The German Crisis

By Karl Radek

In spite of its many threats against the Right elements, the German Government has not the courage to act against them. But the situation in Germany demands action, and this action will come from below.

Once again, as in the fall of last year, when Erzberger was assassinated, the working masses arose to demonstrate against the monarchists and for the Republic. The Communist workers go hand in hand with the Social Democratic workers, but they demonstrate not for the Social Democratic and bourgeois Government, but against the Ludendorff and Bismarck cliques. And the Government once more speaks five words, promising that at the decisive moment it will be on the side of the working masses; once again it makes a threatening gesture similar to that in the fall of last year. But the actual situation is not changed a bit by these words and gestures.

Chancellor Wirth makes the impression of a sincere and honest man with plebian inclinations. But of what avail are his sentiments, if the same Wirth Government takes measures against the railway strike, if it takes no action in the way of financial reforms directed against the bourgeoisie, but in fact shifts the whole financial burden upon the masses. It is just this policy of the German Social Democratic Government and the two bourgeois parties calling themselves democratic that served as a fertile soil for German nationalism.

The German democratic Government cannot strike at the Right, not only because it always holds itself in readiness to strike at the working class, but also for the simple reason that the economic policy of the German Government forces the masses of the intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie towards the extreme right. It is clear that under conditions in which the families of university professors, not to speak of the army of officials, do not see meat or sugar for weeks, and at the same time have to bear an enormous tax burden, under conditions in which the German capitalists pile up fortunes in foreign trade, and the speculators live in plenty and extravagance that enrage the populace—it is very easy for the Junkers to draw comparison between their present conditions and those at the time of the Kaiser.

The Junker-Nationalist clique makes use of the weapon of anti-Semitism in the fight against the Government although there are very few Jews in the Government. But as our old friend Bebel said, "Anti-Semitism is the Socialism of fools. And as a matter of fact, one of the best means that the nationalists employ to attract the petty-bourgeois masses is to point out how prosperous the speculating Jewish bourgeoisie is. It is clear that were the monarchy restored the same conditions would prevail, with the minor difference that in the latter case the feasting bourgeoisie would be supplemented by the old Kaiserites. But what is important is not what would be, but what is.

A democratic Republic without democrats and without republicans, which is incapable of leading the masses out of this unbearable situation, is dead and sterile. It gives the impression of an empty house waiting for its master. Such is the situation created by the German bourgeoisie. In one of his pamphlets Rathenau writes that in Germany neither democracy nor the Republic were fought for. The democratic Republic came into the world as a result of the downfall of German imperialism.

The Kaiser and the Crown Prince ran away and Germany became a Republic. The German bourgeoisie which agreed to these conditions in the hope that the Entente would grant them better peace terms if there were no Kaiser, took up the opposition against the working class, which had begun the struggle for socialism, from the very start. The Republic gathered strength from the civil war against the working class; it was fortified by the monarchists who until this very day hold the Government machine in their hands. The only way to change this situation is to have the working class break with the bourgeoisie and seize the Government.

Here the intentions of individual personalities are of no importance. It is quite possible possible that the school teacher Wirth who was drawn into politics only through the war and the revolution, is a greater friend of the masses than the old politicians of Scheidemann's, Noske's or Ebert's cut, who rose out of the masses. But the question is not one of personality. The question is whether the German working class will gather its forces without regard to party, from the Christian miners in the Ruhr, district to the Communist metal workers of Berlin. Only when this takes place, when the Government will be reorganized on a new social basis, will the fatal blow be delivered.
to the monarchists. And this blow should be delivered in such a manner as to divide German nationalism from which the democratic petty bourgeois masses should be torn away, for it is laughable to think of these masses only as a tool of the reaction. It is true that they do not represent any revolutionary elements. But they are in a revolutionary mood against capitalism that seeks to bloom on to it those elements that are now in the camp of Ludendorff's powerful nationalist movement.

The German Government now finds itself. The first one is the Allies. The heads of ‘period! legro-hating Southerner banner there is written': ‘May number of the Alliegance are the dominant features. It had evidently been President Wilson's generation”, and the reaction. For this decisive period the Communist Party has raised its banner, and on this banner there is written: “The United Front of the Working Class and the Workers’ Government”.

American Imperialism and the Negro.

By D. Iowan Jones.

In March of last year, The Philippines Review reported the farewell address of Governor General Francis Burton Harrison, after eight years of office in the Philippine Islands, “carrying out the policy of the best President of the present generation”, as he himself termed it. The President’s objective was to grant complete independence to the Philippines, relying solely on the silver threads of finance. But the sorrowful Harrison had to confess his great disappointment that he was not the last Governor General. He had on a previous occasion gallantly offered to resign in favor of a Filipino Governor General. “I am convinced that you are ready to take your place among the independent nations of the world”, he said. But he hoped to return again to pay his first official visit to the First President of the Philippine Republic at Lunabcy Palace.

However, that was not to be. The “best President” made way for Harding. And instead of Jeffersonian Harrison came Major General Wood, and a large contingent of American soldiers to take the place of the Spanish Catholic Missionaries. Jithero that is established in the Island of Hawai’, it is true that the Filipinos were taught the elementary lesson that financial bonds are not the last, but only the first stage of Imperialist occupation.

And Wilson himself knew that; for even while he was drawing up the notorious “blue laws”, were not his troops and marines in actual occupation of the Negro Republic of Haiti? Six times did the Wilson Government made overtures to this Island Republic for the control of its customs during the imperialist war, in order to make Haiti a stepping stone to Panama. A Workers’ 2,000,000 Negroes was in a strategic position in the Caribbean Sea commanding the Panama Canal. Finally, the disturbances of July 27, of 1915, afforded the pretext for securing control. We know very well that the United States is never at a loss for “disturbances”, and if necessary to intervene in any country covered by the Monroe Doctrine.

