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POLITICS

The Consequences of the Greek Collapse

By *Arthur Rosenberg.*

The Peace Treaties of the year 1919 prove to be of short durability. The decisions of the Berlin Congress of 1815, laid down the lines of European politics and economy for at least the life of one generation. The peace decisions of 1648 which concluded the Thirty Years War in Europe held good for a century. The Peace of 1871 exercised its effects for at least half a century. The Treaties of 1919 were surrounded with a solemnity the like of which is to be sought. The era of national division was finally brought to a close, and the new era of the *League of Nations* was to lead humanity to higher aims. The group of victors who dictated the Peace, the Entente plus America, was the mightiest group of powers in world history. They were to see to it that the treaties remained unbroken. And what was to be seen on the opposite side? Some political heaps of misery, as Ebert-Germany, German-Austria, the Sultan's Government, etc., and then, a vague something,—Soviet Russia.

What has now become of the promises of 1919? A collapse along the whole line. The powerful coalition of the victors is wrecked. America has broken away from the Entente. And within the Entente itself, the only point of agreement is that each agrees to differ. No serious statesman believes any more in the Treaties of 1919. The Treaty of Versailles has become a piece of folly, and the Peace of Sevres lies shattered at the feet of its signatories. The remaining treaties will share the same fate. What is the explanation of the difference between the fate which has befallen the Treaties of 1919 as compared with the durability of the decisions of 1815 and 1871? The earlier Peace Congresses were meetings of growing capitalist nations. The Treaties of 1815 and 1871 marked the stages in which capitalist society progressed. So long as the products of diplomacy remained in harmony with the economic growth of the ruling class, they were durable. The Treaties of 1919, on the other hand, were an attempt to heal by artificial prescriptions the sicknesses of world capitalism. As the sickness is incurable the medicaments are of no avail. The heroes of 1919, the mournful Professor Wilson, the narrow minded Clemenceau and the Parliamentary weathercock Lloyd George, are not in a position to delay the fatal hour of capitalist society.

The present events in Turkey are therefore so instructive to the world proletariat, because they prove the absolute futility of the work of 1919. And yet 1919 still continues to exercise a serious influence upon the mind of the proletariat. Quite apart from the fulfilment policy of the German Social Democrats, 1919 created the League of Nations. The League of Nations is intimately connected with the Amsterdam International; and the whole policy of capitalist reconstruction which the workers are forced to support,—this Evangel of Reform Socialism,—is the spirit of 1919. The workers should therefore attentively read the telegrams reporting the battles in Smyrna and the commotion in Athens. For what is falling in Athens is not only the Government of the lanky *King Tino*, who in the shades of the Acropolis, wished to imitate his brother-in-law, *Kaiser Wilhelm*, but the structure of illusions created in 1919.

The great illusion regarding the solution of the Orient problem, as it was attempted three years ago, consisted in the fact that the people of the Near East were regarded as stupid enough to permit themselves to be enslaved by the Anglo-Grecian Banking Kings. English capitalism in the East has peculiar connections. For many decades intimate connections existed between British, Indian, Oriental-Jewish, and Greek banking and commercial houses. A close chain of capitalist combinations stretches from Bombay over Bagdad and Alexandria, over Smyrna and Athens to London and Manchester. At the central point of these combinations there stand two families: the Indo-Jewish family of *Sassoon*, which occupies a preeminent position in the commercial and banking business of the East, and the Anglicised Greek family of *Rallis*. Both are multi-millionaire families. The house of Sassoon stands in the closest relationship to the English dynasty and to the most influential London politicians. The house of Rallis is through its connections as mighty in Athens as in London. The actual ones who were defeated in the fighting in Smyrna are not Lloyd George and Constantine, but Sassoon and Rallis.

As a result of the World War the big Anglo-Grecian capitalists, obtained possession of Constantinople. They also held strong positions in Egypt and in the Kingdom of Greece itself. It was hoped by means of the Greek offensive policy to win the whole of Asia Minor. Then direct access would be had to Mesopotamia. There existed the Arabian comic-opera kingdom of *Irak*, but the real ruler in Bagdad is not King Feisul, but the English Petroleum Trust, i. e., the House of Samuel. And via Bagdad the ring could be linked to India, where for the moment there sits Lord Reading as Viceroy of the King of England. But Lord Reading was formerly known to the world as the great capitalist *Rufus Isaacs*.

The English capitalists pursued far reaching plans in the districts captured by Greece. Petroleum concessions in Macedonia followed the establishing of banks in Asia Minor. Then came the Council of the Ottoman Debt with its seat in Constantinople. This is the committee of foreign creditors, who had lent money to the Sultan's Government, and received Turkey's revenues as security. The Council of the Ottoman Debt is at present under English control. And if it had had its way the peasants of Asia Minor would have had to pay the debts of their Sultan down to the last farthing. Things turned out otherwise however. In Angora and Asia Minor was formed the National Turkish Government of Kemal Pasha, which, up to now, has refused all payment to the Council. Whilst the Greek army was given over more and more to the conviction that it was only there in order to win fresh millions of profits for a limited clique of Anglo-Grecian capitalists, the morale of the Turkish army was essentially different.

The Government of Kemal Pasha is by no means a Communist Government. But it embodies the resistance of the masses of the Turkish people against the capitalist robbers of the West. The concession treaty which Kemal Pasha concluded with the French capitalists in order to split the front of the Entente, leaves the right of self-determination of Turkey, both politically and economically, undisturbed. The Turk, who fought against his debt enslavement has now beaten the Greek slaves of capital.

Kemal Pasha is at present the undisputed master of Asia Minor. But the Turks are not satisfied with this. The National Government of Angora demands the surrender of Constantinople and the return of the European province of Thrace with Adrianople. The English must, willy-nilly, bury the hope of capturing Asia Minor, but they will sacrifice everything to retain the important position of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The French capitalists, on their side, will also do everything in their power to manoeuvre the English out of Constantinople. The position of Lloyd George's Ministry is extremely endangered through the bankruptcy of its oriental policy. The English capitalists are determined to retain Constantinople. But it is very questionable as to what power there is at present behind this will. But should the Turkish troops come to Europe again (even if the English retain certain privileges in the Dardanelles) the effects for the Balkans would be incalculable.

The Chinderella of the Balkan States at present, is Bulgaria, whose governing circles, in all the crises of the last decade, have managed to back the wrong horse with unflinching certainty. If the Turkish Army again occupies Adrianople, Bulgaria will find in it a protection in her rear. The Macedonian question will then again come up, and Bulgarian nationalism will mobilize the "suppressed brethren" against the alien domination of Greece and Jugoslavia.

The French Government, however, has two souls in its bosom. The one desires the complete victory of the Turks over the Anglo-Greek combination, the other, sympathises with the Small Entente which will not permit any strengthening of the Bulgarian position. It shows that the Balkan question today is just as unsolved as it was 50 years ago, and that all the combinations of the ruling classes, and all the intrigues of interested great powers can bring no peace to these countries.

