

sentimentalists, who mean well, but do not possess the courage and vision to carve out a revolutionary path for themselves. The make-believe talk of the "pure-Gandhites" about Civil Disobedience proved more fascinating for these elements, who therefore remained attached to the Centre. The Left Wing forces failed to assert themselves on the situation and when the split came, they were found with the radicals of the Right.

The split, which ought to have taken place on the issue of petty bourgeois politics versus mass action, was diverted to an internal quarrel for power between the radical liberals and the lower middle class reactionaries. The latter have won, because the Left Wing was not yet developed enough to take the field alone. The new opposition party is a combination of two diametrically divergent forces which cannot be expected to operate in harmony. Therefore, a second split is inevitable. This split will happen as soon as a sufficiently strong nucleus of a Mass Party is formed. The materials for such a nucleus are there. They are already in the process of accumulation. The publication of our Program has on the one hand exposed the real intentions of the petty bourgeois politicians, and on the other, opened up an inspiring vision to all the revolutionary elements. Hopeful signs were to be seen even at Gaya, where reaction reigned supreme. In spite of the obstruction of the bureaucratic machinery of the Congress, the resolution calling for complete independence as the aim of the congress received more support this year than the last. More than 30 per cent of the delegates voted for it. A great majority of the delegates came back disgruntled, looking for a new lead which can alone be given by a truly revolutionary Left Wing Party, whose rise is imminent.

POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

International Strike?

You don't want much, do you!!

(Reply to the barbarians of Moscow.)

Free interpretation of Amsterdam by A. Lozovsky.

We were not surprised at your inquiry about an international strike, for the simple reason that we are already accustomed to every description of demagoguery from Moscow. You must know that the resolutions passed by the trade union congress at Rome, and by the international peace congress at The Hague, made the strike dependent on a large number of conditions. How very far wrong you are in seeing any connection between the occupation of the Ruhr basin and an international strike, may be seen from the following statements, the correctness of which you will not question.

1. Neither in the resolutions passed by the trade union congress at Rome, nor in those passed by the international peace conference at the Hague, is there a single word to be found against the defence of one's fatherland; and this appeared as a matter of course to all participants in the congresses; the leader of the II. International, Vandervelde, declared this quite openly at the Hague.

2. The peace conference at the Hague did not pass any resolution regarding an international strike in the event of the Ruhr being occupied. A special resolution was formulated on this question, and was submitted to the French CGT., the French Socialist Party, the Belgian trade unions, and the Belgian Labor Party. As you will be well aware, this resolution raised a protest against violence, but it contained not a single word as to the above named unions and parties having recourse to strikes should violence occur.

3. The resolution submitted by the pacifist committee proposes, that all questions be decided by international arbitration. The same resolution desires the present statutes of the League of Nations to be altered, so that the League shall settle all international disputes. The Amsterdam International proposed that disputes be submitted to the League of Nations, but with regard to the statutes, the sub-committee appointed by the congress for their alteration could not finish this work in the short time at its disposal.

4. The resolution submitted by the political committee also expressed the desire that all disputes be laid before the League of Nations for arbitration, and raised the most energetic protest against the possibility of acts of violence. But this resolution does not mention Germany or the Ruhr area, and it would be a very strange thing if we were to extend this resolution to a given concrete instance.

5. The resolution passed by the International Congress at the Hague on the educational question provides for the commencement of serious work among the youth, in order that young people may be educated in the spirit of hate against war. You are fully aware that this is a task which cannot be accomplished in three weeks. The trade unions and parties participating in the Hague congress are just beginning this work, and we hope that when the coming generation grows up, its attitude towards war will, thanks to our work, be quite different, from that of the present generation, which took part in the last war, and still feels its consequences.

6. The resolution moved by the trade union committee — the only resolution mentioning the general strike — provides for an international strike in the event of war. We can state with satisfaction that the occupation of the Ruhr has not led to war, a circumstance which must undoubtedly be attributed to the spread of pacifist ideas, and to the influence of the recent Hague conference.

7. The resolution passed on the suggestion of the French and Belgian delegations contains — as you know — a solemn declaration on the justice of the reparations. It must be clear to all that when justice is not done voluntarily, force must come to the aid of justice.

8. Everyone knows the despicable part played by the German bourgeoisie in the reparations question. It openly sabotages the reparations, although the German workers are anxious to fulfil the obligations. This desire for fulfilment has often been expressed in the declarations of the representatives of the German Social Democracy, and of the German trade unions, at all international trade union and socialist congresses. We, as sincere representatives of the working class, cannot tolerate this despicable course of action on the part of the German bourgeoisie, which is solely to blame for the fact that Europe has not been able to return to a normal condition in the five years which have elapsed since the end of the war.

9. A strike at the moment when the troops are marching into the Ruhr district, might lead to the sabotaging of the war operation, although not a word about sabotage was mentioned in the resolutions passed. It should also not be forgotten that we have brothers in the army, and that the sabotage of the war operations might have an exceedingly disastrous effect upon them.

10. Of course, we condemn the acts of violence on the part of the French government. This we have already declared in quite a large number of resolutions. But from an international point of view the occupation of the Ruhr area may even be highly useful, in that it puts a final end to the imperialist and military longings of the German bourgeoisie, which is still possessed by the spirit of the ruling class of that country. The occupation of the Ruhr area will undoubtedly also lead to an increase in wages, as the French rate of exchange is much higher than the German.

11. The international strike could not take place, because we were not sure whether the German workers would strike from international or purely national motives. The past of the German proletariat makes us distrust its international feeling. Under such conditions an international strike would mean a deception of the French workers, and would only be of service to the German imperialists.

12. Another reason why the international strike could not be carried out is, that we have not yet received a single proposal from the pacifists to declare a strike, although we agreed with them at The Hague that we neither should nor could undertake any action without them. But on the other hand, should the pacifists strike just at the moment when there is danger of war, that is, should they cease propaganda against war, this would only increase the war danger.

13. The united front and joint action which you proposed has not been accepted by us, because the united front was rejected at the Hague conference, and the conference tacitly accepted the standpoint taken by Troelstra: not to join a united front with the communists until these have undergone quarantine. We know that you have not yet completed quarantine: Soviet Russia is not yet recognized by all states, and thus the question of the united front does not arise.

14. In conclusion we must energetically protest against the insolent demagoguery with which the Comintern and Profintern agitate against us among the workers. We have always fulfilled our international duty, and we do not permit the agents of the Russian government to throw the vanguard of the international proletariat into confusion.

On behalf of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals:
Vandervelde, Martens, Jouhaux, Renaudel, Henderson, J. H. Thomas, and Fimmen.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 3 No. 22

PRESS

1st March 1923

CORRESPONDENCE

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

CONTENTS

Politics

The International Situation. By G. Tchicherin 167
French Militarism and the Chemical War. By M. Fourrier 168
Germany and the end of the Entente. By E. Pavlovsky 169

Economics

Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4th Quarter
of 1922. By E. Varga 170

The Labor Movement

The Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria. By Dimitroff 172

In Soviet Russia

How is the Russian Worker housed. By Frida Rubiner 173

In the Camp of Our Enemies

Frossard in the footsteps of Levi. By A. Lozovsky 174

POLITICS

The International Situation

By Comrade Tchicherin.

The concentration and trustification of capital.

