

"Pavalion", "Paviak", "Serbiya", "Mokotow" (well known Warsaw prisons), and dozens of provincial prisons, returned to their most notorious traditional methods. Nothing was changed but the uniform and the badges. The one-headed eagle was not an iota more humane than his double-headed predecessor. And beneath his sway the system and practices of the prisons remained unaltered, unless for the worse. Many of the old occupants of the prisons returned to them. Hundreds of revolutionary fighters, who had already spent half their lives in Czarist gaols or in exile, made fresh acquaintance with the prisons of "independent" Poland. The communist deputy of the Sejm, Stefan Krolkowski, just recently set at liberty, has undergone eight years of Czarist imprisonment, followed by two years of incarceration watched over by Pilsudski's gendarmes. During the few years of existence of "independent" Poland, many of our comrades have scarcely enjoyed liberty for a few months. An idea may be gained of the extent of the reprisals being carried on in Poland, by a glance at the present exchange list, which contains the names of more than 400 prisoners, of whom at least three quarters have already been imprisoned for two years, and all of whom are condemned to long terms of imprisonment. Five to fifteen years hard labor, the measure of punishment meted out to the communists in one time Russian-Poland, the legal basis for this punishment is derived from the Czarist code of laws, in Galicia and Posen it is derived from the Austrian or Prussian code of penal law.

It has often been asked who has adopted the most brutal measures against revolution and the revolutionists: Czarism or the Polish Skallons, Kaznakows, Gruns, Ithofs, and Alexandrows, as represented by such scoundrels as Witecki, Snarski, Gorzechowski, Miegzinski, Farynski, and their companions. That such a question can be asked at all is significant enough in itself. It is extremely difficult to reply for it is hard to compare the data, and moreover the intensity of the repressive measures under both regimes, has varied at different times.

If we do not consider separate details, but wish to characterize the period as a whole, we may say that, in the first place, mass repression was formerly never exercised for such long and uninterrupted periods, and, in the second place, such repressive measures were never so extensive as at the present time, now that Lemberg, Cracow, and Posen, in which political trials were formerly unknown, can enter into competition with Warsaw and Lodz. There is no doubt that this period is filled with shameful deeds, such as were unknown to the earlier history of the Polish revolutionary struggle—for instance the murder of the Soviet Russian Red Cross commission, with the old political convict Vreckovski at the head, in December 1918; or the murder of Brzozas, stabbed with a bayonet; or the murder of comrade

Pola Maceyovskaya in the prison at Kattowitz, and the pogrom among the female political prisoners in Wronki.

Such excesses as were committed during Moratschevski's government have occurred in Poland at various times, and under the most various circumstances. The responsibility for these horrible crimes falls to the Polish Scheidemanns: Moratschevski, Baszynski, and Slivinski. Six months ago, under Slivinski's government, an arrested man was forced to make a confession by means of torture, and the rôle of executioner was not played by a gendarme or by the Defensive (Polish secret police), but by Luxemburg, the judge of the court of inquiry. During the electoral campaign a group of youths, who were arrested at an electoral meeting had their heads shaved like criminals, and in addition chained like convicts. In earlier times prisoners were certainly never subjected to such systematic psychological tortures as is now the case in Polish prisons. There are prisons in which as many as 10 hunger strikes have taken place in the course of a year.

The struggle raging in Poland against the communist movement is being carried on, as it has always been, under the leadership and active participation of the Polish Scheidemanns who sit in the offices of the Defensive, and openly and secretly co-operate with these secret police. Despite the dangers threatening them from the extreme right, these elements are still terribly afraid that the chains may be removed which hinder the development of the labor movement. A number of sharp lessons on the part of the right are first required, in order that the working class may revolt against these tactics of its leaders, and close its ranks for a united struggle against the repression hindering the development of the labor movement.

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Loucheur, Stinnes & Co.

By Jacques Sadoul.

Before 1914, the exploitation of the two mightiest mining areas of the continent, Lorraine and the Ruhr, ensured the predominance in Europe of the German bourgeoisie.

In order to break this dominion, the victorious Entente had to destroy its foundations. The Versailles Treaty therefore provided for the separation of the ores of Lorraine from Germany, and their incorporation in France, while the Ruhr coal was left to Germany.

But even the most solemn agreements, written in the blood of millions of poor propertyless victims, and protected by armies comprising millions of soldiers, cannot hold good if they contravene economic realities. The Treaty of Versailles, like many other treaties, is nothing more than a scrap of paper, because it attempts to break up the natural unity of the Rhine valley.

The German metal industries are as little able to do without the ore of Lorraine as the French metal industries of Lorraine are able to dispense with the Ruhr coal. The mutual economic dependence of the two areas is inalienable. The Rhine flowing between them must again become what it was before, a connecting line. It is only possible to properly utilize the huge riches of the Rhine valley when the owners work in the closest relationship with one another.

What form will these close relations take?

Three possibilities may be considered:

- the (French) iron submits to the dominion of the (German) coal.
- the coal submits to the iron.
- iron and coal—incapable of dominating one another completely—are forced to make a compromise.

The ore of Lorraine, in the hands of victorious and armed France, will not submit to the Ruhr, that is, to vanquished and disarmed Germany. But on the other hand England and the United States, after making such great efforts for the overthrow of German dominance, will not permit France to establish her own supremacy on the ruins of Germany, by forcing German coal to submit to the sway of French iron.

Let us therefore examine the conditions for the realization of the third possibility, the only one which appears probable at the present time: an understanding between French ore and German coal.

The men on both sides whose interests are chiefly at stake, and who are therefore best informed—the French and German iron barons—are perfectly aware that such an understanding is inevitable, and that it will be necessary, within a

short time, to form a Franco-German syndicate for the exploitation of the mines of Lorraine and the Ruhr. Both parties are preparing for this understanding, and both parties are naturally endeavoring to grant as little as possible, and to gain as much as possible, when entering into the agreement.

In order to fill and defend their cash-boxes—for this is the sole tangible reality in the whole affair—French and German capitalists are resorting to every possible medium of deception and violence.

In the last resort it is a question—and this no communist must forget—of what privileged rights this or that partner is to have over the sweat and misery of the workers, of what proportion of the riches squeezed out of the exploited workers of the Ruhr mines is to be granted to Loucheur, Schneider & Co., and how many millions in return for this are to be accorded to Stinnes, Thyssen & Co., from the no less scandalous exploitation of the miners of Lorraine.

This question, the one most essential for Stinnes, Loucheur, etc., is one which can be solved by corruption or by violence, by milliards of gold or milliards of shells. These knights sans reproche do not shrink from utilizing the national finances, and the national army, for their private interests and for the satisfaction of their own appetites. They drag both nations at their heels. And to be able to do so with more certainty, they carefully conceal their cash-boxes from sight. In France and Germany alike, the cash-boxes vanish behind a drop-scene painted in the national colors and bearing the dazzling inscription: Liberty! honor! fatherland! Words which for many centuries have served only too often to sacrifice the credulous masses to the designs of their oppressors. The feelings of the workers are again to be played upon, their idealism appealed to, and the same trap laid for them. Once more the German and the Frenchman, the workman and the peasant, the exploited tax-payer, is to be converted into a "heroic soldier", ready to sacrifice his life and possessions on the altar of his native country, that is, on the altar of capitalist profit.