The real solution of the Balkan question will only be brought about by the victory of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution in all the Balkan countries. The revolutionizing of the East has no doubt been accelerated by the recent Turkish victories. In Athens the capitalist and military clique which up to now had control of the helm of state is breaking down under the burden of its responsibilities. The cruelly persecuted Communist Party of Greece now stands before the masses as the only body which correctly judged the course of development. How far the left movement will develop in Athens, cannot be predicted. The radicalization of Greece will also strengthen the revolutionary wing of the Bulgarian workers and peasants. Under the new circumstances it will be more and more difficult for the governing cliques in Roumania and Jugoslavia to maintain the white terror. Hence the stimulating influence which the Turkish victories exercise on the rebellious peoples in the whole of the Orient. In Egypt as well as in Palestine and Mesopotamia the opposition against England is growing. In India, after a long period of apathy, a new uprising of the revolutionary movement is noticeable in the last few weeks. The Orient is no longer as beautifully cut up into spheres of influence as it was in 1919. It was an easy matter to draw the map of the Treaty of Sevres. But the human beings whom every stroke on the map effected, offered resistance. The national movement of the Orientals bids fair to erase the lines of Sevres. The lines of Versailles will likewise fade when the resistance of the bartered proletarian masses of central Europe sets in with full force.

The Conference of Tchan-Tchun

By W. Vilensky (Sibiriakov).

After long hesitations, Japan had to enter into peace negotiations with the R. S. F. S. R. and the Far East Republic, forced by inner-political considerations, and by the general international situation.

The delegates of both parties, have already left for Tchan-Tchun, a small half-Japanese, half-Chinese town of South Manchuria, where the peace conference is to take place. This conference may have a very great influence in the solution of the Far East problem, if both parties find some ground for mutual understanding.

During the past year, Soviet Russia has continually approached Japan with peace proposals. Russia takes the coming conference very seriously, and has therefore sent to Tchan-Tchun a plenipotentiary delegation.

Before Russia agreed to negotiate, it explicitly declared that the evacuation of the Far East by Japanese troops was the condition *sine qua non* to any peace conference. The time within which the evacuation is to take place has already been determined; in fact, some districts have already been evacuated. This shows that Japan also intends to proceed seriously at the coming conference. The composition of the Japanese delegation is a further proof that Japan is honest in her will for peace and that it attaches more importance to the coming conference than to that of Dairen.

The leader of the present Japanese delegation, *Count Mazudeira*, the head of the Department for European and American Affairs in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, is doubtlessly one of the most capable young diplomats of present day Japan. He was the Japanese Chief Commissar at the time of Japan's Siberian intervention. He is well acquainted with the political conditions of the Far East. No less characteristic of Japan's serious intent is the second appointment. *General Takayanagi* was the *enfant terrible* of the military intervention in Siberia, the staff commandant of the Japanese expeditionary force.

The composition of the Japanese delegation, then, proves that the careful Japanese diplomacy, expects practical results from this conference. Japan will bargain obstinately. It will defend its "right" to political hegemony in the Far East on a practical business standpoint, as the appointment of the practical diplomats Mazudeira and Takayanagi proves.

The Japanese press is fully conscious of this. And when the daily *Meinzi* demands that some higher official than Mazudeira be placed at the head of the delegation, it is because it fears a failure of this conference. Two opposing political tendencies manifest themselves in Japanese governing circles, that of the Military Party, and that of the Foreign Ministry. The *Meinzi* probably fears that Mazudeira will not be able to overcome the military obstinacy of his colleague. It is one of General Takayanagi's habits to force accomplished facts upon the Foreign Ministry, as for instance, the Japanese offensive of the 4th and 5th of April, 1920.

Let us hope, however, that Mazudeira will this time gain the upper hand, and really represent the peaceful intentions of Japan, for only in that way can a success of the Tchan-Tchun conference be expected.

The Republic of the Far East must have peace. So must Japan. The workers of the Far East have suffered much under the effects of the civil war, which was made possible only with the help of Japanese troops. But so do the workers of Japan, who have had to pay the enormous expenses of this mad adventure in the Far East.

The wish for peace which is becoming apparent in the present policy of Japan, proves, that not only public opinion, but also the Government is becoming convinced of the necessity of peaceful relations between Japan and the Far East Republic. How far this conviction has taken ground will be shown at the Tchan-Tchun Conference where Japan will have full opportunity to speak her mind. We hope that her honest wish is to establish a firm and lasting peace in the Far East.

ECONOMICS

The Contract Between the Russo-Asiatica And Soviet Russia.

By Eugen Varga.

A few days ago a contract has been concluded in Berlin, between Soviet Russia and the *Russo-Asiatica*. The stir it produced in the press of France, England and Russia is best proof of its importance. Some facts are necessary for a clear understanding of the situation.

The *Russo-Asiatica* was one of the largest foreign capitalist enterprises in Russia. Its head, Mr. L. Urquhart is one of the most powerful industrialists and financiers of England. As every true capitalist, he had first hoped to regain his confiscated property in Soviet Russia by force of arms. He was the leader of that very influential Association of English capitalists who had suffered property losses through the Russian Revolution. This Association had been conducting for years a savage campaign against Soviet Russia, through the press, on the political field, and by financial and material support of Koltchak. The fact that after a year of lengthy negotiations this contract has been concluded with Urquhart proves, first of all, that the English capitalists have given up their hope of overthrowing the Soviet Regime in Russia. This has greater international significance than even the formal diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia.

The form of the contract is itself of great importance. After the various capitalist groups trying to obtain concessions in Soviet Russia had long attempted to secure for their Russian possessions the advantage of extra-territoriality, just as their enterprises in Turkey and other half-sovereign states possess, the Urquhart contract represents the recognition of Soviet Russia's sovereignty so far as its inner government is concerned. The enterprise is subject to the decisions of the Russian courts, in all differences with the Soviet Government or Russian private enterprises. The same applies to conflicts arising from the application of labor laws. Arbitration is provided for only in the case that any difference of opinion arises between Soviet Russia and the Urquhart enterprise as to the basic interpretation of the contract. We see then, that all the rights of the Russian proletariat, won by the Revolution, are protected.

The principle that nationalized property will not be returned to its former owners is also fully maintained in the contract. The former property is let to its owners for a period not exceeding 99 years. The Soviet Government retains the right to withdraw the concession after a given time, and under conditions provided for in the contract. The enterprise pays 7½% of its gross production as rent in kind. Since this is the first concession of its kind, and since it is expected that the Urquhart contract will be followed by many more, the Soviet Government has agreed to finance partly the necessary reparations; partly in cash and partly in Treasury notes, redeemable in 15 years.

