which will bring the enemies of the Soviet republics to grief.

Comrade Vorovsky fell at his post at Lausanne, where a diplomatic struggle of the utmost importance is being carried on between the awakening and arising East and western imperialism fighting to maintain its supremacy, and where the Soviet repu-

blics have appeared in their world-historical capacity of friends of the suppressed peoples struggling against the yoke of imperialism.

### The Conference of Lausanne.

Two worlds confront one another at the Lausanne conference. The old western governments are incapable of grasping the meaning of the demand for complete political and economic independence which is as necessary for the awakening Turkish people as the air they breathe. The great diplomatic successes gained by Turkey in Lausanne are still very far from attaining that minimum which is necessary for the Turkish people, but they are of extraordinary importance for those western governments from which these concessions have been wrung. These diplomatic successes of the Orient were only made possible by the diplomatic united front of Turkey with the Soviet republics. In the Straits question we do not agree with the concessions granted by Turkey, which had bound itself in this regard long before the Lausanne conference, and uphold the standpoint that the Straits are to be completely closed against war ships, an arrangement which would reduce the danger of war and reduce military and taxation burdens for all peoples. In demanding the closing of the Dardanelles to foreign war ships, we are fighting at the same time for the elementary security of the south coasts of the Soviet republics, and stand for a system of defending our security which also signifies the complete security of the independence and sovereignty of the Turkish people, and the establishment and security of general peace. The security of our coasts is one of our first tasks. How great is the danger to which our coasts are exposed by the war-ships of the strongest Sea Power may best be seen at the present moment, when an English war vessel has penetrated into our closed White Sea, and our ships and our coasts are threatened by attack if we defend our fishery against the piratical invasion of English capitalists.

### World reaction against Soviet Russia.

Dark clouds are gathering on the horizon. Extreme reaction, supreme in every other part of the world, and step by step robbing the working class of its hard-won rights, is preparing to strike a blow at the Soviet republics. The government of England is composed at the present time of extreme reactionaries, who are anxious to utilize the favorable opportunity to shake the power of the workers and peasants of the Soviet republics. Badly informed as to the real situation of the Soviet republics, without any real understanding of the real character of the workers' and peasants' power, and of the real rôle played by the Communist Party, they ascribe exclusive significance to the rôle of our beloved leader Lenin, and his illness fills them with a naive confidence that the Soviet power has now lost all firm foothold, and can be overthrown by outside pressure. These intentions of imperialist reaction find fruitful soil in the so-called disappointment in economic circles, of which we read and hear so much. The capitalists are disappointed because the Soviet republics will not permit themselves to be degraded to objects of unlimited exploitation. During the first period of our existence, the capitalist world attempted to overthrow the Soviet power by force of arms, by physical intervention. Then came the second period, in which the capitalist world tried to subject us by means of agreements, by peaceful penetration, and economic conquest. But the Soviet republics, though willing to enter into agreements with foreign capital so long as they retain complete control of their own economic life, have not permitted—and never will permit—foreign capital to subjugate them by peaceful penetration.

### Lord Curzon's Ultimatum.

The capitalist world set great hopes on the New Economic Policy, but now it realizes that the New Economic Policy does not imply any capitulation to capital. This has led to the so-called disappointment, and to a cooling off in the matter of agreements with Soviet Russia. The resultant situation has been favorable to the intentions of the extremely reactionary English government. Lord Curzon, this representative of extreme reaction in the sphere of diplomacy, remains today, at the bottom of his heart, the viceroy of India. In Lausanne we already encountered his irreconcilable enmity, his utter lack of any wish to enter into any compromise with us. He possesses the typical haughty and ironical manner of treating the great Soviet state as an insignificant factor.

In his ultimatum, the Eastern Question plays a leading part, as is only to be expected from a one-time Indian viceroy. At the present time, the Orient is passing through events which will have great influence on its future. The liberation movement among the peoples of the East is one of the greatest facts of our day, and the world power of imperialism threatens the

peoples of the East precisely as it threatens us. Profound sympathy binds us to the oriental peoples fighting for their emancipation. The imperialist governments regard this natural sympathy in the light of treacherous intrigues. Their Russian secret agents fancy themselves on the track of treacherous intrigues, whilst in reality they are spectators of an historical process.

In the matter of our eastern policy, Lord Curzon's ultimatum is a collection of false accusations. These are composed partly of pure invention, as for instance the quotations in the section dealing with Persia, and partly of purposely distorted extracts from obviously badly deciphered telegrams. And on this basis Lord Curzon makes the unheard of demand that we recall our authorized representatives from Persia and Afghanistan, and apologize to the English government for our eastern policy. This absurd and impudent challenge is typical of its author.

A number of trifles then follow, whose mention in the ultimatum is a matter of surprise. The English spy Davison was executed in 1920 in connection with the notorious fuel swindle the proceeds of which were partially devoted to the support of White Guard and English spies. This execution was a perfectly legal act, based on a legal verdict. With regard to the English spy Stan Harding, a vivid light is thrown on this case by a few extracts, now being published in the newspapers, taken from an article written by the American spy Miss Harrison, in which she narrates that she knew of Stan Harding's activity as a spy while still in Berlin. All this went on at a time when we had no treaty whatever with England.

A further English claim relates to the English fishing boats which have been fishing within the twelve mile zone fixed by us for our Northern coast. In her own case, England has fixed a prohibition zone on the coast of Ceylon, for the pearl fishery, which in some places extends to 25 miles. But she wishes to compel us to limit ourselves to a three mile zone for our Northern coast. When we arrest and punish Englishmen who penetrate within the twelve mile zone, we do so in full accordance with our laws and decrees, and yet Lord Curzon demands that we not only annul the verdicts, but pay compensation as well. Lord Curzon also rails at the religious policy pursued by the Soviet government with respect to the execution of Budkievitz, a spy who had been for years the medium for Polish espionage in Russia. Lord Curzon demands the withdrawal of the two letters written by our comrade, the head of the Entente department of our people's commissariat for foreign affairs, to the English representative in Moscow, in reply to his interference in the affair of Cieplak and Budkievitz.

### The Reply of Soviet Russia's Working Masses.

The working masses of Soviet Russia will not submit to the force of the capitalist governments. Our working masses have risen in indignation, and are ready to make any sacrifice in defence of the independence of the republic and of the rights and liberties won by the revolution, now that the spectre of aggressive imperialism again rattles the bloody sabre of intervention.

We must reply to Lord Curzon's threats with calm determination, in the full consciousness of power, but without allowing ourselves to be provoked by the challenge. The Soviet republics will not allow themselves to be degraded, their glorious flags will not be lowered before foreign rulers. At the same time we shall show the peoples that it is not we who break the peace, not we who cause the rupture; that the responsibility for all the tremendous consequences of the rupture does not fall on our shoulders.

The English people does not consist entirely of reactionaries. The working masses have already risen, and have demonstrated in the streets. They have already begun the fight against the aggressive policy of the reactionary government. Commercial circles are also dissatisfied with this policy, and demand the continuation of trade with Russia. The English liberals, and even a number of conservatives, have taken sides against Lord Curzon's disastrous policy. And should the absolute majority of extreme reactionaries in Parliament succeed in making the breach, everyone would see, and convince himself beyond all possibility of contest, that the responsibility for the rupture and its consequences is not ours.

We reply to all complaints by proposing a conference. A pistol is presented at our head in the form of an ultimatum, but to this we calmly reply by proposing negotiations between two equal parties. What could be more just? If Lord Curzon forces the rupture upon us after our proposal for negotiations, everyone will know that he was determined to have this rupture at any price.

We are told of English spies against whom we took proceedings before the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian treaty, but we can tell of a whole series of other victims, of Russian subjects shot or arrested in territory occupied by the English or under English influence, of innumerable executions of our comrades in

Archangel and other northern districts. We are prepared to consider the English claims with respect to these spies, but we demand the same consideration from England, and that compensation be granted in justifiable cases. In the question of our northern fisheries we have also proposed negotiations, and the rejection of this proposal would show that the English government is irrevocably bent on a rupture.

In the present period of acute world antagonisms, in the present atmosphere of tension, a breach between England and Russia would signify the greatest increase of war danger, the possibility of extending the Ruhr adventure to further military conflicts, the stimulation of the militarist elements of Poland and Roumania. We for our part decline all responsibility for this increase of war danger. We steadfastly await our enemy on our threshold, and we do not think that he will have the courage to attack us. We are confident that the militarists threatening us, will retreat before the determined self defence offered by the working millions of Soviet Russia.

## Manufacturing Evidence

By M. N. Roy.

It appears that Lord Curzon is going seriously to work at his new adventure of setting the world on fire and, perchance, of dealing a mortal blow to his already shaken Empire. He has thrown the dice, and for the time being his stars are in the ascendency. The resignation of Bonar Law means the purging of the element of vacillation and weakness from the British Government, in order to make it the citadel of pure "die-hardism"! The note to Russia was the climax of a premeditated plan to sweep the entire world by a gigantic avalanche of rank reaction. For the realization of this plan, all the available machineries are set in motion, Marshall Foch is looking over the ground and counting his men and guns. Mr. Baldwin's plants have begun manufacturing munitions.

There is another side of this drama which passes unnoticed, but whose importance is by no means insignificant. The question of propaganda is the crux of the Curzon Note. The souls of the "murdered" priests are now allowed to rest in peace. The reasonable attitude of the Soviet Government on the question of the captured trawlers and of the so-called Weinstein Notes takes the fire out of Lord Curzon's gun, as far as these issues are concerned. So there remains only the question of propaganda. If the British Government is determined to break off relations with Russia, the break must take place on this issue. When "unconditional satisfaction" is demanded, it is this bugbear of propaganda against the Empire that the British Government has in view.