Thus the German and French capitalists are in full agreement with respect to the division of the mines of Lorraine and the Ruhr. Four years of war, of suffering, of horror and of murder, ten millions of dead, thousands of milliards of debts—this has sufficed to convince them of the necessity of this agreement. All that remains to be settled is the percentage of profit to be assigned to each of these gentlemen. Hence all these negotiations, manœuvres, and intrigues, carried on for the last

four years between high finance and heavy industry, and aided by the enthusiastic intermediaries at the heads of our democratic republics. Hence the waste of further milliards, the slaughter of more workers.

Germany, like France, has so far placed her military power and her budget, the whole of her material and moral resources, at the disposal of her bourgeoisie, has so far offered resistance in the conviction that this resistance would be supported by the English and Americans "to a victorious end". But the rapacity shown on both sides threatened to prolong these haggings indefinitely. France's power, as compared with Germany's weakness is perfectly obvious. France's political and military dominion on the continent is indisputable. France knows that her powerful ex-allies have no present intentions of taking any serious steps against her. Threatened by bankruptcy, she hastens to bring the matter to an end. Her *coup de main* in the Ruhr area aims at forcing Germany to give way further and more rapidly.

M. Poincaré in his last speeches to the Chamber, could not conceal, that this glorious military advance will bring in very little for the devastated districts of France. That he spoke with comparative moderation arises from the fact that the lessons taught him by reality are forcing him at last to renounce his mad hopes.

In laying hands on the coal fields of the Ruhr district (75 per cent being German undertakings) the French bourgeoisie pursues a tangible object. It is enabled to exercise pressure in two directions:

On one side on England and America, with the object of attaining annulment of the French war debts under the threat of permanently establishing French rule in the Ruhr area.

On the other side on Germany, with the object of inducing her to more rapid and complete submission by the threat of ruining or even completely annihilating her industry.

Despite the protests—though these are discreet enough—and mild threats of the British Empire and the United States, despite the indignation and rage of the German bourgeoisie, its declarations of hate and vengeance, and despite even its gestures of resistance, the Ruhr occupation will have the following effects:

- a) a reduction or cancellation of France's debts to her allies,
- b) the creation of a Franco-German syndicate: Loucheur, Stinnes & Co., for the exploitation of the Ruhr and Rhine areas.

Even should this process be interrupted by complications, it will be inevitably continued sooner or later. Events will take the course they are bound to take.

The French divisions will evacuate the Ruhr district. But the French capitalists will retain it. Extremely significant consequences are bound to follow in the near future.

The occupation of the Ruhr is without doubt the most brutal, but at the same time the most decisive step ever taken to force the formation of a permanent alliance between France and Germany, first in economic, and then in the political and military sphere.

This extremely difficult process of development will be realized in a series of stages.

The economic (class) alliance could be easily realized. The capitalists, as enlightened men, are capable of controlling their patriotic passions most excellently when necessary.

The (national) political alliance—as a necessary consequence of the interweaving and union of economic interests, would on the other hand meet with a comparatively long resistance from the chauvinist prejudices deeply rooted in the masses. But the great press, so skilled in producing public opinion, in using and mis-using its influence, would certainly manage in the course of time to transform the "hereditary enemy", into a good friend, possibly the sole friend, in the eyes of the "man in the street"; at the same time a non-committal attitude would be adopted towards Russia, who would doubtless be granted a place in this anti-English combination.

We must once more emphasize that the state is a tool in the hands of the ruling class, and that the democratic state serves the ends of the bourgeoisie. The logical consequence is, that today the French and German proletariats are incited against each other in the Ruhr area, and to-morrow they will be thrown together as friends, just as it suits the pockets of a handful of industrial magnates.

It must be repeated that the bourgeoisie, once in power, uses the mask of democratic idealism, solely in order to pursue its one aim and object, its own profits.

We have no need to be indignant; indignation is not a Marxist virtue. But we must keep on repeating these elementary truths and never let our clearness of vision on these points become blurred. We must take great care not to under-estimate the

problem nor regard it as one of personalities. Whether feudal, bourgeois, or proletarian—a government is invariably the agent of its class. Thus we should have nothing to do with the dangerous game of trying to ascertain the various degrees of responsibility to be accorded to different national sections of the bourgeoisie, to their parties, or their politicians. We must not be deceived by appearances. We must learn the lesson, and learn to express it openly, that in this critical phase now being passed through by the whole of Europe, but especially by France, the men of the "left", such as Herriot and Painlevé (the hope of the Blum and Jouhaux party), once in possession of power, would speedily forget their democracy—though this means little or nothing—and would only remember that they belong to the bourgeoisie, which is of great import and significance. In other words, they would continue the policy of Poincaré and Millerand, for their place in the government would be the same as that held by these politicians, they would be the agents of the ruling bourgeois class.

The essential point for the communists is neither the occupation of the Ruhr area in itself, nor the question if the miners of the Ruhr are to be exploited by the French bourgeoisie instead of by the German, or thrown into prison by German gendarmerie or French soldiers during strikes.

If the communists were to devote their energies to interesting, but secondary problems, they would be in danger of neglecting their chief tasks. They would confuse and dull the consciousness of the workers, and thus facilitate the machinations by which our class enemies arouse patriotic Fascism.

We must do nothing calculated to induce the (French or German) workers, under any circumstances, to join the "holy alliance", the united front with the bourgeoisie. The working class must know only one enemy: the bourgeoisie. The sole war in which it is the duty of the worker to participate is the class war, the civil war. The communists must take no sides whatever in open conflicts between the French and German bourgeoisie. They must strike with equal force on both sides of the frontier, the French workers against the French bourgeoisie, and the German workers against the German bourgeoisie.

Out of the numerous problems arising from the Ruhr occupation, we must only devote our attention to those in which the proletariat has a direct interest. We must be prepared for defense against every attack on the rights of the proletariat, against every act of violence perpetrated by the bourgeoisie against the working class; we must be ready to fight for the overthrow of the bourgeois government, for the united front of the workers, and for establishing the workers' government. But we must under no circumstances make common cause with the exploiters, with the nationalists.

Some of our comrades do not seem to properly appreciate the great danger which I am endeavoring to emphasize. They must be warned. The energy of the working class should not be exhausted in unnecessary or dangerous demonstrations.

Despite the outcries, the shrieks of rage, the rattling of sabres, and the warlike gestures both real and sham, the actual effect of the occupation of the Ruhr is to bring the French and German capitalists closer together, and consequently to lessen the danger of war between bourgeois France and Germany.

Yesterday, the possession of Lorraine and of the Ruhr secured for Germany the industrial domination of Europe. To-morrow, the exploitation of these areas by the combined forces of French and German capital may establish a Franco-German hegemony.

We must keep these gigantic processes of political change before our eyes, we must follow the great economic alterations which bring about this change, and must foresee the effects to be expected from the union of the capitalists of these two countries on the position of the Franco-German proletariat, and on the development of the European revolution.

POLITICS

The Situation in Sweden

By H. F. Spak (Stockholm).

The international economic crisis, which was greatly felt in Sweden in the course of 1921, became exceedingly acute during the first half of 1922. The most important line of export of the country—the timber and saw-mill industry—was almost paralyzed. The stock of stored wood has been accumulating for some years, but the abnormally high rate of Swedish exchange has rendered it impossible to sell abroad. The reports of the stock market show the shares of the leading saw-mills to have sunk by 90 per cent. The other industries show the same tendencies. The

stone quarries, another of the most important sources of Sweden's export trade, have not been worked since the beginning of the war, as Germany was the chief buyer. The iron works are comparatively busy, but the special manufacture of separators, ball bearings, agricultural machinery, and the like, which constituted a great part of the economic strength of the country, has gone back considerably. All shares have sunk by 60 to 70 per cent. It is remarkable that this time the crisis—for the first time for a considerable period—has had a disastrous effect on agriculture, and is mirrored in a 50 per cent fall in the value of land. The extent of the agricultural crisis may be seen in the greatly increased number of mortgages of land. Here, as in all branches of industry, the necessary improvements and repairs have been completely neglected.