The economic importance of the contract must not be underestimated. Before the war, this corporation employed about fifty thousand workers; it exploited very large copper and gold mines, owned its own forests and agricultural establishments. As the contract provides for the development of production to the pre-war level, the share of the Government cannot fail to be very large. More important than the financial advantages, is the fact that the resumption of production will enlarge the ranks of the Russian proletariat which has been very much thinned down by the industrial ruin following the War and the Revolution. The industrial proletariat of the Ural which had left the production centers and returned to the land, will again be united in large industrial enterprises. The basic support of the proletarian dictatorship, the industrial proletariat, living in large industrial centers, will thereby grow in size and strength.

But the true importance of the contract lies in the fact that Urquhart's example will surely be followed by a number of English, French, Belgian, and perhaps German industrialists. After the Conferences of Genoa and The Hague had proved that the bourgeoisie as a class could come to no agreement with Soviet Russia on an international scale, nothing remained to Russia and to the individual capitalists but the possibility of individual contracts. The Urquhart contract is the first of a long series which will bring to Russia the indispensable means of production she could not obtain through international state credits.

The enemies of the Communists, the Mensheviks of all countries, will surely take advantage of this opportunity to accuse the Bolsheviks of reestablishing capitalism and capitalist rule in Russia. It suffices to point to the articles of the contract to nail this preposterous lie.

Our short sketch proves sufficiently that all the victories of the Proletarian Revolution have been maintained. But to those proletarians who are devoted body and soul to the cause of the Revolution, and who are pained to see capitalists allowed in Russia at all, we will say: It is not the Russian comrades who are responsible for this, but the proletarian masses outside of Russia. Had the proletarian movement outside of Russia been strong enough to wrench the power from its capitalist class, nothing could have brought more happiness to the Russian Communists than to obtain the means of production they need from the French, English or German proletariat, instead of from the capitalists of those countries.

The Russian proletariat has been fighting alone, for five years. It has made sacrifices for the cause of the Revolution which were not believed possible. In order to be able to exist

at all, it must now obtain from the rest of the world the means of production. And since the proletariat of Europe is incapable of furnishing them, it must necessarily turn to the capitalists. Every proletarian must and will understand this.

Who Pockets the Reparations?

By Albert Treint.

In am travelling now in the *Département of Meurthe-et-Moselles*, and in the matter of reparations I remark facts similar to those I observed some months ago in Aniche, in the North.

In Aniche it was a miner, who with patient saving and long work had bought a small house before the War. The War had destroyed his house. After the Armistice, in pressing need of money, he sold his reparations claims to the powerful Mining Company of Aniche for a ridiculously low amount.

We see the same thing in Meurthe-et-Moselles, only here it is the *Comité des Forges* that profits from the workers' misery.

Let us take a typical example, which can be repeated a million times. A house in Dombastie was destroyed. In 1914 it was worth 5,000 francs. The owner has a right to claim damages on its 1922 value, that is, four times as much, or 20,000 francs. But he gets paid on the new value, as reparations, only if he promises to build again within a radius of fifty kilometers. Otherwise he receives only the 1914 value.

The whole procedure to receive this compensation is very complicated. The big capitalists always manage to get paid first. The small house owners, at a loss in the maze of regulations, always receive their due last. And often they cannot wait.

This is where the kindly *Comité des Forges* comes in. It buys up the reparations claims. It pays 20% above the 1914 value. That is, for a 5,000 franc house, 6,000 francs.

The small owner, in need of cash, thus sells to the *Comité des Forges* a 20,000 franc claim for 6,000 franc. And here we have it,—out 20,000 francs of reparation, the big capitalists pocket 14,000.

The French capitalist claims that the German bourgeoisie must be made to pay the war damages, so that this burden do not fall on the shoulders of the French workers in increased taxes. But what are the facts? The German proletariat, sucked dry by its capitalists, pays the reparations to French capitalists, who are almost exclusively the only ones to profit thereby.

This is what the French Communists must say: No proletarian should be made to pay for the havoc of war. The burden must fall on international capital, especially upon the Franco-German bourgeoisie, which is responsible for the War, and which can pay.

The French Communists oppose the Treaty of Versailles, the taxes which fall on the working class, the brutal seizure of German wealth by the Poincaré Government, and the shameless theft of the reparations payments which come from the pockets of the German workers, by the associated German and French capitalists.

The French Communists are teaching the French proletariat that if it allows the combined Franco-German bourgeoisie to rob the German worker, it is next on the list.

International capitalism attempts to defeat the divided proletariat, section after section. The Communist International opposes this attempt with the concerted, centralized, action of the international proletariat.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Left Wing Movement in the American Labor Unions

By Arne Swabeck (Chicago).

Until very recently the American labor unions have not produced an opposition left wing movement in the sense in which this is known to the European countries, i. e., of two or more organized camps with definite programs struggling for supremacy within the unions. Many attempts to give expression to certain ideas or methods of struggle against the powerfully organized exploiters, through the establishment of such movements, more or less definite and conscious, as well as progressive or revolutionary in character, have been made in the past. However, due to inefficient leadership, wrong methods, or lack of a fundamental understanding of the natural evolution of labor unions, they have all failed to accomplish their task. Many such movements have been inspired by petty personal differences or based upon reformist programs that could not stand the test of the present advanced stage of highly organized capitalist production, or else, with the exception of certain

progressive tendencies which have not as yet become crystalized into a definite movement, they have been localized to certain trades or trade groups. All have lacked the necessary unifying force, and the only ones of any consequence, manifesting a revolutionary tendency, have led outside of the unions. Thus the best elements were withdrawn from their active work in the unions, and the organized masses left completely in the hands of the reactionaries; the result being stagnation and utter backwardness,—numerically, structurally, and politically.

With the advent of the Trade Union Educational League, a comprehensive, concrete, revolutionary program with a definite goal, embracing the whole labor movement, has for the first time been furnished the left wing militant elements within the American labor unions. This movement, being in its first formative stage, has not as yet reached the point of a definite opposition. It is rather the beginning of a crystalization of all the scattered militants into an organized movement based upon the program of the Red International of Labor Unions applied to American conditions. Analyzing all the weaknesses of the present organizations, tracing their origin and cause, and offering concrete solutions by way of better forms of organization and better methods of struggle, the Trade Union Educational League is leading the unions directly toward their historical goal, the establishment of working class power. It has already, to a certain extent, succeeded in invigorating the old stagnant unions, in inspiring their members with a new hope, and in giving conscious leadership to the militant, latent forces among the American workers. It commands today a considerable following and has greatly alarmed the reactionary labor union bureaucracy which regards all new progressive movements with fear of losing its job.

Various Opposition Movements.

However, it would not be amiss at this point to first briefly mention the various opposition tendencies within the American labor unions. Beginning with the most conservative, the *American Federation of Labor*, it sometimes occurs, that at its regular conventions, an opposition candidate for the presidency is put forward, as for instance in 1921, when John J. Lewis, president of the Miners' Union, opposed Gompers, and polled nearly 40 per cent of the total vote cast. A victory for Lewis would not have meant a change in policy; the one being as reactionary as the other. It was merely a case of an official crew belonging to the Knights of Columbus, picking an opposition candidate to Gompers, the Jew.

