

The Next Party Congress.

The preparations for the next Party Congress should be a campaign for the doctrinal and organic consolidation of the French party against all tendencies of petty bourgeois pacifism, Anarcho-Syndicalism and verbal revolution; against theories which subordinate the action of the proletariat to the will or to the maturity of the peasant class and falsify thereby the class character of the party. As these various tendencies have already brought extreme trouble into the party, the Communist press should clarify all these questions by recalling to the minds of its members the corresponding resolutions of the Communist International, in particular the 21 conditions of admission to the International. All these decisions should be illumined by the experiences of last year and the incompatibility of the literary and political exploits of some of our responsible militants with the resolutions passed, should be clearly pointed out. The date of the congress should be fixed by agreement between the Central Committee and the Executive.

Manifesto of the Central Committee.

In view of the necessity of a radical modification of the interior policy of the French Party, a result which can be obtained only through the conscious collaboration of the majority of its members, the International deems it desirable that the Central Committee address a solemn manifesto to the whole Party, making known the nature of the decision taken by the present conference in order to open a new era in the life of the French Communist Party.

Notice

Owing to the strike in the Berlin printing trades the publication of this issue has been subjected to a delay of over two weeks

The Editors.

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POLITICS

How the Italian Socialist Party was Destroyed.

By G. Zinoviev (Moscow).

Proletarian parties, workers' organizations and all those who have the interests of the proletariat at heart beyond mere words, look at the fate of the Italian Socialist Party and try to find out how the I.S.P. was destroyed.

Only two years ago, the I.S.P. was a powerful and blooming Party. Only two years ago this Party seemed to be climbing upwards. And now we are witnessing the complete disintegration of this party; instead of one, well-knit and strong organization we see a pile of ruins. The most pessimistic prophecies of the Comintern proved true even sooner than was expected. As a Socialist Party the I.S.P. has gone out of existence, never to return.

How did this come about?

Two years ago, before the Leghorn split, this Party consisted of the following elements: several tens of thousands of advanced revolutionary proletarians, who were full of enthusiasm and ready for the fight; several tens of thousands of workers who were inclined to be revolutionary, but who were politically uninitiated and inexperienced and therefore an easy prey to pacifist illusions. Add to these, two groups of several thousand petty bourgeois followers; add further, a group of Parliamentary leaders, political functionaries and trade union and cooperative officials of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, five thousand all told, and you have the old Italian Socialist Party as it was before Leghorn.

Before the Leghorn split there were two well defined political formations within the party. On the one side were the *Communists*, on the other—the *Reformists*. Both of these groups, however, were in the minority. In the center were the "Maximalists" who at that time had the majority of the Party behind them, and whose magic slogan was "unity". When the decisive moment came, this Centrist group, headed by Serrati, went over to the Reformists. That sealed the fate of the Italian Socialist Party.

The Reformists then mounted the high horse. Although the Centrists claimed that they only offered the Reformists one finger, they were in reality bound by the latter hand and foot.

The social significance of what took place was reflected in the following: the petty bourgeois intellectual group consisting of trade union bureaucrats, Parliamentarians, journalists and lawyers, had, as we have already pointed out, only five thousand

members. But this small group was bound by a thousand ties to the bourgeoisie; it was a typical group of "labor lieutenants" in the service of the bourgeoisie. By itself this group of petty bourgeois officials is insignificant; but as the vanguard of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the workers, it can become a mighty force under certain circumstances.

And it is no other than Serrati and his fraction, who created these favorable circumstances for the petty bourgeois reformist group. A certain division of labor took place. . . . The Reformists served the cause of the bourgeoisie quite openly, while Serrati proclaimed loudly that he was against Reformism, but for unity in the workers' ranks. And all this at a time when the Italian proletariat was fired with the spirit of revolt that found expression in the seizure of the factories; all this at a time when the bloody Fascists were raising their heads and capital was launching its raging offensive. The bourgeoisie aimed quickly and truly. In Leghorn the show-window was so dressed as to display the majority not with the Reformists, but with the "irreconcilable revolutionaries".

The Reformists put on the airs of solemnity, and grimacing resigned sheep, they feigned "submissiveness" to Serrati's Centrist majority. Already at that time the majority of the trade union and cooperative officials and of the Parliamentary fraction was on their side. Having achieved the virtual expulsion of the irreconcilable proletarian section of the Party, the Reformists, with the aid of Serrati, began to reinforce and fortify their positions in the trade unions, the cooperatives, and in the Parliamentary fraction. Barely more than a year has passed and the Reformists are now the masters of the situation. They succeeded in disorganizing and demoralizing the remaining section of the Party; they created the material dependance of almost the entire Party press upon themselves; all the bourgeois organizations and the trade union and cooperative officials are on their side.

The moment came when the Reformists removed their mask. Having the most important positions in the old party under their control, they could afford to disregard the vacillating Serratis, and entered into open "collaboration" with the bourgeoisie. They want more than a virtual cooperation with the bourgeoisie; they want their marriage with the capitalists recognized and legalized. Turati and Co., are not satisfied with mere ministries; they demand recognition *de jure*.

The Fascists are on the offensive; they murder workers in every city; they have virtually organized a regular bourgeois army of murderers. The Fascists are ruling Italy. But here come the Reformists and propose a very simple way of destroying the Fascists. The matter is quite simple: In order to destroy the Fascists. . . it is necessary to enter into an alliance with them; it is necessary to enter into the bourgeois ministry and share the power with the actual instigator of Fascism,—the bourgeoisie. . . .

As long as there was the slightest opportunity for Serrati and Co. to prove that "his" Italian Reformists were "different" from the Reformists of other countries and that they had nothing in common with Millerandism, Serrati fulfilled his task, not out of fear, but out of "conscience". But very soon Turati, Modigliani and Company cruelly robbed their faithful servant Serrati of this opportunity. Serrati can no longer claim that the Italian Reformists are "no Reformists at all". The myth of the immaculate conception of the Italian Reformists is exploded. Serrati was forced to remember his "intransigence". Even he, about whom the revolutionary workers of Italy long ago said: "Spit in his face and he'll say, it's God's dew", even he could not wipe his face unnoticed. Nothing was left for Serrati but to promise to start some sort of a fight against the Reformists.

The Reformists in the meanwhile become so audacious, however, that they refused to conciliate even an opposition like that of Serrati. But since the formal power of the Party was still in the hands of the paper Central Committee, with Serrati at its head, the Reformists decided upon energetic action. Whenever it is a question of combating Socialism, the reformists are energetic enough. The reactionaries in the ranks of the Reformists are men of deeds, not words. The majority of the the "Socialist" fraction in Parliament decided not to obey the Central Committee any longer. Turati and Modigliani had had enough of party "discipline". They were going to work unhampered now. They figured as follows: 107 Populists, 80 Socialists, 35 Nittians, 25 autonomous Reformists and 20 deserters from the Giolitti camp make a total of 267 deputies. These constitute a Parliamentary majority with which a new coalition ministry could be formed. What could the reminders of party discipline and the will of the majority of organized workers count against this estimate.

And the Reformists went to work. They who for years had been working under cover, they who had continually stroked the Centrists along the fur and had pursued a policy of "submissiveness" towards Serrati and Company, now showed their teeth. The Parliamentary group has virtually chased the poor Centrists; it chose a new leadership and appointed the Reformist Baldesi who is an Activist and one of the leaders of the Italian Federation of Labor, as its secretary. Baldesi is the darling of the bourgeoisie and should his time come, he will persecute the Communists with a greater fury than do the police and the Fascisti at present. D'Aragona and Company, who swore and reswore allegiance to the I.S.P., are now trampling their written agreement with the I.S.P. under foot, and are openly proceeding as an independent force. There is complete chaos in the Party. Serrati's Central Committee split almost into equal parts, 13 against 12. As a result we find within the Party groups, subgroups, fractions, subfractions, etc. We find Maximalists, Concentrationists, Centrists, Reformists, etc., etc. Only one group, that of Maffi, Lazzari and Riboldi, three comrades who were present at the Third Congress of the Comintern and were convinced of Serrati's betrayal, are now carrying on a more or less decisive struggle against the Reformists. The Centrists who only year ago considered themselves the masters of the situation are now confronted with the dilemma: to enter into the service of the Reformists or to quit the Party, which?

