

- INTERNATIONAL -

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Adenğa of the IV. Congress of the Communist International.

1. Report of the Executive and the Further Tactics of the C. I.
Speaker: Zinoviev.
2. Five Years Russian Revolution and Perspectives of the World Revolution.
Speakers: Lenin.
Trotzky, Clara Zetkin, Germany. Cachin, France. Roland-Holst; Holland. Bela Kun, Hungary. A Comrade from Ireland (to be appointed by the Irish C.P.).
3. The Offensive of Capitalism.
Speakers: Radek.
Tom Mann, Gr. Britain. A German Comrade (to be appointed by the German C.P.). A French Comrade (to be appointed by the New C.C. of the Party). An American Comrade (to be appointed by the American Delegation). Zapotzky, Czecho-Slovakia. A special report on *Fascism:* Bordiga, Italy.
4. The Struggle Against the Versailles Treaty and the Tasks of the Communist Parties.
Speakers: Frossard and Vaillant-Couturier, France. MacManus and Newbold, Great Britain. Smeral, Czecho-Slovakia. Kolarov, Balkan Federation. An American Comrade (to be appointed by the American Delegation).
5. The Trade Union Question. (A Committee to be appointed.)
Speakers: Lozovsky, Russia. Brandler, Germany. Tomasi, France. An American Comrade.
6. The Agrarian Question. (A Section to be formed.)
Speakers: Varga, Hungary. Renault, France. Theodorovitch, Russia. Kostzeva, Poland. Markovic, Jugoslavia. An Italian Comrade (to be appointed by the C.C.). Markhlevsky, Poland.
7. The Eastern and the Colonial Questions. (Section to be formed.)
Speakers: Katayama, Japan. Roy, India. van Ravestejn, Holland. A representative of the British Colonies (to be appointed by the Section).
8. Educational Work. (A Commission to be appointed.)
Speakers: Hoernle, Germany. Krupskaya, Russia. Barbusse, France. Roland-Holst, Holland. Kuusinen, Finland.
9. The Situation in the French Party after the Paris Convention.
Speakers: Frossard and Souvarine, France.
10. Program of the C.I. and of its Various Parties. (Section proposed.)
Speakers: Bukharin and Thalheimer.
The Bureau of the Section: Zinoviev, Trotzky, Radek. Varga, Starysky; Strasser, Austria. Smeral, Czecho-Slovakia. Kabaktchiev, Bulgaria. Bordiga, Italy. Frossard, France. Shefflo, Norway. Katayama, Japan.
11. The Young Communist International. (Section to be formed.)
Speakers: Volny. Schüller, Germany.
12. Report of the Cooperative Section. (Section to be formed at the Congress.)
Speakers: (To be named by the Cooperative Section).
13. Report of the Women's Secretariat.
Speaker: Clara Zetkin.
14. Organization of the Information Service of the C.I. (Commission to be formed.)
Speakers: Paul Louis, France. Members of the Commission: Radek, Varga, Gramsci, Italy. Meyer, Germany. Alpári, Hungary. Kohn, Ukraine. Preobrashensky and Minkin, Russia.
15. The Seat of the Executive and Election of the President of the C. I.
16. Organization of the Work of the Executive. (A Commission to be formed.)

POLITICS

The Stinnes Agreement

By Karl Radek.

The rumors of the direct negotiations of the French and German capitalists were treated in the English press as threatening a Franco-German alliance. "Only attempt to settle with one another. We should be glad if France should punish us for defending Germany by making concessions to her".

Thus can the attitude of the English press be approximately summarized. And whilst Poincaré rattled the sabre, the Marquis de Lubersac, the authorized representative of the Union of Cooperative Reconstruction, conducted negotiations in Hamburg and there signed an agreement providing for enormous supplies for Northern France.

The agreement concluded in Hamburg has enormous importance for Franco-German relations. Who then, is the contracting party represented by the Marquis de Lubersac who is operating in collusion with Poincaré and accepts obligations in the name of France? In the 17th and 18th centuries, Kings' treaties were concluded at their summer residences. The German Emperor, however, does not live in Hamburg, but at Amerongen in Holland where he busies himself with chopping wood and writing memoirs for good, sound dollars. Chancellor Wirth, who at the same time holds office as Minister of Foreign Affairs does not live in Hamburg, but in Berlin. Hamburg is the residence of the uncrowned German Emperor, — *Hugo Stinnes*. And this strong man who is not a member of the Government, (on the contrary, he expresses himself very disrespectfully to it through his body-journalist, the late left wing Social Democrat, *Paul Lensch*),—this iron, steel and coal king is the party contracting with France in this politically most important agreement.