When the question of propaganda plays such an important role in the whole crisis, it is necessary to watch what preparations are being made to give it the most formidable appearance. It seems that Curzonian politics have gone mad; but there is method in this madness. Manufacturing evidence to prove that the Soviet Government has been persistently carrying on propaganda, has been going on methodically. These evidence-factories are situated in Northern India. Till the publication of the Curzon Note they worked busily but secretly. They burst out with sudden discoveries in the days immediately following the publication of the Note. As soon as Lord Curzon pointed his accusing fingers towards Soviet Russia, evidence began to pour in to show how true the noble Lord's assertions were. As if by magic, "Bolshevik agents" were arrested in India.

On May 11, *Reuter* telegraphed from Allahabad the arrest of one *Saukat Usmani* in Cawnpore, on a charge of possessing seditious literature. It was by no means an unprecedented incident in India. Arrest on such a charge is very familiar there, and *The Times* published it in big headlines very prominently! "Soviet Plot discovered — Bolshevik Agent arrested". For several days the English press was regularly supplied from various points of Northern India with sensational news about the "Red Propaganda". The detection of "propaganda centres in close connection with Moscow" was unanimously proclaimed. Even Nationalist leaders without the slightest blemish of Bolshevism, and the eminently respectable Trade Union Congress, which maintains closer connection with the Fabian Imperialists of Eccleston Square than with the Indian toilers, were accused of receiving money from Moscow.

The manufacture of evidence thus begun with the telegram about the arrest of *Saukat Usmani* has now assumed quite a definite shape. According to the *Morning Post* despatch, the number of Bolshevik agents arrested in India is seventy. Now, there is a little discrepancy in this figure. All these accused persons are supposed to be members of the "Red Propaganda Host" trained in Moscow and smuggled into India evidently.

through some etherial or subterranean channel. But the original accusation in the Note, to substantiate which this evidence is manufactured, does not mention more than seven. May we ask: whence did the other sixty-three come? Lord Curzon needs strong evidence; but the excessive zeal of the Indian police gives away the game. . . .

We can explain how seventy Bolshevik agents were arrested in India in order to prove the existence of the seven alleged by Lord Curzon. It is so. Out of the 30,000 Indian Moslems, who emigrated on account of the Khilafat propaganda in 1920, three hundred-odd reached Turkestan on their way to Angora. These men had undergone terrible hardship in Afghanistan. They arrived at Bokhara almost starved and in rags, having been held several weeks in captivity by the Fergana rebels, from whom they were rescued by the Red Army. Out of mere feelings of humanity the Revolutionary Government of Bokhara as well as of Turkestan offered these emigrants their hospitality. In order to have a rest and to prepare for their journey to Angora, the emigrants accepted this hospitality and passed several months in Tashkend. This stay of a band of fanatic religious emigrants in Turkestan gave origin to the stories of propaganda and military schools where thousands of Indian revolutionaries were trained. Finding it impossible to proceed farther, the emigrants returned homewards. Upon their arrival on the Indian borders they were promptly arrested. As very few of these emigrants were revolutionaries, it required very little persuasion and lucre to buy off their services in return for their release from jail. With this material, the so-called "Bolshevik Investigation Department" was organized as an adjunct to the infamous Criminal Investigation Department. It is this Bolshevik Investigation Department which supplies Lord Curzon with the material for his Notes, and which has of late been very busy manufacturing evidence to bear out the case made by his lordship. The additional sixty-three "arrested Bolshevik agents" are recruited evidently from the army of these returned emigrants retained at same cost by the Bolshevik Investigation Department at Peshawar.

*Saukat Usmani* and the "others arrested after him", whose names, however, are kept hidden in mystery, are reported to have been sent to Peshawar, where their trial will take place. This trial is staged to bring to light volumes of evidence as to how the Soviet Government has persistently violated the Trade Agreement since it was signed. A large number of Indians, alleged to have been trained in the propaganda schools at Tashkend, will make detailed statements containing a detailed account of the activities of the Bolsheviks. Thus is laid the ground for crucifying the Soviet Government on the question of propaganda.

So much for the anti-Russian conspiracy of Curzonian die-hardism. Now a few words about *Saukat Usmani* and those who are supposed to be arrested with him. The crime of these men is that they had been in Russia, that they were engaged in communist propaganda, and that some communist literature has been found in their possession. Supposing that all these charges are true, is the guilt of the Soviet Government established? If to have been in Russia is a crime, why is Mr. George Lansbury a member of the British Parliament and *Saukat Usmani* a prisoner? Why is Mrs. Snowden a respectable British subject and an Indian youth considered to be an enemy of the Empire? There is more than one Communist in Great Britain; why is it such a dreadful thing for an Indian to be a communist? Communist literature is legally published in England, why are a few leaflets exhorting the Indian workers and peasants to organize in the defence of their interests enough to convict a number of individuals as "rebels against the king"? These are some very pertinent questions which the British proletariat should be called upon to face if the situation created by the Curzon Note is to be met in its truly comprehensive character and solved properly.

We put these questions to the *British Labor Party* because the above mentioned evidences are manufactured for their satisfaction. The support of the Labor Party has to be secured for the war that Curzon is planning. Part of the price for this support will be the prosecution of youthful leaders of the Indian proletariat, and the brutal suppression of the nascent Communist Party of India. The monstrosity of this persecution can be imagined from the fact the attempts to organize a workers' and peasants' party within the limits of the pseudo-constitution have been branded as "Bolshevik". We will not be surprised if the sixty-three "Bolshevik agents" manufactured in the Factory of Peshawar give evidence to the effect that the men engaged in the organization of this legal party are paid from Moscow.

The entire world is threatened by the blackest reaction. The advanced section of the proletariat under the leadership of

the Communist International is alone capable of meeting the situation, of taking up the challenge and giving Lord Curzon the only answer he deserves.

*Where does the British Labor Party stand in this crisis?*

## The Resignation of Bonar Law and the New War against Soviet Russia

During the parliamentary elections Bonar Law, the leader of the conservatives, declared that the program of his government would be peace and order. Bonar Law has now been obliged to retire on account of severe illness, and Europe has looked on for a quarter of a year at the occupation of the Ruhr area by French troops, whilst England does not stir a finger to compel its evacuation by the French, and to prevent the utter ruin of German economics. Peace and order — and in Lausanne Lord Curzon made a wide breach between English imperialism and Soviet Russia. And that there should be no doubt as to why Lord Curzon demanded free entry into the Dardanelles for English war-ships, he menaced Soviet Russia with an ultimatum. According to reports from Moscow, confirmed by Henderson at the Congress in Hamburg, the negotiations between Krassin and Lord Curzon have not alleviated the tension. These negotiations consisted of Lord Curzon's brusque declaration: Capitulation or rupture. Soviet Russia will not capitulate, and the rupture is thus at best only a question of a few days, in which it will be decided whether Curzon or Baldwin is to succeed Bonar Law.

The course taken by English politics will not depend on the choice of prime minister. The direction taken by English politics will be the same, whether the government be headed by an arrogant landowner or by incarnate capitalism. Land-owning and capitalist interests have become so merged in one another during the last fifty years that they sing the same song, only in a different key. The present trend of English politics, as represented by the Conservative party, consists of an attempt at a rapprochement with the mightiest of the victors, the United States, of which the diplomatically more skilful England hopes to be able to take advantage. English politics further consist in leaving the hegemony of Western Europe to France, and of concentrating upon the exploitation of the colonies. To ensure the safety of the English colonies has thus become the chief task of English imperialism. The completion of the military harbour at Singapore is intended to protect Australia and India against Japan. The campaign against Soviet Russia has the object of preventing the strengthening of the revolutionary tendencies in India and Persia. In order to create division in India, Lord Curzon is beginning to cajole Turkey, hoping thereby to weaken the feeling of opposition of the Mohammedan Hindu.

It is not for these general reasons alone that England's policy has turned against Soviet Russia, there are also a great many small matters connected with petroleum, which play an important role. But the main cause of the belligerent attitude now adopted towards Soviet Russia by Lord Curzon is the increased strength of Soviet Russia in general, and its increased strength in the Near East in particular. The new economic policy, welcomed by the capitalist world, as a return to capitalism by Soviet Russia, has not only strengthened Soviet Russia on the whole, but has much improved its position in the Near East. The traders of Teheran find it easier to reach Nishni Novgorod or Moscow via Baku than London via Abukir. The traders of Kabul can obtain goods more conveniently from Russia than from India or England. Thus the new economic policy has created a new economic basis for the Eastern policy of Soviet Russia. And Lord Curzon has once more decided to overthrow the Soviet government, before it is too late. When he let himself be induced in 1920, under pressure from Lloyd George, to agree to a treaty with Soviet Russia, he hoped that it would be possible to hold the Soviet government on the curb for a time with the aid of Wrangel's White Guards, at that time occupying the Crimea. And then he hoped that the Soviet government would permit a golden chain to be laid around its neck, and would tamely follow in the wake of England. These hopes are now dead, and English imperialism declares war to the knife against Soviet Russia.

England hopes, as she did before, that she will not be obliged to wage war against Soviet Russia with her own forces only. A few days ago the Russian Cadet newspaper *Rul* published a report that the monarchists have again come into possession of funds, and that they are cherishing great hopes. The defeated Russian counter-revolutionists, who have been treated like dogs by the English government since 1921, are now to be let off the chain again. But they are not the main factor. The trump card is Poland. In London, all those who have any doubts as to the success of the enterprise are quite openly told that Danzig will be given to the Poles, upon which Soviet Russia

will fall upon Poland. It is hoped to drive Soviet Russia into war by means of provocation through Poland. Should this not succeed, the Poles are to be persuaded into fresh adventures in the Ukraine. This calculation is not only directed against Soviet Russia, but simultaneously against France. For England, Poland possesses but little significance. But for France she is of great importance, as guarantor of the Versailles Peace. Should war break out between Russia and Poland, France will support Poland with all the forces at her disposal, and the French air-fleet, now becoming a perfect nightmare to England, will turn its attention to Moscow, not London. France will expend milliards, and will be weakened to such an extent that she is no longer dangerous to England. Should Soviet Russia succeed in defeating Poland, it is not impossible that some military collision may take place, on German soil, between Soviet Russia and France. The idea is that these two leading European powers, France and Soviet Russia, which England regards as her enemies on the continent, and which represent revolutionary and counter-revolutionary power, should wring each other's necks, and so leave the pirate island at liberty to digest the fruits of centuries of piratical raids. The visit paid by the English Commander-in-Chief, Earl Cavan, was made with this object.