The unemployment naturally resultant on these conditions, and increasing mightily at the beginning of the year, had by the beginning of the winter, reached the total of 170,000 officially registered unemployed, so that the actual figure—at the lowest computation—can be estimated at 200,000. If we estimate the number of members of each family at the lowest possible average, it follows, that in a country of 5½ million inhabitants, at least half a million workers are directly or indirectly suffering from unemployment. The C.P. of Sweden has made great advances towards gaining the confidence of the masses by energetic activity against unemployment, a confidence demonstrated by the growth of the party, and by important election victories in the municipal and rural council elections at the end of the year.

At the commencement of the warmer season industry took a relative turn for the better. One disadvantage was, that some of the banks—above all the leading *Swedish Commercial Bank* had so over-capitalized a part of the undertakings, and carried on industrial speculation to such an extent, that a severe banking crisis arose, and the undertakings were granted less and less credit. But at the same time an improvement was observable in the export market, especially in the wood industry. This improvement is probably only temporary, but it has led to a reduction of unemployment. The actual number of unemployed at the end of the year was—at a low computation—80,000 the number officially registered being 37,000.

The increased opportunities for work offered to certain groups of the proletariat are neutralized by the colossal reductions in wages, and by the threatened attacks on the standard working day, which was made law with such infinite pains and trouble, after the world revolutionary crisis of 1918-19. Wages in all trades have been reduced by 60%, while the index figures of food prices show no corresponding fall. While the index figure for Sweden, is still 190 per cent as compared with 1914, wages have so fallen that they are now but little higher than at that time. But the agricultural laborers, whose wages never amounted to more than half those of the industrial workers, are the worst off. For the first time for centuries the supply of labor in the agricultural districts exceeds the demand. Up to 1920 the reverse was the case.

Besides the unemployment question, there was another matter which assumed a position of pressing political importance last year, the question of total abstinence. The party was much occupied with this question, the more so as the total abstinence organizations, with their hundreds and thousands of members, are composed of workers and peasants. The party adopted a perfectly unequivocal attitude towards the question of prohibition.

The C.P. of Sweden, the overwhelming majority of whose members are organized in total abstinence societies, threw its influence on the side of prohibition. Somewhat more than 49 per cent of the participants in the plebiscite voted for prohibition (about 900,000, mostly workers and peasants). The unequivocal attitude of the party has proved to have been right. We have won by it the sympathies of the best elements of the proletariat.

The party is also much occupied with the measures of inner organization recommended by the IV. World Congress. The nuclei and working groups have not yet attained as much success as might be wished, but still we have made good progress in this direction. Intensification of work has increased in proportion to the improved communist training of the party comrades, and despite our tremendous financial difficulties, we have succeeded in appointing organizers in several party districts. Within the party itself there have been no great conflicts, and joint work with subordinate organizations, above all with our youth union, has been excellent. The executive committee of the youth union and the women's groups on the one hand, and the working committee of the party on the other, have maintained excellent contact and understanding between their organizations by means of mutual representation.

The position of the Communist Party with regard to the His Majesty's social democratic government has been particularly difficult, for this government has on no occasion attempted

to pursue a socialist policy, scarcely a really radical bourgeois policy. The majority of the all-Sweden party conference of the C.P. considered the most advisable tactics to be, not to give the social democrats any pretext for accusing us of serving reactionary interests, that is, we should not demand the resignation of the government. The qualified support of the social democratic government by the Communist Party was further justified as being a line of tactics calculated to force the social democrats themselves to open the eyes of the hitherto uncritical masses by putting their social democratic policy into actual practice. The minority of the party representatives, after pointing out the dangers attendant on such an attitude, loyally submitted to the resolution and have contributed to its being carried out. The severe and candid criticism of the government, always exercised by the C.P., has become much more severe, both in the parliament and outside of it. The party has utilized every opportunity to force the government, by action outside parliament, to either pursue an exceedingly radical policy, or to unmask itself before the working class.

Work for the proletarian united front is closely related to this. Repeated public appeals have been made to the social democratic leaders to join in common work on the basis of proletarian demands and actions, but these have invariably been refused. By these means the Swedish C.P. has succeeded in unveiling the real nature of social democratic policy before the eyes of the thinking proletariat.

The organizational union of the social democrats of the 2 and 2½ Internationals cleared the political situation in a manner most favorable to us. The small centrist group, which separated in 1921 from the Swedish C.P., was at that time exceedingly diminutive, and consisted in the main of a few moderately gifted journalists. But thanks to a few semi-revolutionary phrases, and to a leader whose personality was popular in certain circles, this group succeeded in confusing a few small uncritical sections of proletarians. The confusion thus caused among certain circles of the proletariat, vanished at once when the centrists fused with the social patriots. The masses are now beginning to grasp that they have no alternative, but to choose either the social democratic petty-bourgeois policy, or the straight-forward class war of the communists, with its goal of social revolution.

ECONOMICS

Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4th Quarter of 1922

By E. Varga.

The French Reparations Plan

"The French government declares that it is unwilling to accept any reduction of its share of Germany's obligations. In actual practice, this share is already insufficient to cover the expenditures for the restoration of the devastated regions. A reduction of the French share could only be taken into consideration by the French government if some of its allies would agree to modify their demands on Germany, or to give priority to the restoration of the devastated regions. The French government will not be in a position to pay either interest or principal on its debts to the allies, until it has at least been compensated by Germany for the expenditures which it has borne and which it has yet to bear in the restoration of the devastated area."

France is however prepared to discharge her debts by renouncing the bonds of *Series C*, provided that this procedure is accepted by all European powers. These lines show France's fundamental standpoint as opposed to England. The measures with regard to Germany then follow.

Reorganization of German Finances.

The French program provides for:

1. Stabilization of the mark.
 2. Immediate measures for balancing the German budget.
 3. Discontinuation of discounting treasury notes by the Reichsbank.
 4. Prevention of flight of capital and of the hoarding of foreign securities in Germany.
- In order that these measures may be carried out, the Guarantee Commission is to take over the control of German Finances.

The exact wording is as follows:

"The Guarantee Committee is to be enabled to observe the execution of this program, and especially to inform itself at any moment regarding every detail of financial management of the *Reich* and of the separate

states; the committee must be accorded the possibility of exercising every description of control which it considers necessary for this purpose; it can prohibit any expenditure which it holds to be inopportune, and prescribe any method of increasing revenues which it considers possible."

The headquarters of the Guarantee Committee were to be in Berlin.

It is obvious, that were this program accepted, German Finances would actually no longer be in the hands of the German government, but completely in those of the Guarantee Commission. Germany's financial dependence would be much greater than that of Turkey before the war.

Moratorium and Pledges.

The French government would not be inclined to grant a moratorium for longer than two years. This moratorium would not include the costs of maintaining the army of occupation, and the various commissions, nor the payments in kind as prescribed by the existing agreements.

"But as the three years just past have shown that it is impossible to rely on Germany's meeting the obligations which she has taken upon herself, the French government considers it imperative to take pledges. The French government is of the opinion that the realization of the pledges named below does not exceed Germany's paying capacity, and the pledges are not of a nature preventing Germany from placing her finances on a sound basis."