Since then, the American occupation of Haiti (sketched in the May number of the “Labour Monthly”) makes a long and gruesome story, in which the brow-beating of the Negro islanders, putting them to forced labour, torturings and persecution by negro-hating Southerner officials (see “Negro World”, May 5th), in the approved style of King Lynch, are the dominant features.

The description given in “The Negro World” of the “free” elements to the legislature is a typical example of the extent to which Imperialist violence is prepared to go in keeping up the outward face of democratic forms for purposes of home consumption. The anti-American votes were indicated by pink papers, and the pro-American by yellow papers. American marines, fully armed and on guard to see that fair play was observed, and to do some observing of their own. There were about two hundred pink papers nicely tied up in bundles for any one who might have the temerity to trouble the registration official to unite them, while the yellow papers, ready to hand for all who came to vote. The result of course was that for ever so many a one of the nominees of the glorious Democracy of the West.

It is now announced that the United States Government is trying to force a loan of 14,000,000 dollars on the Island, in order to save certain European creditors. The loan is issued under such ruinous terms that it is practically a step, as kicking against it. It will involve the Haitian budget in an annual deficit of 1,000,000 dollars. The scandal of the occupation is arousing the liberal elements of the States into vigorous protests. But the Government sits unmoved.

Dr. Burghardt Du Bois, the leader of the Negro intellectuals, announces in his paper, “The Crisis”, that the Republican and Democratic Parties have come to a pact not to compete for the Negro vote. And Du Bois exclaims: “May God write us down as a nation that we ought to be ashamed to go abroad for this conspiracy of silence is obvious. Harding in his election addresses, denounced the employment of American marines to subjugate a free and independent people, and proclaimed that he would do the same, so, no need to ask who is coming to office the American Government is digging itself in upon the island with a vengeance. The Senate Commission on Haiti has reported that things are very much better there now, than they were! And there the matter of America’s little Ireland now rests.

Meanwhile, the distressed Negroes have been buoyed up with hope by the passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill through the Lower House of Legislature. But great difficulties are being experienced in its further progress through the Senate, in spite of the fact that the Negroes have again broken out at the rate of eight in two weeks in the Southern States.

But the American Senators are not altogether blind to the positive advantages to be derived from the Negro Movement, especially from the “Back to Africa” cry of these poor, hunted and harrassed people who are looking for any way of escape. Senator McCullom of Mississippi, and Senator France of Maryland have both expressed their sympathy with the “Back to Africa” movement of the Negroes. The former has introduced a resolution in the State Legislature to petition the President to use his good influence in securing for the Allies sufficient territory in Africa in liquidation of the war debt, “which territory should be used for the establishing of an independent nation for American Negroes”.

Senator France on his part put the matter in the following noble terms: “We owe a big duty to Africa and one which we have too long ignored. I need not enlarge upon our peculiar interest in the obligation to the people of Africa. Thousands of Americans have for years been contributing to the missionary work which has been carried on by the noble men and women who have been sent out to that field by the churches of America”.

This was spoken in the Senate. Translated into plain English, Senator France wished to say it was about time that American business followed up the labours of its own missionary agents-in-advance in Africa.

This proposal was immediately followed by a timely interview with Dr. Heinrich Schnee, a former governor of German East Africa, in which the President of the World Movement, the former President of the German East Africa, stated that America should take over their territories in East Africa for the colonization of American Negroes. Marcus Garvey’s paper, “The Garvey’s paper “The Negro World”, was jubilant, and headed the announcement with big block letters, “Africa’s Redemption Drawn Near”.

Secretary Hughes, no doubt, will keep that pot simmering for a suitable occasion. Meanwhile, he is taking practical steps. The United States Government has in one stride stepped across the Atlantic and planted its foot in the Little African Republic of Liberia. Liberia was founded about a century ago as a refuge for American slaves in West Africa. Within the last few years its narrow confines have been very much encroached upon by French and English expansion in the neighboring colonies.
Liberia has a foreign debt of 1,650,000 dollars owing to J. Pierpoint Morgan and Co. and his financial conferences in New York, acting for themselves and for European banks. The United States has drawn up an elaborate agreement with the Negro President for the granting of a loan of 5,000,000 dollars to the Negro Republic. Details of stipulations are made regarding the interest of the loan and the immediate repayment of the money owing to Pierpont Morgan and Co., with the result that the market price of that loan has already jumped up from 75 to 98, putting over 300,000 dollars in the pockets of Morgan and Co. at one stroke of the pen.

But that is only a little side-pocket money. The most significant clauses in the loan agreement refer to the appointment of a Financial Commissioner, with 21 other American officials under him. This official will control the finances and customs of Liberia. Certain provisions are also made for the control of the Legislature. The financial commissioner will determine the size of the Liberian police and the military frontier force, which will be commanded by American army officers. He will have the power of veto over the Liberian budget, and the right to order the passing of any financial legislation which he may desire. He is empowered to limit the annual expenditure of Liberia to a total of 650,000 dollars, of which 109,700 dollars will go to pay the salaries of the American officials. In short, he will be the well-paid dictator of Liberia, with an armed force of American Zulus to do his bidding.

This control is to last for the lifetime of the new loan; and a special clause prohibits the contracting of other loans without the sanction of the financial commissioner, so that there is no chance of Liberia trying to buy itself out of Uncle Sam's clutches. The loan therefore promises to have a long life, long enough, in fact, to make Liberia an integral part of the African continent, and to follow its religious agents further afield into the interior as opportunities arise.

In 1909, says the New York "Nation" (which gives the text of agreement in its issue of May 31st), we sent a commission to Liberia, which was much impressed by the high methods of the British in assuming control of the Liberian customs and frontier force. This commission reported that "It is difficult to find among the Liberians anyone who has entire confidence in the disinterestedness of Great Britain"; that "French interest in Liberia is apparently that of an heir-apparent," that "Germany has lent her at least a sympathetic interest," and that since Germany had renounced the angelic role of "the religio-racial charlatan who claims to voice the needs of the Negro masses," carries on a persistent campaign in the shape of a financial dictatorship over American police and soldiers.