If I am to sum up the results of my recent observations of foreign affairs, I must first say, speaking generally, that the most important feature of our period is the concentration and trustification of capital on an international scale. In some countries the process of concentration was already greatly advanced. Now we find, behind the scenes of events, a constant motive force consisting of a struggle towards the international alliance of the national trusts, towards the international extension of national trusts and their growth beyond national frontiers. This process of international concentration of capital, is being carried out within the post-war crisis and collapse. Consequently, it frequently assumes degenerated forms, and its gradual progress is accompanied by many morbid symptoms. The ruined middle and petty bourgeoisie, and the increasingly impoverished bourgeois intelligentsia plunge into the extreme chauvinism, and create a heated political atmosphere. In France these elements support what is left of the National Bloc; in Germany they join the Orgesch organizations or simply vote for the extreme right; in Italy they form one of the motive powers for the complicated phenomenon of Fascismo. Their furious activity keeps war ever near, and within certain limits, even leads to direct military action. But there is no immediate danger of a new world war: The motive forces of a world war can only be fundamental antagonisms between leading economic groups, and these last have still to undergo a long period of development before their relations become so acute as to provide the possible conditions for a world war. Before the war the situation was different; at that time, large industry supported militarism, while the petty bourgeoisie supported pacifism; but now, large industry is, as a rule, the upholder of pacifism, and the petty bourgeoisie, at least its ruined section, is becoming the main prop of military and ultra-chauvinist tendencies.

France and Germany.

Diplomatic life in Western Europe is based on the triangular relations between England, France, and Germany. The Anglo-French world-antagonism is by no means fully developed. And yet this antagonism permeates all present day diplomatic relations. Among the questions at present existing between France and Germany, the most important is that of their economic approach, of the understanding to be reached between the industrial capitalists

of the two countries. This interesting example of an endeavour towards international trustification deserves close attention. In the sphere of the reparation question, this endeavour assumed the form of economic agreements regarding payments in kind. But it has much more important aims. The France of to-day differs very much from pre-war France; developing industrial capital is gaining an ever-growing influence over the politics of the country; it requires markets, it requires the development of economic relations with other countries. Thanks to the treaty of Versailles, France possesses a surplus of iron, and needs material from Germany for working up this iron. Negotiations are already being carried on between a number of French and German industrial undertakings with regard to contracts, trusts, and cartells. These efforts on the part of industrial capital, and its growing influence, were the cause of France seeking, particularly towards the end of last year, to resume official commercial relations with Russia.

The leading representative of the new policy of French industrial capital is the *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas*, headed by one of France's best economic functionaries, the banker Finati. These elements belong to that political grouping at present in course of development, if not in Parliament, at least in leading French political circles. Among this group one of the most talented French statesmen of the new generation, Loucheur, must be counted; he has connections with the industry of the North.

The Ruhr adventure.

The Ruhr adventure, which has shaken the political and economic life of the whole of Europe to its foundations, and has also much injured Soviet Russia, who needs economic relations with other countries, is bound up in a most complicated manner with various tendencies within French industry itself. The bourgeoisie of course preserves the customary sacred unity against the national enemy, but already the industrial periodical *Journée industrielle*, is openly expressing its dissatisfaction with the Ruhr policy. This policy, which leads to the impoverishment of Germany, brings no advantage to France, who is unable to utilize the riches of the Ruhr area without the aid of Germany. The indirect result is, further impoverishment in France, and injury to her industry. The main object of this adventure was to pacify the shrieking chauvinism of the masses. And it is possible that the idea occurred to some members of the governing group, that it would be good to carry out the chauvinist desires of these masses to a point of absurdity, and to prove, by actual demonstration, their utter nonsense; but this would be a very dangerous method of giving an object lesson. The Ruhr question is, at the same time, bound up with one of the most important points of contact between French and German industry. It is a well-known fact that the French heavy industry,

possessing the ore of Lorraine, requires the Ruhr coal, and that German heavy industry, if in a lesser degree, requires French iron. Many have been inclined to explain the long planned occupation of the Ruhr by France's anxiety to lay hands on the coke it needs, which coke—it may be observed—she cannot produce without the organizational help of the Germans. Thus, even the secret report of the chairman of the finance committee of the chamber of deputies, Dariac, which aroused so much sensation when published by the "Manchester Guardian" in November, and was regarded as the clearest expression of France's aggressive designs, recommended nothing more than a preparation for the separation of the left bank of the Rhine from Germany; but as French heavy industry is about to enter into a trust with German heavy industry, even this report goes no further than to demand the retention of the bridge heads occupied in 1921 (Düsseldorf and Duisburg). It is known that the Poincaré government, shortly before the Ruhr adventure, prevented negotiations from taking place between the representatives of French and German heavy industry, apparently for fear that control of the reparation question might slip out of the hands of the government. Despite this, the industrial magnates of the two countries opened communication with one another, and the demands from the French side were spoken of as too high. But though the formation of a trust with German industry can be of enormous profit to the industry of eastern France, it would wreck other undertakings, for instance those of Normandy. It is difficult for an outsider to form a comprehensive idea of the struggle going on behind the scenes between the various interested groups; a very intimate acquaintance with all the circumstances is required to penetrate these secrets. Even those industrial magnates anxious for a peaceful understanding were not opposed to a trial of strength upon whose results the future division of the spoil would depend. This is of course a mere detail, and in no way alters the fundamental outlook of events for us. To the French militarists it is not a matter of indifference whether or not they gain possession of the raw materials which they imagine to be necessary for a future war between England and France. Industry, for its part, requires in its own interest a peaceful understanding with Germany, but at the same time a peaceful penetration into Germany. Even Schneider went over from the National Bloc to the "centre", and recently supported the policy of a peaceful agreement with Germany. It is possible that this mutual tendency towards a peaceful understanding will not gain the upper hand at once; it is extremely difficult to find a way out of the crisis if the French government insists on its reparation demands, and if the German government insists on the evacuation of the Ruhr before commencing negotiations. But it is highly probable that the Ruhr adventure will only form an episode in the process of trustification of the industries of the two countries. So long as the suffering German masses abandon themselves to nationalist feelings, so long will the elements of the right draw advantages from the extremity of the crisis. But at the same time the whole of Europe suffers from the consequences of this adventure.

The waiting policy of England and America.

The intervention of England, or rather the joint intervention of England and America, would lead to an immediate reconciliation, but both powers continue to wait and to observe the course of events. It must be observed that the closer political and economic approach of these two states to one another is one of the most important political facts of to-day. Under the rule of the present Conservative government, England is taking much more interest than before in the colonies and dominions, and is investing capital in them; still a great number of English banks are closely connected with the continent, and a considerable portion of German economic circles still follow England. In France there is a widespread opinion that England employed a number of skilful manoeuvres, forcing France to take the Ruhr plunge, and is now leaving France in this difficult situation with the intention of gaining time until England can play the rôle of the laughing spectator. The same Frenchmen would not be at all surprised to hear that England had simultaneously instigated Germany's resistance.

The antagonism between England and France.

The Ruhr question, as also the Lausanne conference, increased the estrangement between England and France to actual hate, although as world competitors they are highly dependent on one another. There is no doubt that the breaking off of the Lausanne conference, is bound to be followed by a period of very active secret diplomacy, and increased struggle between France and England. But the concession hunters set to work sooner than the governments: The press makes no attempt to conceal the fact that the negotiations of the American Admiral Chester with the Turkish government, with regard to railway concessions and the exploitation of mineral riches, are

successfully progressing. And it is well known that the ubiquitous Urquhart is negotiating for large concessions in Turkey. The governments will find that negotiations with Turkey are expensive, that serious concessions will be demanded from them, now that Turkey will no longer permit continuous interference with her laws, and the fettering of her economic life, as demanded by the draft treaty drawn up by the Entente.

Soviet Russia is the only true friend of the oppressed peoples.

Simultaneously with international trustification of capital, but poles apart from it, there is proceeding the emancipation of the peoples oppressed by capitalism. The numerous delegations of the Eastern nations in Lausanne, saw in the Soviet republic their sole true friend, and this alliance became closer and closer in the course of the Lausanne conference. Many of the native newspapers of the Eastern lands showed the diplomatic success of Turkey in Lausanne to be due to the diplomatic support of the Soviet republic, the presence of whose delegates lent a firm security to Turkey up to the end of the conference. The Soviet republic played its historical part as friend of all the oppressed peoples, all peoples whose existence is in danger, or who are threatened with attack.