The guarantees demanded are of two categories:

1. Pledges guaranteeing deliveries in kind.

a) *Coal.* An inter-allied commission of engineers, headed by a chairman, is to be sent to Essen to superintend the management of the coal syndicate. The strict execution of the coal deliveries is to be ensured by orders to be issued by the president to the coal syndicate and to the German transport service.

b) *Wood.* Additional felling of trees in the state and municipal forests of the occupied territory in order to ensure the deliveries of wood.

c) *In case of non-fulfilment:* Requisitions in the occupied territory or in the Ruhr basin.

2. Pledges guaranteeing payments in cash and kind.

a) Export licences from the occupied territory and from the Ruhr district are to be issued by the inter-allied commission of the occupied districts, against payment in foreign securities; the amount of this payment to be determined by the commission. The proceeds are estimated at about 400 million gold marks annually.

b) Confiscation of the customs revenues of the occupied territory and of the Ruhr Valley. Revenue estimated at 200 million gold marks.

c) Confiscation of the coal tax in the occupied territory and in the Ruhr Valley. A part, for instance 30 per cent, to be paid in foreign securities, the remainder in paper marks. Estimated proceeds—400 million gold marks. In conjunction with the deliveries in kind, the pledges are to yield 1 milliard gold marks yearly. The sums collected are to be used for securing Germany's payments after the expiration of the moratorium.

3. Sanctions.

Should the German government fail to execute every point prescribed by the commissions, as provided for in the program, the following sanctions come into force:

a) The military occupation of the districts of Essen, Bochum and all parts of the Ruhr area determined upon by Marshall Foch.

b) The drawing of a customs line east of the whole occupied territory.

The English reparations plan.

The plan submitted by Bonar Law to the Entente conference provides for a joint regulation of the reparations and of the inter-allied debts of the European states. Unlike the French plan, which is based on the assumption that Germany does not want to pay, the English plan assumes that Germany would pay if the payments lay within the limits of Germany's paying capacity, and if the terms of payment were so arranged as to make it desirable for Germany to liquidate her debts as quickly as possible.

The provisions of the English plan are as follows:*)

*) The English plan has been technically worked out to the smallest details; here we shall only outline its essentials.

Moratorium.

Germany is to be free for a period of 4 years from both, payments in cash and in kind. During the four years then following Germany is to pay:

2 milliard gold marks annually;

during the 2½ years then following,—

2½ milliard gold marks;

and from then onwards Germany is to make constant payments of at least 2½ milliards, possibly 3½ milliards, of gold marks.

The instalments exceeding 2½ milliards, amounts which may be designated as the variable instalments, are not finally fixed; their payment or non-payment is to be determined by special commission, which is to examine the state of Germany's economics.

5% bonds are to be issued in two series: the first series for the 2½ milliard gold marks, the second series for the additional 1 milliard gold marks. Amortization is not provided for, but Germany is to be granted large deductions; the debt will be discounted at a very high rate of interest, provided Germany begins to pay off the debt rapidly.

The bonds can be redeemed by Germany: at 50 per cent until the end of December 1923, at 56 per cent until the end of December 1924, at 62 per cent until the end of December 1925, at 68 per cent until the end of December 1926 etc. An earlier redemption would bring Germany an annual gain of interest amounting to 8—10 per cent. The bonds can be redeemed on the same conditions by payments in kind during the stated periods.

This plan is to be submitted to Germany on condition that it undertakes:

1. To stabilize the mark (in the course of about 6 months) and to balance its budget (in the course of about 2 years).
2. To submit to every financial control which the allied powers deem necessary for the punctual execution of this reform.
3. To submit—should it not be able to convince the control organs that it has done everything possible to execute these financial reforms—to all decisions unanimously adopted by the allied powers, including the confiscation of income and property in Germany and the military occupation of German territory beyond the zone at present occupied.

The inter-allied debts.

England is prepared to annul all the inter-allied debts, on the following conditions:

1. The sums in gold paid by the allied powers (France and Italy) to England, as security for their loans, will be used to settle their debts to England.
2. France pays to England, from the bonds of the first series, that amount which it receives on its counterclaim on Belgium; Italy pays 1½ milliard marks to England.
3. The allies are to place the bonds of series 2 in a common fund, which is to be divided among the powers having claims on the United States, in proportion to the amounts of these claims. The bonds are to be distributed in accordance with the key fixed at Spa.

We may further emphasize the following points of the plan:

From the 1st of January 1923 onwards the costs of the army of occupation and the inter-allied commissions are to be credited in the reparation payments.

As regards the choice of representatives in the control commissions, England proposes 1 representative each from England, France, Belgium, Italy, America, and one neutral European power. The German minister of finance is to be chairman of the commission, with no right to vote, except to give a casting vote. He would have to carry out all the instructions of the council. The council is entitled to hold meetings without the German minister of finance in cases concerning the exercise of rights already possessed by the Reparations Commission or the Guarantee Commission.

It is obvious that this plan would signify a radical modification of the reparation policy hitherto pursued.

French criticism of the English plan

In the French criticism of the English reparation plan, after it was submitted to Poincaré, it is claimed that the English plan signifies the annulment of the Versailles peace treaty, for the allies would no longer decide on the German obligations, and on their possible reduction, but a foreign commission, in which France, Belgium, and Italy, whose collective claims on Germany amount to 70 per cent of the German debt, might be placed in the minority by the casting vote of the German minister of finance.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Amalgamation Movement in America

By Wm. Z. Foster (Chicago).

The United States and Canada have long been classic lands of craft unionism. To indicate the extreme condition of separatism prevailing in our labor movement, all that is necessary is to compare the American Federation of Labor with the A.D.G.B. (Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, i. e., General German Labor Union Federation). The A.F. of L. has less than 3,000,000 members, yet it is divided into 117 national unions; whereas the A.D.G.B., with approximately 8,000,000 members, has only 49 national unions. In other words, the average membership of the unions in the A.F. of L. is but 24,000, as against an average of 163,000 in the A.D.G.B.

The workers have long realized the weakness of the trade unions, but no real work for industrial unionism was accomplished in the old unions until 1920-1921. The Trade Union Educational League, the representative of the R.I.L.U. in America, is carrying on a most active campaign for amalgamation of the old craft unions into modern industrial organizations, with surprisingly effective results. Fully half of the American labor movement has been led to declare itself in favor of industrial unionism. The movement first took shape in a resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 300,000 workers. Then eleven State Federations, including Minnesota, Colorado, Utah, Washington, Oregon, Nebraska, South Dakota, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin, declared in favor of combining all the existing unions into a series of industrial organizations. Seven national organizations, including the Railway Clerks, Railway Trackmen, Butchers, Firefighters, Typographical, Mens Clothing Workers, and Food Workers, took the same course. Besides this there were thousands of local unions and central trades councils.

In the principal industries the situation is about as follows: The railroad men are taking the lead generally in the amalgamation movement. They have organized a national rank and file committee to carry on the propaganda. This committee has issued a plan of amalgamation to combine the sixteen railroad unions. This was sent out to 12,000 local unions in the railroad industry. As a result, at least 4,000 sent in endorsements of it. Encouraged by this response, the National Committee called a conference to consider ways and means to bring about the amalgamation. The officials of many unions denounced this conference, warning their members to have nothing whatever to do with it. In spite of this opposition, however, the conference was held in Chicago on December 9-10th and was a great success. There were present 425 delegates from all over the United States and Canada. The conference mapped out an active campaign to popularize amalgamation and to actually bring it about. The National Committee was instructed to try to organize a general amalgamation convention of all the unions, and is now in correspondence with them upon this matter.