What is to be done in the face of this menace of a new world war? The mass of the working class is not yet aware that its destiny is at stake. The front ranks of the Proletariat, the communists, must be permeated with the consciousness that we are confronted with a new world war, though this may not yet be expressed in the mobilization of mighty armies. And this consciousness must be spread among the broad masses. They must be prepared for the severe struggles which lie before us.

## The Russian Miners to the Miners of Great Britain

Dear Comrades,

Lord Curzon's ultimatum to the Soviet Government has aroused a storm of indignation among the toilers of our country.

The working class of Russia, including ourselves, the Russian miners, well realize the true cause of the provocative attack of Lord Curzon. A number of recent events—General Foch's visit to Poland, the assassination of Comrade Vorovski by the Swiss Fascists, the military preparations of some of the states bordering on Soviet Russia—all these events show plainly that international capital is again planning to invade this country, ruled by the workers and peasants, and is looking for a pretext to begin a new attack. Thus, the menace of a new war is upon the whole world.

The toilers of Russia have declared, before the entire world, that they do not want war. The Soviet government has proven, by its conduct, that it is anxious for peace. Our reply to Curzon's ultimatum shows that Russia has decided to do everything in her power to maintain peace, that she is ready to discuss all questions calmly and in a businesslike spirit, that she is even ready to make certain reasonable concessions, but that she will never agree to become a colony of international imperialism.

We, the miners of Russia, note the preparations of international capital. We do not doubt for a moment that the working class of our country will be able to repulse any attack upon the integrity and independence of the Workers' Republic. But we realize full well that war will only tend to complicate and make more difficult our situation. It is the sixth year now, that we, the miners, as well as all the other toilers of our country, having overthrown the power of the Tzar and capital, have ceaselessly labored for the welfare and prosperity of our country, ruined by war and intervention. We have made tremendous sacrifices to achieve our goal. Already some success has been obtained. And it is our only desire that we be not hindered in our constructive work. We hope to be able to prove to the whole world how much an unshackled working class, free to direct its own destinies, can accomplish, if unmolested from without.

In these critical days, when a new danger is threatening us on the part of British capital, we appeal to you, our British comrades, to remember the sacred duty of international working class solidarity. We wish to remind you that a campaign against Soviet Russia is also a campaign against the workers of all Europe, against the working class of Great Britain, and against the British miners.

We are convinced that you, no less than the Russian miners, are cognizant of the true motives which have prompted Lord Curzon to take this provocative step; and we hope that you will do everything in your power to prevent a new war and to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with Soviet Russia.

*Down with the imperialist war against Soviet Russia!*  
*Down with world Fascism!*  
*Long live the revolutionary class consciousness of the British miners!*  
*Long live the international solidarity of the working class!*  
Central Committee of the All Russian Union of Miners:  
Chairman: Schwarz. Secretary: Sudick.

## Re-groupings of the French Proletariat

By Bertreint (Paris).

The resolutions passed by the IV. Congress of the Communist International, and the developments of French imperialist politics in the Ruhr area, have brought about a fresh grouping of the proletarian forces of France. Splits have taken place in the Communist Party, others are impending in the Socialist Party, although the signs of this are still weak. Points of contact are being formed between certain tendencies now belonging to different parties, and these will increase until they lead to an organizational union. The geography of the parties changes, and despite certain abstract theories with which attempts have been made to separate economics from politics, the differences of political opinion and re-grouping have exercised an influence on the trade unions.

The whole of the bourgeois political parties, even those which were formerly hostile, at least in words, to a policy of force against Germany, have gathered around Poincaré since he began to carry through his imperialist plans by means of the Ruhr adventure. The Clemenceau clique has no further desire to throw difficulties in the way of the foreign policy pursued by the government, and wishes to overthrow it on questions of home politics only. The Loucheur clique, which stood for a friendly understanding with German heavy industry at the time of the Stinnes Lubersac agreement, and even before this, after the Wiesbaden contract, is now agreed with the policy of the expedition for obtaining coal. The Briand clique, the completest expression of bourgeois confusion and bourgeois centrism, threatened in 1921 to take Germany by the throat and to send in the bailiffs, but did this solely for the purpose of strengthening its parliamentary position. In point of actual fact, the Briand clique had no inclination whatever to participate in any foreign policy involving violent action. But today the Briand group holds its tongue. The "society for winning seats in parliament", M. Herriot's party, known under the designation of the Radical Party, the party of international finance, of agrarian democracy and the League of Nations, has renounced all attempts at opposition against the predatory raid into the Ruhr area, contenting itself with a few diffident reservations, and excusing its weakness on the pretext that France's honor is involved. But it is precisely this party which wanted to form the Left bloc, at the elections, in combination with the socialists. The Ruhr enterprise renders it increasingly difficult to make such election trickery plausible in the eyes of the workers. The radicals and the socialists had agreed to submit to the League of Nations all problems arising out of the Versailles treaty. But today the radicals do not venture to criticise the Ruhr occupation; the first straw of difficulty which blows across their path suffices to induce them patriotically to refrain from laying the case of a Franco-German conflict before the learned assembly at Geneva. The workers who still belong to the Socialist Party, though they may still set hopes on the League of Nations, and are not aware that this Wilsonian phantom, craftily utilized by Albert Thomas, serves to conceal a criminal society of Entente imperialists, though, too, they may not know that all governments were equally to blame for the outbreak of the great war in 1914, though they may agree with German social democrats in deeming the policy of carrying out the Versailles treaty to be just and right in spite of the crushing burden it lays on their brothers, the workers of Germany—though they may not be clearly conscious of all this, still the socialist workers of France are not in favor of the Ruhr enterprise. However imperfect their class consciousness may be, it offers ever growing resistance to an election agreement with the radicals, the friends of Poincaré. But Renaudel, Blum, and the rest, who desire the support of the petty-bourgeois democratic elements which have percolated more and more into the Socialist Party, will not abandon the idea of an election alliance with Herriot's party.

Numerous socialist leaders, headed by Renaudel, are not prevented by the precarious position of the *Populaire*, the organ of their party, from working for the *Quotidien*, the organ

of the Left bloc. This raised a violent protest from the organization of the North on the occasion of the Socialist party conference at Lille. The protests of the working class elements found expression, if but faintly, in an article by Pressemane in the Populaire. Pressemane is deputy for the workers' district of Limoges. It would thus appear that the left wing of the Socialist Party is picking up strength again.

On the other hand the disciples of Frossard are endeavoring to extend the sphere of influence of the germ of the "Communist Unity Party" created in reply to the decisions of the IV. world congress on the French question. This group intends to unite with the party of Barabant and Verfeuil, which came into existence after the Paris party conference. These two have formed an alliance for the purpose of a common fight against the Russian revolution and the Communist International. Their amalgamation party conference is to be held in April. There is no doubt but that the ex-and pseudo-communists will all gather together there, for Frossard, Meric, Verfeuil, and the like, have always been united as soon as it was a question of action against Moscow. They have only differed in opinion as to the occasion they should choose for leaving the Communist International. It will be an entertaining spectacle to observe how Frossard works together with Barabant and Verfeuil in one party; the expelled of the Paris conference with those who expelled them.

The socialist Left, the Longuet-Pressemane, group, has a somewhat painful position in the Socialist Party. This will ultimately result in its casting glances towards the Frossard-Barabant-Verfeuil party. There is an independent party in process of formation in France. Should no great international political events occur, whose effects drive the still backward working masses to communism, the birth of this Independent Party will actually take place. There is no doubt but that Frossard has the intention of acting as leader of such a party. But a proletarian party can only exist if it possesses certain foundations in the trade unions. Frossard is capable of creating this foundation for a certain length of time, by utilizing his trade union connections to bring about a party of political confusion based on trade union confusion.

This activity has already commenced. A twofold manoeuvre is being carried out. The organ of Frossard's party, L'Egalité, devotes a space to trade union questions. In face of the despicable attacks made by the Egalité upon the Russian revolution, the Communist International, and the R.I.L.U., this trade union column is naturally only used by the anarcho-syndicalists belonging to the Committee of Trade Union Defence. On the other hand, subterranean operations are going on with the aim of disintegrating the majority, formed at St. Etienne, in favor of affiliation to the Red Trade Union International. This undermining work has already led to a split within the group of the "Vie Ouvrière", which always stood for Moscow and the Russian revolution. The "Vie Ouvrière" is taking its old trade union line with growing decision, but certain comrades possessing leading positions in the C.G.T.U. are no longer contributors to the periodical. There is no doubt but that the sincere followers of the R.I.L.U., though they may be confused for the moment, will speedily recognize for what purposes it is intended to use them. The trade union troops of a French independent party will thus consist on one side of the Committee of Trade Union Defence, and on the other of the vacillating elements of the majority of St. Etienne.