The American bourgeois finds itself obliged more and more to renounce the angelic role of "pure democracy," and to take up the openly Mephistophelian one of imperial expansion. The Negro question bids fair to become the moral lever for it. And soon we may have the whole history of England's criminal relations with its African colonies, and the German with the Belgians, written in the annals of the negroreich.

Nevertheless, it took thirteen long years for that wave of disinterested emotion to flow eastward in the shape of a financial dictatorship over American police and soldiers in Liberia.

The Negroes themselves are being encouraged to look forward to a change of slave drivers for Africa. Marcus Garvey, the religious charlatan who claims to voice the needs of the Negro masses, carries on a persistent campaign in his paper, which has a large circulation among the Negroes, for the liberation of Africa from the European Imperialists, and welcomes with joy the new loan to Liberia as a "bold step in the ann of the miseries of the African race." The self-evident falsity of the Negro's economic analysis is as insidious in the sale of excursion tickets for Liberia to his Negro dupes, on "The Black Star Line," the steamships of which are not yet built! A short while ago he was arrested for obtaining money on false pretences in this manner. But nothing further has been heard of Henry Thomas Garvey, as he seems to be as busy as ever denouncing the Bolshevik members of his race. But even the "Negro World" is compelled to expose the crimes of American Imperialism in Haiti. So that Garvey and his organization, the "Negro Improvement Association," typify the immense consciousness of the Negroes in the first stage of awakening.

But the growing band of young Negro radicals, who look to Soviet Russia for guidance and inspiration in the struggle, the "Negroes for Soviet Power," under the banner of the African Blood Brotherhood, and in close touch with the workers of America, they are pointing the way to proletarian emancipation as the only hope for their oppressed Negro brothers in Africa and America.

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**ECONOMICS**

**The Capitalist Wage Offensive in Belgium**

By J. Jacquemotte (Brussels).

The Belgian proletariat is being drawn in turn into the battle front, into the siege which capitalism is forcing upon the workers in all countries. Here too, it is the industrial owner who is taking the offensive.

The Belgian capitalist has always been a patron of struggle. Karl Marx already pointed out that Belgium was the paradise of capitalist unions, and that before the war, Belgium was the country of low wages and long working hours.

Now, after the period of great prosperity that immediately followed the war, a period during which the conquets of the workers did not meet with such bitter opposition on the part of the capitalists (as they were too busy with their work), we see the period of the seven lean cows setting in.

The industrial crisis has taken strong root there, and the year 1921 was marked by a very intense wave of unemployment. At one time, the army of unemployed numbered nearly 200,000 men and women! We must not forget that in round figures the Belgian population numbers about 7,000,000 people, and that the industrial proletariat is estimated at about 1,000,000 including men, women and children of both sexes.

Taking advantage of this crisis, the Belgian capitalist decided to launch a rapid campaign for the reduction of wages.

The Ultimatum of the Central Industrial Committee.

The General Commission of the Industrial Corporations (Central Industrial Committee), which includes all industrial associations and Chambers of Commerce, unanioumously adopted a resolution in favor of a 10 % wage reduction in the mining industry, and a 20 % wage reduction in the metal industries and zincworks in the Liége basin.

The Central Industrial Committee based its ultimatum upon the claim that the competition of other European industrial countries endangered Belgian export. It therefore intends on the one hand to force a considerable wage reduction, and on the other hand to encourage anew upon the eight-hour law, passed in 1921, and to introduce new modifications which would in practice mean its disappearance.

First of all we must point out that in spite of the open violence which characterizes the capitalist offensive to-day, this offensive was already in full swing last year. In February 1921, Wauters, the Social Democratic Minister of Industry and Labor, issued a statement in the name of the Government; this statement meant its disappearance.

The following excerpt betrays the spirit of the whole:

"It is generally necessary to accelerate the reduction of the costs of production: raw materials, coal, wages;...

The self-evident falsity of the capitalist claims are crystallized in an article published by the bourgeois sheet, Le Soir, on the 18th of March:

"We desired to get an exact idea of the Belgian industrial situation, compared against that of its competitors, particularly the situation in German industry. We wished to get an almost mathematical estimate, not of its chances of success, but of its actual success. We have made a study of all estimates which we were able to procure from official and authentic sources.

"For the beginning of 1922, we hereby reproduce the following estimate made by the Belgian metal industry. Taking the Belgian prices as unity, the figures on the right are given as the German per cent prices.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Country</th>
<th>Tons of Rails</th>
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<th>Tons of Rails</th>
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<td>Holland</td>
<td>21,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,600</td>
<td>151%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>119%</td>
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<td>119%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>154%</td>
<td>154%</td>
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For the year 1921, the same official study of 49 estimates from various countries, (Argentina, Morocco, Brazil, Chile, Roumania, Finland, Spain, Bulgaria, South Africa), shows that 37 contracts or 75.5 % fell to the Belgian industry. German industry participated in 30 of these contracts, and was assigned only 8 of them, the other 22, or 73 %, falling to Belgian industry.
The Differences in Salaries. 

Immediately after the armistice, the reformist trade-union leaders, supporting the action of the "Socialist" ministers, entered the working class into agreements with the employers, in which the wages of the workers varied with the index number. The Communists did not cease to condemn these agreements that forced the workers to accept as their maximum wage amounts based upon pre-war wages, increased only by a percentage varying with the cost of living.

The index number, which according to the reformists, was to serve as a good guarantee against capitalist exploitation, was really nothing more than a system that enabled the employers to resist the increase of wages demanded by the workers in their fight for a better existence.

Today the employers reject even this variable determinant of wages, which according to them, should depend exclusively on the earnings of the workers.

The capitalistic anarchy of the reformist policy of cooperation and of the "new democracy" with a slap in the face of the proletariat.

We shall see, in another article, in what manner and by what means the capitalist is trying on an offensive and how the reformist trade-union leaders abandon the interests of the proletariat, leaving the workers without any means of defense, an easy prey to bourgeois exploitation.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Leipzig Congress of the German General Trade Union Federation

By X.Y.Z.