In the printing trades, a strong amalgamation movement is also going ahead. The organization to take the lead in this was the International Typographical Union, which at its last convention, went on record for one union in the printing industry. The Typographical Union comprises about 50% of the organized workers in the printing trades, and is a very powerful organization. Its officials are now negotiating with the heads of the other organizations looking to a general consolidation. The Bookbinders have gone on record in favor of the proposition, but the Photo-Engravers, the Electrotypers, and the Pressmen, have declared against it. The heads of the latter organizations are trying to have adopted a system of federation, to forestall amalgamation. In order to hasten the movement and to lend real power to it, the left-wing militants, under the guidance of the Trade Union Educational League, are organizing nationally to carry on an active amalgamation propaganda in all the five principal printing trades unions.

In the clothing trades the amalgamation movement is also strong. The leading union of the industry, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, declared at its last convention in favor of one union in the clothing industry. It is an independent union. The rest, including the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Capmakers, the Furriers, and the Tailors, are affiliated to the A.F. of L. The latter four organizations favor federation, and at the present time are working to establish that rather than amalgamation. The clothing industry is the best organized of any in America, and the left-wing elements are the very powerful in the organizations.

The cancellation of the obligatory deliveries of coal is another violation of the Versailles treaty, etc. But the main objection raised is that a moratorium is to be granted for four years without any pledge or guarantee whatever. But no guarantees give perfect security that Germany would really pay after the moratorium expired.

But France's main objections are of a political nature. The following is the exact wording:

"The English plan is illusory; its dangers become even more apparent when we examine the alleviations accorded to Germany, which enable her to shirk an easily borne debt.

At the present time Germany has no foreign debts; the collapse of the mark has proportionately reduced her internal debt, so that it does not amount to more than a few milliards gold marks, and would be reduced still more by the next fall of German securities. Were Germany's burden to be thus reduced to a single debt only, that of its reparation obligations, and were this debt to be reduced to about 20 milliards by the discounting device provided for in the British plan, a debt which could be redeemed in about 15 years, and which amounts to less than one third of the French national debt, then, within a few years, Germany would be the only country in Europe without any foreign debts; with its increasing population, its healthy industry, which would not cease to take advantage of the exceptional situation, with its untouched natural treasures of coal, wood, and potash, it would become the ruler of Europe, and would confront a France reduced to one half of its population, and which would have to bear the continued and tremendous burden of the restoration of the devastated regions.

The German hegemony in Europe, which was to be destroyed by the war, would be restored and consolidated by the allies."

It throws an interesting light on the confused situation when we see that this same train of thought, in almost the same words, was expressed at one time by Lloyd George in the English House of Commons.

The new English prime minister, Bonar Law, expressed himself similarly in one of his speeches. The import of the English plan was that the proximate danger from France, is much greater than the distant danger that may be occasioned by the possible economic reconstruction of Germany. Poincaré's criticism shows with perfect clearness that the French attach less importance to obtaining large sums from Germany in the near future (which would be rendered possible by foreign loans, were the English solution adopted), than to the political subjugation of Germany.

Poincaré proceeds to point out that, as the redemption of the bonds of Series B, provided for in the English plan, is quite uncertain, and as the greater part of the payments to be made by Germany will be used to pay the costs of occupation, commissions, etc., Germany will not have to pay more than 20 milliards in actual reparations, and of this sum, France would not receive more than 11 milliards. He then makes the following calculation:

"In the balance sheet, England and France would be found to emerge from the war as follows:

France would owe the United States 14 milliard gold marks. Her remaining burdens for pensions, and for the restoration of the devastated areas, after deducting the 11 milliards which she would receive as reparations, would amount to 59 milliards, making a total of 73 milliard gold marks.

England, on the other hand, would owe the United States 15½ milliards (after deduction of the German payments ceded to England by France and Italy), and would have further obligations of 30 milliards for pensions, that is, a total of 45½ milliards, or only 62% of the burden falling to France."

With regard to the cancellation of France's debts to England, Poincaré makes the following bill:

"In order to obtain 11 milliards of war debts from Germany, France would renounce:

38 milliards of the obligations C,

2.6 milliards of her claims on Belgium,

1 milliard in gold, deposited in the Bank of England. And all this apart from the sacrifices entailed by France in the obligations A and B."

We may further observe that Italy and Belgium are essentially on France's side."

These have formed a National Committee, one of the principal objects of which is to bring about one union in the clothing industry. They refuse to be satisfied with the substitute of federation, but are going ahead demanding a complete amalgamation throughout the industry.

In the metal trades, the amalgamation movement is also making headway. This movement, likewise one of the rank and file, goes hand in hand with the amalgamation movement among the railroad workers, the two industries being closely related. About ten years ago the International Association of Machinists (machine builders) declared in favor of one union in the metal trades, but their officials never made any campaign in favor of it, contenting themselves with accepting refusals from the officials of the other metal unions. The metal trades are very poorly organized in the United States and Canada. Of a grand total of approximately 4,000,000 employed in the metal industries, not more than 300,000 of them are organized, and most of these are employed in the railroad shops. The great steel industry, employing 450,000 men, is almost completely unorganized. The metal unions are divided into 24 principal organizations, which have not even a federation among themselves. The new rank and file movement hopes to put an end to this incredible confusion and weakness by drawing all the organizations together, A. F. of L. and independent alike, into one powerful body.

The textile industry is another that is badly broken, not so much because of craft unionism, as because of dual unionism. There are several principal unions in the industry, nearly all of which are industrial in character, but none of which have any considerable strength. Of a grand total of 1,000,000 textile workers in the industry, not more than 100,000 are organized. Recently, several of the independent unions, which are mostly of a mildly socialistic character, combined in a federation. The Trade Union Educational League is now organizing a left-wing movement in all these unions, A. F. of L. and independent, to bring them all together in one body. There is a strong sentiment among the rank and file for consolidation. But as usual the officials of many of the unions oppose the bringing together of the organizations into one union.

The coal mining industry of America is fairly well organized, there being some 500,000 out of a total of 750,000 in the unions. There is one union in the industry, the United Mine Workers of America, which, strangely enough, has probably the most complete industrial form of any miners' union in the world. It includes in its ranks not only the actual coal miners, but also all mechanics and laborers of every description working in and around the mines. In the Food, Building, Boot and Shoe, and other industries, amalgamation movements are also developing. In the Boot and Shoe industry, particularly, several independent unions amalgamated their forces recently. Combined, they equal in strength the A. F. of L. union. The Trade Union Educational League is working to bring about a combination between this independent amalgamation and the A. F. of L. union.

In view of this wide-spread movement for amalgamation that is going on, the trade union officials are very much alarmed. They can readily see that many of their easy jobs are about to be eliminated. Consequently, they are showing great hostility. But the rank and file are aroused and are determined to put an end to craft unionism. In the recent convention of the Railroad Trackmen, which was made up of 1,500 delegates representing 200,000 members, the officials tried to defeat a resolution calling for amalgamation. In consequence, 19 of them, including the General President and the General Secretary, were swept out of office, and new ones were elected. This event, unparalleled in American labor history, has caused consternation in the ranks of conservative trade union officialdom. It has made them very cautious in fighting the amalgamation movement. The rank and file are aroused. Ruthless American capitalism has taught them the futility of craft unionism. The slogan of the new movement is "amalgamation or annihilation". In spite of the opposition of the officials, most important consolidations of American trade unions are bound to occur in the near future.

The Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees in Spain (C. S. R.)