What is the duty of our Communist Party in the face of this situation? In the first place, it must seek to awaken the class consciousness of the social democratic workers by summoning them to action, to the formation of the fighting proletarian united front. In the second place, it must struggle politically against the confusion inevitably attendant on the regrouping of the phrase revolutionists. The party must further work towards securing the formation of a bloc of R.I.L.U. followers in the trade unions, whether these followers belong to the Party or not, so that the opponents of Moscow, may be deprived of the proletarian disciples whom they still mislead by their phraseology. If the communists in the trade unions do really practical work, if they seize the initiative on every occasion with the best propositions, they will gradually win the confidence of the great majority of workers organized in trade unions, and will be able to induce the most active and class conscious trade union members to become members of the Party. This will put an end to the present remarkable situation, in which really communist elements, active in the trade unions, are standing outside the Party.

### Civil Peace in 1914 and in 1923

By H. Brandler (Berlin).

The policy of civil peace between the German social democracy and the German bourgeoisie was introduced in 1914 with the aid of some dramatic stage-effects. In the year 1914, before the outbreak of the war, Hermann Müller and his companions travelled to Belgium and France, to confer on war against war with their Entente comrades of the 2. International. In Paris, in Vienna, in Brussels, in Berlin, and in many provincial cities, there were mighty mass demonstrations against war, before war was declared. On July 30th, there were still international protests and manifestos against the imperialist piratical war, but none the less the declaration of civil peace was made in the German Reichstag on August 4.

During four long years of bloodshed and starvation the leaders of social democracy and trade unionism pursued this policy. They continued to pursue it until the collapse of the war. The leaders of the 2. International in France, England, and Austria, followed the glorious example shown by Germany.

In almost all the warring countries this policy led to an ideological split in the social democratic ranks, and in most cases to an actual split also. In Germany the schism in the social democracy brought about the formation of the so-called Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany. These Independents, however, were only distinguished from the Majority Party of the social democrats by the fact that they nagged and scolded at the policy which the Majority social-democrats pursued with enthusiasm; in actual practice their policy remained the same.

After the collapse of the war the two social democratic parties—happily re-united in the year 1922—refused to overthrow what was already falling, to learn the lesson of their mistaken policy, to separate the working class from the decaying bourgeoisie, to have done with the capitalist order of society, and to gather the sound proletarian forces together and lead them into battle for the re-construction of society and economics according to the principles of socialism.

Again it was the fear of a struggle with the bourgeoisie which induced the social democrats to cling to the policy of civil peace and collaboration. It was, and still is, the lack of faith in the strength of the proletariat; it was, and still is, the superstition that capitalism is impregnable, which during and after the war, drove the social democrats into the camp of the bourgeoisie, into the camp of the counter-revolution, and has kept them there.

After the war they promised peace, liberty, and bread, all of which they hoped to obtain by the reconstruction of capitalist economics in co-operation with the bourgeoisie. As they could not raise the strength or courage to fight against the bourgeoisie, they rejected the fraternally extended hand of the victorious workers' and peasants' revolution in Soviet Russia, and whined to Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George for a bearable peace. The result of their foreign politics was the peace treaty of Versailles.

But the reconstruction of capitalist economics, for which they have put forth their efforts from lack of courage to fight for socialist economics, has proved a failure; instead of reconstruction we observe collapse and the further decay of capitalism.

Instead of fighting against the predatory treaty of Versailles, they adopted the helpless policy of fulfilment. But they had neither the strength for combatting their own bourgeoisie in order actually to execute their fulfilment policy, nor had they the strength required to fight against the victorious imperialist powers. Here again bankruptcy, complete collapse, as demonstrated by the occupation of the Ruhr.

Whom the gods wish to destroy, they strike with blindness. And thus the "united" social democrats, confronted by Poincaré's predatory raid into the Ruhr area, could see before them no other course than a return to the civil peace policy of 1914! Only in 1914 it was a tragedy, while today it is a farce. And they can also see no other solution to the problem of the Ruhr occupation than a policy of civil peace and collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The quintessence of all wisdom, as concentrated in the Reichstag speeches of the social democratic spokesmen Hermann Müller and Rudolf Breitscheid, is a capitalist understanding between the German and French bourgeoisies at the expense of the German and French proletariats. The end of this policy can be nothing else than a fresh catastrophe, such as we experienced upon the collapse of the war.

During the war, the want and misery suffered by the working class revolutionized the proletariat. But only a small

vanguard could be organized into a real party, clear of purpose, self-sacrificing, prepared to fight—the Communist Party; today, when the misery attendant on the post-war policy of the civilly pacific social democrats has been profoundly realized by the people, the revolutionary proletariat has become a powerful factor in Germany. The disintegration of the United Social-Democratic Party of Germany has led to the revolutionizing of broad strata of the working population, and to their affiliation with the Communist Party. The fighting tactics adopted by the Communist Party against French imperialism, and against German Fascism—this most dangerous fruit of the social democratic civil peace policy—will win for the C.P. of Germany the confidence of the broad fighting masses of the German working population. Beneath the flag set up by Karl Liebknecht in 1914 in the German Reichstag, the German Communist Party will lead the German working class to victory over the German bourgeoisie and its civil peace accomplices.

## ECONOMICS

### Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 1st Quarter of 1923

#### V. France.

During the period of this report, French economics have been dominated by two main questions; the Ruhr question and the budget question. We dealt with the Ruhr question in the introductory section, and shall here only treat of the economic effects on French economic life.

In 1922 French economics showed a decided tendency towards improvement. This improvement however, was much retarded by the poor wheat crop, which rendered it necessary to import about 25 million double cwt. In spite of this shortage, there was increased activity in industry, especially in heavy industry. We here give a few figures illuminating the improved state of the markets towards the end of 1922.

	Monthly average of last quarter	December
	1920	1921
Coal in 1000 t . . . . .	2379	2249
Iron ore in 1000 t . . . . .	1418	1173
Coal consumption . . . . .	4553	4304
Coke consumption . . . . .	322	271
Iron production . . . . .	359	284
Steel . . . . .	317	279
Cotton spindles working . . . . .	48500	45832
Cotton looms working . . . . .	5330	4899
No. of trucks loaded daily . . . . .	36520	40756
Unemployed receiving benefit . . . . .	39520	16032

The rising prosperity was brought to an abrupt close by the occupation of the Ruhr area. The iron and steel output suffered severely from the cessation of supplies of Ruhr coal and coke.

In the introductory section the local conditions of the Rhenish-Westphalian-Lotringian iron industry were dealt with, and it was pointed out that while the iron ore of Lorraine can be exported to great distances, it is impracticable to obtain a supply of coal or coke from a long distance. Appended we give the iron and coal output of France (as per "Economist" of January 13th the output figures for 1922 are not final).

	Mill. tons.
1913 Pre-war France . . . . .	21.92
1913 Alsace Lorraine . . . . .	21.14
Total . . . . .	43.06
1920 Post-war France . . . . .	13.87
1921 " " . . . . .	14.11
1922 " " . . . . .	20.00
Coal production: Mill. tons of coal and lignite. Coke	
1913 Pre-war France . . . . .	59.5
1913 Alsace Lorraine . . . . .	11.1
Total . . . . .	70.6
1920 Post-war France . . . . .	41.5
1921 " " . . . . .	40.8
1922 " " . . . . .	51.0

From this we see that not even the possession of Alsace Lorraine has enabled either French coal output or iron pro-

duction to regain its pre-war level. How far actual production is behind possible production is even more plainly shown by the iron and steel production.

This has been as follows:

	Millions tons	
	Iron	Steel
1913 Pre war France . . . . .	5.21	5.09
1913 Alsace Lorraine . . . . .	3.87	2.29
Total . . . . .	9.08	7.38
1920 . . . . .	3.31	2.96
1921 . . . . .	3.42	3.10
1922 . . . . .	5.10	4.50

Blast furnaces working:

	June 1920	June 1921	December 1922
Lorraine . . . . .	21	29	41
Eastern France . . . . .	21	33	45
Other parts of France . . . . .	27	29	30
Total . . . . .	69	91	116

The unfavorable situation in the French iron industry is ascribed by the French to the inadequate production and supply of coal and coke. The Ruhr occupation, and the various plans for the "internationalization" of the Ruhr valley, for "cooperation" with Rhenish-Westphalian big industrialists, have all one and the same aim — to secure for the iron industry of eastern France and Lorraine a supply of coal and coke from the adjacent Ruhr area, and at prices enabling the products of French industry to compete on the world market. Thus the interests of French heavy industry coincide with the "pledges" demanded by French militarism.

In the much quoted article from the "Figaro" — the German press supposes Poincaré himself to have been the writer — we read as follows:

" . . . The possession of Lorraine, its ore beds and smelting plant, is valueless to France without Rhenish-Westphalian coke. The peace treaty sends us the bride without her dowry, and what we must do now is to fetch this missing dowry!" It is true that the German government and the German collieries have frequently expressed their readiness to take the needs of the Franco-Lotringian iron industry into account. But the gentlemen of the Comité des Forges cannot be content with the fact of coke supply from Germany. They want it—and this is the main point—at a particularly cheap price. France's excess production, exceeding her own consumption by 5 million tons yearly can only be sold on the world market when French industry can produce and sell at low prices. France has therefore to insist that the coke be delivered at a very modest price . . . Germany is willing to supply us with coal, but France must insist that it is supplied on the reparation account (that is, for nothing!). Even should Germany be placed under the obligation to supply on these terms, the mere imposition of an obligation is no longer sufficient, for the day of empty promises is past. The sole means for securing our necessary supplies is the final possession of a number of German collieries, and participation in a number of others."

Poincaré appropriated this standpoint of the Comité des Forges with amazing candour in December 1922, when he asked the German industrialists whether they were willing to supply coal and coke as reparations, and, on receiving a negative reply, broke off negotiations.

The method chosen to force security of coal and coke delivery, as is well known, resulted, in an almost complete stoppage of supplies from Germany, and in causing a severe crisis in the French iron industry. The blast furnaces in the east of France and in Lorraine have mostly had to be damped down or stopped. Workmen have been discharged or put on short time; the prices for coal and iron are rising rapidly.