Mr. Hugo Stinnes has already gotten into the way of saying: "*I and England. I and France.*" A jester who was once the witness of such an expression asked him: "Pardon me, are you a state or even a continent?" The truth exceeds the jest. Mr. Hugo Stinnes has taken over the role of a state, the role of the Government of the German Republic.

Last year, the murdered Rathenau, the electricity king, concluded with the French Minister Loucheur, the celebrated Wiesbaden Agreement, by which Germany pledged herself to pay a portion of her obligations in the form of industrial products destined for the reconstruction of Northern France. The contracting parties to this treaty were the Governments of the French and German Republics. The German Government pledged itself to deliver the necessary materials to France and to pay the industrials for the articles delivered. The chief advantage to Germany thereby was, that instead of having to purchase with foreign valuta, a part of its obligations could be covered by goods which she could obtain in her own markets by means of an increased issue of bank notes. Rathenau was of the opinion that by such a solution of the problem the German mark would fall less rapidly than by the purchase of foreign valuta. At the same time this agreement was to secure French orders for German industry.

The Wiesbaden Agreement was received with savage criticism by the kings of German industry with Stinnes at their head. This criticism was directed against two very essential points. First, the full value of the goods delivered was not to be credited in the reparations account; only a third to a half was to be credited, and the remainder France would owe Germany. In this manner, economically exhausted Germany was, in the actual words of Rathenau, to become the "Banker of France". In the second place France had not bound herself to take over a definite quantity of materials in a definite period. Stinnes quite correctly pointed out that France could place orders with Germany if Germany would take advantage of the condition of the world market to sell her goods at an advantageous price, and that France would order nothing if the French industries found it to their advantage to supply the necessary goods themselves.

The dispute over the Wiesbaden Agreement which considerably sharpened the differences between Rathenau and Stinnes, was in fact a quarrel over the Kaiser's beard. On the one side this agreement was sabotaged by the French industrials who were afraid of German competition, and on the other side it was sabotaged by Rathenau himself, a lover of great theoretical constructions who was incapable of realizing them in practice.

The Wiesbaden Agreement required corresponding financial measures and financial organizations. Rathenau took no

step towards carrying these out and left the finances in the hands of so incapable a man as Hermes.

The Wiesbaden Agreement was later supplanted by the agreement with *Bemelmans* and *Gillet*. This agreement differed from the Wiesbaden Agreement in that it gave to the French the right to apply directly to the German industrials. The part played by the German Government was merely that of paying the German manufacturers for the supplies delivered to the French. In this way the German Government prepared the way to the agreement between the German and French industrials. Mr. Stinnes consequently occupied the place which Rathenau assigned to the German Government.

The contractor for the restoration of Northern France was now the Stinnes (*Hoch und Tief*) Engineering and Construction Co. It receives the orders from the French concerns and distributes them among the German industrials. Although the right of control is formally accorded to the German Government, this control is of course a fiction, as the whole apparatus of delivering and pricing is in the hands of Stinnes and his French partners. The fact that the French see in Stinnes the guarantee for the fulfillment of the agreement shows how they judge the relationships of power between Stinnes and the German Government.

It must be recognized that Stinnes has succeeded in getting better conditions than Rathenau. First, he achieved that the whole value of goods delivered is to be credited to Germany on the reparations account; secondly, that the coal to be delivered is deducted from those quantities of coal which Germany has to supply to France. This at any rate mitigates the coal crisis in German industry.

Of course, Stinnes, in addition to the general terms which strengthen his control over the German industry, reserved an enormous immediate profit. His *Hoch und Tief* Company receives 6% of the total price of all supplies. This tribute must be paid to him by the German Government. And as Mr. Stinnes recognizes the rule of "live and let live" he concluded at the same time an agreement with the so-called *D. Banks* (Dresdener Bank, Darmstädter Bank, Disconto-Gesellschaft and Deutsche Bank) which finance all undertakings and in return receive a corresponding percentage at the expense of the German State. And the state must of course raise these sums by means of taxes and credits.