After following for three years a policy of cooperation with the employers, of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the German General Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) now finds itself in a cul de sac. As the resolution of the Communist fraction upon the report of the Federation Executive stated, the condition of the German working class during this period has economically, as well as politically, continually deteriorated, whilst the membership of the A.D.G.B. during the same period has almost doubled. This contradiction is due, if not entirely, at least in part, to the general status of the Federal leaders, who again to quote the words of our fraction "stand fundamentally upon the platform of the capitalist order, of the restoration of capitalism and of the capitalist democratic fatherland". But this state of affairs is not entirely due to the "dangerous" (for the bourgeoisie) results, so correctly pointed out by the Federal Minister for Labor, Braun, in his greetings to the Congress:—"The loss of authority on the part of the leaders", distrust of the leaders, or at least doubt whether they are in a position to show the organized working masses the right road to the betterment of their conditions in the capitalist order, to say nothing of their ultimate emancipation from the yoke of capitalism. Hence the confusion and helplessness which characterized the 11th Congress of the German trade unions, the first act in the formation of the German General Federation of Trade Unions. Hence its contradictory resolutions: one for the liberation of political prisoners, which is a cry of revolting against capitalism, and a treacherous labor policy of Ebert, Scheidemann, Bauer and Leipart, then immediately after this the resolution in favor of the Russian Social Revolutionaries which means a delimited partnership for the bourgeois counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution; after this the decision to withdraw from further cooperation with the employers, and then on the following day the acceptance of the resolution which approved of the principle of the working class wage workers to work with a view to the hand defeat of the motion which demanded that the trade unions should use every means at their disposal to combat the Bill for Compulsory Arbitration, on the other hand, the acceptance of the resolution of the 10 demands. And whilst the two-thirds majority of the Congress consisting of Social Democrats (SPD.), passed a vote of confidence in their old Federation leaders, the decision of the Congress to withdraw from the Central Working Union adopted by a majority of IS votes, means according to the perfectly apt inter-pretation of Leipart and his colleagues, an outspoken vote of censure against the leaders who had made the policy of cooperation with the employers the Alpha and Omega of their policy.

The Constitution of the Congress itself showed that the much exiled trade union "unity"—which claims to take no account of parties—is a thing of the past. This "block of grurits" which in reality comprised the misfits of reformist vagueness or direct thoughtlessness, was not able to withstand the storm of criticism of the opposition. In spite of the urgent entreaties of Leipart and Paeplow, "do not leave us in the lurch", a part of their own party party against the opposition. It was only thus possible that the resolution already referred to was adopted, which as we have said, in part signified a blow in the face of their Federation leaders.

We may that the resolution on the ten demands, leaving the interests of the movement at heart, who are inclined to regard this development described by us as regrettable "decomposition" of the movement. They forget that the revolutionizing of the trade unions which is our most immediate aim and which is a necessary preliminary to the Social Revolution and of the Socialist system! Hence the resolution of the Federation leaders that the Congress of the Communist Trade Union Congress will be a landmark in the history of the trade union movement, there is for us no doubt upon matter.

Now we come to the most important decisions of the Congress. With regard to resolutions relating to the ten demands and the liberation of the political prisoners, the first was carried unanimously and the second had a majority against it in whose name Leipart declared that it was only on account of the wording of the resolution that the vote was cast against it.

In the second decision the Congress has proclaimed its intentions to use the power of the trade unions, not only merely in the service of the bourgeois fulfilment policy, but from time to time also in the service of the proletarian cause. Upon the question of the "compulsory arbitration" the Congress, by accepting the resolution of Dissmann and rejecting the first part of the motion of Tarnow and the Federation leaders, has again quite unmistakably proclaimed that it has had quite enough of the policy of exploitation of craft prejudices and of business interests. It is true that it did not venture to turn from merely Platonic (according to Tarnow's characterization) or academic declarations for industrial organization to actual deeds as the Communist faction proposed to the Congress. Still more important were the decision of the Congress on the question of the Technische Nothilfe (Government Strikebreaking Corps) and the strike regulations proposed by the Federation leaders, which in that case determined by means of the Compulsory Arbitration Bill. By referring back to the Federation Committee the strike regulations and defeating an amendment to the resolution on the Technische Nothilfe which had reference to the strike regulations the Congress made it clear beyond doubt that it is not minded to sacrifice again and again the class interests of the proletariat to the coalition and cooperation policy of Leipart and his colleagues.

The most important positive items of the work of the Congress in connection with which we must still make mention of those 152 blank slips handed in at the election of the Federation Executive. On the other hand, however, as we have already said, there was a second vote of confidence in the opinion of the De- neration Committee passed by a two-thirds majority, the decision on the cooperation policy and the Economic Councils which run directly contrary to the vote upon the withdrawal from the Central Working Union, the decision upon the World Peace Congress, to calculate to confuse the working masses with regard
to the nationalist policy of the Federation leaders, the resolution upon the Russian Social Revolutionaries, the direct anti-revolutionary decision on the question of the Factory Councils, the refusal of an effective opposition to the Compulsory Arbitration Bill, the soothing resolution on the murder of P. O’Donovan, which was made by the General Council and Walcher’s resolution which breathed a fresh revolutionary spirit. The record of sins is sufficiently long even if it is not complete.

If we are asked to draw any general conclusion, we must say that the General Union Congress was a Congress of confusion and helplessness, yet the years that have elapsed since Nuremberg have not been wasted! A step towards the revolutionizing of the Trade Unions — yes, perhaps a great step! — has been taken by the London and Glasgow congressional. The antagonism in the history of the German labor movement! And if Paepke, in his closing speech, after a perfectly fatuous contrasting of the revolutionary and the trade union movements, expressed the hope and the wish that the hour might soon arrive when it will be useful to digress for a moment and explain the make-up of Labour Party conferences. We shall then have a better idea of the perfidy of the gentlemen who presently manage the Labour Party machine.