The attempt to gain possession of the Ruhr coal by simply occupying the Ruhr area encountered unexpected resistance. But this has by no means deterred the heavy industrialists and militarists from continuing their project. It has merely shown them that some understanding must be come to with German heavy industry, with the German big capitalists, the German trade union leaders and the German social democratic leaders. 1) We might

1) How little French patriots and German capitalists shrink from doing business with one another is shown by the well-paid co-operation of the Baden Aniline Co. in the equipment of the French factories for the exploitation of the Haber process of nitrogen production, sold to the French.

formulate the actual program of French heavy industry as follows:

Extension and intensification of the military measures, in order to force German heavy industry to enter into an agreement advantageous to French industry, and in order to enable the latter to dictate the conditions of economic co-operation.

The effects of the occupation of the Ruhr are not merely confined to a strangulation of production in heavy industry, but are felt in every sphere of French economic life. One of the chief results of the Ruhr occupation has been a great depreciation of the franc.

Appended are the prices quoted for an English pound in London:

4th. January . . . . .	67.— francs
17th. February . . . . .	77.20 "
9th. March . . . . .	78.— "
28th. March . . . . .	71.25 "

There were some days when the rate of exchange exceeded 80 francs to the pound. The causes of this were: War danger, decline of state finances as a result of Ruhr occupation 2) and purchases of English coal. The improvement in the rate of exchange is to be ascribed to the hope of an agreement over the reparation question advantageous to France, and to measures taken in support of the franc.

The prices rise in accordance with the depreciation of the franc. The following figures are given by the Statistique Générale (1913 = 100):

	Wholesale Trade prices	Food prices in Paris
December 1922 . . . . .	418.4	3.05
January 1923 . . . . .	441.3	3.09
February 1923 . . . . .	487.3	3.16

These last figures have obviously been trimmed to suit the needs of the capitalists, as the statistics showing increases in prices are trimmed by the state office in order to render them better adapted for refuting the wage claims of the workers. The figures for March have not yet appeared, but the rise in prices has probably come to a temporary standstill, owing to the improvement in the value of the franc.

The figures relating to foreign trade (in million francs) are as follows:

	Import	Export	Surplus
November 1922 . . . . .	2348	1706	642
December 1922 . . . . .	2923	2779	144
January 1923 . . . . .	2144	1696	448
February 1923 . . . . .	2343	2329	14

The import surplus, though fluctuating, is falling; the amount of foreign trade increases. It is interesting to note the decrease of imports from Germany. As follows:

1921 . . . . .	2162 millions
1922 . . . . .	1299 millions

Unfortunately, French statistics are not very reliable. We do not know whether the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is correct, in stating that Germany's reparation payments are included, at their full value, in the French foreign trade statistics. Should this be the case, then France has a favorable trade balance, as French economy is not obliged to give anything in return for German deliveries.

**The Budget Question.**

The French budget was discussed for more than a year, and was finally accepted, unsettled, in the third month of the

2) Fr. Delaisi writes in *Oeuvres*:

"The prospect that the Ruhr occupation will render Germany less capable than before of paying reparations, has caused our foreign friends to throw large quantities of francs on the market. They should naturally have had more faith. But unfortunately, they do not read the official reports only; they have their own sources of information on the Ruhr action, and do not believe in the French success. And they consider that the franc will sink still further if the French and Belgian governments create the Rhenish thaler. The government does nothing against the emigration of French capital, or against foreign speculation, for it is of the opinion that those who have deposited their money in safety are the best patriots. He who has his lying safely in a London bank can say light-heartedly: We remain in the Ruhr! We must blockade! We must expropriate! We must punish!" Extract from "*Berliner Tageblatt*", 22. 2. 1923.

fiscal year, with instructions to the government to cover the deficit by loans. The unending debates in parliament on the subject were a model of complete confusion; the proposals of the minister of finance were rejected, but he did not tender his resignation; the proposals made by the reporter for the fiscal committee, Bokanovsky, were also rejected; the estimates of revenue from various sources of taxation were arbitrarily increased in order to diminish the deficit; the budget accepted by the parliament was rejected by the senate as entirely unsuitable for negotiation—and a short time afterwards it was accepted, almost unaltered, by a large majority.

*Le Temps*, the government organ, characterizes the confusion in parliament as follows:

"It would be difficult to imagine a more confused discussion or more inaccurate speeches. It seems that the chamber, after occupying itself for more than a year with the budget, and after having dealt with the most contradictory proposals, no longer knows what it is about, what is required of the chamber, and what decisions are necessary. Entirely contradictory proposals are applauded with the same enthusiasm." *Le Temps*, 21. 2. 23.

**The cause of this confusion?**

The elections! The Elections! In 1924 there will be a new election, and the members of parliament have not the courage to vote for any new tax whatever, for fear of losing some group of voters! Party confines are broken down; every member of the chamber keeps his eye on his own constituency, and decides the financial questions of the state accordingly. The result is that every attempt to raise taxes, or to collect them more effectively, has been a failure.

It would be of little purpose to follow the debates in detail. The "French" budget—which does not include the expenditure for reparations, pensions, etc., to be reimbursed by Germany—shows a deficit of 3 1/2 milliard francs. The minister of finance proposed an all-round increase of taxation by 20%, but this was rejected. The budget was gone into again, the proceeds from some taxes estimated higher. But it was of little use, the deficit remained 3.2 milliards. The deputy Bonnevous proposes that 80 million shares at 50 francs each, to be redeemed at par, be issued, and bearing interest in the form of lottery winnings. Great applause. Rejected later! Bokanovsky proposes that the "carnet de coupon" be introduced; the attempt to collect the income tax at its source, as in England. All dividends only to be paid through a bank; payment only to take place in accordance with a list containing the whole of the bonds, etc. in the possession of the persons concerned, and serving at the same time as a taxation basis. Rejected with indignation, as "fiscal inquisition". On March 6. a "socialist" modification is accepted, by 302 against 229, but "for consideration"; this provides that bearer securities bonds, etc., may only be sold when the sale is endorsed on the back of the document, and the sale is registered at the headquarters of the company. Immediate violent howls from the capitalist newspapers, protest from the minister of finance; the modification is discarded. In the same manner another motion is rejected, which would have compelled bankers, and professional men to book their receipts, with name and residence of client, and to submit their books to the tax officials. "Fiscal inquisition" is again re-echoed on all sides. What an insane idea, to lay a finger on the money bags of notaries, lawyers, physicians, etc., whose influence is so great in the elections — and just before an election campaign! Thus everything has remained the same as before: the deficit is to be covered by fresh loans.

"In the end, common sense has carried off the victory. In order to provide the necessary funds to cover the 1923 budget, without resorting to fresh taxation, the chamber agreed yesterday to accept the original proposal made by the government on March 31., 1922 . . . . The motion of Brousse was accepted by 274 votes against 253; this motion provided for the covering of the deficit of the 1923 budget by means of the issue of treasury notes." *Le Temps* of March, 10.

How can such proceedings be justified? Those who defend this plunge into further debt regard the matter as follows: Up to the present, France has used about 80 milliard francs for restoration work; this sum she has advanced to Germany, who is bound to pay for the restoration. The interest on this sum corresponds approximately to the deficit of the "French Budget", and Germany is of course bound to pay this interest. Thus the budget balances quite all right as soon as this sum is debited to Germany.

"Before we demand fresh sacrifices from the French people, it is the first duty of the government to employ every

possible means at its disposal to force Germany to restore the ruin and devastation which it has caused. You may be assured that the government will devote every energy to this task."

So states the introduction to the budget, submitted on March 31., 1922. We see that the French trend of thought is consistent. French financial and budget questions are closely bound up with the reparation question.

In our last report we published data showing that France's financial position is improving, despite the deficit. These deficits are, as a matter of fact due to France having expended enormous sums for restoration work; and she will have to expend 40 milliards more for the same purpose. But if the reparation payments suffice to pay the interest on this expenditure and when in addition, the inter-allied war debts are annulled, then France's budget can be made to balance with no particular trouble.

Here we see the foundation of Loucheur's plan: Internationalization of the Rhine district as security; cancellation of inter-allied debts and guarantee of the reparation payments by means of an international loan; in addition: participation in Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry, this to be the special booty of the Comité des Forges. The confusion of the French budget possesses its own sound logic.

**Belgium.**

At the present time, Belgium's economic life is developing along lines almost parallel to those of France. In 1922 Belgium's economic life recuperated greatly. The improved prosperity has been retarded during the last quarter of a year by the Ruhr occupation, as in the case of France. Last year Belgium received 2 million tons of foreign coal, chiefly from Germany. Since the occupation of the Ruhr, there has been an increased demand in the coal market; the government has been obliged to prohibit the export of coke, in order that the requirements of the home iron industry may be covered. At the beginning of the year, 33 blast furnaces out of 56 were working. Shortage of Ruhr coal has caused some further blast furnaces to be damped down recently. This is the more disagreeable for Belgium heavy industry, as the state of the market is favorable at present. At the turn of the year, the steel output exceeded pre-war production for the first time.

The textile industry is busy. The absence of German competition is an advantage to the home industry. On the other hand, the depreciation of the Belgian franc, consequent on the Ruhr occupation, throws difficulties in the way of receiving supplies of raw materials.

The situation of Belgian industry may be regarded as fairly favorable on the whole. There is little unemployment; but here it must be taken into consideration that a large number of Belgian workers are occupied in France.