This agreement was signed by Stinnes and Lubersac on the 13th of August. There is no doubt that Mr. Stinnes was so amiable as to let the German Government know in time that he is taking upon himself the burden of those engagements outcry therefore have pressed upon the Republic. The whole outcry therefore of the Social Democratic press with regard to the unheard-of proceeding that the Government was replaced by Stinnes, cannot be regarded as anything less than an attempt to throw sand into the eyes of their readers. If the Social Democrats do not agree that Stinnes should take the responsibilities for the Republic they can refuse to confirm the agreement, since they are in the government. But there is no talk about that. After some moral indignation over the fact that Mr. Stinnes wants to draw a full profit out of his grand undertakings, the *Vorwärts* remarks in a tone of melancholy that *the agreement is signed*.

Yes, the agreement is signed, and signed not only by Mr. Stinnes with the approval of the Socialist Government, but also — if the case is considered not only from the juridical but from the political point of view also — by the trade union leaders. It has now come to light that Mr. Stinnes was anxious enough to conduct negotiations beforehand with the trade union leaders in order to make sure that the execution of the concluded agreement should, in the interests of the Fatherland, not be hindered by strikes.

The Stinnes agreement can still be sabotaged by the French Stinneses. Mr. Stinnes wants to insure himself against this and is endeavouring to conclude a special agreement with the French iron and steel industry for the supply of coke to the French metal industry. If he succeeds in this, then there is not the least doubt that, the reparations question and the Franco-German relations will take a new course, and secondly, that Mr. Stinnes will then take over the actual dictatorship not only of German industry, but also of German domestic and foreign policy. The Stinification of Germany is to be perfected. The Coalition Government of the Democrats, the Center and the Social Democrats will be degraded to a mere cloak of the actual Stinnes Government.

In the meanwhile Stinnes meets with no obstacles in Germany. But apart from the possible sabotage by the French industrials, English capital can oppose him as a powerful enemy.

England replied to the Stinnes Agreement by declaring herself in favor of taking Upper Silesia away from Germany. We have not yet heard the opinion of the English press with regard to the Stinnes agreement. But there is no doubt that Stinnes who hitherto was regarded as representing the Anglophile tendencies did not forget to effect reinsurances in London. His press is laying stress on the fact — so help us God — that the Treaty of Lubersac is in no way directed against England, that England herself will disinterestedly collaborate in improving Franco-German relations.

But all these wordy efforts, all these touching declarations of the Stinnes press show that it is well aware of the danger from England. In fact England could have nothing to say against the payment of part of the German obligations by reparations in kind to France. What England is worried over is the alliance of the French and German iron and steel industries. But without the formation of this bloc, French industry would sabotage the Stinnes Agreement. In order to avoid this danger Stinnes will be compelled to ally himself with the French heavy industry. All this is yet before us. The Stinnes agreement places the fight over the control of the foreign policy of Germany in the foreground. With regard to her domestic policy, this fight will have as a consequence the intensification of the social contradictions.

The Destroyed Equilibrium in the Orient

By Heinz Neumann (Berlin).

While the peace-loving League of Nations in Geneva considered the question of demobilization, Kemal Pasha moved his troops from the settled Greek front to the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles. Between the Turkish army and Constantinople there has only been left a narrow zone guarded by English troops and a narrow sea guarded by English men-of-war. Not a single Greek soldier is left now in Asia Minor. The reign of Kemal Pasha extends from the mountains of Kurdistan to the Mediterranean.

Thus the Greco-Turkish phase of the Orient War is terminated. At the same time the conflict is not yet at an end. The question of Constantinople, of the Dardanelles, of the possession of Asia Minor is just now beginning. The Turks do not even think of contenting themselves with the deliverance of Smyrna and the expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor. They claim Constantinople, they claim Thracia as far as Maritza, they claim, in a word, the restitution of Turkey as a European Balcan power.