The organization of the British Labour Party is principally made up of gigantic but loose federations of trade unions. The annual conference of the British Labour Party this year will begin on June 27th at the Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, and as usual will last for five days.

This year the struggle of the C.P. for affiliation to the Labour Party will again come to the front. The question will receive added attention however from the proposals of the Labour Party Executive to amend the constitution, amendments which are obviously designed to act as a barred wire defense against the Communists. And of this I wish to speak. It will be useful to digress for a moment and explain the make-up of Labour Party conferences. We shall then have a better idea of the perfidy of the gentlemen who presently manage the Labour Party machine.

The practice of a simple majority vote deciding the principle of a Union’s affiliation to the Labour Party has led to many anomalies. Thus we may have a union like the National Union of General Workers, the union of W. Thorne, the Independent Labour Party, the union of J. R. Clyne the amateur statesman, represented as having 444,312 members affiliated to the Labour Party, while it is doubtful if 10% of these ever go to the polls for a labor candidate. This same application to every Union affiliated, has realized trade union delegates find themselves at party conferences with political views which could scarcely be distinguished from the most orthodox liberal and Tory. The only demand made upon them is the recognition of the Labour Party’s complete independence from either of the capitalist parties. At the same time this looseness has had certain advantages. Members of an energetic political group by means of trade union membership could obtain a wider platform than that afforded by a formal political party. This system, especially, has realized the value of these means. Since its inception the policy of the I.L.P. has been to work along the lines of obtaining control of official positions in the unions, and in this policy they have been more successful. Thanks to the I.L.P. and other groups of revolutionary Socialists, who were more concerned with the theoretical abstractions of Marxism than with the political daily struggles of the workers. The I.L.P. has had a clear field for years in this direction.

When, however, the Labour Party opened its ranks to individual membership, the I.L.P. received a severe blow. Formerly, its organizers or propagandists could use the platform of the Labour Party, to recruit members for its own ranks. Today, industrial members are recruited directly into the Labour Party, and so the I.L.P. is being weakened.

The antagonism of the Independent Labour Party to the Communist Party as revealed during its Easter Conference at Nottingham is therefore easily understood. It sees in the C.P. a competitor on hitherto monopolistic territory. The modern Communist Party unlike the so-called Marxist groups of the pre-war days, does not carry its head in the clouds. It demands the realistic application of the tenets of Socialist theory to the daily class struggle. It does not look upon the other unions as does the I.L.P., as political job-hunters. For the Communists the labor unions are the organs of daily struggle against the industrial and political power of the bourgeoisie, and it is in this spirit that the Communists approach the leading positions in the trade unions.

When therefore the Labour Party Executive on which are prominent I.L.P. members, turned down the application of the C.P. for affiliation, we had still the reserve of the trade unions for reaching the floor of the party conference. And in a number of cases all over the country our comrades succeeded in winning over trade union branches and Local Labour Parties to their side.

Out of the sympathetic resolutions, particularly from the London and Glasgow local councils, direct negotiations were opened again at the London Labour Congress, with a view to finding some common ground. A questionnaire was drafted with a list of questions to be answered by a Communist Party Conference, and replies to be submitted to the Labour Party Conference.

These replies have been duly submitted, but as anticipated have been declared unsatisfactory, and the Labour Leaders will now move the rejection of the Communist application for affiliation when the debate comes up. The question of affiliation is a matter of principle, and the Labour Leaders, Henderson, MacDonald, Clynes, Thomas, etc., who merely use the grievances of the working class to carve out for themselves inglorious political careers.

Understanding the nature of the opposition they are up against, and anxious to thrust the Communist Party into the category of a sect in the eyes of the working class, they are not content to leave the question to the result of a free conference decision. Against the demand of the Communists for a united front, the Labour Leaders are being supported by the broad-minded, the leaders, Henderson, MacDonald, Clynes, Thomas, etc., who merely use the grievances of the working class to carve out for themselves inglorious political careers.

The Communist Party has no illusions as to the nature of the present struggle. The fight for affiliation is a challenge to the caucus clique that is throttling the will of the struggling masses who are looking for a way out of the capitalist wilderness. It is a challenge to the Labour leaders and the I.L.P. to abandon reformism and stand for the Social Revolution.

The antagonism of the United Front tactics of the Third International, there can only be one. The labor leaders are throwing up a barbed wire defense to keep the Communists out of the political labor movement. This method is not to manipulate the political movement of the working class, reveals more clearly than a thousand verbal arguments, the correctness of the the United Front tactics. What worker will not now be able to see that the opposition of Henderson and MacDonald of the united anti-internationalists as being the broad-minded, all-inclusive-internationalists of the I.L.P., to the Communist Party is based upon deeper motives than superficial political differences?

But that brings the Communist Party to new tasks.

We shall not be surprised to find a group of opportunists, who have seen in the Communist Party a loyal ally and champion of their interests, the hypocrisy and cant of the Second International leaders, who only talk about the solidarity of labor while opposing it in reality. We shall prove
to the Labor Unions, by this attitude of the labor leaders, that the real splitters of the working class movement, are not the Communists who everywhere take part of the daily life of the masses, but the self-seeking group of politicians and talkers of Eccleston Square and St. Stephens.

The commodity price showing, as Macdonald and Wels revealed at Berlin, the impossibility of a United Front from above. They are furthermore showing that from the breakup of the Commission of Nine at Berlin there has emerged a world conspiracy of the yellow leaders against the Communist International.

Our answer must be a more energetic campaign from below.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Fall of Prices in Russia
By L. Sokolnikov (Moscow).

The fall of prices in Russia which until recently appeared to be an unrealizable dream of some theorists is now an actual fact. The increase in the prices of the most important articles of food has been most pronounced. This, however, is not true of all the goods that are imported; with industrial products are increasing, but this is only a temporary phenomenon. This increase will only go on until the proper relations between the prices of city and rural products are established and the price of gold reduced to an average, a very low "commercial index" of prices, showed in the course of May only a very trifling instability and fell a little.