If Serrati only possessed an iota of revolutionary honesty, he would now admit his mistake. But the chances that he would do so are about 1 to 10,000. What is more probable is that the Italian Centrists will share their fate with international Centrists. They will continue to feed the Reformist mill in one way or another. *The Reformist is for the capitalist, and the Centrist for the Reformist*, such is the formula verified best by the history or the Italian Socialist Party.

Is this crying lesson to be lost on the international labor movement? Is it possible that it will not serve as a lesson at least to those of our French comrades who are not yet convinced of the necessity for breaking with the Centrist or semi-Centrist elements once and for all? Serrati chose the best and quickest method of destroying his Party. He could patent it if he so desired. He deserves a prize for having revealed the counter-revolutionary soul of Centristism in so unmistakable a light. Kautsky is the theoretician of centrism; Serrati is its practitioner and politician. Both the one and the other feed the Reformist mill and, through it, the bourgeoisie. One really has to be blind in order not to see this.

Of course, the Italian workers will gather enough strength and resistance to recover from the blows they have received at the hands of the Reformist and Centrist traitors. They will find a way out of the crisis that was brought upon them. They will now begin to join the Communist Party *en masse*, and in a few years, the Reformists and the bourgeoisie will be laid low by the proletarian dictatorship.

The I.S.P. episode should serve as a lesson to all true Socialists, and finally convince them that the real mission of the Centrists consists in delaying and postponing the day of victory for the proletariat; in making the struggle a harder one for the workers; in increasing the number of victims, and in intensifying the misery and suffering of the proletarian masses. Let the proletarian revolutionary vanguard comprehend this and let it throw international Centristism into the garbage can of history.

Maxim Gorki and the Russian Revolution.

By Karl Radek.

The Paris *Populaire* publishes a letter of the noted Russian author, Maxim Gorki, to the no less noted French author, Anatole France, on the trial of the Social Revolutionaries. Gorki writes:—

"The trial of the S.R.'s bears the cynical character of a public preparation for the murder of people who honestly served the cause of liberation of the Russian people!"

At the same time Gorki publishes the letter which he sent to Comrade Rykov, member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in which he writes that during the entire revolutionary period he had a thousand times pointed out to the Soviet Government the senselessness and criminality of exterminating the intelligentsia in our uncivilized land of illiterates.

The Russian workers will pass over this letter and think no more of the matter. They will say to themselves, "Gorki, a good musician, but a bad politician", for they know him very well. Gorki's attitude during the entire second revolution was an extremely vacillating one. The only consistent point in his entire attitude was his vacillation. During the March Revolution he published the newspaper, *Novaya Zhizn*, which fought against the coalition with the bourgeoisie. But when the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s did not want to break with the bourgeoisie, thus causing the fall of the Kerensky Government, Gorki was an opponent of the October Revolution. Gorki's standpoint was as follows: a bourgeois government is bad; coalition with the bourgeoisie is also bad; but a proletarian government is also bad. The articles in which he himself supported this point of view have been published in a special issue of the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, one of the leading organs of the German monarchists, probably in order to prove that in view of the mortality of all things a Monarchist-Junker government is after all the best. When the intervention began and the Russian workers and peasants, whom Gorki represented as a horde of wild beasts, defended the independence of their country and the conquests of the October Revolution in a heroic three years' struggle, Gorki sided with the Soviet Government and published the well-known article on Lenin, in which he stated that he, (Gorki) was the stormy petrel of literature and could not stand aside during this "heroic experiment". At the same time Gorki wailed at every case where the Soviet Republic in its difficult fight for existence against its enemies in the "intelligentsia", could not handle them with silk gloves. Gorki has been living outside of Russia for the past few months, deprived of any connection with Russian life, surrounded by a clique of hysterical literati of both sexes; and when he does not accidentally spend an evening with a Russian Communist passing through Germany, with whom he speaks in terms full of ardor, he grants interviews to the bourgeois press which is full of pessimism and represents the Russian peasant as an antediluvian man. The Russian workers read this and shrug their shoulders, for they know their Alexei Maximish and his changeable moods. But the foreign workers know Gorki only as a revolutionary author and his opinion has a certain weight with them, for they do not know the sources of Gorki's vacillations which are entirely justified in his nature and past. The following is written for them:—

Gorki testifies that the S.R.'s "sincerely served the cause of the liberation of the Russian people". He, as a poet, is interested in the individual man just as he is created by God, sincere and without trousers. A poet can sympathize with every strong personality. When one reads Shakespeare, his heroes are a selected gang of cutthroats and none of them belong to the Communist Party. The only revolutionary he mentions, Jack Cade, receives nothing but curses. When we see the tragic hero of Shakespeare on the stage we do not

ask about the causes they serve, but we take them in their human strength and greatness and are deeply moved. When one reads Denikin's book, one is no less moved, and the book of one of the leading Russian Monarchists, Shulkin, "The Year 1920", is a moving document of the sincerity and the inner purity of this defender of Czarist, monarchist Russia. And there is no doubt that there are thousands of monarchists in Russia, no less than in Germany, who are sincerely convinced that they are serving the cause of the liberation of their people when they fight for the privileges of a dying class and system of society. The Social Revolutionaries fought sincerely for the cause of the liberation of the Russian people not only from Czarism, but they are to-day certainly convinced that they are fighting for the cause of Socialism. Does that, however, bring back to life the dead workers whom they fought and shot down in thousands with the arms and money given them by the Entente? During the S.R. trial a non-partisan postoffice worker took the stand and turned to the leader of the S.R.'s, the defendant Gotz, with the following apostrophe: "The post-office workers received a large house for their society from the Soviet Government. This house belonged to the tea millionaire Wissotzky, the uncle of Gotz. Does Gotz realize that with the victory of his party the house would be taken away from the postoffice workers and given back to his uncle." This simple question illuminates the social sense of the policy of the sincere S.R.'s better than long theoretical essays. They are certainly sincere and convinced of the correctness of their policy, but that does not change the fact that the S.R.'s are the defenders of the interests of the bourgeoisie; every worker in Russia understands that, and he does not give a damn for the sincerity of the sorrowful heroes of the Russian counter-revolution, but says, "This party must be destroyed, because it is the enemy of the working people, and its illusions (therein lies its sincerity) make it even more dangerous, for they only mean that it serves the cause of the counter-revolution under the banner of the revolution."

To destroy intellectuals in a poor land of illiterates—is that not a crime, asks Gorki. The Czar, the Czarist ministers, the bourgeoisie and the Junkers were all more educated than the peasant of Ryazan, and none the less they are to blame for the illiteracy of the peasant. If the Russian Soviet Government were to be overthrown, the educated white Guards who would slip into power would have other things to think about than the education of the masses; they would flay them alive. This proves that the fight against illiteracy consists not only in training the heads of the Russian illiterates, but, under certain circumstances can best be fought by cutting off the heads of the highly educated representatives of the counter-revolution who want to reestablish the rule of the bourgeoisie or do so without so desiring. Gorki welcomed the fight against the intervention in which thousands of Russians belonging to the "intelligentsia" were shot down by the machine-guns of the Red Army. Why was he then not concerned with the poor illiterates? Defending the S.R.'s with the argument that they have learned to read and write, and can even translate French poems, is a comical undertaking.