Government ownership movements of various shades have appeared within the American labor unions and gained a considerable following, especially among the railroad workers. At the Montreal convention of the *A. F. of L.*, in 1920, the *Plumb Plan*, some sort of a combined government ownership and guild system, with joint control of industries, but providing for the division of the population into so many categories that the workers would always remain in a safe minority, was indorsed, much to the disgust of Sam. Gompers, without any definite plan being proposed for its being carried into effect however. Now this movement has been replaced by a movement for political action by the workers. Although it would be preposterous to say that the official families of any of the American labor unions clearly recognize that the class struggle rages on the political field as well as on the industrial field, a tendency is noticeable which recognizes the necessity of the organized workers to get away from the position of having their cause become a football for every political crook. This tendency, of course clashes with the Gompers policy of "punishing your enemies and rewarding your friends" among the capitalist parties. This policy of independent political action by the organized workers has been indorsed by most of the important railroad unions and others. But so far none of them have shown enough backbone to stand up and work for its actual materialization. The much heralded political Progressive Conference, held in Chicago, in February 1922, at which the leaders of many large unions took part unofficially, produced little outside of a nice declaration and the acceptance of a general "hands off" policy which was readily indorsed by the *A. F. of L. Executive Council*.

The Howat opposition within the Miners' Union, which gained considerable momentum at the last convention of this organization, came as a result of Howat's valiant fight against the loathsome Industrial Court Law, in the state of Kansas, and the consequent clash with the tendency represented by Lewis, to respect the sacred contract, no matter what misery it brings upon the workers, even to submit to this infamous law. Although it was no conscious opposition with a definite program, Howat gained the support of the overwhelming majority of the rank and file, as he represented their rebellious spirit, and Lewis was compelled to resort to the lowest kind of machine manipulation to defeat him at that convention. However, Howat went to jail and Lewis remained in control.

Two opposition movements which have been confined to their particular trade groups are the progressive opposition within the typographical unions which has now gained control of the largest organization within that industry, and the *Shop Delegates League* within the needle trade unions, mostly organized in the East and active in the International Ladies Garment Workers. At the last convention of this union the opposition was represented by about one third of the delegates, but they were led by anarchists who followed the usual policy of hitting blindly at the opponents. They failed to produce any unifying program or concrete progressive measures that could have enlisted a following, and were caught by the official steam roller. Now the Shop Delegates League is being absorbed by the Trade Union Educational League.

Dual Union Movements.

Of the opposition movements, which were really inspired by a conscious rebellion against the dominant reaction, but led to the sadly mistaken policy of seceding from the existing unions and the forming of new dual unions, must be mentioned the *I.W.W.* with a present membership of about 35,000, scattered throughout the country in various industries; the *W. I. I. U.* which has now dwindled to a few hundred members. The *O.B.U.*, with a few scattered members in various parts of the country; the *Amalgamated Metal Workers*, with a few thousand members only, in the Eastern part of the country; the *Amalgamated Food Workers*, with about 15,000 members in the East and Middle West. The *Rank and File* movement, composed mainly of building trades workers in San Francisco, California, led to the formation of a dual organization which is now rapidly being dissolved and reaffiliated with the old unions.

In a second category should perhaps be put the shoe and textile workers; the former industry having 4 organizations, of which the oldest, the Boot and Shoe Worker's Union is affiliated with the *A. F. of L.* and claims a membership of 40,000, the United Shoe Workers, claiming 30,000; the Protective Shoe Workers, 25,000, and the Allied Shoe Workers, 20,000. Between the latter three, unity conferences have been held which at that time showed a fair prospect of success. In the textile industry there are at present at least 15 different organizations, with a total membership of about 125,000.

The *Amalgamated Clothing Workers*, although it originated as a secession movement from the United Garment Workers, due to the fact that the great majority of the members were denied a voice in the affairs of the union, has now, through the aggressive, militant spirit of its membership, succeeded in organizing practically the whole of the men's clothing industry, and counts today a membership of about 175,000.

At its last convention, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers took a very progressive stand in favoring amalgamation of all needle trades into one organization, favoring the shop delegate system of organization, starting a million dollar corporation for a reconstruction project in Soviet Russia, and adopting a resolution indorsing the United Front of labor as proposed by the *R.I.L.U.*

With the organization of the *United Labor Council* in New York City, composed of independent dual unions from various industries, with a total membership of 25,000, another bad repetition has been recorded of many like attempts in the past history of the American labor union movement, where several organizations, claiming jurisdiction over the whole industrial field, amalgamated, either for the purpose of creating a brand new labor union movement, or at least an opposition to the existing one. Although the membership generally accepts the leadership of the *R.I.L.U.*, the United Labor Council can exist only by expanding at the expense of the existing unions, and therefore it is doomed to failure.

Dual Unionism Being Discarded.

The influence of all the present dual unions and their importance in the class struggle is waning, and their membership is dwindling rapidly. Although they have all preached the principle of solidarity, in actual practice they have demonstrated the contrary and have definitely proven the failure of such tactics. Their dual position forced them into a constant fight with the already established unions, not with the reactionary leaders who held these unions in stagnation and whom they had originally opposed, but with the organizations as a whole. The militants are rapidly being cured of this disease, and getting down to the hard and earnest work of building a force capable of leading the unions out of their present mire.

The Dominant Reaction.

Samuel Gompers has not remained idle during his long incumbency in the presidential office of the *A. F. of L.* He has used his great organization talents to build up a formidable machine control, which is copied by all the international unions, district, city and state bodies, and reflected in the local unions. His power is greater than his popularity among the organized

workers, and his lieutenants are loyal and highly skilled in the art of defeating the aspirations of the rank and file. Antiquated constitutional clauses were some of the great hindrances of the past, which the militants are now beginning to learn how to overcome. At conventic's where such clauses are changed, a well oiled machine is at work.

At the annual A.F. of L. conventions, delegates often remain in that position for a number of years due to the fact that their particular organizations seldom hold conventions to elect new delegates, and all vote by plurality of their organizations.

While stagnation and reaction hold sway in the American labor union movement, many of the greatest industries remain practically unorganized, as for instance the agricultural, steel, automobile, lumber, big business houses, department stores, the Southern plantations, many manufacturing plants and the packing house industry where the organizations are shot to pieces. The main reasons for this are, the incompetence of the leadership of the present unions, and their antiquated form of organization based upon craft monopoly among the aristocracy of labor and having little interest in the unorganized fields. The tremendous and aggressive opposition of the well organized capitalist class, meets labor organization attempts with court injunctions, gunmen, police and military force.

The A.F. of L. has suffered a great loss of membership during the past year. At the 1921 convention it reported a membership of 3,906,528, and in 1922, 3,165,635. The reason must largely be sought in the aggressive and comparatively successful "open shop" drive carried on by the employers, and in the general retreat of the unions, with heavy wage cuts and lengthening of working-hours. The A.F. of L. is composed of 111 *autonomous trade unions* and a large number of federal unions, including its Canadian affiliations. In addition to the independent unions already mentioned, there are the four independent railway brotherhoods with a total membership of about 400,000.