At the end of April, on the Moscow unofficial exchange, one pound 2300 rubles (in 1922 currency), for a ten ruble gold piece, stood at the end of May 2150. The price of foreign gold, on the market, therefore shows at the end of April and at the end of May complete stability, a thing we have not seen for a long time.

What was the cause of this falling of prices? The time was quite similar, or at least comparable, to the fall of prices of the previous period. The decline was due to the reduced famine danger; secondly, to the failure of speculation on the part of the Soviet rouble.

The increase in the price of gold, (which determines the value of the rouble), was inevitable in April and May because of the increasing severity of the food crisis in the important centres, in the months of January to March, as a result of the failed arrival of considerable food supplies purchased abroad. Instead of being distributed in January and February, thus was distributed in the period beginning with April. Those months which are usually characterized by the end of corn harvest, this year be the months of a relative abundance of food supplies.

In other words, during this Summer the norm of the state food supply will be higher than in Winter; in all previous years the contrary was the case.

This circumstance alone must have had considerable influence upon the price of corn. Its importance, however, was increased by the fact, that very large circles of consumers, (inclusion of the part of the laboring proletariat), had, during the previous experiences calculated on a lack of food in Summer, and had therefore accumulated great supplies of corn and provided for their needs in advance. This hoarding of corn caused an increase of corn prices in Winter and in the beginning of Spring. This factor now has a contrary effect; the demand for corn has fallen off as a result of this accumulation.

The supply of corn on the other hand, has increased in view of the approaching harvest. The country has thrown its stocks of ready corn into the market and has sold the transportation of seed corn, this quantity of corn increased. After it had obtained its seed corn, the country could sell its stock of corn which had been reserved for seed; the lame districts have reduced their purchases of corn increased by the fact of the arrival of considerable food supplies with the termination of the of seed-corn distribution, and the opening of river and sea communications, was bound to produce a change in the condition of the market. This, which are usually characterized by the end of corn harvest, this year be the months of a relative abundance of food supplies.

The increase of corn prices in March was bound to reproduce a change in the condition of the market.

The increase in the prices of the most important articles of foodstuff has thus been most pronounced. The price of gold on the market, a very important "commercial index" of prices, increased by the fact, that very large foreign food supplies with the termination of the of seed-corn distribution, and the opening of river and sea communications, was bound to reproduce a change in the condition of the market.

The new economic policy has already taken place. Most of the speculators who had previously made fortunes in the market absorbed the enormous quantity of money issued in the first period, under the conditions of reduced exchange of goods corresponding with the season of the year. The process of the depreciation of money took place with enormous rapidity. Financial collapse seemed inevitable. The advocates of unlimited issue of paper money were demanding that further hundreds of trillions be immediately thrown on the market. This expedient, however, has been declined. The financial policy is directed towards the stabilization of prices and the rouble. The issue of new paper money has considerably accelerated the change in prices.

The change enables the towns to develop their production and their trade; it ceases to be the case that a rapidly falling valuta came to light recently; the stoppage of sales, however, means the stoppage of production.) To the working class this change in prices means the stabilization of the working-class purchasing power which enables a rise in the wages-scale, but only through a real drop in prices.

Is this change and the stabilization of the rouble permanent? Nothing in this world is permanent, much less the value of paper money. The fact that a change in prices of corn this year, is not permanent, and other conditions will the present situation which is favorable for the valuta of the Soviet Republic continue? With regard to the immediate future, this depends upon three factors, two of which are outside of our control, and one of which is determined by our will. The third factor is the harvest. The other two factors are the development of commercial apparatus in the next few months, the organization of exchange of goods between town and country in the Autumn and the continuation of the policy of restriction of corn cannot rise. The first sign of the cessation of the increase of corn prices was to be seen towards the end of March. In the course of a month the increase has completely ended. The real wage of the worker has ceased to fall; on the contrary, it is beginning to rise. The policy of restricting the issue of new money and effecting the greatest possible reduction of the price of paper money has considerably accelerated the change in prices. This change enables the towns to develop their production and their trade; it ceases to be the case that a rapidly falling valuta came to light recently; the stoppage of sales, however, means the stoppage of production.) To the working class this change in prices means the stabilization of the working-class purchasing power which enables a rise in the wages-scale, but only through a real drop in prices.

The Russian Metal Workers' Union and the New Economic Policy
By W. Demarin (Moscow).

I.

The New Tasks of the Russian Trade Unions.

The new economic policy of the Soviet Government has been for a long time the subject of discussion and interest to the Western European proletariat. The new course is a temporary retreat. But not every retreat is a rout. The new economic policy of the Soviet Government is an organized withdrawal, a temporary concession to the capitalistic world which though not strong enough to overthrow the Soviet Government, has apparently still sufficient strength left to enable capitalism to continue its existence to the detriment of the working class and Soviet Russia.

In carrying out the new course, the Soviet Power led by the Communist Party, is in position to take all necessary measures with a view of reducing to a minimum the evil effects of the new economic life on the working class. As soon as the first effects of the new economic course were making themselves felt, the trade unions, decided upon very concrete changes in both their practical and theoretical programs, without limiting their activities solely to the existing Soviet legislation—(labor code, etc.). The Communists differ from the Social Democratic bureaucrats in the European trade-union movement in that they never propose specific organizations for the protection of the workers, but are always endeavouring to adapt the labor organizations to the concrete economic conditions of the particular period.

But it is not only the trade-unions that must shoulder this task: because, it cannot be denied that the Soviet organs neither are nor can be quite perfect. The negative qualities of our practical organs often come to light in "the free play of forces" and in the competitive struggle. For this reason our trade unions must not only combat private capital but they must
under all circumstances bring their influence to bear upon the State organs. There can be no doubt, but that the Russian trade-unions, standing as they do. on the basis of the Soviet system, will be more successful in eliminating the evil effects of capitalism than the Amsterdamers who favor capitalist reconstruction, in staying the tide of the capitalist offensive.