The shrinkage of foreign trade may be observed here as well. In 1922 the imports, reduced to gold prices, amounted to 70% of pre-war imports, exports 63%. The value of the Belgian franc runs parallel to that of the French, the general economic course of the two countries running on the same lines. The prices quoted for the English pound have been as follows:

Par	6. Jan. 22	5. Jan. 23	2. Feb. '3	2. March	28. March
25.22	54.63	72.50	87.35	88.37	82.30

It is interesting to note here that in the month of March the Belgian franc recovered less than the French franc. This leads to the conclusion that the improvement of the French franc is partially due to artificial support.

The level of prices has risen in accordance with the depreciation of the franc. This has led to fairly extensive labor movements during the period of this report. The workers have, however, only been successful in obtaining relatively slight improvements in wages. The attempt made by the employers to lengthen working hours, by cancelling the law on the eight hour day, failed, thanks to the pressure exercised by the working class.

**Italy.**

The economic life of Italy has altered but little during the period covered by this report. Up to now there is no prospect of the crisis being overcome. At the beginning of the year, official figures showed the number of unemployed to be 382,000, and tending to increase. With respect to unemployment Italy's situation is similar to that of England. The artificial industries which sprang up during the war are no longer able to support the industrial workers. Emigration is regarded as the sole way out.

Emigration to the United States is, however, limited by the well-known immigration laws. Brazil and Argentina can accommodate but few Italian workers. Among European countries, Germany formerly played an important part in Italian

emigration, many Italians being employed, especially in the building trade; but at the present low wages it is not worth while for the Italian to go to Germany. At present the idea of closer relations with France has been taken up. According to reports as yet unconfirmed, French heavy industry is going to participate with 1,500 million French francs in the re-organization of Italian heavy industry, which is at present completely inactive; in return, the emigration of 400,000 Italian workers to the coal mines and heavy industrial undertakings of eastern France is to be organized. We are not in a position to judge how much truth there is as to this plan. The fact remains, however, that unemployment threatens to become chronic in Italy, and that Mussolini's government is intensely occupied with this problem at the present time.

The level of prices sank during the last quarter of 1922, reaching 523 in January. In February a fresh rise was observable, reaching 533.

The rate of exchange was almost completely stable during the period of this report.

The whole essence of Mussolini's economic policy is to take all control of economics as rapidly as possible out of the hands of the state, and to surrender all that the state possesses in the means of production to the bourgeoisie. It has thus been decided to denationalize railways, telephones, etc., and to hand these over to the bourgeoisie again. These measures have not been carried out yet, and they are encountering many obstacles, for the various bourgeois groups are inclined to quarrel over the division of the booty. At the same time, wholesale bribery is going on among separate political groups, by means of state money; thus, for instance, the Silva enterprise, belonging to the Giolitti group, has been placed on a sound footing by a state gift of 120 million lire.

This subsidizing of the bourgeoisie with state money is of no little importance, considering the extremely bad condition of state finances in Italy. At the end of December the Italian state war in debt to the following amount:

Consolidated debts . . . . .	81.4	Milliard lire
Floating debts . . . . .	35.2	" "
Foreign debts (Sept.) . . . . .	78.6	" "
Interest on same . . . . .	3.7	" "
<b>Total</b>	<b>202.9</b>	<b>Milliard lire</b>

It is however, not clear at what rate of exchange the foreign debts are calculated. The national debt has increased by several milliards during last year, and, when Italy's comparative poverty is remembered, it seems to us that the whole burden of debt is larger than that of France.

The deficit in state finances (exclusive of the railway deficit) amounts to:

	Milliard lire
1920-21 . . . . .	17.4
1921-22 . . . . .	8.0
1922-23 . . . . .	4.2
1923-24 . . . . .	4.2

The actual financial position of the state has improved, but on the other hand the Fascist government has retarded this improvement by the greatly increased expenditure for armaments; a greatly increased standing army and forced building of war-ships and aeroplanes.

Although we have no exact statistical data on hand for the current quarter, still we obtain the definite impression that the economic condition of the country has not improved.

**IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES**

**The International of Ministers**

The appended incomplete list comprises the coalition ministers belonging to the parties who met in Hamburg, and who, aided by the bourgeoisie, have helped to crush the Workers' Revolution both during and after the War.

**Germany.**

- Scheidemann, Philipp, Secretary of State to the All Highest Wilhelm II, Deputy, Imperial Chancellor (coalition with democrats and centre). Attempted to save the monarchy, strangled the proletarian revolution.
- Ebert, Fritz, President of the Republic. Introduced Martial Law, and exceptional laws against the working class. Robbed officials of the right to strike.
- Noske, Gustav, Minister of Imperial Defence (coalition with democrats and centre). "Someone has to be the bloodhound."

**Bauer, Gustav**, Secretary of State to the All Highest Wilhelm II, Minister of Labor, Imperial Chancellor, Minister of Finance. (Coalition with democrats and centre.)

**Wissel, Minister for Trade and Commerce** (coalition with democrats and centre.)

**Landberg, Minister of Justice** (coalition with democrats and centre).  
Exceptional law against the working class.

**David, Eduard**, Minister for the Interior, without portfolio (coalition with democrats and centre).

**Schmidt, Robert**, Minister for Food Supplies, Minister for Trade and Commerce (coalition with democrats and centre).  
Granted free gifts to heavy industry.

**Müller, Hermann**, Minister for foreign affairs (coalition with centre). Signed Versailles Treaty.

**Radbruch, Minister of Justice** (coalition with democrats and centre). Exceptional laws against workers. Capitulation to Bavarian justice.

**Köster, Ad.**, Minister for the Interior (coalition with democrats and centre).

**Gradnauer, Georg**, Minister for the Interior (coalition with democrats and centre).

**Dittmann, W.**, Deputy.  
Promoted the counter-revolutionary policy of the German Socialist Party.

**Barth, Deputy**.  
Promoted the counter-revolutionary policy of the German Socialist Party.

**Prussia: Hirsch, Ströbel, Haenisch, Hoffmann, Heine, Rosenfeld, Braun, Hofer, Gudekum, Simon, Lündemann, Siering, Severing**, ("the first day must be bloody", March 1921). (Coalition with democrats, centre, and German People's Party.)

#### Austria.

**Renner, Karl**, State Chancellor, Minister for Foreign Affairs, (coalition with Christian, socialists, Pan Germanists).

**Eldersch, Mathias**, Minister for the Interior, (coalition with Christian socialists and Pan Germanists).  
Increase of police and gendarmerie.

**Deutsch, Julius**, Minister for War, (coalition with Christian socialists and Pan Germanists).  
Reconstitution of the national army into a weapon against the working class.

**Bauer, Otto**, Minister for foreign affairs, President of the Socialization Committee, (coalition with Christian socialists and Pan Germanists).  
Transport of arms against Soviet Russia.

**Glöckel, Otto**, Under-Secretary of State for Education, (coalition with Christian socialist and Pan Germanists).

**Hanusch, Ferd.**, Minister for Public Welfare, (coalition with Christian socialists and Pan Germanists).  
Reductions in unemployment benefit.

**Ellenbogen, Wilh.** Under-Secretary of State for Trade and Commerce, President of the Socialization Commission, (coalition with Christian socialists and Pan Germanists).

**Eisler, Dr.** Under-Secretary of State for Justice (coalition with Christian socialists and Pan Germans).

#### Czecho-Slovakia.

**Tusar, Vlastimil**, Prime Minister, (1919-20), coalition with agrarians. Made war on Soviet Hungary, high reason trial against Muna.

**Habermann, Gust.** Minister of Education, Minister for Social Welfare (all-national coalition with national democrats, agrarians, clericals and national socialists).  
Abolition of numerous schools of the German minority. Reduction of unemployment dole, non-recognition of workers' Soviets.

**Johannis, Wenzel**, Minister of Food Supplies, (all-national coalition).

**Hampel, Anton**, Minister of Public Works, (all-national coalition). Enormous increase of coal tax.

**Winter, Leo**, Minister for Social Welfare (all-national coalition).

**Meissner, Alfred**, Minister of Justice, (all national coalition).  
Creator of the exceptional law against the working class.

**Markovic, Ivan**, Minister of National Defense, (all-national coalition).  
Employed soldiery against striking and demonstrating workmen.

**Brda, Anton**, Minister of Public Welfare and of Public works, Postmaster General, (all-national coalition). Specially favored the Agrarians. Coured wholesale discharges of striking Postal workers.

**Soukup, Franz**, Minister of Justice, (all-national coalition).  
Trial of Muna, Police action against the working class.

**Bechyně, Rudolf**, Minister for National Education, (all-national coalition).  
Favored the clericals, dismissed communist teachers and professors.

**Derer, Ivan**, Unification Minister for Slovakia, (coalition with agrarians). Suppressed national minorities in Czecho-Slovakia.

#### Belgium.

**Vanderveelde, Emile**, Minister of Justice, (coalition with liberals and clericals).  
Minister during the War, signed Versailles treaty. Persecution of Flemish national movement.

**Brunet, Emil**.

**Wauters, Joseph**, Minister of Industry, Minister of Labor, Minister of Food Supplies, (coalition with liberals and clericals).  
Throttled miners' strike in Charleroi (1920) and other movements.

**Anseele, Eduard**, Minister of Public Works, (coalition with liberals and clericals).

**Destree, Jules**, Minister for Arts and Science, (coalition with liberals and clericals).  
Denied teachers' right to strike, favored Catholic schools. Voted in 1921 for sanctions against Germany.

#### Poland.

**Moraczewsky, Andr.**, Prime Minister, (coalition with the peasants' party).

**Vasilevsky, Leo**, Minister for Foreign Affairs, (Ditto).

**Ziemnicki, Bron.**, Minister of Labor, (Ditto).

**Barlicki, Oskar**, Home Secretary, (Ditto).

**Arziszewsky, Postmaster General**, (Ditto).

**Dobnarowicz, Medard**, Minister of Culture and Arts, (Ditto).  
The following terse record of services in the cause of the Working Class stands to the credit of each and every of the above six "Comrades":  
Exceptional laws against workers, re-introduction of Czarist code of penal law against political offenders, murder of Soviet Red Cross mission, rupture of relations with Soviet Russia.