A New Vigorous Movement.

Into this chaos of labor unionism steps the Trade Union Educational League with a program of unification and consolidation of the badly scattered and badly beaten forces of the working class, into a compact mass, capable of coping with the forces of capitalism. Comparatively young, the first unit being organized in 1920, but the real activities not begun before March, 1922, when the first issue of the *Labor Herald* was published, it has established a history which brings the hearts of the militants to beat with enthusiasm, and has forced Gompers to go out of his way to make alliances with the politicians of the decrepit Socialist Party which he formerly held in contempt. The *Labor Herald* had reached, in August, a circulation of 12,000, and the active membership of the League the same figure. It has established units in 120 different cities throughout the country; the method being, first to establish general groups and then to make the industrial subdivisions.

The Trade Union Educational League has become an active and much adored as well as much feared factor within the American trade union movement. Its program of amalgamation of the present trade unions into industrial unions is being generally accepted by a very large percentage of the rank and file members of these unions, and it has formulated definite, detailed, plans of amalgamation for the various industries.

The trend toward a better form of organization and better methods of struggle is permeating the whole labor movement. Some of the most important city central bodies have gone on record for the amalgamation plans advanced by the League. Four important railroad workers' organizations have decided to amalgamate into two, and within the needle trades an especially strong amalgamation movement has been set on foot. At the last presidential election in the machinists' organization, which is conducted by referendum vote, the candidate standing sparsely upon the program advanced by the Trade Union Educational League polled more than one third of the total votes cast.

The time of submissive retreat has come to a close in The United States; the organized workers are now offering active resistance to the vicious attacks of capitalism. This, the recent great struggles prove. Following the lead of this new left wing movement, the organized masses are beginning to discard all useless weapons, and seek new and better ones,—weapons that will bring victory.

The Havre Strikes

By Pierre Rive (Havre).

The attempts of the employers to reduce wages have culminated in the Havre strikes.

Wage reductions had already been forced upon the workers of various districts in the country, although no cor-

responding drop of the cost of living took place. The metal industrials, the best organized and most militant employers, had succeeded in their campaign against their workers' wages by proceeding individually against the separate trades. The division and disorganization of the workers insured their success.

The strikes in the Vosges, then those of Lille, which lasted ten weeks and finally ended by arbitration to the advantage of the workers, were the first show of the workers' will to form a united front against the employers' offensive. This will found its sharpest expression in the Havre strikes.

On the 15th of June, the Employers' Association of the machine, construction, wire-pulling and smelting industries, obeying the orders of the famous *Comité des Forges*, posted in all its factories the notice of a further 10% reduction of wages, effective from the 22nd of June. And this, when the cost of living in Le Havre is higher than in Paris, and the wages lower. The official statistics prove this. For instance, the figures of the police department of *Lower Seine* establish that 7000 francs is the minimum yearly requisite for a three person family living in Le Havre. The average wage of a metal worker of that city is only 5000 francs a year.

The Employers' Association of Le Havre gave the following reasons for the reduction of wages:

1. Fewer orders.
2. The competition of foreign industries (like the German), disposing of a cheap labor market.
3. The necessity to establish prices which would enable competition on the world market.

On the 19th of June, the workers of the Gironde Yards, only a small number of whom are union members, sent a delegation to the management which refused to meet it under the pretext that the working day was not yet over. This brutal refusal stopped all work. The managers then ordered through the siren that the yard be cleared. The workers left, angry, indignant.

Successively, the workers of the *Augustin Normand Yards*, the *Méditerranée Yards*, the wire pulling factories, the United Shippers, the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique*, *Schneider et Co.*, and the ropemakers of the Seine joined the strike.

Fourteen thousand metal workers and 1200 textile workers rose against the employers' demands.

This is a purely economic strike. Instinctively and unanimously, without the support or advice of the Union (which had but 260 members) thousands of workers, realizing that a further reduction of wages menaces their very existence, go on strike.

The employers, most of whom maintain branches in other parts of the country, refuse all joint meetings, all arbitration.

The population gives its sympathy to the strikers. The "Radical-Socialist" Government of Le Havre, elected primarily by workers' votes, (and whose mayor, Mr. Meyer, must make the people forget the brutality of his police during the Sacco-Vanzetti manifestations, and those of the First of May), votes strike benefit to the workers and decides to feed the strikers' children in the school kitchens. The shopkeepers realize their community of interests with the strikers; they give them aid, and attempt intervention before the Employers' Association. The longshoremen vote a franc a day for the support of the strikers. Other unions follow this example. The bourgeois press applauds, it is the popular strike *par excellence*. Obedient executors of the orders of the *Comité des Forges*, the employers realize that this strike menaces the reign of the *Bloc National*, their representative in Parliament. The defeat of the Havre strike would open the way for a reduction of wages throughout the country. A victory of the workers would put them before the alternative of closing the factories or accepting lesser profits. So here we have the struggle of classes in its most acute form.

The intermediary class, the small shop-keepers, would take the side of the workers, but that the large firms assure the security of their bank accounts. Mr. Meyer, vice chairman of the Radical-Socialist Party, mayor of Le Havre, and bank-broker, the man of the financiers in the *Bloc des Gauches* (Left Bloc), is the interpreter of this attitude of the petty bourgeoisie. Mr. Meyer tries to keep the strike under the wing of the *Bloc des Gauches*, and perhaps to stifle it there. His is already the moral benefit he could draw from the strike. It returns him his radical virginity. The strikers, feeling the mayor on their side in this conflict, may forget his murder of demonstrators on the 1st of May.

But the interests of the great port are endangered; the tourists are incommmodated. Therefore the strike must end.

Mr. Meyer, the "friend of the workers", proposes to them an agreement which would be equivalent to the acceptance of the wage reductions. Clever politician, Mr. Meyer. But the

workers see through him. A counterproject of the Strike Committee, which the Employers' Association at once rejects, proves that this was only one of the mayor's clever tricks.

The ninth week of the strike is here. Under pretext of some trouble at a public manifestation, the Government intervenes for the first time. By order of the Minister of the Interior, police powers are removed from the mayor. All meetings and manifestations are forbidden; martial law, on a small scale. It is expected that meeting halls will also be closed to prevent the distribution of strike relief.

The strike spreads. The longshoremen decide at their meetings to go on a sympathy strike. The gas workers follow their example, in spite of their secretary, who wishes first to ask the mayor's advice. Other workers' organizations debate the question of sympathy strike. The mayor is using his influence to produce a complete cessation of work. He intends to use the strike as a revenge against the *Bloc National* which has deprived him of his police powers. The *Bloc des Gauches* triumphs,—a general strike of the Havre workers is imminent.