II.
Organizational Measures.

To enable them better to execute the new tasks, our trade-unions carried out two basic organizational measures: voluntary membership and reorganization of the trade-union apparatus. Hitherto membership has been compulsory for all workers and employees in the process of production. We reverted to voluntary membership because under the present circumstances this method tends to enliven the activities of the working-masses within the trade-union organizations. The trade-union apparatus was re-organized by the All-Russian Metal Workers' Union whose newly elected executive committee put into practice the projects elaborated by the old executive and approved by the Russian Metal Workers' Congress (March 1st to 5th, 1922). In the new simplified apparatus of the Executive Committee, particular attention was paid to the selection of a qualified teaching staff, while the whole personnel of the union was reduced by 50 per cent.

III.
Relations with Private Enterprises and the Wage Policy.

If an employer offers against protective regulations or does not pay the minimum wage decreed by the State, he is brought before the court by the union. If a private capitalist does not adhere to the collective agreement between him and the union, the latter may resort to the strike weapon, in case the board of arbitration fails to reach a settlement.

Apart from wage regulations corresponding to the continuous depreciation of the rouble, it falls to the task of the union to conclude collective contracts not only with private capitalists but with the economic organs of the State as well. While the industry of the Republic was yet considerably centralized the State wage funds, (both in cash and in kind), were distributed along a well defined plan and with the active participation of the trade-union centers. At present, however, when many government-owned factories have been transferred to the control of the State maintenance, and in view of the well-known decentralization of the industrial administration, the problem of how to fix wages again and how to pay them out became more difficult to solve.

Under the new conditions, the organ for distributing the wage funds is becoming an institution that decrees the official minimum wage. The union is, however, attempting to regulate the wage policy by means of awards and collective agreements and in accordance with the financial resources of the respective State employers or groups of employers (State trusts), and the situation prevailing on the market of the respective district.

IV.
General Remarks.

One of the most important tasks of the union under present conditions is the protecting labor, a task that is being energetically executed by the Locals which are especially guarding over the strict enforcement of the existing regulations on the part of private employers.

As the new registration of the members under the principle of voluntary membership is only beginning, there is no possibility of confirming the statements here made, by figures. The first returns of the new registration, however, seem to warrant the conclusion that the membership will not suffer from the transition from the compulsory to the voluntary system, and that the union will very probably continue to embrace half a million organized metal workers.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

Two Important International Congresses in Berlin

By W. Münzenberg (Berlin).

In a short time two international congresses are to be held in Berlin, which deserve the attention of the labor organizations and the working class far beyond the circle of those immediately interested therein. On the 5th of July, the "International Workers Relief Committee for the Famine-Stricken Workers in Russia" will hold its second International Conference in Berlin. This Conference will differ from the previous ones (the first took place in September 1921 and the second at the beginning of December 1921), not only with regard to the delegates assembled there, but also in the questions to be considered. These questions extend far beyond the limits of a restricted conference. With regard to the delegates:— at the first two conferences only a few European countries were represented by individual delegates. For the coming conference on the 5th of July, the全线 of every European country will be represented consisting of several persons. For the first time moreover, the oversea countries will take part in the conference. The delegates from Argentina have already set out and the five delegates from the United States are already arriving. In view of the above, the conference thus assumes the proportions of a little international congress. After the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee had decided at its conference, in the beginning of June, to continue with its famine relief activities, it approached the International Workers Relief Committee with the question as to how they should carry on their work. In the negotiations between the representatives of the latter Committee and the President of the All-Russian Famine Relief Commission in Moscow, the former declared that at the 6th of July, that is to say, just prior to the 5th of July, when the conference of the committees will have been held, they would move on their part, like the A.R.A., the Nansen Organisation and the International Trade Union Federation that they should not interrupt their relief work but continue with it. In view of the great sacrifices which the individual countries of the world have made and in view of the possible relations that may set in, the delegates of the Workers Relief Committee at the 5th of July are prepared to take place in the relief activity; that in the first place they should restrict themselves to the organization and uniforming of a committee of a thousand people which would maintain 1,000 children. The chief interest of the future must be concentrated upon supporting the industrial working class in Russia who are suffering so severely, and providing them with food, clothing and books. The Delegates of the Foreign Committee as well as the President of the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee considered as of special importance, the problem of supporting the economic restoration of Soviet Russia and to reconstruct her. But no one doubts that attempts at this, will be possible to rescue Soviet Russia by similar means, it will be possible to rescue Soviet Russia, that is to say, when the international working class can furnish positive help to Soviet Russia in her economic defensive struggle against the colonization policy of the imperialists powers. There can be no doubt as to this, that the results obtained by the Foreign Committee in Russian up to now, in the way of economic relief have already been mentioned in the press on several occasions. It will be the most important task of the International Conference on the 5th of July to extend these modest efforts undertaken at present with such scanty means, to a great systematic and an effective activity. No one entertained the absurd idea that by means of a loan through the international working class or by similar means, it will be possible to rescue Soviet Russia and to reconstruct her. But no one doubts that the international working class can furnish positive help to Soviet Russia in her economic defensive struggle against the colonization policy of the imperialists powers. There can be no doubt as to this, that the results obtained by the Workers Relief Committee. The great problem which the International Congress has to solve on the 5th of July is how to meet the perils of a policy of illusion, and how to mobilize all the economic forces of the workers in favor of Soviet Russia, in closer and stronger connection with the political and revolutionary struggle in every country and turn it to immediate practical benefit for Russia.

Of still greater importance will be the general congress convened by the foreign representatives of the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee for the conference on the 5th of July. The President of the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee, Kalinin, decided to invite the following organizations and institutions to this Conference:—

1) The Governments and Parliaments which have voted or granted supplies for the Famine Relief. 2) The A.R.A. (American Relief Administration). 3) The Nansen Organization. 4) The International Red Cross. 5) All the Red Cross organizations which have in any way taken part in the famine relief work. 6) The American and English Quaker Societies. 7) The International League for Children's Relief. 8) The Amsterdam International Union of the Quakers. 9) The Artists' International. 10) The International Workers Relief Committee and its National Relief Committees. 11) A number of individuals such as Professor Einstein, Käthe Kollwitz, Anatole France, etc.