(R.I.L.U.) While the Amsterdam trade unions of Spain (*Union General de Trabajadores*) are in a state of complete dissolution, the work of the trade unionists sympathizing with the R.I.L.U. gains continually in clearness and influence. On December 24, delegates from Asturias, Biscaya, Burgos, Catalonia, and the Levante, met together in Bilbao, and founded the "Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee" (C.S.R.). The meeting adopted the following declaration of principles:

1. The C.N.T. (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, syndicalist trade union federation) must not become a sect, but must

be a strong class organization, in which all workers permeated with the spirit of revolution can participate, no matter what other ideological conviction they may hold.

2. The C.N.T. must avoid evolutionist talk, and once more enter into the class war by means of revolutionary action, by means of confronting all opportunism and "cultural" formulas with the theory of collective force.

3. Formation of the proletarian united front against the capitalist concentration which is exerting its utmost endeavors to abolish the eight hour day and to reduce wages.

4. To strive after the union of the whole Spanish working class in one single revolutionary organization.

5. Affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions, and defence of the Russian revolution threatened by the international coalition of capital.

In order to carry out these principles, revolutionary syndicalist committees are to be formed within all organizations, and these are to support all efforts towards affiliation with the R.I.L.U. Comrade Andrés Nin is entrusted with the representation of the C.S.R. in the R.I.L.U. The C.S.R. intend to undertake the defence of the above principles at the next congress of the C.N.T. They will appeal to the autonomous organizations to join the C.N.T., and will at the same time attempt to induce the whole of the labor organizations of Spain, whatever their tendency, to aid in the formation of the united front, and in demanding a general amnesty.

The organ of the C.S.R. is the weekly *La Batalla*, published in Barcelona, in which is incorporated the periodical hitherto published in Lerida (*Lucha Social*) and Valencia (*Accion Sindicalista*). There is every hope that the activity of the C.S.R. will restore the Spanish trade unions to useful instruments of class war.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Factories in Russia and Factories in Europe

By J. Larin (Moscow).

The turn of the year invariably gives rise to all manner of comparisons, statistics, and reminiscences. The figures most often adduced are those relating to production: what was the percentage of production before the war, what is it to-day, etc. It appears that we are still far behind Europe, that we approach but slowly to the Russian pre-war level; in a word, when we write about Russian factories to-day, we generally speak of the quantity only, and forget to mention the qualitative type of the factory—our state factory as a social factor.

A short time ago I received a visit from two German communist workers, who had come here to see the conditions in Russia with their own eyes, and who had already inspected several large state factories in Moscow. (Both understand some Russian.) What they related of their impressions is highly characteristic.

When visiting a factory, the first thing to be done is to apply to the management. In a European factory the management belongs to a caste having nothing in common with the workers, it belongs to quite another class in society than the proletariat. Intercourse is strictly official, and stiff. An ordinary worker can seldom penetrate into the manager's room, that holy of holies of capitalism. As a contrast to this, the German comrades were chiefly surprised at the simplicity and freedom of intercourse between the management and the workers, whose relations to one another are those of two parties with equal rights. The manager himself is frequently a workman, frequently even a workman in the same factory. And in other respects the manager's room does not resemble that hostile stronghold against the working class, surrounded by high walls, to which the German comrades are accustomed to at home. The first point which attracted their attention therefore was something which is new and does not exist in Western Europe, the intimate, comradelike, united regime of the Russian state undertaking. Within the walls of the Russian Soviet factory there is no rule of a class of masters over a class of servants, the system on which all bourgeois factory administration is based. We have been living in the revolution so long. We have become so accustomed to the new manner of intercourse, worthy of human beings, which prevails in the Soviet factory, that we can only correctly estimate the extent of the change from the impression it makes on the foreigner. The entire social type of our factories has changed.

Our guests pass from the management to the workers, and converse with these on various matters. What surprises them here is the entirely new relations of the Russian workers

to their factory. In Europe the workman regards his factory as something entirely strange to him. When his work is done he thinks no more of the factory. Work finished, the German workman goes to his union, his party organization, his sport club; he occupies himself with questions of every imaginable description, but never with any relating to his factory, to the successes or failures of its production, etc. While speaking with their Russian comrades, the German comrades were chiefly surprised at the way in which the Russian workers take an interest in everything pertaining to the state factory in which they work. The Russian Soviet worker is proud if he is able to tell a stranger that the production of his factory is increasing instead of falling, that the average productivity is rising, that it amounts to so much and so forth. In one word, the fact of the existence of the proletarian dictatorship entirely changes the inner relations between the workers and their work.

Work ceases to be something alien, dead, indifferent: The workers know that they are working for the whole country, not for the private profit of some blood-sucking bourgeois leech. And this consciousness, which no worker in a capitalist or bourgeois state undertaking can have—this consciousness, works miracles. Often enough the Russian worker continues working under circumstances which would be unbearable to his Western European colleagues. It is thanks to this characteristic, which extraordinarily increases the elasticity and power of resistance of Soviet economics, that Russian industry has been able to overcome the unheard of difficulties of the last few years, and to work up into its present easier situation.

This changed relation with regard to work is most clearly to be observed, when a workman receives some distinction for especially successful or self-sacrificing work (he is for instance declared a hero of industry, etc.). It may also happen in Germany that a workman receives some distinction from his chief. But here he is almost ashamed of it, he attempts to hide the fact of having been thus distinguished by adopting a sort of condescending irony with regard to it. The etiquette of the European working class demands that no worker earn special distinction from the chief, for such doubtful honors are likely to bring him into suspicion of being an opportunist, a renegade, etc. But if a workman becomes a "hero of work" in a Russian Soviet factory, he is held in special honor, he is not ashamed of it, but proud.

The third point which surprised the foreign guests, in the Russian state undertaking, was the highly developed social life in the factory itself. The German worker also lives much in society, but quite outside of the undertaking in which he simply discharges his obligation to work. The Russian worker, on the other hand, has taken possession of his factory in this respect as well, he feels himself at home there. He holds all meetings in the factory, whether these be general meetings, or ones relating to vocation, delegations, etc.; and in the factory itself he has his premises for his club, shop stewards' consultations, etc. This possibility of feeling himself master in his own house is chiefly due to the fact that the worker can exercise the most far reaching control over the administration of the undertaking; with the aid of the communist nucleus and the shop stewards, he can have any manager removed from his post whose actions are disadvantageous to the working class. Indeed, it is bound to be so in a land of proletarian dictatorship, and these personal observations of our foreign guests have made the difference between the European (and our pre-revolutionary) order of things and the proletarian dictatorship clearer to them than a hundred lengthy pamphlets could do. New life is springing up on the soil of free work, a new regime. To-day it is only germinating, the best is still to come.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

Conference of the International Workers' Relief in Berlin

The executive of the International Workers' Relief convened its Committee of Seventeen to a conference in Berlin on January 18. Comrade Münzenberg opened the session. Among those present were: representatives of the Comintern, a representative of the Profintern, a representative of the Russian trade unions, and one representative each from America, Scandinavia, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, and the Balkans. Münzenberg proposed that the Committee of Seventeen be increased by three further members, i. e., a representative from Japan, South America, and Austria. The comrades elected to the chair for the conference were: *Klara Zetkin, Germany, Roland-*

Holst, Holland, Kameneva, Russia, Rosa Blanchet, France, Katayama, Japan, Whitehead, England, and Nexö, Denmark.

Comrade *Krestinsky*, as representative of the Russian government, welcomed the delegates, and expressed thanks for the aid already rendered. He asked that the proletariat of Soviet Russia be further supported, and the economic aid continued, by international solidarity.

Comrade *Kameneva*, as representative of the All Russian Committee for combatting the results of the famine, greeted the congress. She expressed her confidence that the international solidarity of the workers, working through the economic relief movement, will help to wipe out the consequences of the famine, and aid reconstruction.