The Straits question remains unsolved.

The constant oscillation of French policy at Lausanne was doubtless the reflection of anglo-French conflicts in the Ruhr question. Thanks to our attitude, the conviction spread in French political circles, during the course of the conference, that the opening of the Straits for foreign war-ships, that is, the surrender of the Black Sea to England, would be disadvantageous to France. France, Italy, and Turkey, are all still bound by their previous engagements in this question. But even should the period of diplomatic negotiations with Turkey end with the signing of a general treaty, and should the Straits convention worked out at Lausanne, and which is unacceptable to us, be actually signed, the convention will not exist for long; this is openly stated, not only by a few Turkish journalists, but also by the French and Italians.

Without Russia there are no world politics.

The situation is thus one of unheard of complexity, and Soviet diplomacy is also in consequence characterized by great complexity. We must think of the security of our frontiers and coasts, and the means of access to our coasts; we must at the same time combat everything endangering general peace, and be prepared to come to the protection of oppressed and endangered peoples; but we must not forget for a moment our most pressing actual task: the liquidation of the blockade against the Soviet republics where it has not yet been completely raised, and the complete clearing of the way to unhampered economic relations with all countries. We must be constantly on guard, we dare not let a single detail of the daily play of world antagonisms escape us, for there can be no world politics without Russia and her allies, and no international question towards which Russia and her allies can adopt a neutral attitude.

French Militarism and the Chemical War

By Marcel Fourrier (Paris).

Why Poincaré wants to annex the Rhine country.

M. Dariac's*) secret report, exposed to the light of day by the *Humanité*, and suppressed by a complete conspiracy of silence on the part of the great capitalist press obedient to orders from above, has thrown much light on the real intentions concealed behind Poincaré's Ruhr adventure. His ultimate aim is nothing more nor less than the annexation of the Rhine province.

In the opinion of French imperialists, this annexation is justified by urgent reasons of national defence. In one part of his report, M. Dariac refers to the Rhine country as "a military glacis of France", and M. Poincaré emphasized these words still more in the speech before the Chamber, in which he justified his military action, and made insinuations as to "certain pressing necessities of national defence.

At the present juncture it is not merely a question of the notorious policy of natural boundaries and the "Watch on the Rhine", for the war of 1914-1918 gave us conclusive proofs that no river, however well guarded, can afford any serious obstacle to the advance of a modern army. The irresistible charm of the Rhine for French militarism lies in the gigantic dye factories, which can be transformed overnight into poison gas factories.

*) Chairman of the Finance Committee in the Chamber of Deputies.

The gas war of 1915 to 1918.

The whole world knows of the gigantic development of poison gas as a military weapon in the last imperialist blood bath. Those soldiers who escaped the hell of Ypers will never forget the first attack, with its preliminary of chloride gas, in the year 1915. And all through their lives will they remember the gas grenades and their effect.

The sudden and rapid advance of the Germans in 1918 was to be attributed almost solely to the extensive employment of blue gas grenades. And Ludendorff's memoirs have since revealed to us that at this time the German artillery was actually shooting 70% gas grenades.

In the face of this danger, the Allies have been exerting their utmost endeavors, since 1917, to create for themselves a chemical industry of equal efficiency. Huge sums have been expended for the rapid erection of great chemical works, and to provide these with the necessary raw materials. But it was not until July 1918, that the poison gas production of the Allies had made any noticeable progress.

Dye works and the production of poison gas.

What was the attitude adopted by the Allies and the Germans, after the war, to a problem causing the utmost distress to chemical capital! For though the English and French poison gas factories, built and developed exclusively for the war against Germany, became practically useless for purposes of post-war production, this did not by any means apply to the German chemical works. These, on the contrary, were at once re-transformed into what they had been before 1914: excellent dye works. The French and English factories, on the other hand, were obliged to disappear altogether (or to undergo complete reconstruction.

A few figures may serve to represent the situation more graphically: The present production of dyestuffs in Germany exceeds 160,000 tons, as against 50,000 tons in the rest of the world. In 1918, France produced 18,000 tons for her war purposes, but this has now receded to a round production of 9,000 tons.

Poison gas and the strength of the armies.

Germany's crushing superiority in this line thus becomes obvious. For the poison gases known to day are obtained from dyestuffs through a simple chemical process.

It was for this reason that even after 1918, Germany, though vanquished and disarmed, still remained a great military power, for she had at her disposal, the mightiest chemical producing capacity in the world.

The peace treaty of Versailles devoted some attention to the chemical war. It formally forbade Germany to manufacture poison gases. Moreover, it provided for a strict supervision of all German dye works. But of what use is supervision? The dyestuff industry is once and for all a peace industry, and its products are simply indispensable in the dye works throughout the world, so that it cannot be reduced or otherwise limited without turning world economics upside down. Hence, Germany remains in a position enabling her to transform the same raw materials and products, overnight, into poison gases, and to convert her peace industry into a war industry at a moment's notice.

The United States and its dye industry.

This material impossibility of disarming Germany on this point is a source of great concern to the French army staff, and the government of a country which is striving for a world hegemony for its militarism at any price. And indeed, the significance of the chemical factor in the next war could scarcely escape the notice of the French army staff, despite its mental limitations, just as it has not escaped the notice of the other world powers. The United States, however, was the first to take measures towards reinforcing its military position by the increase and development of the chemical equipment of its army. General Fries, the head of the chemical department of the American military headquarters, wrote as follows in the *Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, as early as the year 1910:

"The chemical war represents, above all, a real science. Since the invention of gun-powder, nothing has been discovered which has so fundamentally altered the conditions of conducting warfare . . .

The general introduction of the chemical war on land, water, and in the air, will secure an incontestable superiority to the nation which is able to produce most in this line. . ."

The cares of the French military Headquarters.

This view was lately confirmed by field marshal Foch himself. This confirmation may be found in the preface of a book by an English officer, Major Lefebure, entitled *The Riddle*

of the Rhine. This preface seeks to enlighten its readers as to the fate awaiting them during the next capitalist war. The aeroplane, we read, which is becoming capable of carrying ever greater weights from day to day, will form a fresh means of spreading immense quantities of poison gas in the form of bombs of ever increasing size, making it very easy to attack armies, or centres of population behind the front, or of rendering whole districts uninhabitable for human beings . . .

Bright future!

After all this, we may well comprehend why French militarism gazes as if hypnotized at the German dye works, all of which happen to lie, by a miraculous accident, in the Rhine country.

We must decry this policy of French Imperialism in every country.

Germany and the end of the Entente

By E. Pavlovsky.

The scramble between the great imperial powers for the right to exploit Germany has led to an open rupture between England and France. All the international institutions which were created after the war—League of Nations, Supreme Council etc., had the sole aim of deluding the war-weary masses of the Entente countries into the idea that we are living in an era of organized and peaceful capitalism, but it has become impossible to maintain this delusion in the face of the sharp imperialist antagonisms. For years the two allies, France and England, have been arming against each other. The Washington disarmament agreement, which has not been ratified by France, does no more than draw the logical consequences of the changed war technics of to-day; the great battle ships have become superfluous. But there is no limit to the increase of submarines, aeroplanes, poison gases and tanks. It is already an open secret in England and France, that these countries are arming against each other. When the English government demanded from Parliament a supplementary credit of 2 million pounds for building aeroplanes, the member of the Lower House, Wedgwood, inquired of Lloyd George whether this was rendered necessary by France's armaments, and Lloyd George gave the cool reply:

"In adopting these measures, we have taken all circumstances into consideration." And there is scarcely any doubt that the Greco-Turkish war was in part an Anglo-French war.