Why does not Gorki understand all that? Gorki comes from the petty bourgeois class. He lived for a long time among the slum proletariat, which served as the subject for his best novels. He himself obtained the education he now possesses under the greatest sacrifices. And as often happens with self-educated men, he became a Philistine on the subject of education. How many workers are there, who after starving themselves in order to buy a book, after studying handbooks of astronomy, Darwin and histories of culture, by the light of a candle, into the early hours of the morning, in their miserable attic rooms, prize their bit of hard-won knowledge more than anything else in the world. These learned rabbis of the working-class became estranged from it and placed education above the class-struggle. There were such strange folk all over the world.

With Gorki the matter was complicated by the fact that together with his educational philistinism, which knelt before every learned man, there was bound the fact that he was not rooted in the environment of the Russian industrial workers; his roots went back to the past of a petty bourgeois, slum proletariat milieu. Only he painted this artistically and genuinely. Wherever he depicts workers, as in his novel "Mother", he is egregious; the revolutionary worker is an angel, an ideal spirit as it were, a worker turned into an idealist intellectual who rises like a giant over the stupid masses. Gorki is nowhere able to picture this mass. It is for him the wax which is kneaded. His attitude to this mass is intellectually the same as that of the S.R.'s: Herald and Mass; not, however, the mass sufficient unto itself.

His educational philistinism gives rise to his hatred of the peasant in whom he sees nothing human. When the October Revolution broke out, he was convinced that because of the preponderance of the peasantry in Russia, it would have to end in the complete extirpation of Russian culture. He was therefore an opponent of the October Revolution. He did not believe that the workers were strong enough to lead the peasant in the struggle for liberation. Only people who had read Newcombe's "Astronomy" and could explain the second part of "Faust" could do this. The workers, however, have proved that they were able to lead the peasant in the fight which is creating the conditions for a new great people's culture in Russia, even though it naturally—as every war—has destroyed many objects of cultural value. Gorki understood that for a moment, but in his heart there remained a great fear of the lack of culture on the part of the workers and the inability of the peasants to receive culture at all. Hence his counter-revolutionary articles against the peasants and his hysterical cry, "O! Protect the intellectuals!", even when they desire to murder the Russian Revolution in alliance with the Entente.

Gorki sits in Berlin with his hysterical literati. He reads no newspapers printed in Russia, but instead he reads the White Guard papers appearing outside of Russia with all their lies and deceptions. All his petty bourgeois instincts awoke and dictated his letter. If Gorki should return to Russia and again live in the midst of Russian life and see the work done by the Soviet Government together with all the intellectuals who really do not want to return to the weak bourgeois culture on the backs of the outlawed and exploited masses, but who are looking forward to a new culture together with the fighting workers and peasants, he will (as often before) again blushing smile and say, "You know very well that I understand but little of politics". We will answer, "Good, one must take men as one finds them, particularly a poet". But even a poet must not misuse the right to write nonsense, except when he writes verse, whereupon he can explain the nonsense as a new form of poetry.

The Decline of the French Bloc National

By Paul Louis (Paris).

The decline of the Bloc National is becoming more apparent every day, and nothing is of more interest to the Communist Party than this fact.

The Bloc National was formed for the sole purpose of damming the revolutionary wave that rose high about the time of the elections of 1919. At that time the Communist Party had no official existence but the Socialist Party was beginning to wake from its profound sleep, and was caught in the powerful current coming from Russia. Hence, in fighting Socialism, the Bloc National was aiming at the Russian Revolution. Royalists, Bonapartists, militarists of every shade, moderate and radical republicans, and independent Socialists coalesced into a group that went over from Millerand to Barrès. The means employed by this Bloc to attain victory, are only too notorious; they resorted to police manoeuvres of the worst description, to "gerrymander" legislation and unprecedented corruption.

The Bloc National rules the Chamber; it controls more than two thirds of the members.

The main object of the Bloc was to vanquish Socialism and to check the sentiments of sympathy and admiration that the masses showed for the Russian Revolution. But it had other aims besides; it undertook to exploit the various treaties already signed, and this opened a paradise to French imperialism and militarism; it undertook to balance the French budget by charging the annual deficit to Germany ("Germany must pay", said one Minister of France); to take over new colonial territories gained from the war; to dissolve, or at least to suppress the trade unions and subjugate their functionaries; to abolish the eight-hour law and the official reestablishment of the absolute and unrestricted freedom of the employers.

But not one of these undertakings, has been achieved by the Bloc National.

Abroad, the Bloc National saw its prestige vanishing from month to month, from conference to conference. Its isolation, is a thing undisputed. It was not only England that estranged itself from the French Government, to such a point that the many notes that were exchanged between these two Governments began to carry threats of a violent rupture; it was not only Italy that turned its shoulder on France and became England's second, but America's friendship also cooled off considerably since the Washington Conference, where the militarism of the Bloc National manifested itself in a crying and unmistakable manner. Even

the Small Entente began to slip more and more from the clutches of the Paris Cabinet. The Genoa Conference and the Bankers' negotiations were disastrous to the policy of Mssrs. Poincaré and Millerand.

Germany has not paid; it obtained a moratorium.

The execution of the Versailles Treaty is fading into an hypothesis, and outside of France no power any longer defends it. A revision of the treaty will and must take place sooner or later. All the treaties that have been concluded are a source of confusion for the signatories. In the face of European opposition, but chiefly for fear of being vetoed by the proletariat, M. Poincaré did not dare to invade the Ruhr and to give concrete sanction to his Bar-le-Duc speech.

The French budget leaks at every joint: the deficit is enormous; the annuities expected from Germany are still missing; and the expenditures are assuming mountainous proportions. The foreign debt is colossal and Germany and England are both making claims; the one demands cancellation of arrears, the other — the arrears of the war credits still owing. M. Bokanovski, member of the Bloc National, in his report on the budget, emitted a cry of distress that will be heard far off. Financial bankruptcy is on the threshold.

The policy of colonial expansion is beginning to reap what it has sown. Sooner or later the French Chamber will be compelled to give up Syria, which has cost it billions.

The Bloc National has not even dared to vote for the abrogation of the eight-hour law, and the project of an extraordinary law aiming at the suppression of freedom of opinion will have to be pigeonholed.

The Bloc National has not accomplished its task, and it feels its authority slipping from its grasp. And it is not the city proletariat alone that is rising up against it; the peasants are waking up too. The cantonal elections of May served as a warning.

1924 will see the Bloc swept away; it may come sooner if the Chamber is dissolved.

It is in this phase of bankruptcy of the open reaction that the Communist Party is striving to unite the proletariat. How can it succeed in accomplishing its task?

We shall discuss this another time.

The Political Crisis in Japan.

By L. Stepak (Moscow).

As a result of the cabinet crisis in Japan, the new Cabinet of Admiral Kato displaced the former Takahashi Cabinet. It would be a great mistake to assume, however, that the situation has in any way been altered, that the new Cabinet in any way means the breakdown of the old militarist policy, or that the government will now pursue a new course in its foreign and inner policies. Nothing of the kind. Just as hitherto, the General Staff and the landlord cliques will put their seal on every act.

The new declaration, however, which the Government has issued for the further deceit and betrayal of the Japanese masses is very characteristic of the present psychological situation in Japan. A long time ago in all the fields of Japan's political life there was talk of transforming the five technical schools into universities, of a national exposition in Tokyo, of a jury court, of an anti-Communist law and of universal suffrage. Everywhere the Government was faced with the hatred and bitterness of the masses who had realized the futility of demanding anything concrete from a Government which was saturated with reactionary venom against everything which threatened in any way to relieve the blood-reeking atmosphere of Japanese feudalism. The masses of Japan have at last seen the true faces of their anointed. They are only seeking a point of support from which they can deliver the final blow to this half-medieval and half-modern monstrosity, the Japan of to-day.