Telegrams of greeting were received from the All Ukrainian Soviet congress of Kharkov, and from the 3. Soviet congress of the Tatar republic. These telegrams expressed thanks to the foreign comrades, and appealed for further productive help.

The agenda was as follows:

1. Loan questions; speakers: Münzenberg and representatives from the various countries.
2. The undertakings in Russia and the utilization of the loan; comrade Kameneva.
3. The question of children's relief; speaker for Russia, comrade Kamenev, for the other countries comrade Johanna Dörfel.
4. The parcel service.
5. The activity of the International Workers' Relief.
6. General propaganda.
7. Organizational questions.
8. Joint work with other Workers' Relief Organizations.

Comrade *Münzenberg*, in his report on the loan question, spoke of the good prospects opened out for the I.W.R. by the new economic policy of Soviet Russia. He was glad to be able to report that the leading circles of the Russian government are supporting the I.W.R. by word and deed, that ever-widening circles of workers are placing themselves at the service of productive relief, and that the floating of the international workers' loan to the value of one million dollars, guaranteed by Russia, has created a basis upon which the International Workers' Relief can further aid in building up the Russian Soviet republic. In spite of unfavorable economic conditions and severe depression in most of the countries of western Europe, and after having to overcome legal, financial technical, and organizational difficulties, the loan has already been floated and is being subscribed to in many countries of the world.

Münzenberg reported a conversation with *Krassin*, who had expressed himself as follows in the question of the Workers' Relief: "You may be assured of my support in every respect, for I am convinced that under present conditions the greatest result can grow out of the smallest effort. During the short time in which work has been done for the loan, 80,000 dollars have already been subscribed. The "Industrial and Commercial Corporation, International Workers' Aid for Soviet Russia", founded for carrying out the work of the loan and for running commercial undertakings, is one among many mediums towards securing and carrying out the proletarian revolution. The International Workers' Loan is not only a bold financial transaction, it signifies an equally splendid propaganda for Soviet Russia among the workers of the whole world, not only in communist circles, but among the broad masses of trade unionists, social democrats, members of cooperative societies, etc.

The representatives of the various countries reported on the state of their activity. *Nexö* on Denmark, *Martin* for America. In America the 1 million dollar loan floated by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is receiving our support, but the prospects for the I.W.R. are favorable. *Goldschmidt* reported on Argentina, where the Relief action is spreading; *Linderot* reported on Sweden, where successful work is being done for the loan. *Krutz* reported on Holland, and in conjunction with this on Norway. The Dutch committee is occupied in work for the loan, the results are excellent, and it may already be seen that in Holland at least 100,000 guilders worth of loan bonds will be sold. With regard to Norway the speaker reported that internal difficulties have retarded work for the loan, but that the this has been successfully begun. A brief report on Switzerland was given by *Siegrist*; here work is also going on. *Katayama* reported on Japan, where the reaction prevented Workers' Relief work from being commenced until June of last year; since then it has done excellent propaganda work among the workers, and has also contributed to the establishment of the united front between the syndicalist and communist parties. Collections of money have also commenced. *Julian* gave the report on Italy, where Mussolini's white dictatorship prevents open

work. Kohn reported on Czecho-Slovakia, where no great preparation has been required to interest numerous workers and labor groups in the loan, and from where the first cash instalments have already been sent to the Berlin committee. It is intended to work on the broadest possible basis in Czecho-Slovakia, in order to include all sections of workers. *Matthieu* reported on Belgium, *Alkaley* on Bulgaria, *Rosa Blanchet* on France, *Whitehead* on England: work has been started in all these countries. Many countries have formed special loan committees, in which non-communist and even bourgeois circles are represented; this is the case in Sweden, England, Denmark, Holland, etc.

After the reports, comrade *Klara Zetkin* addressed the meeting. She again laid down the principles of the International Workers' Loan, and admonished all comrades to exert every endeavor towards rendering the International Relief really effectual, to march determined forwards without hesitation or faltering, and to keep the goal of proletarian development before their eyes.

In his concluding words, comrade *Münzenberg* again referred to the reports from the separate countries; he stated that despite the existing difficulties, and despite the economic impoverishment of wide strata of the working class, the loan had been successfully started, and the goal, 1 million dollars, would be attained.

"On the second day the sitting was opened by comrade *Whitehead*, who submitted the following resolution to the delegates of the International Workers' Relief:

The executive of the International Workers' Relief is glad to ascertain that the appeal made by the International Workers' Relief, to help Soviet Russia by means of a far-reaching relief action and by a workers' loan, has found an enthusiastic echo in wide communist and non-communist circles of the international working class.

The executive of the International Workers' Relief Aid binds its committees and co-operators in the separate countries, now that the legal and technical organizational difficulties have been overcome, to undertake great activity for the rapid realization of the loan in all countries.

The executive of the International Workers' Relief especially emphasizes the necessity for agitation for the loan among the broad non-communist circles of the co-operative societies, trade unions, and the masses of indifferent workers.

In order to draw the attention of the whole working class to the necessity of economic relief action and of the workers' loan, the executive resolves to carry out an especially well-prepared agitation week before March 15, 1923."

The resolution was passed unanimously. Comrade *Klara Zetkin* then welcomed the People's Commissar for Health, comrade *Semashko*, who addressed the delegates as follows: The wounds inflicted by the Tsarist regime on the body of Russia are still visible, but we have none the less been successful in combatting the epidemics and pestilences caused by the former capitalist regime, by the blockade, and the famine. The plagues and epidemics are almost exterminated. But Russia has the sad reputation of a high rate of infantile mortality. During the famine infantile mortality rose to 35%! We have succeeded, despite many difficulties, and despite lack of medicines, in reducing this mortality. Tuberculosis and syphilis are still raging, but the government is organizing comprehensive campaigns for the eradication of these social evils. The number of children left orphans by the famine and the civil war may be estimated at 2 million. The IWR can give, and has already given, help. The IWR will also help Soviet Russia by supporting the hospitals and infirmaries; in the Crimea there is special opportunity of rendering this relief productive, by aiding the sick working men and women in the many sanatoriums of the Crimea. These sanatoriums are connected with farms and vineyards, in which convalescent comrades can be occupied.

After *Semashko's* speech, the following resolution was passed:

The conference having heard the report of the People's Commissar for Health on the results of the famine in its relation to health, resolves to carry the fight into this sphere as well, and to authorize the central committee to work out concrete measures for this purpose.

A Letter from South Africa

By Tom Mann.

I have put in three months in South-Africa, endeavoring to stimulate the workers to further efforts in spite of the exceptional difficulties that surround them.

Readers may be aware that the Gold Mine Magnates of the Transvaal determined in the early weeks of 1922 to introduce

low paid native labor, and did so, replacing over four thousand whites by blacks; the blacks being paid about one fifth of the amount paid to the whites. The determined resistance displayed by the whites to this lowering of the standard, brought about the activities generally referred to as the "revolution". It resulted in much shooting, a number were killed on both sides, over 5,000 were arrested. After a few weeks many of these were released, and the others placed on trial, many being tried for treason by a special Treason Court, consisting of three judges, against whose decision there was no appeal. These judges sentenced four to be hanged, and notwithstanding protest and appeals they were hanged. Since then they have sentenced eleven others to death, but these have since been reprieved. Some four hundred others have yet to be tried.

Seeing that among those arrested and those already sentenced, are some of the most capable and loyal militants, it is natural that a spirit of depression has come over many who feel comparatively helpless in the absence of their more courageous workmates. As a result, the Unions are seriously weakened, leaders are in prison, rank and file are out of work and boycotted.