The events taking place in connection with the reparations question are only to be understood in the light of these imperialist antagonisms. The Anglo-French antagonism in the reparations question, which more and more assumes the form of: *moratorium with pledges, or moratorium without pledges*, signifies: Is Germany to be dismembered and her most important industrial areas absorbed by France, the rest being divided up into vassal states, and French hegemony in Europe finally established from the Atlantic Ocean to the frontiers of Soviet Russia, across Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania and into Asia Minor? Is France at the same time to become the greatest country of heavy industry in Europe? Or—and this is the meaning of "Moratorium without pledges"—is a Germany to arise, under an Anglo-American protectorate, playing the part of an economic and political counter-balance against France's design of gathering the whole continent of Europe under her sway? The policies of the great bourgeoisie of France and England clash on this point.

This also explains England's policy on the question of the inter-allied debts. The English politicians are well aware that they will receive no payment from France, but they will not abandon this political weapon except in exchange for France's renunciation of a forced advance into Germany . . .

It is too early yet to draw any conclusions from the rupture between France and England. Only one thing is clear: the outlines of an Anglo-American alliance, of an Anglo-Saxon world imperialism, are becoming increasingly distinct. In the reparations question, England and the United States stand on one side, while, on the other stands the continental-European bloc headed by France: France, Belgium, Italy, Poland, and the Little Entente. The world political strivings for power cherished by France, appear so dangerous to the English bourgeoisie, that the latter is doing its utmost to overcome the differences with American Imperialism, so that it may have a support to counteract France.

Germany has become the main bone of contention between the imperialist world groupings now in the process of formation. The German bourgeoisie, disarmed as it is, and unable to conduct an "active foreign policy", can only look on in perplexity. The German bourgeoisie has but one aim left, namely, to maintain its class domination. If it can keep that, then Ger-

many can be a French, an English, or an American colony—it matters not a bit.

For the German proletariat the most important thing is: No illusions! The German proletariat must fight the Versailles peace with all its consequences, and must fight it hand in hand with the French proletariat. It must fight against the French plan, because the dismemberment of Germany will be detrimental to the development of the proletarian revolution. But it must not be a prey to the illusion that the English or American plan would be any improvement. Should the reparations be reduced to-day to the minimum of 20 to 30 milliards gold marks, as proposed by the German bourgeoisie itself, should the Americans give a correspondingly large loan, and should the mark be thereby stabilized, all this would be no solution; for, whether the Germans pay reparations to French capitalists or interest to American capitalists, it will not alter the adverse productive balance of Germany. Only a far-reaching transformation of the relations of power of the classes, and a corresponding redistribution of income, can improve the situation of the proletariat. The various stages of such a transformation are: seizure of real values, control of production by the shop stewards, prevention of export of capital, proletarian control of the entire tax collecting apparatus of the state. But this requires revolutionary class fighting. However much the heads of parties and trade unions may hate class war, however dearly they may cherish the illusion of renewing German capitalism by a "happy" solution of the reparations question—the German proletariat will none the less be driven into revolutionary class fighting. And the German proletariat will fight the class war to the end, conjointly with the proletariat of that imperialism which emerges victorious out of the struggle for the possession of Germany.

ECONOMICS

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

By E. Varga.
IX. Belgium.

Belgian politics and Belgian economics are so bound up with those of France, that the rate of exchange of the Belgian franc has run parallel to that of the French franc since the war; the Belgian franc is invariably a few points lower than the French. From an organizational standpoint, the relations between the French and Belgian coal, iron and glass industries, have become very close. Economically considered, Belgium may almost be regarded as an appendage of France.

Economic conditions improved very much in Belgium last year. Unemployment decreased steadily. While in September 1921, there were 132,000 unemployed workers — 17.7% of the workers organized in trade unions — a year later, in September 1922, only 26,000 or 3.8% were out of work. Increasing numbers of Belgian workers find employment in France. According to the *Matin*, there were no fewer than 450,000 Belgian workers employed in France in August 1922.

Coal production has made tremendous strides of late. During the first 9 months of 1922, 16 million tons were produced as compared with 10.4 millions in the corresponding period of 1921. There is a shortage of workers in the coal mines. To this it must be observed, that the real wage of the Belgian worker is exceedingly low, the lowest in Western Europe, with the exception of the German. This gives rise to extensive emigration to France, so that wages were raised in November. Belgian coal and coke is very much in demand abroad, especially in France.

Iron production also shows great signs of improvement. The number of blast furnaces at work, increased from 17 in January to 32 in October; during the first 9 months of 1922 the output increased by 50% as compared with 1921. The state of the market is also satisfactory in the glass and china industry, and in the textile and ready made clothing industry.

The finances of the country still suffer from the consequences of the war, but financial conditions are better than in France. Prices develop parallel with those in France, like the rate of exchange. On the whole, it would appear as if Belgium's financial position is much better than could have been expected after the long war. This is probably to be attributed to the circumstance that, though Belgium was occupied, it was not actually the scene of war, so that the apparatus of actual production and the population suffered less, than in France.

*) This is the 9th and last section of comrade Varga's quarterly economic report.

England.

Economic life in England continues to show the slow improvement which we were able to indicate in our last report. The English bourgeoisie has been tenaciously striving to bring the pound up to gold parity again, so that England may again become the central point of the financial transactions of the world. In the course of the last quarter of 1922, England has again succeeded in raising the value of the pound by some ten cents. At present the English pound is only about 5% under dollar parity, in spite of the fact that England has paid considerable sums to the United States, as interest on her American debt. The comparative rates of exchange were given in the introductory section of this report.

The improvement of the rate of exchange, and of economic conditions in general, has been achieved partly through high taxation of the propertied classes, but mostly at the expense of the working class. Wages have been pushed below the level conditioned by the high prices, and the competitive capacity of English industry on the world market somewhat restored.

This is particularly the case in one of England's most important industries, coal production. Official reports¹⁾ show the average weekly wage of the English pitman to have been 58% higher in October 1922 than during the first seven months of 1919.

The Ministry of Labor states the cost of living on October 1., to be 78% above that of July 1919, and on November 1., 80% higher.

"It is thus clear" writes the capitalist periodical: "that the present wages of the miners are considerably lower than in 1914, and it must not be forgotten that the average wage gives no real idea of the conditions obtaining in districts with lower wages."

The complete defeat of the English miners becomes even more evident when we learn that, despite these wage reductions, the output has greatly increased. Before the great strike, 1,200,000 workers produced only 4.25 million tons weekly. After the break-down of the strike, the output increased steadily. The weekly output figures are as follows:

	million tons
1922 September	5.12
1922 October	5.30
1922 November	5.42
1922 December, first week	5.57
1922 " second week	5.59
1922 " third week	5.74
1922 " fourth week	5.51

And yet the number of miners has dropped from 1,200,000 before the strike to 1,114,695. The weekly output has already surpassed the pre-war figure; it has however been calculated that with English industrial undertakings running full speed, England needs 5 million tons of coal.

The business revival in the iron industry is far behind that of the coal industry. The slump in ship-building and building are responsible for this.

Production in thousands of tons:

	Iron	Steel
September	430	556
October	481	565
November	494	600
December	533	546

The figures for November are the highest since 1921. But still, only 57% of the average production has been reached in iron, 94 in steel, and only 50% of the present producing capacity of the country.

On the other hand, export of iron and steel, as well as of coal, has greatly increased during recent months, reaching the maximum of 372,000 tons in November; even in the most favorable year, 1920, there was no month in which exports attained such a height. To this the "Economist" makes the cool observation:²⁾

"These figures show what great profits foreign trade has drawn from the great sacrifices in wages accepted by the workers of these industries. These two industries (coal and iron) have taken the lead in the painful process of returning to an economic basis. They are now beginning to reap the harvest. It is a pity that many of the other industries are so slow in following their example."

In the textile industry the employers are also endeavoring to reduce wages. At a dinner given by the cotton industrial magnates, in Manchester, the vice-president declared it to be "cheaper to send the unfinished cotton web to Germany to be

¹⁾ See *Economist* 16. December 1922.

bleached, printed, and dyed, and then brought back again, than to have it finished in Lancashire". Hence the offensive against wages.