For the present, the Japanese bourgeoisie, which is craving for development, is fanning this revolutionary fire which is glowing in the lower masses. The bourgeoisie of Japan must expand. Its economic importance is far beyond the restricted and miserable political role which it now plays. Besides, the adventurous policy of the feudal militaristic clique no longer responds to its interests. The economic crisis is assuming ever greater proportions. The economic depression in Japan expressed itself in the foreign trade as follows: in 1921, exports amounted to 1,225,000,000 yen, imports to 1,578,000,000 yen, i. e., compared with the year 1920, exports dropped 723,000,000 yen and imports 758,000,000 yen. These figures also show that imports in 1921 were 355,000,000 yen greater than exports. The financial situation of the country has also suffered. The unfavorable foreign trade balance is causing the continual

flow of gold out of the country. The fact that in 1921 only 90,000,000 yen went out of the country may be explained by the fact that the Japanese banks had a considerable reserve of foreign notes.

In the future, the unfavorable balance of trade will have to be covered with gold, for the Japanese banks have no more foreign credit notes. The efforts of the Japanese Government to restrict imports and increase exports artificially, only serve to encourage speculation and to drive the prices of necessities sky-high. As compared with pre-war prices, the present prices in Japan have increased 100%.

Being unable to combat the ever-growing financial and economic crisis, decreased production, the ever-growing unemployment and the instability of the money market, the Japanese Government, supported by the Sei-Yu-Kai Party, not only rejected all bills and proposals which were brought in by the Ken-Sei-Kai Party (a bourgeois commercial and industrial party) at the last session of Parliament, but has also assumed the offensive, thus causing a split even in the Government Party Sei-Yu-Kai. The so-called Communist law caused all the trouble. With this law the Japanese feudal militaristic government planned to kill not only any attempt to overthrow the present Government, but also all criticism directed against it. As a result of the bitterness thus stirred, this law, which was not even fully supported by the Sei-Yu-Kai Party, fell through. The bill brought in by the bourgeoisie, dealing with the reduction of the army and also with the reduction of the budget in this respect, was decided in favor of the militarists and to the disadvantage of the bourgeoisie.

The Income Tax Bureau expects a drop of 64,520,000 yen as a result of the general economic depression throughout the country. On the other hand the tax on business enterprises for this year is put at 66,830,000 yen, i. e., 18,000,000 yen more than in the preceding year.

The question of universal suffrage which was raised by the Japanese masses and brought up for Parliamentary discussion by the Ken-Sei-Kai Party, fell through a second time, whereupon the bitterness of the masses was stirred and expressed in numerous demonstrations which took place in Tokyo, Kobe, Kyoto, Osaka, etc.

Thus the Japanese Cabinet had prepared the ground so cleverly that an apparently insignificant question like that of turning several technical schools into universities was sufficient cause to overthrow the old Cabinet and form a new one. This last question, however, which was the *casus belli* for the contending forces, has a more serious economic side to it. It is interesting to note that the bourgeoisie repeatedly raises the question of reducing army expenditures and using the sums thus saved for a more extensive general and special education. Due to their inferior quality and higher cost, Japanese goods can not compete against those of other countries on the foreign market. For this reason the Japanese bourgeoisie hopes that through a more extensive general and specialized education, it will be able to produce an army of skilled workers who will improve the quality of Japanese manufactures and thereby increase their competing capacity on the world market.

The whole policy of the Japanese landlords and militarists is thus obstinately directed not only against the interests of the working masses, but also against the interests of the bourgeoisie. It goes without saying that the ever-growing discontent of the bourgeoisie with the Government will not be eliminated by the new Kato Cabinet.

At the same time the Communist movement is gaining strength throughout the country. Only recently the newly organized Communist Party of Japan succeeded in winning over the majority of the revolutionary trade union organizations to its side. The "Communist germ" has worked its way into the very support of Japanese imperialism — into the army. Soldiers and officers are being arrested en masse.

Numerous reports coming from Japan speak quite convincingly of Communist progress in the Japanese army; we are told that the best representatives of the army are gradually joining the ranks of the fighting Japanese proletariat. The newly formed as well as the old trade unions are beginning to free themselves from their reformist ballast of compromise. So for example, the well-known compromiser Ki-Sa-Tome was recently expelled from the Japanese Federation of Labor. An attempt was also made to get rid of Kagai, a Christian-Social Reformist.

The present movement is also growing. The entire conservative press of Japan expresses its regrets over the fact that the former patriarchal, idyllic relations between the peasants, lessies and landlords is a matter of the past. In 1920 there were 470 agricultural conflicts whereas in 1921 the number reached 1200.

With such a revolutionary movement taking root in all parts of the country the skin-shedding process—Takahashi-Kato—can in no way retard the approaching downfall of the Japanese feudal-militarists. Neither do their recent adventures in Northern Manchuria by means of which they hope to distract the attention of the masses help them much.

The last hour is approaching; we are on the eve of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the feudal militarists of Japan.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Gompersism in Full Flower.

by Wm. Z. Foster (Chicago).

Never was a labor movement in more dire straits than ours is now. Viciously attacked politically, industrially, and every other possible way, it is literally backed up against a dead wall fighting for its very life. Yet in this supreme crisis its leadership is utterly incapable of even thinking clearly upon the situation, not to speak of doing anything vital to remedy it. To those who have hopes of some day seeing the working class master of society, the recent A. F. of L. Convention was a tragedy. Faced by a multitude of grave problems, the solution of which would have required a conscientious overhauling of the labor movement from top to bottom, it did nothing but play politics, mumble patriotic phrases and run around in the same old circles, which are responsible for its present desperate plight. The Cincinnati Convention was the most spineless, hopeless affair that has ever been staged even by the hard-boiled A. F. of L. It betrayed the complete intellectual bankruptcy of the old Compers machine and showed clearer than ever its entire unfitness to lead American labor.

Political Stupidity.

One pressing problem before the Convention had to do with political action. As every one with a spark of intelligence and honesty knows and will admit, the Gompers political policy of rewarding Labor's friends and punishing its enemies has made a political zero of the American working class. Besides degenerating the unions into appendages of the corrupt capitalist parties and injecting crooked politicians directly into the ranks of the workers, where they have poisoned everything about them, its preaching of capitalist conceptions has prevented the development of the class understanding and feeling without which no labor movement can prosper. It has also prevented the workers from securing any representation in the various local, state, and national legislature assemblies. It is one of the best aids to capitalist class rule. We have long paid the penalty for this foolish policy, but especially is its harm evident during the present big "open shop" and general anti-labor drive. Having full control of all legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Government and despising the politically misled labor movement, the employers are ruthlessly destroying the basic rights of the workers. Free speech, free press, and free assembly — in the true sense of the word — are now things of the past. Besides, hard-won legislation is fast going by the board; the Seamen's Act has been practically wiped out; the Federal Child Labor Law has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court; and now the Coronado Coal Company decision, which killed the Clayton Act — apple of Mr. Gompers' eye — is threatening the whole Labor movement with destruction. It is a grave crisis. If there ever was a time for serious thought and action it is now. The need of the hour is for the workers to cut loose from their old political moorings; to bid defiance to their tormentors, and to launch forth upon a campaign of militant working-class political action through a party of their own.