Then, suddenly, the mayor is reinvested with his police powers and he accepts the responsibilities of the situation. Is the *Bloc National* giving way, or is this only a stratagem? Both. The events which follow illustrate the situation so that no comment is necessary.

At once, the mayor attempts to stop the movement he himself had helped to start. Too late. You can't fool in this way workers who are fighting for their livelihood.

All streets leading to the strikers' meeting places are occupied by troops. The police brutally charges the crowds and beats up inoffensive passers-by. The strikers grow angry. An explosion is near; blood will flow.

Small barricades, put up spontaneously as a protection against the too zealous police, furnish the pretext. The strikers are armed with stones, the police with rifles. Without warning, the shooting begins. Dead and wounded strikers fall. Young people, who were defending their right to existence, who were fighting for their daily bread, are killed. The long premeditated crime is accomplished. Who bears the greatest responsibility the *Bloc National* or the *Bloc des Gauches*?

The whole bourgeois press, with few exceptions, writes wildly of revolutionary attempts, of Communist plots. *L'Oeuvre* of the *Bloc des Gauches* writes: "at 2 o'clock this morning the Communists were digging trenches". *L'Action Française* asks whether German, Russian, or English money financed the uprising.

Everywhere arrests, house searches. The correspondent of *L'Humanité* is arrested. But such things cannot kill a movement of the size of the Le Havre strike. The strike continues. Shops, yards, factories, remain empty. The general strike is still on. The *Comité des Forges* may register another defeat. General Duchêne, commanding the police announced: "Order will be reestablished in Le Havre, even at the cost of three or four hundred lives".

Spontaneously, without any previous preparation for the struggle, the C.G.T.U. orders a twenty four hours general strike. The construction workers had already acted ahead of this order.

The Havre strikers realize now that they have the support and wage the fight of the whole French proletariat. In spite of all repressions they continue to meet in the forest of Mongeon. The strike and relief committees continue to function. The metal workers are continuing the strike with more determination than ever, after inviting the trades in sympathy strike to resume work as a measure of policy and discipline.

What lessons can we draw from this wonderful movement which marked the awakening of class consciousness, of militancy of the French proletariat, rising at last to defend its rights?

This first conclusion imposes itself: the strike could assume such magnitude and duration only thanks to the united front of all the workers. It is the united front of metal workers, of all trade unions, Christian, C.G.T.U., Reformist, and of all non-union workers, that brought victory to the workers of Lille. It will bring victory to the workers of Le Havre. Another lesson is that the *Bloc des Gauches*, the "radical" politicians, differ in no way from any other bourgeois group. Fighting against repression, the "Workers' Bloc" stood alone against the united bourgeoisie. Let this episode of the civil war in France be a lesson to the world proletariat.

We also wish to speak of some questions of policy and union tactics which seem totally antiquated. Shortly expressed, if the organization of the working class had been such that strikes could have been called at the same time in all the branches of the Havre firms, all over France, the struggle would never have lasted so long. The employers, unable to execute their orders in their branch factories would have had to give in.

It is a fact, however, that the Havre strike, after 80 days of struggle, has assumed a serious character, which augurs well for the class struggle in France.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Recent Labor Legislation in Soviet Russia

By J. Larin.

One of the most prominent workers in the Russian Party, whom the Proletarian Revolution in 1917 entrusted with the supervision of Russia's economic life, Comrade Larin, at present sojourning in Germany, has placed at our disposal a series of articles conveying the latest information on the *Country of the Proletarian Dictatorship*.

I.

General: Litigation Rights of the Trade Unions.

The last six months in Russia have, among other things, been a period of revision of the whole labor legislation. The *New Economic Policy*, by which the government shops and factories have been accorded a limited measure of autonomy, the restrictions on trade and barter abolished, and the official attitude towards the peasantry changed, has of itself already resulted in a relative stability. Thanks to this situation, it was possible to discontinue the practice of issuing decree after decree to regulate the legal status of the proletariat, and instead, to proceed to a well regulated labor legislation, which became an accomplished fact in Spring and Summer of 1922. Its extent as well as its comprehensiveness and importance can only be compared with the labor legislation during the first half year after the ascension to power of the Soviets.

There is, however, a notable difference between these two periods of legislation. Four years ago the laws had to anticipate the development; they were manifests forecasting what the Bolsheviks intended to do in this or that respect. During the last half year, the laws have followed in the footsteps of development, uniting past achievements,—more a picture of *what is* than a forecast of *what is to be*.

The first period of Soviet legislation followed close upon the heels of a bourgeois regime, while the second is the outcome of a few years dictatorship. The same spirit and, the same sentiment are, however, animating the Soviet legislation of both periods. If one compares it with what has been done in Germany in that respect, one will immediately grasp the difference between a bourgeois regime and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and find an explanation for the stubbornness with which the Russian workers defend their "barbarous" order "built upon coercion", and against its replacement by the advantages of European "Democracy".

The German trade-union and labor press has, for instance, for the last years dealt with the problem of whether or not representatives of the trade-union should be admitted into criminal courts either as accusers or counsel, and have so far been unable to solve this problem. For these reasons it would, perhaps, not be amiss to acquaint the German public with the corresponding laws passed by the last summer session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, which went into force throughout Russia on July 1st, 1922.

The ratification of the penal code by that session was made the occasion for defining minutely the litigation rights of the trade-unions. Up to that time there were no laws in Soviet Russia defining exactly what deed or rather misdeeds should be considered as deserving punishment, or the extent of such punishment. For more than four and a half years the courts have passed judgment merely on the basis of the personal revolutionary sense of justice of the judges elected by the Soviets. Their revolutionary conscience decided whether or not a case merited punishment. Nor could another system have been evolved during the first years of the Soviet Regime, because the bourgeois law code had, of course, been declared void of any legal force or effect by the Workers' Republic, while there had been no time to evolve a new revolutionary code. It took years till the effects of the victorious Revolution had permeated public as well as private life in all its various aspects. Only in proportion to the revolutionizing of life itself and to the progress of revolutionary practice in the new courts could the foundations be laid in the public opinion of the working class, for a new penal code,—foundations of the period of historical development characterized by the existence of a proletarian dictatorship.

The Penal Code which has just come into force in Russia is essentially a juridical generalization of the practice evolved during the last few years. This code provides a better basis for passing an opinion on the conditions prevailing in Russia than dozens of malicious and slandering articles turned out by the European gutter press in the attempt to prove that the Communist Party of Russia has been disappointed in the social forces

of the proletariat and is now looking to the bourgeoisie for everything. The new Soviet Penal Code is a timely answer to the demands of the bourgeois representatives at Genoa to put a stop to "judicial arbitrariness", and issue a detailed legal code so as to inform all foreigners in Russia as to what they can or cannot do, and what risks they run. Such a code is now in existence and contains the provision that it is to apply to foreigners (who will peruse it in vain for any concessions to capital).