Thus we observe, in every sphere of industrial economics, a generally successful endeavor on the part of the capitalists to reduce the wages of the workers below the pre-war level, the reason adduced being the necessity of rendering England capable to compete on the world markets.

Unemployment.

Have the English workers at least created opportunities for work by their "readiness for self-sacrifice"?

Not at all!

The official data on unemployment are as follows:

	1922	% of all insured	% of trade union members
January	16.2	16.8	
September	11.9	14.6	
October	12.0	14.1	
November	12.4	14.2	
December	12.2	14.0	

The round number of unemployed has fallen from 1,900,000 at the beginning of the year to 1,400,000 at the end.

It must not be forgotten, however, that every worker struck from the list of dole recipients has not obtained work. Many are struck off, although still out of work, because they have lost the right to the dole. The great significance of this may be judged from the fact that the recipients of poor relief have increased in proportion as the decrease of the official number of unemployed³⁾, and have reached an hitherto unknown number:

Recipients of poor relief:

February 18, 1922	1,465,599 workers,
June 18	1,838,000 "
September	1,454,577 "
November	1,417,000 "
simultaneously with unemployment dole	793,000 "
without unemployment dole	65,000 "
paupers	603,000 "

A report issued by our English brother party observes, that poor relief is given only to those entirely without means of subsistence; on the other hand there are many districts in England where the workers rather sell their houses and furniture than "come on the parish". Poor relief thus signifies absolute lack of any means of existence. And in the year 1922, about 5% of the population of England and Wales were such absolute paupers. Truly the English proletariat has enjoyed but little benefit up to now from the improvement in England's economic situation.

The price movement.

During the last quarter of 1922, the price movement was very steady. The index figures were as follows:

	Wholesale trade (<i>Economist</i>)	Cost of living
September	163.5	79
October	166.1	78
November	167.0	80
December	166	80

The fluctuation in the wholesale trade index did not amount to more than 3 to 4% in the course of the year. The increase of prices on the world market found its counterpart in the improvement in the rate of exchange of the pound.

Foreign trade.

Foreign trade improved during the past year. The main figures are:

	Import	Export	Excess of Imports
	in millions £		
September	76.9	68.9	8.0
October	85.0	68.7	16.3
November	95.6	75.6	20.0
December	94.9	67.4	27.5

The data for the first eleven months of English foreign trade, as compared with 1921, are as follows:

	1921	1922
	Millions £	
Import	1,086	1,003
Export of English goods	703	725
Re-export	107	104
Total export	810	824
Import surplus	275	179

³⁾ During the past year, poor relief reached the highest point known in the social history of the country. (*The Times* of December 23, 1922.)—The figures relate to England and Wales only, not to Scotland and Ireland.

The average monthly import surplus is 13 million pounds sterling as compared with 11 millions in 1913. It appears that the excess of imports is well covered by the "invisible export", shipping freights, bankers' and middlemen's profits. Hence also the rise in the rate of exchange of the pound.

Economic policy.

In the general section, we dealt in detail, with England's attitude in the reparations question. Apart from this question, that of the debt owed to America has mainly occupied the economic crisis in England.

The unfavorable impression made by Balfour's note in America, has been fairly neutralized during the period covered by this report. Firstly by McKenna's speech at the conference of American bankers, then by the journey of the English minister of finance, Baldwin, to America. Both repeatedly emphasized England's willingness to pay her American debt "to the last penny". And as these two Anglo-Saxon powers have also effected a closer rapprochement in foreign politics, the negotiations on the postponement of payment of England's debt to America were carried out in the most accommodating manner.

United States.

At the present time the United States occupy such a prominent position in world economics that we were obliged to deal, in the general section, with the politico-economic currents in the United States, as those are decisive for Europe's political economy. We shall therefore confine ourselves here to sketching the inner process of American economics.

All American reports are unanimous in declaring the state of the market to have been satisfactory during the last quarter of 1922. "Industry is active in general, practically all working powers are being employed, and the wages are rising to a high level", this is approximately the report of the National City Bank for October. Almost every branch of industry: iron and steel, motor-cars, textiles, and the building industry, attained their best productive output of the year in November. We bring here only the most important figures:

Production in millions:

	Coal	Anthracite	Petroleum barrels	Iron	Steel	Motor cars in 1000's	cotton in 1000 bales
Sept.	40.96	4.98	45.25	2.03	2.37	190	495
Oct.	45.15	8.53	47.26	2.64	2.87	214	534
Nov.	—	—	—	2.89	2.93	—	—
Dec.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

These figures give some idea of the development of the market.

There is, however, no other country in the world where the economic statistics are so carefully kept as in the United States; no country where there is such a constant endeavor to improve these methods. It may be said that the bourgeoisie of the United States is striving to escape the consequences of capitalist anarchy by means of the most careful possible observation and registration of the economic facts.

The *Federal Reserve Board* recently attempted to create a collective index figure for estimating the economic situation. The most important branches of industry were estimated with regard to their significance for the collective economics: the production for the year 1919, of the article in question, was taken as "standard" and set at 100, etc. In this manner a single figure was obtained as the index designating the economic position!

It is not without interest to note the "importance" attached to the various branches of industry, as it permits of an excellent insight into the structure of American economics as a whole. The importance of any branch of industry was determined by: 1. The newly produced value created by the branch of production in question in the course of the year. 2. The number of workers employed. The "importance" ascribed to the different branches of industry was determined as follows:

Iron and steel 24, textiles 22, foodstuffs 11.5, wood 11, coal 9, metals 5, leather 4.5, cement 3, petroleum 3, tobacco 2.

The development of the year 1922, expressed in this collective index figure, is as follows:

January 89.6, February 91, March 95.2, April 85.5, May 92.3, June 94.4, July 94.7, August 93.6, September 100.3, October 107.

Unfortunately the data for the last two months are still lacking. These figures are worked out on a complicated method—which we cannot give here—so that the effect of seasonal influence is excluded.⁴⁾

⁴⁾ We must emphasize that this economic index figure applies to industrial production only, and not to agriculture. The 11.5 points relating to "foodstuffs" comprise: mills, sugar production, and slaughter houses!

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria

By Dimitroff (Sofia).

The West European trade union movement frequently publishes inaccurate news respecting the trade union movement in Bulgaria. The following will provide a true picture of Bulgaria's trade union movement.

Before the war there were two trade union federations:

1. The General Trade Union Federation of Bulgaria, based on the principle of revolutionary class war, and connected with the Social Democratic Labor Party, now the Communist Party, and
2. The Trade Union Federation, standing for the principles of reformism, and associated with the Social Democratic Party ("broad socialists").

According to their published reports the membership of these trade union federations, at the end of 1914, was as follows: Revolutionary trade union federation: 3 central unions, 176 local sections with 6,563 members.

Reformist trade union federation: 6 central unions, 77 local sections with 3,168 members.

The income received by these federations, in 1914, from members' subscriptions was as follows: revolutionary trade union federation 15,535 leva; reformist trade union federation 3,920 leva.

Up to 1911 the reformist trade union federation was affiliated to the International Trade Union Central. The Budapest congress held during that year however, decided to regard neither federation as affiliated until the two were united.

In 1914 Legien, who at that time was international trade union secretary, visited Sofia, with the object of bringing about an alliance of the two trade union federations, but the attempt was a failure.

Out of the separate craft unions belonging to the reformist central, only five were affiliated to their corresponding international centrals. The craft unions belonging to the revolutionary central were all, without exception, affiliated to their international centrals.

During the post-war period the reformist social democratic party (broad socialists) compromised itself completely in the eyes of the Bulgarian workers, in consequence of which it entirely collapsed. Its left wing broke away and joined the Communist Party. In September 1920, the two trade union federations united on the basis of revolutionary class war, in which action they were joined by all the unions affiliated to them. For this purpose a special declaration, signed by the executive committees of both centrals, was published. Thus the longed for unity of the Bulgarian trade union movement was realized.