But the hidebound Cincinnati Convention did not understand this. It red more than it understood the other problems confronting labor. Made up for the most part of petty politicians and dominated completely by the arch-reactionary Gompers, it so entirely repudiated the idea of a labor party that the backers thereof dared not even introduce a resolution calling for one. Forty years ago or so Mr. Gompers decided that there should be no working class political party. That settled the matter. No matter how much current events may show this decision to be wrong, he still clings to it with all the stubborn bigotry which characterizes his nature. And this Convention, like so many others that he has carried in his pocket, docilely bowed to his will. The best it had to offer was to enlist Labor in a campaign to put across four constitutional amendments clipping the prerogatives of the courts and guaranteeing the workers the right to organize. What a program! To send

Organized Labor, demoralized, poisoned, disheartened, and disfranchised by Mr. Gompers' stupid policy of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies", out to enact four constitutional amendments! Were it not so tragic it would be ridiculous.

Industrial Incompetency.

If the Cincinnati Convention failed dismally in the political field, it did no better in the realms of industry. Here again the Convention was faced by a grave crisis. Our trade union movement, beset on all sides, is now actually threatened with extinction. According to Secretary Morrison's report the membership of the A. F. of L. dropped 710,893 during the past year, bringing the total down to 3,195,835. But everyone knows these figures were juggled. The condition is far worse than they show. It is safe to say that in the last twelve months at least 1,000,000 workers, disgusted with Gompersism, have turned their backs on the labor movement. It is doubtful indeed if there are over 2,500,000 members in the Federation at present. If the present rate of decline continues the organization will be wiped out in three years. Could the situation be more serious?

And what did the convention do about it? Practically nothing. Above all there is a vital necessity for amalgamation, for the workers to fuse their many scattered organizations together so that they may be able to make a united fight. Merger after merger is taking place among the employers. Their fighting force is ceaselessly being unified and strengthened. But the unions go along in the same old rut of craft division. Our backwardness in this respect is shown by the fact that in Germany the General Trade Union Federation, with 8,000,000 members, has this enormous army condensed into 49 national unions, whereas the A. F. of L., with only one-third as many members, has 117 national unions. In other words, the degree of consolidation among the German workers is six times greater than among us. But the Cincinnati Convention ignored his entire situation completely. The assumption was that its fragmentary and split-up unions represent the very acme of trade union achievement. A resolution offered by the Railway Clerks to reorganize the movement upon an industrial basis was voted down unanimously. Not a single voice was raised in favor of amalgamation. The convention, characteristically enough, re-indorsed its stand of 81 years ago, by which the A. F. of L. graciously permits its affiliated organizations to fuse together if they so desire. The powerful employers are cutting the unions to pieces, because the unions are wrongly organized, but our labor leaders, intent primarily only on keeping themselves in office, stubbornly refuse to consider the cause or to adopt the obvious remedy of amalgamation. Not only that, but they denounce and attack anyone else who dares to point out the truth. The A. F. of L. Convention was as barren industrially as it was politically. It had nothing to offer to the workers, no program that would rouse them to action to defend themselves from the ex-ploiters. It was mentally dead.

Reaction All Around.

Stagnant and refusing to take a single step ahead, the Convention endorsed every reactionary proposition and condemned every progressive measure brought before it. Oppressed Russia, of course, came in for bitter condemnation. Again Mr. Gompers took his side with the Koltchaks, Denikins, and the rest of the crew trying to crush the Workers' Republic. In this, however, he had some opposition, and he had to call to his assistance such good friends of the working class as Herbert Hoover and Chas. E. Hughes, both of whom sent telegrams damning Russia. By refusing to endorse the opening up of trade relations with Russia, the A. F. of L. continues to maintain the most reactionary position of any labor movement in the world on this question. All the others, no matter how much they may differ in political opinions with the Bolsheviks, at least are enlightened enough to want to give Russia a chance to live. We alone among the world's organized workers are so barbarous as to try to starve her into re-accepting capitalism. It is a disgrace, a crime against American Labor.

Another cause to suffer was that of a genuine workers' press. The program now is to destroy the Federated Press. This is one of the few institutions of which the American labor movement may really be proud. It compares favorably with any labor news gathering agency in the world. It is one of the most promising organizations in the country. But because it refuses to consider the Socialists, Communists, I.W.W.'s and other radical and liberal tendencies as wild-eyed destroyers of civilization as Mr. Gompers does and gives them their due as parts of the great labor movement; because it dares to tell the truth about Russia, the Federated Press is slated to go. The reactionaries are determined to destroy it, hence they had their

Convention pass a motion to "investigate" it. Mr. Gompers and Crown Prince Woll were behind this move, and they will pick the "investigating" committee. As both these gentlemen have recently denounced the Federated Press in the public papers, it may be guessed what treatment it will get at their hands in the proposed "investigation". The time is at hand for the radical and liberal elements to rally behind this splendid press service; otherwise Mr. Gompers, who can brook nothing that is even mildly progressive, will stab it to death.

An effort was made to have the A. F. of L. affiliate to the International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters in Amsterdam. This is the Yellow International, which is a loathing to all real rebels. But the A. F. of L. refused to become part of it, not because it is too conservative, but because it is too radical. The Executive Council was instructed to continue its efforts to get the statutes of the Amsterdam International changed to Mr. Gompers' liking,—that is to destroy even the trace of militancy that still remains in the organization—so that our capitalist-minded labor leaders need not be compromised or shocked by them. Once again European Labor will guffaw at our unparalleled intellectual timidity and backwardness.

One might continue far beyond the limits of this article pointing out the failures of the convention, such as the defeat of the resolution instructing the Executive Council to seek to bring the Amalgamated Clothing Workers into the Federation; the refusal to support Howat and Dorchy's fight against the Industrial Court Law; and the crime that was committed against the Maintenance of Way and the railroad workers in general by giving the Carpenters' Union the jurisdiction over some 25,000 of their craft working on railroads. This latter was a long step backwards, it means the encouragement of craft unionism at the expense of industrialism. It divides the railroad workers just that much more. Only at this great cost, only by giving up all these workers to the Carpenters' Union, which has absolutely no business on the railroads, was the Maintenance of Way allowed to re-affiliate with the Federation. Some of the shortsighted enthusiasts in our ranks are gloating over the victory in thus getting the track workers back with us, but before long they will learn that the price has been altogether too high. The presence of the Carpenters' Union on the railroads bodes no good to the railroad workers as a whole. It menaces their growing solidarity and further complicates their already too complicated problem of developing concerted action. The Maintenance of Way decision was a distinct blow at Railroad Labor and altogether in harmony with the reactionary policies of the Gompers administration.

A New Triple Alliance?

The American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, and the Ku Klux Klan—are their executives about to join hands in a common cause? At first blush this seems an absurd suggestion, but there was much in the Cincinnati convention to make it a plausible possibility—and then anything may happen in a labor movement that permits its chief officer to sit in the inner councils of the enemy, the Civic Federation. What would these three bodies do in common? Fight the "reds" perhaps, for that, in Mr. Gompers' opinion, is one of the chief functions of the labor movement, just as it is admittedly of the other two bodies.

So far as the American Legion and the A. F. of L. are concerned, their relations have gone beyond mere friendliness and are approaching an actual alliance. Commander MacNider addressed the convention, not failing to point out in his patriotic talk, the common interest both organizations have in beating the radicals. To him replied George L. Berry, of doubtful fame in the printing trades. Major Berry, besides being President of the International Union of Pressmen and Assistants, is also Vice-Commander of the American Legion. He seems to be a sort of unofficial delegate between the two bodies. Mr. Gompers also took a hand, saying:—

"So long as American Labor will hold its high ideals of freedom and justice and progress and safety for the American Republic, and the American Legion will stand true to its traditions, its history and its declarations under the leadership of a man of the character and type and idealism and practical understanding of Commander MacNider, there can be no division in our joint ranks."