These claims confront England with the greatest difficulty against which she had to combat since 1918. What risks the English Empire is running in this game is well known. It is not the question of the city of Constantinople which is decisive, but what is at stake is the equilibrium in the Orient, which means the equilibrium in world politics. If England is repulsed from the straits of the Marmora Sea, then she loses not only her powerful position in Asia, but also her position in Europe. Without communication with India, without the control of the Mediterranean, without an access to Southern Russia,—John Bull is an invalid. Even in the possession of Constantinople and Western Asia the English bourgeoisie is threatened by ruin. Its European markets are destroyed, its non-European outlets for exports are restricted, its vital force is threatened by powerful rivals. The ascendancy of the United States is making itself felt more and more. French imperialism is advancing all along the line. The colonies are discontented and unreliable. English capitalism, the oldest in the world, already sees the moment when it will have to defend its existence by means of arms or resign it with honor.

German newspapers asserted repeatedly that England would retire from the misery of the reparations crisis into the splendour of her outer-European possessions. The opinion was expressed that British diplomacy would leave the Continent to itself. What deplorable illusion! Kemal Pasha's victory shows with a piercing distinctness that, in the age of imperialism, there can be no "localization of conflicts" nor any escape into other regions of the world. If the Anglo-French conflict threatened to break out yesterday over the Ruhr basin, it is provoked today by Constantinople and will break out again tomorrow, over Soviet-Russia. There can be no equilibrium in the separate parts when the entire foundation of the capitalist world is shaken.

England will defend Constantinople at any cost. It depends to a great extent on the Turks and principally on France if the war in the Orient will be continued or if it will be postponed for a while.

It is not probable that the Turks will venture by themselves, without the support of France, the advance against Constantinople. They could defeat the Greek army with the Creuzot cannons, but against England's naval guns even the 7.5 cm. guns with which the Turks have been supplied by France, are powerless. In order to take up the fight against the English dreadnoughts with some chance of victory it requires the submarine boats and the aeroplanes of the French imperialism.

Is the France of to-day able and disposed to enter into a war to the knife with England? It may be that the capacity of the French imperialism exists, but neither Poincaré nor the French capitalists are willing to wage a war to-day on account of Constantinople. The imperialistic antagonism is greater today than even before; the constellation of war is assuming more definite form day to day, but it is not yet ripe.

The attempts of the imperialistic states to effect a compromise are becoming more and more powerless and hopeless, and yet, they are undertaken again and again.

England and France discuss the Orient question. England finds herself on the defence; France has all the advantages of a successful aggressor. She exploits them without any consideration. While the hands of the English are paralyzed in Asia Minor, the French iron and steel industry is uniting with the German big capital. Lloyd George's demand for resolute action on the Orient question is answered by Poincaré by resolute action on the reparations question.

France makes every possible effort to render the disadvantageous position of England still more difficult. While the Turks advance towards the neutral zone and threaten to snatch the Dardanelles from England, France withdraws her troops with an inviting gesture to Kemal Pasha, and a warning finger to England. Italy attaches herself completely to the French policy in the East. England finds herself quite isolated. Even the British colonies, except Australia, refuse to comply with the request of the London Government concerning the sending of auxiliary troops to Constantinople.

It is just in this situation that France can extort great concessions without waging a war. She can, for the time being, leave England in possession of the Dardanelles, under one form or another, in order to gain a free hand in the execution of her European plans. Poincaré can abandon the Turks whom he supported energetically up to now if he obtains in exchange advantages on the Rhine. If the Orient conference proposed by England is held, such a compromise is possible. England would retain Constantinople as the representative of the "international control". Shattered Greece would receive at most the Island of Cyprus as a plaster. The Turks would have to content themselves with Asia Minor, a part of Eastern Thracia, and a strip of land on the European coast.

The French press proposes this and the English newspapers find it acceptable. This would begin the third act of the Near East crisis. The compromise does not remove the source of the crisis, but produces immediately a series of new conflicts. Turkey, it is true, is gaining a footing in Europe, but she will not cease for a single moment to aspire the complete mastery of Constantinople. Her natural ally in the Balkans is Bulgaria, cut into pieces by the Treaty of Neuilly.

A Turkish-Bulgarian alliance is a permanent danger for the Small Entente. Serbia and Roumania will lean upon Greece in order to ward off the bloc of the defeated. That means the permanent danger of a new Balcan war.

France wrings heavy concessions from England. In exchange, she abandons the Turks. Thus Turkey is facing the question of resigning her existence or continuing the struggle against the two robbers. Turkey being strong enough not to be compelled to commit suicide, she will, in her defence against the English murderer and the French traitor, have to seek support from the only non-capitalistic great power of the world: *Soviet Russia*.