In connection with this code, the same session passed a series of laws regulating the procedure in the criminal courts, the litigation rights of the trade-unions, and furthermore, recorded a decision regarding the establishment of Labor Courts.

The clauses of the Penal Code which provide punishment for the following acts merit the attention of the trade-unions especially:—

1.—The refusal on the part of the employer to recognize the trade-unions, i. e., to conclude with them collective wage agreements, or the recognize them as representatives of the employees. In this as well as in all other paragraphs the term *employer* includes both private persons and administrators and directors of government shops, factories or offices. The law accords equal rights to manual and clerical workers, with all of whom the employers (the state included) must conclude collective wage agreements, and whose trade unions they must recognize. The workers in the enterprises of special importance to the common weal, (as for instance, the water works), are no exception to the rule.

Russia suffered nothing when it granted these rights; Germany whose economic situation is much better than Russia's has not yet had a government to pass similar laws.

2.—Any offense on the part of the employer against the collective wage agreements (the trade-unions are not held responsible if these agreements are violated by any of their members). If an employer refuses to abide by the agreement, the trade unions can, apart from the punishment prescribed, bring action against him for compensation for any losses incurred.

3.—Any interference, on the part of the employer, with the rights of the trade unions, their organs or their representatives. (Meetings of the trade union members in the shops or offices, even after working hours; inspection of the workshops at any time or hour; maintenance at the expense of the shop or office of a room for the local bureau of the trade union members; declaration of strikes or boycotts). In Russia there is no limitation of the right to strike even of the workers in the public service (railroads, etc.). The law establishing Conciliation Boards and Arbitration Courts, as passed in July of this year, emphasizes the point that the appeal to these courts is left to the discretion of the workers.

It cannot rightly be said that all this interferes with Russia's industrial life and that there are more strikes in Russia than anywhere else, the lies of the European press of a general strike at present in Moscow and then in Petrograd (as the case might be) notwithstanding. There is just as much truth in the statements as in the recent report circulated by the *Reuter Agency* to the effect that the Soviet Government had decided upon repealing the prohibition laws and making the manufacture of vodka a state monopoly.

4.—Any attempt on the part of the employers to subject the workers to any working conditions tending to reduce (if only temporarily) the capacity of the workers.

5.—Any offense against any of these paragraphs, on the part of the employer, which is calculated to harm the workers.

Any of the 5 offenses enumerated above will be punished by not less than 12 months imprisonment in addition to a fine of not less than 1000 gold roubles, (2160 gold marks) up to the confiscation of the entire property of the offender.

(To be continued.)

THE COLONIES

The Forces Beneath the Present Lull in India

By Evelyn Roy.

The sudden disappearance of India from the world press since the arrest and conviction of Mr. Gandhi to six years imprisonment, would seem to indicate that the revolutionary movement there has come to an abrupt end, after a spectacular and sensational career under the banner of non-violent non-cooperation. Events in India during the past five months seem to confirm this theory. Since the Bardoli Resolutions of the National Congress Committee, passed in April as the result of an outbreak of mob-violence on the part of some non-cooperating peasants of the United Provinces, the slogans of *Mass Civil Disobedience* and *Non-payment of Rent and Taxes*, have been

dropped from the Congress Program, and instead, the so-called *Constructive Program* has been put forth, whose main clauses, were the spinning, weaving and wearing of *Khaddar* or homespun cloth by the Indian people, the peaceful boycott of law-courts, reform councils, government service and schools, and the removal of untouchability of the lower castes, and of the drink evil. This purely reformist and non-revolutionary program, urged upon the Congress Committee by Mr. Gandhi just before his arrest, constituted a decided retreat in the face of Government repression and the rising tide of mass-energy, expressed in the form of bloody riots, strikes and peasant risings throughout the country. The Congress leaders were no less terrified than the Government by the threat to life and property which the growing revolutionary consciousness of the peasants and workers implied, and two clauses of the Bardoli Constructive Program urge, first upon the peasants and then upon the landlords, the necessity of preserving law and order and of safeguarding the rights of private property.

This strategic retreat and complete disavowal of the masses by the nationalist leaders completed the break between the popular unrest based on economic causes, and the purely political agitation of the Congress Party. The arrest and conviction of Mr. Gandhi severed the last thread which held the masses and the nationalists together. For the past three months, this complete divorce of the mass-energy from the Congress, has become more and more noticeable, while at the same time, the Congress itself has been thrown into confusion by the growth and development of internal factions, of right and left tendencies, which only the dominant personality of Mr. Gandhi had held in check for so long.

The incarceration of the latter gave free play to these splitting tendencies, whose leaders have been conducting guerilla warfare behind the closed doors of the Congress Committees. At first chaotic, the opposition has at last resolved itself into several distinguishable elements. The right wing leaders, who represent the left-wing of the cooperating Moderates, are preparing to rejoin the latter within the new Reform Councils, and abandon the National Congress altogether, unless it revises its program in keeping with their own ideas. There are two left-wing tendencies. One, centered in Maharashtra, constitutes a strong and compact group which agitates for repeal of the Boycott of Councils clause, and participation in the coming government elections on the slogan of "Responsive Cooperation". This means abandonment of the Non-cooperation idea of the Extremists and the consent to work hand-in-hand with the Government to the extent that the latter concedes reforms, and the refusal to cooperate when the Government denies concessions. In principle, this "left-wing" opposition differs very little from the platform of the Moderates, who accepted the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme of 1919 with the idea of attaining to home rule within the British Empire by gradual stages. Another, and smaller left-wing element, composed of the younger and more revolutionary spirits in every province, is crying for the repeal of the Bardoli Program of Construction and a return to the aggressive tactics of non-violent non-cooperation, including civil disobedience, non-payment of rent and taxes, picketing of foreign cloth-shops, etc. This group also puts forward the demand to organize Indian labor, both in the factories and on the fields, to support the Congress program, and to include within the latter the redress of some of the most crying economic grievances of the city and peasant workers.

The Congress Centre represents the orthodox adherents of Mr. Gandhi. They stand for fulfillment of the Constructive Program until the Indian people have proved, by self-discipline, that they are fit to inaugurate further steps of the non-cooperation campaign, in a strictly peaceful manner. Any revision of the Constructive Program of Bardoli is, they argue, an act of treason to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, and of disloyalty to the Congress. The center is the party of stagnation, which is being buffeted between right and left.

The increasing resumption by former non-cooperating lawyers of their law-practice, the continued existence of Government services and schools, and the undeniable importation of foreign cloth by Indian merchants as shown by the trade-returns of the past half-year, demonstrate more clearly than words the abject failure of the so-called "Constructive Program" to achieve results, and would point to the dire necessity, to leaders less obstinate and more realistic, of adopting some change of tactics which would at one and the same time, hold the majority of the Congress together, and bring back the masses within the folds of the Nationalist Party. But the Constructive Program is still flourished over the heads of the Indian people as the Word of God, and threatens to remain, what it has been since its adoption, the rock upon which the Extremist movement will split to its own destruction.