The day following the expression of these true and noble sentiments the convention adopted a glowing committee report endorsing the developing alliance and instructing President Gompers to attend the National Convention of the American Legion in New Orleans next October.

Friendliness was also shown towards the Ku Klux Klan. Since the exposure several months ago by the New York World, hundreds and thousands of organizations and individuals with some degree of public spirit have condemned this hooded menace. A delegate, innocently believing that the A. F. of L. convention might be as progressive as these, submitted a resolution censuring the Ku Klux Klan as a danger to the working class. This resolution was laid aside and a substitute adopted which made no mention whatever of the Klan, and which merely disapproved mildly of parading through the streets with hoods. What is the explanation of this remarkable procedure? Why cannot even this American Fascist organization be criticized by Organized Labor? How does its influence reach so high into the councils of the labor movement? Who among the A. F. of L. heads belong to it? Considering the convention action, these are pertinent questions. The A. F. of L. leaders condemn the Federated Press, tried and true fighter for the working class, but they refuse to censure the vicious Ku Klux Klan. Could anything more clearly illustrate the perversion and degeneracy of the Gompers machine?

The Weak Opposition.

More deplorable even, if possible, than the course of the Gompers Administration was the attitude of the so-called Opposition. This consists primarily of the railroad trades and the miners. Possessed of enough latent strength to have swept the old guard off its feet, it accomplished absolutely nothing. This was because it lacked leadership and program. Johnston, the soft peddler, was no man to fight Sam Gompers, the valiant battler. Had the Opposition proposed anything and fought for it with a little "guts", the old man and his cohorts would have been beaten. Witness the great drive in the Montreal Convention, when the Plumb Planners knocked the machine into a thousand pieces. A fight like that at Cincinnati might have easily ended the old regime. Among the delegates there was a deep-seated discontent. But no one was at hand to organize it. Johnston fell flat. Despite all the force behind him, he could not elect a single member to the Executive Council.

But bad as was the showing of the Railroader-Miner Opposition, that of the Socialist minority was even worse. The time was when the Socialists in the Federation waged a determined battle against Gompersism, but now, with the exception of a few irreconcilables, they seem entirely domesticated. They went along with the Gompers machine 100%, voting for all the Administration candidates and measures, and against everything in anyway radical or progressive. They voted against trade with Russia and industrial unionism. Their leader was Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, who has gone over to Gompers boots and baggage. For his treason he was elected fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress. Three years ago he was so despised in the Convention because of his Socialism that Frank Duffy refused to serve on the same committee with him, and Schlesinger had to get out. But at this convention we find Wm. Green, General Secretary of the United Mine Workers nominating him for fraternal delegate, and the Crown Prince, Woll, seconding the nomination. No doubt the needle workers will be heard from regarding this betrayal by Schlesinger.

As a result of the lack of an intelligent fighting opposition to Gompers nothing was done by the Convention. The only thing that in any way might be construed as a progressive step was a demand for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti. But the A. F. of L. can claim small glory for that. Long after the labor movements in all other countries have demonstrated and protested against this brutal frame-up, we come and join the tail end of the procession. Had it depended upon the A. F. of L. to save them, Sacco and Vanzetti would have been long since devoured by quick lime.

After having visited the A. F. of L. Convention, one may well be excused for being profoundly pessimistic as to the future of the American trade union movement. But it must never be forgotten that the deplorable condition in evidence there is largely the fault of the rebels. For years and years they have made no effort to establish their influence among the masses. Consequently stagnation reigns. But this will not continue. The hopeful sign is that the militants are now getting down to work for the first time through the Trade Union Educational League. And they will find a fruitful field, as the movement is fairly shrieking for competent and aggressive leadership. The big thing then for us to do is to redouble our efforts to the end that in every section of the labor movement all the live elements will be set into motion. The future of the labor movement depends upon the success of our work, because the old Gompers machine is intellectually and spiritually dead. The Cincinnati Convention demonstrated that beyond all question of doubt.

The Congress of St. Etienne.

The French C.G.T.U. Affiliates to the Red Trade Union International.

By Marcel Ollivier.

After five days of stormy debates the Congress of the French Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire (C.G.T.U.) held at St. Etienne decided to affiliate to the Red Trade Union International. It will be recalled that the question of affiliation to the R. T. U. I. which was formerly on the programme of the Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority in the old C.G.T. was withdrawn last year, some days before the Lille Congress, when the decisions of the First World Congress of the R.T.U.I. on the question of the establishment of an organic liaison between the unions and the Communist Party became known in France. The Central Committee of the C.S.R. (Revolutionary Syndicalist Committees) immediately decided provisionally to withdraw from the Red Trade Union International, and to demand that a new extraordinary world congress be held, charged with the discussion of the question of the relationship between the trade union and the political internationals. This decision was dictated by two considerations; first, fear of seeing the trade union movement subordinated to a political party; and second, in order to avoid an easy criticism being made by the reformists, accusing the Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority of wishing to subordinate the C.G.T. to a political party.

Now, after a year the situation has somewhat changed. The reservations made last year on the question of affiliation to a trade union international organically allied to the Communist International have changed among a section of the old Revolutionary Syndicalist Minority into an open hostility to the Russian Revolution and its methods in general, against the dictatorship of the proletariat and against any kind of collaboration with a political party. Its organ, the *Libertaire*, opened a violent campaign against the Russian Revolution and the Red Trade Union International. Taking its departure from the Charter of Amiens (1906) in which the old C.G.T. proclaimed its independence of any political party, whatever it might be, this section posed as the defenders of the autonomy of the trade union movement. On the international field its efforts supplemented those of the German and Italian Anarcho-Syndicalists who tried to create a third Trade Union International in Berlin, equidistant from both Moscow and Amsterdam. At the St. Etienne Congress these three principal tendencies were demonstrated. The first defended by Besnard, Mayoux, Sirolle, Verdier and Quinton explained the point of view with which we shall deal. Its slogan was: "The trade unions are all that is necessary", that is, independence of the trade union movement, refusal to adhere to the R.T.U.I. which they suspected of collusion with the Communist International. The second, represented by Monmousseau and the *Vie ouvrière* group, laid down that the trade union movement could not without extinction afford to ignore the lessons of the Russian Revolution, and defended the idea of the necessity for the proletarian dictatorship and for collaboration with the Communist Party, reserving however, the autonomy of the trade union movement. From an international point of view they defended affiliation to the Red Trade Union International, while asking that the article of its statutes concerning organic liaison with the Communist Parties be revised.

The third tendency was represented by the Communist section (Tommasi, Godonnèche, Lauridan, Chambelland, etc.). These latter defended in its entirety the Red Trade Union International point of view on the collaboration between the Communist Party and the trade unions, and affirmed that the duty of Communists in the trade union field was to win them for Communism. Consequently, they declared themselves for unconditional affiliation to the Red Trade Union International. The appearance of Lozovsky was the occasion for a great manifestation of sympathy in favor of the Russian Revolution. For two hours the President of the Red Trade Union International, frequently interrupted by the applause of the majority of the Congress, defended the affiliation of the C.G.T.U. to the R.T.U.I. and refuted the attacks of the Anarchists upon the Russian Revolution.

The result of the vote (779 votes for Monmousseau's motion on trade union orientation against 393 for Besnard's motion, and 783 on Monmousseau's motion on affiliation to the R.T.U.I. against 406 for Besnard's motion) is explained by the fact that the Communist section formed a bloc with the *Vie ouvrière* group against the anarchists. This tactic, justified by the necessity for the victory of the motion for affiliation to the R.T.U.I., did not demand any concession of principle as the Monmousseau motion regarding the revision of the statutes of the R.T.U.I. did not bear the character of a necessary condition for affiliation.