Although the output of the mines is said to be nearly normal, there are eight thousand adult male white miners unemployed on the Witwatersrand, and there is no hope of these obtaining employment again in South Africa; in addition there is a similar number of young men, sons of these whites, for whom there is no prospect of employment. Then there are the young Dutchman, who, in increasing numbers are seeking to get into industry, including the mines, as there is no land for them, and economic pressure compels them to seek some occupation other than farming. Many of these drift about and become part of what is known as "the poor whites", a body of men, mostly Dutch, with little knowledge of how to work, and very little opportunity of work of any kind, other than relief work, at a cheap rate, on railway or other public work.

Then there is the great problem of the colored men, not so pressing in the Transvaal as yet, but a most serious problem in the Cape, Natal and Free State provinces. The term "Colored", means those who have some white blood in them—not the Natives. These colored men show great aptitude in learning trades; also in organizing themselves and holding their own; but among the Whites there is yet much prejudice.

Below these comes the almost universal laborer, the native. My endeavor has been to promote a sound method of industrial organization, inspired by Communism. I have sought to discourage old time sectional methods and tried to bring into existence a broader and better system based on industrial working class solidarity. All my meetings have been successful, and I have always carried resolutions for industrial solidarity and for Communism, by an eighty five per cent majority, but although I have held over fifty meetings, it is only a small section of the proletariat that I have been able to reach.

The political Labor Party here has just decided, on the advice of its petty-bourgeois leader, to eliminate its plainly declared Objective calling for the "Socialization of Industry", as being quite unnecessarily outspoken and causing fear and alarm as to what the Labor Party intends.

The Communists are not numerous. There is a group in each industrial centre, and in Johannesburg and Cape Town they carry on a regular educational campaign. Internationalism is kept well to the front by the Communists; in Durban there is a group of Social Democrats who try to be loyal to old associations but who find themselves nearer to the Communist camp than to any other.

A keen interest is shown as to developments in Russia. The capitalist press never tires of besmirching Russia and it has here, as elsewhere, published malicious statements served up hot for the occasion, utterly oblivious to truth. This I have been able to deal with effectively at all meetings, but naturally the press reaches those I cannot.

The Social Revolution is not able to assert itself in a country like South Africa till some really representative European country sets the pace; but as soon as this takes place I shall count upon the workers of South Africa finding ways and means of travelling on the high road to Communism. Meanwhile an increasing number are qualified to be of service in the right direction when the crucial hour arrives. From my recent experiences here I am satisfied that when Sovietism is accepted by Germany or Britain, South Africa will go the whole way also. The Capitalist system is as big a failure here as anywhere on earth. Speed the day when it shall make way for another regime worthy of a true civilization, one that shall afford ample scope for men of all colors, subject to one stipulation only,—every able bodied man to do a share of work.

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II. World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions

Technical difficulties prevented us from issuing this rather tardy number sooner. Ed.

The Second World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions was opened on the 19th of November 1922, in the Moscow Trade Union Building. The solemn opening session was attended by the All-Russian Trade Union Council, the Moscow Trade Union Council, and the Moscow Factory Committees.

Comrade *Lozovsky* opened the session with the following address:

"The last 16 months were taken up with the capitalist offensive. The Amsterdam International has done nothing against this offensive. On the contrary, it has taken advantage of this offensive, for the ruthless expulsion of revolutionary elements from the trade unions. We must reply to these attempts at a split by the slogan: Long live the unity of the trade union movement—despite all attacks of the bourgeoisie and its agents! The imperialist conflicts in the Near and Far East become more and more acute. In Italy the Fascisti have seized power. The Italian working class is now suffering for its past errors, its failure to develop a revolutionary party under revolutionary leaders. But Fascism is an international phenomenon; the bourgeoisie is dropping the mask of democracy, and is taking to open attacks on the workers and their organizations. The present German government is the transition to a Stinnes government. Fascism is a preventative counterrevolution. As opposed to this, the position of Soviet Russia becomes more and more secure from day to day, and extends the breach made in the capitalist structure. Reaction has weakened the trade union movement everywhere, but has at the same time strengthened the revolutionary movement. A glance at the world diagram of the trade unions suffices to show the retrogression of the Amsterdamers and our progress. Moreover, we have many followers in the ranks of the Amsterdamers, but they have none in ours. Our International includes the peoples of the Orient and of the colonies, while the Amsterdam "International" is "purely" European.

Great clearness of purpose and concentration of forces are required to break up the gigantic apparatus of the bourgeoisie. Many are the fighters who have fallen, and many more will fall, but the class out of which our organization has grown, and to which the future belongs, this class cannot perish, for its annihilation would be the annihilation of the whole of humanity. The Congress must decide all questions which arise, in this spirit, and with the greatest firmness. And if we follow the decisions of the Congress with like firmness in our daily activities, we shall shorten the difficult period of transition. Although various tendencies exist in our ranks, perfect unity must prevail. This unity will speedily enable us to unfurl the glorious standard of Communism all over the world."

The first speaker to greet the congress was *Dudilleux* (France). He expressed the hope that the R.I.L.U. would take

the old traditions of the French trade union movement into consideration. Comrade *Geschke* (Germany) reported that the German revolutionary trade unionists have been working successfully in the spirit of the decisions of the First World Congress. The German workers will follow the example of the Russian comrades. It is better to die amid the flames of revolution than to rot in the pestilential atmosphere of capitalism. Comrade *Garden* (Australia) greeted the Congress on behalf of the Anglo-Saxon section. The Trade Union Educational League (revolutionary opposition in the Gompers unions) has gained a firm footing in nine American states, and also in Canada, despite the unfavorable economic situation. In Australia, a unity movement is making progress. In New South Wales, 237,000 workers have joined the R.I.L.U. Comrade *Pavlik* (Czecho-Slovakia) promised energetic work on the part of the Czech workers. Comrade *Tasca* (Italy) pointed out that what is most necessary for the Italian proletariat, if it is to overcome the present situation, is to abandon the old prejudice of keeping the trade unions out of politics, and the belief that the strength of the trade unions lies in their numbers. Comrade *Chak-Chon-Ki* greeted the Congress on behalf of the Chinese comrades. Comrade *Klara Zetkin*, greeted with enthusiastic applause, brought the greetings of the Communist International. Every attempt at a split on the part of the Amsterdamers must be combatted with steadfast determination to maintain the proletarian united front, the determination to fight for the final goal. There is no such thing as neutrality on this or that side of the barricade. We are aided in our struggle by the great example set by the Russian proletariat. The Red trade unions are a part of the revolutionary forces united in the R.I.L.U. A telegram of greeting from comrade *Zinoviev*, from Petrograd, summoned the comrades to fight against division in the trade unions. Comrade *Andreyev* (Russia) pointed out that many who were present at the First Congress of the R.I.L.U. have since found their way back to Amsterdam, but that this is more than compensated for by the presence, at the present Congress, of representatives of large and firmly established organizations. The sacrifices made by the Russian proletariat have not been in vain. The international situation is in our favor. The Amsterdam International, international Menshevism, has gone over to the enemy in the question of self-defence against Fascism, precisely as Russian Menshevism did.

The Congress unanimously accepted an appeal against the White Terror.

The Congress commenced work on November 21, with comrade *Lozovsky's* report on the activities of the Executive Bureau.

The Executive Bureau has had an extensive organizational task to carry out, for it must keep up close connections between all countries in the face of illegality. The Central European Bureau, the British Bureau, and other representative organs have been formed. During the last 16 months the Executive