**Daszynsky, Ihur**, Deputy Prime Minister, (great coalition).  
War against Soviet Russia, White Terror in Poland.

#### France.

**Thomas, Albert**, Minister of Munitions, (greatest coalition).  
Employment of prisoners of war in munition factories. Bloody suppression of strikes among munition workers during the war.

**Sembat, Marcel**, Minister during the great war.

#### Sweden.

**Branting, Djalmar**, Prime Minister to King of Sweden and head of Social Democratic ministry.

As it is not intended to extend this list to the length of a "Who's Who", the names of the right Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks participating in the White Governments of Hungary, Latvia, Estonia and the Ukraine, as well as those belonging to the Kolitchak and other Russian White Governments and the Menshevik ministers of Georgia are not mentioned.

## The Death-Knell of the 2<sup>1/2</sup> International

By Paul Frölich.

Hamburg, 21. May 1923.

The amalgamation congress of the London and Vienna internationals was opened in the Hamburg trade union headquarters today. The proceedings of the first day are a clear indication of what this new form of social democratic international is, thinks, and wants.

What this social democratic international is, may be only too plainly seen from external symbols. The black-red-gold flag of the German bourgeois republic waves from the tower of the trade union building. From a corner of the roof there flutters a dirty rag which was once red. At the entrance to the congress room the flag of Habsburgian commercial capital is planted, accompanied by a white-red linen cloth. The hall itself is decked with the colors of the capitalist powers. Here we see Poincaré's tricolor, the Union Jack beneath which war against Soviet

Russia is being preached, Mussolini's Fascist banner, the black-yellow long decayed colors of the Habsburg monarchy, and finally—threefold shame!—the banner of Czarism.

Would it be possible to express more plainly that this International is an international of nationalists? If more were needed, the "I" could be dotted. The debates held at the women's congress, and at the dissolution congress of the 2<sup>1/2</sup> International, which preceded the actual conference, were filled with mutual reproaches of nationalist bourgeois betrayals. The German Bohemians came and piled fact upon fact to show that the Czech social democracy, conjointly with the Czech nationalist bourgeois parties, has subjugated and oppressed the other nationalities and the whole proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia in the most shameful manner. Again, the despicable nationalist-militarist policy of the Polish socialists was condemned. And a Modigliani ventured to remind us of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, without whispering a word on the nationalism of his fellow delegate Treves. The reigning mayor of Hamburg, Stolten, gave an address of welcome in which crass nationalism permeated every phrase. The victims still venture to express their indignation at the Czech and Polish parties. But Poland and Czecho-Slovakia alike will be received into the bosom of this community. And how could German social democracy dare to protest, when the congress forces it to hold a conference beneath the flag of the bourgeois republic. How can the Labor Party raise objections, when Macdonald declares that he will not hear a word against the British empire, the empire of Irish atrocities, of the national oppression of many hundreds of millions of human beings! It is no International which is amalgamating here. It is a union corroded by the antagonisms of the capitalist world, hanging together for the sake of keeping up appearances, and of conceding something to the "prejudices" of the working class. And when M. Vanderveelde has spoken, then the fact will be further emphasized that this amalgamation of parties mirrors not only the antagonisms of the capitalist world, but also its proportionate powers,—that it contains victors and vanquished.

What this International thinks, was expressed, before the congress met, in a speech delivered by Herr Perner, budget speaker of the Hamburg social democracy, to the citizens of Hamburg, in which he begged the Hamburg senate to accord the congress a worthy reception, and spoke the winged words: "The workers and tradespeople must undertake the leadership in politics." The same idea was expressed by the Menshevik Abramovitch at the conference of the Vienna International. Two revolutions, he exclaimed, had proved great failures, the Russian and the German. Any progress for revolution is impossible. It was this fact which induced the German independent socialists to unite with the German social democratic party. Anyone preaching revolution today has to carry on a sectarian policy. Herr Hilferding applauds him, and Friedrich Adler declares proudly: During the war, and after the war, I have always maintained that there can be no thought of a proletarian revolution; the bourgeois revolution alone is possible. This is Marxism.

They state quite candidly what they think. If there ever was a time when they had faith in the power of the proletariat, if they ever hoped for the revolutionary emancipation of the working class, they have long since been cured of these "childish dreams". They are one and all, from Friedrich Adler to Fritz Ebert, helping in the work of reconstructing the capitalist world. They join hands with Herr Stolten, who has just proclaimed that there can be no thought of socialism until production has developed, under the capitalist system, to a point enabling every worker to eat roast chicken every day. They postpone socialism until doomsday. This faint-hearted company throw ridicule upon the accusations made by the left social revolutionist Steinberg. He accuses the 2<sup>1/2</sup> International of having sabotaged the revolution like the 2 International. The Russian revolution has not broken down, and will not break down—this he confidently asserts. And he denies any right to criticize the Russian revolution to those who have always regarded it as their task—and still do so—to hinder any revolution whatever, to condemn the Bolsheviks, and to carry on a coalition policy. His was the last word spoken by a revolutionary at that meeting. He banged the door after him. From this moment the hall was at the unlimited disposal of the foul spirit of the united front against the revolutionists.

In truth, against the revolutionists: The anti-revolutionary spirit, here liberated, rages and shrieks. The conference has scarcely a word to spare for the frightful dangers of the impending world war, but expends its force in raging against Soviet Russia and the Bolsheviks. The assembly falls upon the communists in blind rage. The *Hamburg Echo* has contrived to arouse every passion and instinct against the communists by means of the treacherous accusation that they intended to break up the

congress. The congress hall is guarded by immense numbers of police, in a manner at once ridiculous and provocative. Leutritz's opening speech contained thunderbolts of eloquence against the communist fanatics, his easily recognizable object being to provoke deeds of violence, and to so terrorize the conference as to intimidate all opposition beforehand. No weakness against the communists—thus declaimed Herr Weis. And Berger (Milwaukee) lamented that the aim of the communists is to destroy all civilization, and to reconstitute an ancient state of society.

This is the sole bond of alliance holding this company together. Hate of revolution, agitation against communism.

We have known all along what this International is, what it thinks, and what it wants. But we did not expect that it would express all this so openly. It clings to this capitalist world, it abhors the revolution, and with fierce hate it combats every revolutionary party. It steps forwards without a mask, and it is good that it does so.

#### Steinberg's speech at the congress of the Vienna Workers' Union.

Hillquit has declared here that he would like to enter into a love marriage with the 2 International. Even the gods fight in vain against those who feel such a love. Abramovitch, on the other hand, seeks to adduce logical reasons. He has had a poor rôle to play, that of the "advocatus diaboli". In order to win applause, he directed two attacks against the Bolsheviks, and designated us of the Left as counter-revolutionists. I may state that he managed to obtain the same applause as he has gained here, and by the same means, at the congress of the 2 International. This proves that Abramovitch is ripe for London. He is the spiritual child of the 2 International, and he returns to his mother's arms. The Vienna Working Union originally intended to be a crystallizing point for the parties of revolutionary class war. It was going to establish understandings with the revolutionary parties united in the 3 International. But when the opportunity of doing so was offered at the Berlin conference, the Vienna Workers' Union unfortunately drew back. We are told that our amalgamation with the 2 International is a historical necessity. There has never been a betrayal of socialism which was not explained away on historical grounds. The betrayal of socialism has always been a "historical necessity". Abramovitch has declared the Russian revolution to be bankrupt. I may reply to him that the Russian revolution has not by any means gone under yet, and that we shall hear of it again. But I must say, and it is something which must be said precisely at this international conference, that no socialist party has a moral right to criticize a revolution unless it has itself begun work on the realization of socialist revolution. But the parties permitting themselves this criticism are all merely parties of legal reformism. He who has not sufficient courage to begin revolution in his own country, should be somewhat more cautious with his criticisms. Our party has a right to exercise criticism, for we took active part in the revolution from February till October. (Interjection: Have you masses behind you?)

It has been said that we shall have to join the 2 International, because it has the great masses of the working class in its camp. But did it not often prove, during the war, to be just the great mass parties which succumbed to social patriotism? And was not a mere handful of comrades represented at Zimmerwald and Kienthal? Do you call that politics, to do nothing but run after the great masses?

As a second reason for the amalgamation we are reminded that reaction is raging all over Europe, and that it is therefore imperative that we amalgamate. But here I must say to you: If you speak of reaction, do not forget to look for it within the ranks of our own parties as well. Do you know what the 2 International is? The 2 International has been, and will remain, the international organization of all Philistine elements, including those among the working class. The social democratic parties of the 2 International are a mainstay of present day reaction. The newspaper which represents bourgeois interests most energetically in Germany is the *Vorwärts*. The Vienna Working Union was going to be an organization embodying the revolutionary spirit. Today you come to us and say: Reaction is raging, and we must join the 2 International. Here you are forgetting the essential fact that this reaction is precisely the result of the whole of the faults and crimes committed by those social-patriotic reformist parties with which you want to join forces tomorrow. Look only at the great mass parties of the 2 International. What has the English Labor Party done to save Soviet Russia from war? Macdonald declares that Russian propaganda in English colonies is not to be permitted. He wishes colonial slavery to go on for ever. What has the Labor Party done for Ireland?



The result of an amalgamation may well be judged from the example of the German independents. They too maintained that amalgamation with the social democrats would enable them to do wonders for the working class. What fruit has this amalgamation borne? Not only have the independents accomplished nothing, but they have forfeited their independence for this nothing. No doubt they still fancy themselves independent, but in reality they have long since become dependent. Do you think that tomorrow's amalgamation promises better results? There is no reason upon which the necessity of the amalgamation can be based. The international situation is serious. War complications may arise at any moment. In this situation the new International will be the first to fail us; but Russia, I may confidently assure you, will once more prove a great factor in the revolutionary development of the world. (Great disturbance.)