The development of our trade union alliance since the war, both before and after the union of the two federations, may be seen from the following statements:

Membership (End of 1918): 13 unions, 115 local sections, 5,713 members

Finances: Income from members' subscriptions in 1919: 532,275 leva, total income 1,941,439 leva; in 1921: members' subscriptions: 1,146,206 leva, total income 2,046,408 leva.

Wage conflicts: 1919: 135 lock-outs and strikes involving 76,310 workers, successes 57, partial successes 54, unsuccessful 22; 1920: 68 lock-outs and strikes with 8,634 participants, successes 30, partial successes 17, unsuccessful 21; 1921: 66 lock-outs and strikes with 3,115 participants, successful 23, partially successful 18, unsuccessful 25.

In 1922 more than 200 strikes had been carried out by October, participated in by no fewer than 20,000 workers. The overwhelming majority of these strikes were successful, a smaller number partially successful, and only a very small number unsuccessful. Thanks to these wage movements, wages were raised by 35 to 40%, between April and October 1922, in the tobacco, timber, shoe, sugar, and other industries, while the price of necessities during the same period rose at most, by 25%. (Compared with pre-war times 225 times).

The remnant of the "broad" socialist party still attempts to make a fraudulent use of the name of its lost trade union federation. At the present time this party is engaged in forming, in addition to its party central, a trade union committee with a secretary paid by the party.

This fictitious trade union committee however, has no workers whatever behind it, except a small number of the typograph-workers, employed in the state printing establish-

The table shows the rising tendency of the collective economics of the Union, but shows, at the same time, that the full capacity is by no means utilized. Production maintains the approximate output of 1919; this was however 3% lower than that of 1913. This means that the whole increase of productive capacity during the last decade, 1913 to 1922, still remains unutilized. As a matter of fact the production of the steel trust is estimated at about 75 to 80% of its capacity. But in comparison with the year 1921, the situation is favorable, and what is more important, shows a tendency to further improvement.

The full development of the favorable conditions was hindered in the autumn by the effects of the miners' and railwaymen's strike.

The main cause of the improved economic situation may be found in the improved agricultural situation. The total value of agricultural produce this year, exceeded that of the year 1921 by 1,873 million dollars.

The higher proceeds of cattle raising are not included in this. This favorable figure signifies a considerable increase in the buying power of the farmer. The great difference in prices between industrial and agricultural products, has been diminished by an increase of prices on agricultural products. But the disproportion in prices has not been eliminated, and the farmer does not lie on a bed of roses. This unsatisfactory position of the farmer, and the confused state of affairs in European economies, render it a matter of great uncertainty whether improvement will continue in America. We have already dealt with both factors in the general section.

Foreign trade and foreign loans.

The foreign trade of the United States has been much influenced during recent months by the new tariff, so that no reliable conclusions can be drawn from the figures. Expressed in millions of dollars, the figures are as follows:

	Exports	Imports	Excess of Exports
September	313.1	228.8	84.3
October	370.1	—	—
November	383.0	—	—

The excess of exports over imports is covered increasingly by capital export. During the last four years the United States invested the following amounts in foreign loans:

In millions of dollars:			
1919	1920	1921	1922 (11 months)
292	397	550	588

To this must be added the purchase of shares in foreign undertakings, purchase of houses, estates, etc.

We thus see how the United States has evolved into the pure type of a highly capitalist country. High protective duties for the security of the home market, the highest possible concentration of industry in monopoly associations, capital export on a large scale. (Two features out of keeping with the whole: the favorable trade and the export of foodstuffs, are of a temporary nature; they will disappear—should the equilibrium of capitalist world economics be restored). The political consequences are inevitable: extension of colonial possessions, militarism, imperialism. American pacifism is a dead ideology, corresponding to the economic conditions of pre-war times, but not to those of to-day.

The other non-European countries.

As our report has already become longer than was intended, we shall confine ourselves to outlining only the most essential economic features of the non-European countries.

1. Owing to the rise in prices for agricultural products—corn, meat, cotton, wool, rubber, coffee—the situation of countries producing raw materials has much improved during the last six months. The industries producing half-manufactured goods, wood, paper, and unrefined sugar, are also improving.

2. The severe competition on the part of European industries renders the position of industries manufacturing finished articles very difficult. As a general rule we may say that the more a country is industrialized—with the exception of the United States—the more critical is its economic situation.

3. Despite this fact, industrialization continues, above all in China, India, and South America.

4. The employment of American capital, for state loans and immediate investments, increases steadily, especially in Canada and South America. Not only the United States, but also England, has recently taken to investing a great deal of capital outside of Europe.

5. There is a great demand for new immigrants in the English settlement colonies and in South America.

6. The centre of gravity of the world's economics moves further and further from Europe!

ment. This can be seen from numerous facts. During the recent sessions of the congress of the broad socialist party, a certain "trade union congress" was convened, as well as "congresses" of the separate unions. Despite these "congresses"—of which nobody in our country even knows when and where they were held, there has not, up to now, been a single report published as to the membership and activity of these "unions". *Narod*, the organ of the broad socialist party, published whole pages of reports of these congresses, but no figures were given regarding the membership, or the income and expenditure of these "unions". Only the typographical workers belonging to this party published a detailed report, giving figures, according to which their union has 450 members.

The repeated challenges made by *Rabotnitshesky Vestnik*—the organ of the Red trade union federation—to the "broad" socialists, to publish the number of members in the broad socialist trade union federation, and to state where these members are hiding themselves, are either evaded or entirely ignored.

It is no wonder that this fictitious trade union federation, despite its affiliation to the Amsterdam Trade Union International, has so far paid no contributions to this body. (See report of the Amsterdam International.)

The "trade union secretary" paid by the broad socialist party serves it as an agent for supporting the bourgeoisie in its campaign of slander against the trade union movement. The strongest proof that this "trade union alliance" is a fictitious organization, lies in the fact that during this year, when a wave of strikes and wage movements was sweeping the country, not a single strike or wage movement, was recorded as being conducted by this "trade union federation".

Nevertheless, the "secretary" of this federation took part in the congress held at Rome by the Amsterdam International, and delivered his speech in the name of the Bulgarian proletariat. Last year the same "secretary" participated in the conference of the international Geneva labor bureau.

But the climax of the whole matter is, that the international organizations refuse admittance to our unions on the pretext that they do not belong to this bogus central, which is affiliated to the Amsterdam International. On this account our unions are deprived of their international relations to the unions of other countries!

Another circumstance rousing no less indignation is the fact that this so-called central, to justify its existence, has published purely imaginary figures in its last year's report. Here we read that there are 36,000 organized workers in Bulgaria, that the central affiliated to the Amsterdam International possesses 14,803 members, while our trade union federation, here designated as communist, possesses only 12,000 members, and that there are other craft unions with a membership of 9,197.

It may be plainly seen from the above that the statements of the Amsterdam International are false from A to Z. It is true however, that there are more than 30,000 organized workers and employees in Bulgaria; but these are members of the unions belonging to our trade union federation, which is affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

How is the Russian Worker housed?

By Frida Rubiner.

If we seek for an answer to this question, we receive the most varying impressions. We find workers' dwellings perfectly exemplary, and others which leave much to be desired. Two examples will illustrate this:

1. The workers' dwelling houses belonging to the motor-car factory *Amo* in the Rogosho-Simonov district, is what is known as a "House Community", that is, a house with separate dwellings and a common kitchen. The great three-storied house (once the residence of merchants' wives) now accommodates 150 families or 456 persons. The house is strongly built, has broad clean staircases, a well lighted entrance and spacious corridor. Each dwelling consists of a large, well lit room, in which a bed-room is partitioned off. The furniture is simple, but in every respect sufficient. There is water laid on in almost every room. The common kitchen, is on the ground floor. There is also a common wash-house and bathing accommodation. The house possesses central heating and telephone. It contains a club with a reading room for the residents, as well as a school for their children.