Meantime, the powerful current of mass-energy which was halted and puzzled for a time by the right-about-face of

Bardoli and the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, is gathering a momentum which will break down all obstruction when the tide rises highest. Both peasants and city-proletariat, after a temporary lull in their activities, have commenced a new campaign of strikes, riots and incendiarism which necessitates the strictest Government supervision to control. But there is a difference between these renewed activities and the former countrywide movement of the masses under the banner of non-cooperation. Then, while the underlying motive-force was economic, the avowed goal was political, namely, the attainment of *Swaraj* or self-government, which Mr. Gandhi promised within one year. Now, the political motive has been dropped, and the struggle has become purely economic,—a struggle for the reduction of hours, the increase of wages, the right to organize on the part of labor, and the incorporation of workmen's benefits and social reform legislation in the immediate economic program of the class-struggle.

With the peasants, the impelling motive-force is now as formerly, access to land free of rent and taxes, and release from the grip of the usurer. The accentuation of the class-conflict in Indian society, as distinguished from the nationalist campaign, is marked by prolonged strikes on the part of the city-proletariat, and by sporadic revolts of the landless peasantry. Since the beginning of this year, aside from innumerable lesser strikes, there have been several conducted on a nation-wide scale, such as the Assam-Bengal Railway and Steam Navigation strikes declared in conjunction with the exodus of coolies from the Assam Tea-Gardens on account of starvation wages and slave labor conditions; the East India Railway strike, which lasted three months, the Calcutta Seamen's strike involving 55,000 men and the Jute Mill Workers strike, just ended. Among the peasantry, leaving aside the Moplah Rebellion, which required nine months for the Government to suppress, intermittent revolts are going on among the *Akali Sikhs* of the Punjab for the possession of temple lands usurped by the corrupt priestcraft and protected by the Government; the Aika or Unity movement among the peasants of the United Provinces and Central India for resistance to rent and tax-collectors; the revolt of the *Bhils*, an agricultural tribe of Central India, and continuous unrest which at the present writing calls for the presence of special soldiery, among the peasants of Bengal and Madras.

The Government is meeting this widespread economic unrest in two ways,—by merciless repression where the movement seems weak and likely to be crushed by armed strength, and by remedial legislation where the economic grievances are so manifest and deep-rooted as to drive the people on to resistance in the face of all opposition. The Factory Act of 1921 and the Oudh Rent Act are two examples of remedial legislation, the one applied to industrial workers, the other to agricultural. At the same time, bands of special police and soldiery patrol the countryside, and a determined onslaught is being made against the right of city-labor to organize itself into unions. Kept labor-leaders, employed by the Government, are doing their best to steer the movement into safe channels of reformism.

Powerful political parties, representing the industrial magnates and the rich landlords, are crystallizing under the pressure of events, which are rapidly uprooting the old divisions of Indian society based upon religion and caste. Such political parties, formed on manifest class-lines, can but hasten the day of the formation of a political party of the workers and peasants of India, whose truly revolutionary spirit and urgent economic needs are driving them relentlessly onward towards class-consciousness. Despite their ignorance and helplessness born of centuries of exploitation, the strength of the nation lies in these millions of workers, who are growing wise in the process of struggle, and who will gradually put forth new leaders to replace those who betrayed them in the past, and who still seek to betray them.

APPEALS

To the Workers of France and Germany.

Madness continues to prevail in the world. Intoxicated by the victory and the Versailles Treaty, the French bourgeoisie continues to exert its utmost pressure upon Germany and to extract the last dregs of life from the German people. The German working class sinks every day deeper into the abyss of misery. The French bourgeoisie reckons upon the enslaved masses of Germany; it wishes to bring Germany to collapse and dissolution; it wishes to convert the German workers into slaves, in order to be able to exploit them for decades to its advantage.

And at the same time that France places the war noose around the neck of Germany, the leaders of the German and French Labor Federations and of the Amsterdam International run about helplessly in the ante-chambers of the Ministers, in the hope of being able to persuade the assembled imperialists, who can only be influenced by a mighty insurgence of the working masses. While the French Bloc National draws the noose tighter around the neck of the German proletariat it throws the other noose about the neck of the French proletariat. One and the same chain fetters the workers of France and Germany. The blood of the French proletariat was shed in Le Havre, and the Bloc National is prepared to strew the whole of France with corpses, merely in order to guarantee the safety of its gold bags. The Social Democratic and reformist unions of both countries do nothing whatever to avert the threatening war. They remain helpless on the spot, convinced beforehand that in the event of a war *each of them will defend his fatherland and murder his international comrades*. Hypocrisy and lies form the basis of their attitude from which only the bourgeoisie of these countries are able to derive any benefit.

Immediately before the approaching war storm and before a further depression in the level of wages of the German and French workers, *there is no other way out than a union between the revolutionary proletariat of these two countries*. A mighty cry must be raised on both sides of the frontier: "*Down with the Treaty of Versailles! Away with the oppressors of the workers of Germany and France!*" The workers of both countries must bridle their bourgeoisie. The German chauvinists make use of the provocative policy of France in order to sow the seeds of chauvinism among the working masses of Germany. The yellow press in France does the same. The workers of both countries must take up a ruthless struggle against their bourgeoisie. In view of the growing misery of the working masses, a real control over trade and production must be established. It is necessary to organize *Revolutionary Workshop Committees* which will be used by the workers of all tendencies as weapons for revolutionary action.

The struggle against the Versailles Treaty and the provocative policy of the French Government must be carried on chiefly by the French workers. They must make the fight against the robber policy of their bourgeoisie the centre point of their further activity. The German workers will be pursuing a real revolutionary policy only if they make use of this fight not for nationalistic, but for purely revolutionary class purposes. The fight on both sides of the frontier against the bourgeoisie, the cruel, ruthless fight against the class enemy, the overthrow of the class domination of the exploiters,—this is the only way out of the bloody chaos which again hangs over exhausted, bled, and devastated Europe.

If in the near future, the workers of both countries do not overpower their bourgeoisie, if they cannot lay their proletarian hands upon the natural riches of their countries, if they leave it to the bourgeoisie to dispose of the property of the people, then the standards of living of the German and French workers will sink lower and lower, and the working class will be thrown back for several decades.

Long live the real solidarity of the workers of all countries and the revolutionary, ruthless war against the bourgeoisie!

Long live the alliance of the revolutionary workers of France, Germany, and Russia, in the fight against international capitalism!

The Executive Committee of the R.I.L.U.

A. Lozovsky.

Red International of Labor Unions, Moscow.

NOTICES

The Cooperative Section of the Comintern requests all Party Central Executives and the Cooperative Committees of those countries where such committees exist, not to fail to answer and send in the questionnaires regarding the activity of the Communists in the cooperative movement.

The answers must reach us during the month of September, so that the coming First International Congress of Communist Cooperators in November may be sufficiently prepared.

Cooperative Section of the Comintern.

Moscow, Septemebr 10, 1922.