The results of the St. Etienne Congress are of very great importance for the French revolutionary movement. It marks an important progress in the clarification of ideas. The adhesion of the C.G.T.U. to the Red Trade Union International is the first step on the part of a large labor organization whose aim is the rallying of the whole of the French working-class round the banner of the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship. It would be foolish to blind our eyes to the difficulties before us. But we have at least the guarantee that in spite of everything this will be carried through to a successful end.

The Situation in England.

By Harry Pollitt (London).

The English Labor Movement is just now having its annual dose of conferences. The Labor Party has just held its annual conference at Edinburgh. It was attended by over 800 delegates. It met at a most critical time for the English workers. It met after a colossal defeat of the Engineers, a defeat the consequences of which must inevitably shatter the old forms of craft unionism in the engineering and shipbuilding industry.

Yet despite all these things, it was only in terms of success at the next elections that the big men of the conference would think. Every question had been discussed and analyzed from an election and vote-catching point of view, so that our impression is that the conference, faced with infinite possibilities of rousing the workers out of their present apathy and despair, failed miserably in its task.

Although we live in times that are witnessing immense revolutionary changes, the Labor Party stands still, and still imagines that problems and tactics can be discussed from the 1914 standpoint. Consequently not a single ray of hope to the workers has gone out from Edinburgh.

The decisions of the Conference regarding the affiliation of the Communist Party will by the force and logic of events a short period be reversed. While the official caucus can manipulate the Bloc which can just now keep the Communist Party outside the Labor Party, the leaders cannot keep the rank and file from Communist meetings.

In Edinburgh, the Labor Party leaders could only get small attendances at their public meetings, whilst the Communist Party had a splendid demonstration attended by over 1,500 workers, who listened to MacManus, Gallacher, Pollitt, Crawford, and others who put the case for the Party.

The Railwaymen.

Last week, July 3rd to 7th, the National Union of Railwaymen had their Annual Conference. Many domestic problems were discussed. In matters of public interest such as the demand of the Durholme branch that he resign his Privy Councillorship or his position as General Secretary for the N.U.R., Thomas carried the Conference with him despite a good case put up by 3 delegates. I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Thomas is thoroughly representative of the N.U.R. The impression that his union is somewhat revolutionary is erroneous, and Mr. Thomas is clever enough to be able to exploit the mentality of his union, but we believe that he has been able to get such a hold on the union through the very favorable position that his members now occupy in comparison with most other unions. This position is not the result of Mr. Thomas's clever leadership, but is owing to economic circumstances, and the N.U.R. will shortly be brought up against conditions which will very sharply test M. Thomas's leadership and which we believe will find it wanting.

The N.U.R. stand isolated, and very soon the offensive on their base rates will have commenced. Mr. C. L. Cramp (Industrial Secretary to the N.U.R.) stated that they stand for three great principles.

- 1—The present base rates.
- 2—The guaranteed week.
- 3—Eight hour day.

Over and again he has declared that the N.U.R. would never give up these concessions. Well these brave words will soon be tested. Everyone is conscious of the demands that the coal and steel capitalists are making to the railway bosses for the lowering of freight rates. The railway bosses say: "But our wages bill is too high." The coal and steel bosses retort: "Very well, so was ours, but we have reduced it, you must do the same."

The press is busy preparing the necessary atmosphere, all the London papers last week hinted at a fall in freight rates, this means that the war on wages, guaranteed week and eight hour day will soon commence. The N.U.R. will have no sympathy because the rest of the workers are down and out and they remember the action of M. Thomas on Black Friday.

The conference of the N.U.R. did not appear to have discussed these questions. We feel sure they are in for a rude awakening, and then when Mr. Thomas is put into a position where he has to display the real arts of leadership, he will fail,

and at the annual Conference of the N.U.R. in 1923 there will be more than 3 delegates in opposition to the present policy of the National Union of Railwaymen as personified in J. H. Thomas.

The Miners.

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain hold their annual Conference on July 18th at Blackpool. Never in its history has the Federation been faced with such a crises as confronts it at the present time. Since the strike of last year the conditions of the miners have gone from bad to worse. They are living and working under conditions of the most awful and abject poverty.

Two years ago, the miners were the most powerful factors in English economic life. Today they are the cinderellas of English industry. In many districts wages are down to the minimum. In others they are below what they were in 1914, and the cost of living is still 80% above 1914.

Unemployment is still abnormally high, over 100,000 miners being out of work. In South Wales in some coal pits after working 6 days the miners have £1 18s. to take as wages. The position is now so grave that the press and Parliament have taken the matter up. The press advocates cheapening transport to assist in a trade revival and so find the miners work, at the same time the press points out to the miners that the railwaymen's wages much higher than theirs, and blames the trade depression on high freight rates.

Parliament through its capitalist representative, Mr. Bridgegeman, told the miners to "Grin and bear it". But the miners are getting into an ugly mood; their Conference will be a place where all the bitterness and misery of the last 12 months will find an outlet.

It was stated in Parliament on July 6 that in 1920 the number of fatal accidents in mines were 1,103, and there were no fewer than 117,000 persons seriously injured. This is a terrible price to pay for getting coal, and particularly so when the coal is got for wages which only mean starvation.

We are confident the Conference will demand an end of the present agreement, and that unless the capitalists are prepared to increase wages, then there is every probability the miners will be on strike in September.

A resolution that will arouse a keen debate is down in the name of South Wales, asking the Federation to secede from the Amsterdam International and join the Red Trade Union International. Mr. Frank Hodges will oppose this, but he will have to fight very hard to prevent the South Wales delegates from carrying the conference with them.

There is also sure to be a keen discussion on the action of Frank Hodges in writing articles for a capitalist newspaper, in the course of which he made an extremely dirty attack upon the miners' veteran leader, Bob Smillie. The miners will have some strong words to say to this young upstart from Ruskin College who at 34 is a snobbish prig, and has forgotten that the miners paid for his education to enable him to fight their battles against capitalism. If Hodges is half the man that Bob Smillie is when he arrives at the latter's age he will have done well.

Altogether the Conference of the miners will be well worth studying.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Dombal Trial.

By Felix Kon (Moscow).

The trial and the conviction of Comrade Dombal is of great significance for the Polish labor movement. At a time when Poland was divided among three governments and was breaking the heart of "all Europe" with its wailing protests against oppression, its ruling classes, headed by the nobility and the bourgeoisie, were making excellent use of Czarism and Kaiserism for their own interests, in the class struggle against the proletariat and peasantry.

In every one of the three countries that shared Poland, Messrs. Radziwill, Potocki and their brand, were the most faithful servants of these imperialistic governments. The high and middle nobility of Austrian and Prussian Poland gained for themselves all advantages on a par with the agrarian interests of the dominating nationalities, and the bourgeoisie of Russian Poland did not have to be coaxed to take advantage of the Siberian and Far East markets. These were not the only benefits obtained by the ruling class from the "foreign governments". In its struggle against the proletariat both, in city and country, the exploiting class was in a still more favorable situation.

All the judicial and administrative repressive measures against the Polish working class were executed not by the Polish bourgeoisie, but by the foreign governments. Hence the ruling class was able to shift the responsibility for all repressive measures upon the Czarist and Kaiser Governments. The Polish

bourgeoisie piled up huge profits for itself, but washed its hands in innocence. And it succeeded in deceiving the ignorant masses who were convinced that under their "own", "patriotic" and "genuine Polish" government, no repressive measures could take place. . . . Were only the Polish Government independent, thought the masses, we would all enjoy the "liberty", freedom and equality of democracy.

Then it came about that with the aid of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, Germany and Austria, Poland "suddenly" regained her independence. At present, Poland is ruled by neither Czar nor Kaiser. . . . The head of the present Polish Government is the former Socialist, Josef Pilsudsky, whom the Polish Socialist Party to which he formerly belonged, supported in every way.