2. Not far from this house there is another workers' home (in the great Alexeyevkaya 14), very different from this. Here dwell the workers occupied at the factory Russ Cable No. 2. It was once occupied by bourgeois families, and has been confiscated for the workers. The house is in itself well built, but is dirty and neglected. In one dwelling, for instance, consisting of three large rooms with large kitchen and corridor, three families are living, 9 persons in all. The three families keep house together. There is sufficient accommodation, but the rooms are in a frightfully slovenly condition, the kitchen black with soot and filthy, the whole furniture ruined by neglect. And the workers living here appear to be on a much lower level than those in the *Amo* house. I was able to ascertain the remarkable fact that the dwellings in which there were no sacred pictures were the cleaner; in houses where the bed clothes were the dirtiest there were the most pictures of saints hanging over the beds.

Among the scores of workers' dwellings which I have seen in Moscow there were good and bad ones, even very bad ones: dark damp hovels and draughty windy dens. In Moscow as everywhere else in Europe, there is a housing problem, and the lack of dwellings seems to be much more acute here than in Berlin or Paris, for, apart from the fact that all building has been at a standstill since 1914, many houses were destroyed during the civil war, or suffered through the revolution. During the blockade, it frequently happened that a house went to ruin because the simplest repairs could not be carried out. A few nails would perhaps have sufficed to repair the roof and to save the house, but just these few nails were not to be had. The house went to ruin, and the residents were left without a roof over their heads.

As is well known, after the seizure of power, the workers were given accommodation in the bourgeois houses. All empty villas were confiscated for workers' dwellings or for administrative offices. If one now visits a large factory, one can tell beforehand where the workers live; it is generally in the large and well-built houses near the factory. The textile factory Prochorovka alone confiscated 15 to 20 houses as dwellings for its workers. This itself did not suffice. The workers returning from the war had frequently to put up with very bad accommodation indeed. The fight with the bourgeoisie for the dwellings continued. Despite the strict measures taken by the Soviet government, the non-working elements contrived to gain possession of good dwellings. How did this come about? During the years in which almost every Russian citizen was in the Soviet service, each citizen had also to be allotted a dwelling, and the "Burschuys" managed to get hold of the best dwellings, even after they had quitted Soviet service. At the end of 1922, the municipal administration of Moscow carried through what was known as the 10% standard, which placed 12,000 further rooms at the disposal of the working class. The fight for dwellings goes on from house to house. In every house there exists a "housing guild", and endeavors are being made to strengthen the workers' representation within these housing guilds. The *Pravda* recently commenced a housing campaign. Information is collected from house to house regarding the housing conditions, and published in the newspaper. It may be safely assumed that this press campaign will greatly contribute to the improvement of housing conditions.

How is the Moscow worker housed? As a rule it may be said that the cause of lack of dwellings, and of faulty housing, lies solely in the lack of means. The housing conditions will improve with the further development of Soviet Russia, and this improvement will benefit the workers. But even now the Moscow worker is incomparably better housed than before the revolution. Russian capitalism was young, and pursued the methods of colonial capitalism; the worker was treated like a slave. The conditions were especially bad when this exploitation was combined with the cutest "American" methods. For instance, the "Workers' Home" belonging to the textile factory Giraud, in the Chamovniki district, deserves a certain immortality as an example of capitalist barbarism in the housing question. Imagine a great factory hall on the topmost story of the factory. Here there are 580 plank beds for 580 persons. Each bed is about 80 centimetres broad and 180 long; the beds are placed close together in long rows of 20 to 30 beds. Thus the sleepers lay squeezed together like herrings; a small board at the head separates one plank bed from the other, so that faces did not touch. The first improvement was brought about by the revolution of 1905, when every third plank bed was removed.

It was not until the October revolution, that an end was put to this vile system, which should be preserved in a museum of capitalist exploitation. This sleeping hall was closed. The workers belonging to the factory were partly accommodated in the villas of the factory owners and directors, and common dormitories were provided for the single and unattached women

(the factory employs almost 75 % women), large clean rooms with beds, chairs, small tables and cupboards, and a common kitchen.

A Kindergarten and a home for small children was also provided for the factory, and here the mothers can leave the children who are under school age, while they work in the factory. The children are taken to the home at 7 o'clock in the morning, and remain until the afternoon, when they are fetched away by the mothers. In the home they are fed, washed, and amused. The children play here, are taken for walks, and the older ones are taught to read.

The workers of the Giraud factory, in whose memories the old conditions are still fresh, are fully conscious of what they have won by the revolution. It is only necessary for them to compare their former housing conditions with their present, to feel that the Soviet government is a workers' government. To be sure, conditions are not yet by any means ideal; the wages are not high, the workers suffer from the high prices. But they feel that progress is being made. The better the factory works, and the greater its production, the greater the improvement of the conditions under which the workers live. And this the Russian workers, down to the last non-partisan, know.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Frossard in the footsteps of Levi

By A. Lozovsky.

The decisions of the Fourth World Congress have evoked a storm of dissatisfaction from the intellectuals of the Communist Party of France. The old sickness of French socialism was strongly present in the Communist party. Abstract revolutionism, intellectual hair-splitting, estrangement from the masses, lack of proletarian discipline, freedom of action for single bodies of the party,—all these things gnawed at the roots of the French Communist Party. The Communist International has frequently taken up the French question, but the matter proceeded slowly. At last the Fourth Congress adopted a series of salutary resolutions and demanded that every "independent" or "autonomous" member of the French Communist Party declare whether he does or does not agree with these conclusions. At the conclusion of the Fourth Congress, it was plain that the great majority of the party had accommodated itself to the international discipline; but there remained about a hundred communists who kicked against the decisions of the world-congress and founded a "Committee for the Protection of Communism". Among these were; Ferdinand Faure, Garnier, Lafont, Morizet, Meric, Pioch, Torrès and quite a number of other journalists and lawyers of such "broad" dispositions that they could not accommodate themselves to the "narrow" limits of the Communist International.

Frossard hedged at first, then announced his desertion of the party and placed himself at the head of the committee for non-ratification of the decisions of the Fourth Congress.

All these "free spirits", who have been expelled from the party, have founded a unified communist party, the central organ of which is called *l'Egalité* (Equality) with the sub-title, "In the interests of Communist unity". In the first number of this organ we find a declaration of the program and two articles by Frossard, "Who are we?" and "Why I have left the Communist Party". Frossard explains that he is "in agreement with the principles of the Communist International, but not with its methods", and that even at Tours, he had only accepted the 21 conditions of the Comintern with reservations. "I dreamed", he writes, "of a great proletarian party which should combine the bold revolutionary realism of Lenin and the broad humanity of Jaures in one harmonious synthesis".

Against the humanism of Jaures we have nothing to say, but we have much to say against his reformism. In vain does Frossard attempt to conceal his wish to create a synthesis between the revolutionary realism of Lenin, that is between Communism and the reformism of Jaures, under the name of Humanism. It is a reformist communism of which Frossard has been dreaming.

Against the Communist method, Frossard cites the watchword of Blanqui "Neither god nor master". Frossard is displeased because the Comintern revised the charter of Tours, he protests against the laborism of the Comintern, against its trade union policy, and centralization tendency. He writes, "I regard the International as a sum of parties while Moscow

regards the International as a single party which is strongly centralized and directed by a small group of people with unlimited power. This conception repeats the faults of the First International which fell because of its oligarchical centralization."

So the "broad" Communist, Frossard, attempts to correct the errors of both the 1st and 3rd Internationals, and for this purpose the autonomy of the party and non-interference by the international in its inner affairs is of course necessary.