The All-Russian Central Relief Committee will in a short time formulate a special representative, furnish the Congress with information as to the present situation in the famine districts as well as the feeding, the supplying of seed corn for the Winter months of 1922-23, and the agricultural and industrial reconstruction in the famine areas, the care of
the children, the struggle against disease etc. The Congress will then consider the ways and means by which the foreign countries can help Russia in overcoming all these difficulties. Three special delegates will be sent by the All-Russian Central Famine Relief Committee to both congresses, one of these delegates being Comrade Smidovich, Commissioner for Food Supplies in Russia. It is a mere coincidence that the two congresses should take place at the same time, with the assembling of the experts at the Hague. Although the attention of the political world and the general public, will be devoted to the proceedings at the Hague, there is little doubt that for the support and practical assistance to Russia, the two congresses at Berlin are of greater importance than the farcical proceedings at the Hague.

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

To the Australian Trade Union Congress,

Moscow, June 20th, 1922.

Dear Comrades,

News reaches us of the coming Australian Trade Union Congress to take place in Melbourne this July. We greet the Australian workers on behalf of the Red Trade Union International and consider it necessary to draw your attention to the great importance of your Congress for the international labor movement.

Until the war Europe had been the “workshop of the World” of capitalist industrial centre, and the European proletariat had accordingly directed the labor movement of all countries. The political and trade union internationals had in reality been merely federations of European labor organizations.

As soon as Europe were aware of the growth of your labor movement; we knew about your steadfast struggle for the eight-hour working day, about your successes in the field of social legislation and in the daily struggle with the capitalists.

But there was no organic bond between the working class of Europe that of Australia based upon the unity of interests of the two. European Capital by means of exploitation of the working class in the colonies and the overseas countries utilized the profits so gained for the purpose of bribing the leaders of the working class in the metropolises, thus handicapping the labor movement and plunging it into the morass of reformism and adaptation to the capitalist system.

The war changed this situation. Capitalism itself helped to develop the industries in the overseas countries and entirely freed them from the economic dependence of Europe. It thus called forth forces which it cannot command now.

The field for capitalist expansion is becoming narrower year by year and an unprecedented crisis has spread all over the world.

In vain Capital seeks a way out of this crisis through a violent offensive against the working class. This offensive is spreading from Europe to all parts of the world and as a result of this we witness the tremendous class struggle in South Africa as well as the growth of the labor movement and prolonging the working day and to overthrow forces which it has not yet managed to set up yet a trade union bureaucracy which would arrest its activities and beiray the cause of the workers in Europe and America.

While the reformist leaders, united in the Amsterdam International, in the past looked upon the proletariat of the overseas countries as labor cattle on whose account some crumbs from the master’s table fell to the labor bureaucracy of Europe. They are now striving to put the growing labor movement under their destructive influence.

These attempts must be opposed by the revolutionary will of the masses, and first of all by the conscious workers who have passed the school of class struggle and who have had experience in the policy of harmony with Capital. The decisions of your first National Congress in Melbourne in June 1921 showed that you have taken the right path, adopting the forms of your organization structure; which correspond with the specific conditions of your country and placing on the order of the day your immediate tasks. Now the following step is to be made in the same direction. It is necessary that you elaborate consistent revolutionary tactics and establish close connections with the revolutionary labor organizations of other parts of the world.

We send you our heartfelt greetings from far-off Moscow, the new centre of the revolutionary will of millions of oppressed workers, and urge you to come out in joint action in the attack against the strumming up of capital. We propose that you send your delegates to the coming Second Congress of the Revolutionary Unions to take place in Moscow on November 20th, 1922 in order jointly to deal with the present task of the labor movement of the whole world.

Fraternally yours,

The Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Second International and Georgia.

by L. Sasnovsky.

We read in the Berlin organ of the Right SR. Gales Rossii, (“Voice of Russia”), the following report:

Epidemics in Georgia.

“Julius Brantel, who brought medicaments into Georgia, in the name of the Austrian Trade Union Federation, notifies us that Georgia is swept by a wave of Malaria that is assuming unheard-of proportions. 500,000 cases are reported for last year alone.”

We don’t know how many patients were relieved by Mr. Brantel, who apparently came here not so much for the purpose of carrying on relief-work, as in the capacity of agent to the world bourgeoisie in Georgia. Neither can we speak of how Mr. Brantel’s exaggeration of the actual number of malaria victims is, an exaggeration intended to emphasize the terrors of Bolshevism.

But here is what we do know. In 1921, a little book on Georgia was published in Moscow. This book was an answer by Comrade N. Mestcheriakov to Kautsky’s lies. On page 52, Comrade Mestcheriakov writes about the Georgian Mensheviks fleeing to Europe:

“They (the Mensheviks), pilaged Georgia very thoroughly, they carried away with them large quantities of gold and valuables. They will experience no need in exile; on the contrary, they will have sufficient means at their disposal to forge new chains for the Georgian masses who liberated themselves from these masters.

But what is particularly revolting is the fact that the Georgian Mensheviks, who are professedly “great friends” of the Georgian people, carried away with them stores of quinine. Georgia is the land of malaria. The Georgian population is suffering frightfully from this devastating disease. Quinine is the only real weapon against it. To rob Georgia of its quinine at the present time, when medicaments are so scarce, means to leave a nation a prey to disease destruction and death. This was done by none other than the Georgian Mensheviks.

That is what should have been told Mr. Julius Brantel, if his fellow-agents of the bourgeoisie could only get themselves to be fair and honest towards the Soviet Republic.

To deprive one’s people of its medicines because it refused the chains of the Menshevik regime is an act worthy only of Menshevik “democracy”.

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