Was it then possible for one not to expect that Poland would turn into a true paradise? Only Jews and Communists could doubt it. And indeed, the expected paradise came. No country has yet witnessed such an unrestricted chauvinism, such unbridled speculation and such a cynically open struggle against the working class and against the poor peasants, as did Poland. The ruling classes of Poland have shown themselves worthy of their former oppressors; in fact, they even surpass them in that they combine the Czarist bloodthirstiness with German system.

The results soon made their appearance. Nowhere, not even in France, is the atmosphere saturated with so bloody a spirit of vengeance against Soviet Russia as in the country whose head is a former prisoner of the Czar and a former "Socialist", Pilsudski. We need not review the entire sequence of "campaigns" which Mr. Pilsudski has launched against Soviet Russia and which the working class and the Polish peasantry had to pay for so dearly. Suffice it to say that through the high price it paid, the Polish proletariat regained its class-consciousness. Though somewhat tardy, it nevertheless finally realized who its enemies were, the Russian workers or its own exploiters. . . . The Communist Party strove with all its energy to intensify this class-consciousness and for this reason all the cruel blows of the class enemy were directed against it.

But the cruel fist of the Polish reaction could not destroy the proletarian movement. One of the first champions of the Polish proletariat was the representative of the Middle Galician poor peasantry in the Sejm, Comrade Dombal. At the time of the Polish invasion of Soviet Russia and the Ukraine, Dombal was not yet a Communist. But being an honest and self-sacrificing representative of the poor peasantry, he soon perceived the true nature of the imperialistic "robber" invasion of proletarian Russia by the Polish nobility, and he raised his powerful voice in the stronghold of Polish reaction, in the famous Polish Constituent Assembly, where he had the courage to unmask and denounce the Polish robbers.

Not long after, Dombal joined the ranks of the Communist Party. Up to the time when Comrade Lanitzki left the Polish Social Democratic Party to join the Communists, Comrade Dombal was the only representative of the working class in the Polish Sejm. But this fact did not intimidate him; he knew that he had the support of the millions of Polish workers and peasants, and he revealed the whole villainy of the foreign as well as the inner policies of the "independent" and "democratic" Polish Republic. Comrade Dombal became the target for all the rage and hatred of the Polish landlords, who thought that by destroying Dombal they could destroy the whole movement. As Deputy of the Sejm, Dombal was immune. . . . But that did not really matter. The Sejm was only too glad to get rid of him by handing him over to the authorities, who stopped at nothing in the attempt to furnish evidence against Dombal. Nothing, however, could be proven against him. The witnesses did not confirm that he called for an armed revolt; under the present circumstances he could not possibly have done so. But the obedient Socialist Party came to the aid of the landlords in the person of the Deputy Malinowski. Comrade Dombal was the bitterest enemy of the Socialist Party. He alone was in a position to expose and denounce the treason of this party from the Parliamentary tribune. No wonder then that the Socialist Party of Poland revenged itself on Comrade Dombal. Malinowski falsely testified that at a public meeting Comrade Dombal called the workers to armed revolt. That was more than sufficient for the bourgeois court of "Justice" which had its class enemy in its hands. Comrade Dombal was sentenced to six years hard labor.

The bourgeoisie and nobility of Poland are jubilant. Another leader of the working class cleared out of the way. . . . In their utter disregard of past experiences from Czarist times, they seem not have learned yet that the prisoner Dombal will become the hero of the working class from whose midst hundreds and thousands of Dombals will arise. The present rulers will then fall and Comrade Dombal will be honored throughout Soviet Poland.

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POLITICS

The British Labor Party, the I. L. P. and Communist Affiliation.

By Thomas Bell (Moscow).

The British Labor Party is a phenomenon in itself. It is a peculiarly British product that could scarcely flourish elsewhere.

It is not a Party in the strict sense of the word; it is rather a loose federation of trade unions, trades councils, and a few minor Socialist societies thrown in. But its main support, financial and moral, is in its powerful trade union backing.

This very looseness has always been its proud boast. Its leaders have always bragged about its catholicity when faced with the demands of Social Democratic elements for a more definite Socialist and centralized policy, or when assisted by reactionary conservative trade unionists who did not want to be tainted with Socialism. Indeed its very name, "The Labor Party", and why it came to be labelled such is a most interesting page in the Party's history that is worth reading. For the present it will suffice to point out that the struggle of twenty years ago to give the Labor Party a definite Socialist constitution and objective found its most strenuous opponent in the late Keir Hardie and Bruce Glasier, both pioneers of the present Independent Labor Party which is affiliated to the 2½ International.

Again and again, when the fanatical sectarians of the Social Democratic Federation, tried to impose a full-fledged Marxian constitution on the Party, Hardie and his followers in the I.L.P. insisted upon keeping Socialism in the background in case it would frighten away the liberal trade unionists and upon the need for rallying all "progressives" under the one banner. The one condition that became an obsession with Hardie was the recognition of the strict independence of the Labor Party from the bourgeois Liberal or Tory Parties. And just as they fought against a definite Socialist program or constitution, so they compelled men like Richard Bell of the Railwaymen, who were more Liberal than Labor, to clear out of the ranks.

There never was any question about the program of the S.D.F. or of any affiliated Socialist society being too extreme. Extreme "Lefts" and moderate "Rights" were encouraged to meet under the common roof of Labor's own political Party. In the light of their wisdom the Social Democrats as well as the other Marxist organizations left the field clear for the I.L.P. and took to the propaganda of the "pure doctrine" of Marxism.

The I.L.P. was not slow to take advantage of its opportunities. It threw itself into the practical daily struggles of the workers. In the trade unions, in the cooperatives, in the various labor groups and Socialist clubs the I.L.P. was to be found, not as a mere critic, but occupying official posts.

The trade union jobs which they monopolized were used as financial feeders for the rising Labor Representation Committees; the cooperatives and their guilds were utilized for educational work, but always and everywhere the I.L.P.'er was to be found trying to put his stamp on the particular organization he was working with.

It matters not that out of this great pioneer work there grew a crop of opportunist place-hunters and politicians who now act as lightning conductors to run every revolutionary aspiration of the proletariat into the ground. Nor need we be surprised that today nine-tenths of the Labor Party officials are either actual members of the I.L.P. or have been in the past. The important thing is the lessons from their experience as a Party. And this is just what the Communist Party has done.

The formation of the Communist Party in July 1920 was something more than a mere formal unity of groups or parties. It represented the synthesis of theoretic Marxism with revolutionary practice. Its declaration for immediate affiliation with the Labor Party and participation in all the daily struggles of the working class wiped out the exclusiveness and sectarianism of the past, and showed quite clearly that the Communists were determined to be a live party of the masses and not a mere educational club.

Whether the Labor Party caucus had hoped or not that we were going to be another little sect and were disappointed is immaterial. They were taking no risks, and so when our application for affiliation was made we were promptly turned down. Rejected by the leaders of the Labor Party most of whom, be it remembered, are I.L.P.'ers, our Party concentrated on the Local Labor Party Councils and succeeded in retaining a hold in nineteen Locals.

All Communist branches were urged to renew application to the Local Labor Party and in two important centres, London and Glasgow our applications were sympathetically received. On the strength of the recommendations of the two latter bodies our Executive proposed a meeting with the Labor Party E.C. to discuss with them the outstanding differences and try to arrive at some definite settlement.

After two hours discussion we retired to await a questionnaire to be prepared by the Labor Party E.C. for the Communist Party to answer, the replies to be put before the Labor Party Conference on June 27th at Edinburgh.

The discussion at that joint committee meeting left no doubt in our minds that the advent of the C.P. had created a