The central point of the entire program of the new party is the trade union movement. It is understood, of course, that in this new party the trade union has an absolutely independent position. Frossard "cannot imagine that the party in France could take upon itself the initiative for strikes and conduct them together with the union organizations." Frossard declares that the sentimental attachment of the C.G.T.U. to the Profintern will not last long, that the "organic connection between the Comintern and the Profintern would be supplied by a permanent committee of action. The day will soon come, when the demand for autonomy in the C.G.T.U. will burst forth in a tempest".

In the declaration "To all Communists and syndicalists" the independence and autonomy, of the trade union movement is emphasized. Finally one finds the entire philosophy of communist independence in a special editorial on the trade union movement. "The party frankly declares that it stands for the absolute autonomy of the trade union movement. And by the autonomy of the trade union movement the united communist Party understands that as a party, it will not interfere in a single official discussion of the proletarian economic organizations. The Party expresses itself as categorically opposed to the tactics of forming nuclei and declares its purpose to be that of service to the unions and not one of taking them in tow; that the question of discipline will never be brought up inside the party, to restrict the freedom of its members in the field of trade union activity, that it will be left to the conscience of each single member to act in the interests of the working class. Both the adherents of the R.I.L.U. and those of the Anarcho-Syndicalist International will be free to write for the central organ, since neither organization necessarily excludes the other."

This, then, is the theory of the new organization which "is in perfect agreement with the principles of the Comintern, but not with its methods."

Even from these few quotations, we can judge how far this group of intellectuals is in agreement with the principles of the Comintern. It is enough to glance through the pages of this journal to see that about as much remains of the Comintern principles, as remains with Fabre, Verfeuil and others who were expelled long ago.

Here, Andre Morizet writes regarding the declaration of Bukharin at the Fourth Congress relative to the theoretical possibility of a Red intervention. There appears in the official declaration of the "Committee for the protection of Communism", a dogmatic presentation by Stapel, of the decisions concerning the mutual relations of party and trade union. The same writer scoffs at "Revolution by means of war, revolution by means of militarism, revolution by means of cannon, areoplanes, tanks and poison gasses." Victor Meric reveals in "Two years of Communism" that he stands for the Russian Revolution and International Communism; but with perfect freedom heart and mind, not under the club, not with the howling of chained dogs or under the deluge of ever-lasting theses.

The exit of Frossard and his friends from the Communist Party occurred at the time of the Ruhr occupation, and the savage persecution of French communists and revolutionary syndicalists. These one-time communists have been much offended when they have been told that their conduct smacks more of political cowardice than of theoretical keenness. But the truth remains. At the moment of arrests the general secretary left the party and created his own little party in which he assembled all those who like to applaud Communism without doing anything for it. History repeats itself. Frossard, six months later, repeats the action of Paul Levi. Levi too, was quite in agreement with the principles of the Communist Party but not with its methods; he too, built up a compromise party. Levi, who, like Frossard, was so much in accord with the principles of the Comintern, is now in the arms of Renaudel and Brackes? The first number of *Egalité* shows, that Frossard has taken a big step in that direction. Frossard, who wished to discover a new method for the Communist International can think of nothing else but to follow in the foot-steps of Paul Levi. But why let that trouble us? Communism did not die when Paul Levi left the party, nor is it likely to fall at the desertion of Frossard. On the contrary!

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 23

6th March 1923

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

CONTENTS

Politics

1871—1923. By Bertraint	175
French Labor Leaders before the Court of Inquiry . . .	176
Letter of Bukharin and Zinoviev to French Justice . . .	177
The Sakhalin Question. By Vilensky-Sibirakov	177
Divided Council in the British L.P. By Thomas Bell . . .	178
In Poland. By N. Ulan	179

In the International

The Comintern and the Italian Socialist Party. By Zinoviev . . .	180
The Labor Movement	
The Russian Trade Unions to the Workers of all Countries . . .	181
The Striking French Miners to the Ruhr Miners	182
Unity of Metal Workers against Fascism!	182
The Youth Movement	
(C.Y.L.) To the Working Youth, Soldiers and Sailors	182

POLITICS

1871—1923

By Bertraint (Paris).

In 1871 imperialist Germany forced on bourgeois France its Treaty of Versailles, containing the three main clauses: 1. the annexation of Alsace Lorraine by the German empire then coming into being; 2. the granting of most favoured nation treatment to the victors in commercial relations, and 3. the payment of 5 milliard francs as war indemnity to the German Empire.

Soon after, the insurrection of the Paris Commune broke out. This, though but a diffident and imperfect attempt, marked at least the beginning of proletarian revolution. After a few months the Commune was crushed by the fearful and suppressive violence of the Versailles. At least 20,000 members of the Commune, for the most part workers, fell victims to the reign of terror instigated by M. Thiers.

Our open or masked opportunists have always derived great pleasure in emphasizing the alleged patriotic character of the Communards.

Before the war they were never weary of glorifying the Commune as a reaction of the national spirit of the workers against victorious German imperialism.

This permitted our social patriots to represent their internationalist harangues as being perfectly consistent with their recognition of the duty of defending one's native country.

It also rendered it possible for the social democratic leaders, in 1914, to represent their class betrayal as being a continuation of the revolutionary traditions of France.

It is a most despicable act to misuse in this manner the theoretical confusion, which was the deadly weakness of the Commune, for the purpose of falsifying history and besmirching the first attempt at proletarian rule, by accusing it of bourgeois patriotism.

After the siege of Paris, and after the French defeat, the Paris workers and craftsmen felt that the whole burden of the consequences of the war was going to be thrust upon their shoulders.

After they had consumed all their savings for providing themselves with the bare necessities of life in the besieged city, they saw the moment approach when they would have to pay their rent arrears. The economic life of the whole Paris district was in a state of complete dissolution. Work was lacking everywhere. The workers of Paris were confronted with untold misery.

On the other hand, the great bourgeoisie was at the

same moment enjoying life to the full. The bankers, the great industrial magnates, and the vanquished generals, lived in riotous luxury.

The workers of Paris instinctively felt, that the bourgeoisie would cast the whole burden involved in the Versailles treaty solely onto the working class.

To be sure, the Parisian workers hated German imperialism, but they also hated their own vanquished and shameless bourgeoisie.

They issued the slogan of an armed rising of the working class, in opposition to the unfavorable peace treaty, in opposition to the Germany of the junkers and industrial barons, against the French bourgeoisie and French militarism.

This was a class revolution in the face of the national enemy lying before the gates of Paris! What resemblance is there between this and the civil peace patriotism of to-day and yesterday?

It is true that the Paris Commune did not clearly and sharply define its attitude towards patriotism and defence of the native country. It went further than this, it acted.

That which its class logic did not know how to formulate theoretically, it carried out in actual practice, by many instructive deeds.

The deeds of the Paris Commune have replied beforehand to the history written and falsified since then by opportunists and *burgfrieden* socialists.

Thiers and Bismarck, for their part, understood this very well.

The German statesman calmly allowed the French statesman to reorganize and train the Versailles army of counter-revolution, which was to crush the Paris Commune.

Thus Thiers and Bismarck exercised the Franco-German solidarity of the exploiting classes against the workers' rising in Paris.

One must be stupid or a rascally opportunist not to grasp what Thiers and Bismarck grasped with such wonderful ease.

In 1919 it was imperialist France which imposed on bourgeois Germany the second Treaty of Versailles. The occupation of the Ruhr is to continue until Germany has paid full damages for a war for whose origin every single one of the belligerent governments were responsible.

The German revolution of November 1919 broke out in the midst of the war, against the militarism of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and against the capitalism of Stinnes, Krupp, and Essen.

And on November 11, M. Clemenceau, the French Bismarck, granted Mr. Noske, the German Thiers, precisely the same favor as that shown by the German forerunner of Clemenceau, to the French forerunner of Noske.