## E. C. C. I.

### The Conference of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International

By Alois Neurath (Moscow).

The Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International will begin on June 10. As all sections affiliated to the Third International will send delegates, the conference of the Enlarged Executive will possess all the significance of a world congress. The agenda include the most important and urgent problems of the international labor movement. Even before the IV. Congress the relations between the sections and the Executive of the Comintern were excellent, but these relations have become much more intimate since the last World Congress. The international situation of capitalist society and the exceedingly precarious political situation in all bourgeois countries, have forced the class-conscious workers to take steps towards the practical realization of the resolutions passed by the IV. World Congress. When the principles of the proletarian United Front, and of the Workers' Government, were first definitely formulated, resistance was aroused in many of our most important sections. The call for the proletarian United Front was confused with a desire to unite with social traitors; the summons to form a fighting front of the exploited was interpreted as if meaning an alliance with the social democrats, or with the leaders of the Amsterdam trade union movement. This crisis within the sections of the Third International was not so much overcome by the resolutions passed by the E.C. of the C.I., as by the actual economic and political facts. The bourgeoisie, feeling confident that the Amsterdam secretaries would not venture on any real battle, proceeded to involve the workers of the most important branches of industry in isolated struggles, in which they were able to defeat them. These hard facts have taught the whole of the workers and their leaders that the demand for the proletarian united front is not merely an agitation catchword, but the most decisive slogan of present-day class war. The broad masses of the workers are gradually accomplishing the task of forming the united front of the exploited and are doing this against the will of the social democratic and yellow leaders. These last are beginning to find themselves in a desperate situation, and shrink from no measures which offer any prospect of strengthening their shaken position. The sections of the C.I., therefore, have still many obstacles to face in their struggle for the unity of the proletarian masses. The Enlarged Executive will have to occupy itself largely with the results of the work done in this direction since the IV. Congress.

The question of the workers' government has become, in some states, a question of immediate importance much sooner than might have been expected at the time of the IV. Congress. The German proletariat has been able to acquire the best practical experiences in this respect. The German bourgeoisie realizes perhaps better than many workers, that the social-democratic-communist agreements will rapidly lead to a very definite struggle for a workers' government for the whole country. The working masses, including not only those under the immediate influence of the German C.P., but wide masses beyond, recognize that the Communist Party is the only party possessing the necessary power and determination to lead the proletariat to emancipation from its desperate situation.

It is easily understood that today, when Germany's situation is so critical, the experiences of the Kapp and Rathenau

days receive different judgments within the German C.P. Revolutionary impatience on the one hand, and cautious estimation of forces on the other, have led to many differences of opinion; but these have already been smoothed out for the most part, but the Enlarged Executive will occupy itself with them in detail, as it is highly desirable that this knotty point be thoroughly cleared up.

The so-called Ruhr action has gradually opened the eyes of the overwhelming majority of the proletariat, and has clearly exposed the intentions of the French and German bourgeoisies. The Ruhr crisis is not merely a crisis between the German bourgeoisie and French imperialism, but the crisis of capitalist world economics. In 1914 the various groups of the world bourgeoisie were able to carry on a bloody war in their own interests, at the expense and with the aid of the working class. Today the bourgeoisie encounters immediate resistance, first from the masses led by the Communist Party, and then, in the course of action, from the serious opposition of the decisive strata of the working population. The world bourgeoisie is fully aware that the beginning of every war is a fateful hour for the bourgeoisie. First it endeavors to employ every conceivable means of overcoming the conflict of interests in its own camp, and then it seeks forcefully to increase the exploitation of the proletariat. But it becomes more and more difficult to overcome these great obstacles by "peaceful means". The ruling class in the present social order cannot escape its destiny, it cannot avoid the bloody collisions in its own ranks, that is, it has not been able to prevent the economic decay of the capitalist social order from having already provided, to a very great extent, the prerequisites for the successful class war of the proletariat. The discussion of the lessons taught by the Ruhr action will doubtless form the central point of the deliberations of the Enlarged Executive.

As the masses lose faith in the Amsterdamers and social democratic leaders, the ruling class sets proportionately less store upon the coalition with its socialist brothers so indispensable and invaluable to it during the critical period following the collapse of the war. The bourgeoisie now begins to deal out kicks and blows to its friends of yesterday; but the worse treatment the social imperialists receive at the hands of the bourgeoisie, the greater the emphasis with they proclaim their love for the coalition with the exploiters of the proletariat. And with good reason. Scheidemann, Noske, Hilferding, & Co. know very well that their positions in the labor movement are irretrievably lost. Therefore they continue to permit themselves to be used for the purposes of the ruling class, in a more despicable manner than ever, and finally, they will be thrown over by the bourgeoisie as useless tools. The social democrats being of no further use to the bourgeoisie, the ruling class is now raising a fresh guard in the form of the Fascist movement, hoping that this will defend the interests of the exploiters even better than the social democrats. Fascism at the same time represents the mobilization of all the remaining political reserves of the counter-revolution. The danger of Fascism, which is receiving every possible support from the dominant party, is exceedingly great. In order systematically and steadily to make its preparations for the inevitable, protracted and decisive struggle with the proletariat, the bourgeoisie is destroying all the so-called rights and liberties said to have been won by democracy, and is applauded in this by all parties following the principles of democracy. The exceptional laws issued in Poland, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., will be followed by similar laws in other important capitalist states. It is hoped to break the increasing resistance of the working masses for a long time to come by placing the communist movement, or rather its organizations, completely outside the law. The experiences undergone by the Italian proletariat, and the latest events in Czecho-Slovakia, in German-Austria, Germany, and the Balkan states, will play a leading part in the discussions of the Enlarged Executive.

The Ruhr action, the workers' and peasants' government, the proletarian united front, trade unions tactics, national problems, the question of agitation among small farmers—all these important questions are to be thoroughly considered. The delegates of the various sections of the C.I. will return to their countries thoroughly informed on the political events of the most important states, enlightened concerning the experiences gained in the latest great political and economic struggles in almost all capitalist states, and acquainted—thanks to the detailed discussions—with every line of tactics required for the immediate future; they will thus be enabled to continue their work with even greater success than before.

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## All for Peace!

Speech delivered by Comrade Trotsky at the enlarged committee session of the Moscow Soviet.

Comrades, yesterday various items of news and various facts arrived simultaneously in my workroom. I received two comrades, delegated by the workers of a paper factory in the Kalusch governmentment. One of them had worked in the factory for 51 years, the other for 46 years. A few minutes earlier I had received, from the People's Commissar for foreign affairs, the news of the murder of our friend and representative, comrade Vorovsky. Almost at the same moment I received a whole budget of newspapers, published abroad by the one-time landowners and capitalists of our country.

I do not know, comrades, whether I have already spoken to you here of the raging and insane campaign of lies and inventions, now being conducted against us by the white emigration press. The period in which we live, and which is distinguished by a great and constantly increasing unity between the Soviet power and the working masses throughout our whole federation, and by a great revolutionary peoples' movement, — this period the hallucinations of the bourgeois press designate as a period of fresh risings in every corner of Soviet Russia, as a period of rebellion in one regiment after another, as a period of decay of the state apparatus and the Communist Party. And when we peruse these newspapers, published in Warsaw, Helsingfors, Riga, Reval, and other places, we involuntarily ask ourselves: by whom and for whom are they issued? and who is it who have lost their reason, the publishers of the papers or their supporters?

We must say that there is one group of Helsingfors correspondents which can boast of being the source of the most idiotic rumours. In whose name do they write all this, what do they expect to gain by it? They want to set the dogs of imperialism upon us.

A ring of foreign states lies between us and the imperialist west. And should a foolish and criminal blockade, or even a war, set in against our will, the logic of the geographical situation will first affect this ring of states.

And now yesterday, when these two old workmen told me what they had experienced since 1918—hunger, cold and actual

collapse in the years 1919 and 1920, in part also in 1921—they said that today they are comparatively well off. These old men, these heroes of toil, brought with them some dozens of forms which they have to fill out in relation to various economic and cultural requirements. With gnarled fingers, rendered unsteady by decades of work, they showed me with justifiable pride these signs of our reviving industry. And we say with them: two more years, three more, five more, of work in peace, and we shall perfect our economics, our schools, and our culture. And they say we are meditating war? We, with our vast territory, our population of many millions, and our backwardness, our poverty, our defective culture—how can we think of violence, of conquests, of attacks? No; what we say is: cursed be everyone in our ranks who raises his voice in favor of an attack, of a war.

One of these two workmen had worked for 51 years (I do not know how old Lord Curzon is) at the work-bench, and if we were to say to him that we, the state of the workers and peasants, cherish the idea of attacking anyone, he would not understand this language. He would reject the idea. The working class would drive anyone from its ranks who would not defend peace and work with every available means.

Nevertheless, the sky has become overcast again on the frontiers of Soviet Russia, and we must again anxiously and attentively observe the plans, not only of the governments, but of various groups and various cliques within these governments, for the present position of European politics is such that the attitude taken by separate groups or persons at the head of an imperialist power may involve things in such a knot that these gentlemen will be obliged to cut it in the end.

We defend peace with all the means at our disposal, and support our diplomacy, which is fighting honorably, sincerely, and determinedly for the independence of the Soviet Federation, and is employing the peaceful agencies of negotiations and understandings. And I think, comrades, that every Red Army soldier—and in our country the Red Army soldier is above all the citizen of the state, taking active part in the political life of the country—that every Red Army soldier today, understands the language