Soviet Russia has demonstrated by her latest notes that she intends to intervene actively in the decision regarding Constantinople and the Orient. Kemal Pasha has declared that he will not take part in any conference of peace to which the Soviet Government is not invited. Choked by England and abandoned by France, Turkey is pushed on the side of Russia. Thus the apparent contradiction is solved, that Kemal Pasha has been at the same time the protégé of French imperialism and the ally of proletarian Russia. *Soviet-Russia's* power in the Orient and in world politics is strengthened by this new evolution.

No better proof is needed of the effectiveness of the Communist policy of supporting all colonial peoples.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Situation in the United States

By Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

Temporary Truce in the Coal War.

The greatest strike ever witnessed in America, that of the 665,000 coal miners, which lasted five months, ended in a truce. The miners have gone back to work at the old scale of wages until next spring. The unprecedented solidarity and fighting spirit manifested by the workers was rapidly bringing the entire industrial system of the United States to a standstill. The country was facing a fuel famine. In this situation, with the railroad strike adding to the crisis, the employers capitulated in their demands for a wage decrease, and the unions compromised on a purely temporary agreement at the old wage, instead of their usual two years agreement.

Without doubt the employers expect that the production of coal during the winter and spring will again put them in a position to renew their war upon the union. American mines produce 40% more coal than is ordinarily demanded by the industries. Given normal conditions of production for the next six months, and the calculation of the coal barons might very well materialize, and the unions face another fight for their lives next year.

But already there are indications that all will not be so smooth for the capitalists. The railroad strike is preventing the movement of coal. Within a week after coal mining was resumed, mines were being shut down again because the cars for moving the coal were 40% out of service for want of repairs. In spite of coal production, the industries of America will be hampered and slowed down for a long time for lack of fuel. The railroads cannot move it. In the meantime the miners are having a little breathing spell, and are gathering strength for the coming fight.

While the industrial battle is suspended by the truce, the class war between the miners and their overlords is being dramatized at Herrin (West Virginia). Some weeks ago a pitched battle took place here between miners and company gunmen, in which the latter were completely wiped out. This event had the effect of immediately stiffening up the morale of the striking miners. Capitalist newspaper, in calling for drastic punishment of the Herrin miners, pointed out the fact that the week after the Herrin battle, the production of non-union coal fell off 50%. The entire capitalist class became aroused over this, and a great fund was started by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of Illinois, to punish the miners of Williamson County.

The authorities of Illinois, under the pressure of the Chamber of Commerce with its huge fund, went into Williamson County, and began a Grand Jury investigation of the Herrin battle. Within the past few days this grand jury has indicted several miners and has thrown them into jail. The Miners' Union has immediately come to their rescue, and announces that it will fight these prosecutions to the last breath. Both the capitalists and the labor forces have set up offices in Williamson County, and are concentrating their forces, money, legal talent, and publicity, to fight the case out. The labor movement of the country is becoming aroused over the affair. The Herrin battle is just beginning, and promises to have far-reaching consequences.

U. S. Government Opens War on Unions.

The United States Government threw the entire force of its executives, the courts, the police and all armed forces, into the strike of the railroad shopmen on the side of the capitalists, when on September 1st, Attorney-General Daugherty appeared before United States Judge Wilkerson in Chicago and obtained from him a sweeping order which prohibits all strike activities, ties up the funds of the unions, and renders all strike participation an unlawful act. In his argument to the court, Daugherty announced that the Government was out to defend the existence of the *open shop* at the cost, if necessary, of completely destroying the trade union movement.

This startling and unexpected move has fallen like a bombshell in the ranks of labor. The striking railroaders have been making a magnificent struggle. They have stood solidly, 400,000 in number for two months, and the railroads have been speedily deteriorating. The effectiveness of the strike was not fully realized even by the strikers, until Daugherty stated, in his appeal to the court, that 50% of the locomotives on the railroads were standing idle as a consequence of the strike. Thousands of trains have been cancelled, and billions of dollars worth of crops have been ruined through delay in transportation. Added to this the fact that the coal strike has just been temporarily settled, and that enormous quantities of coal are being poured

into the market to be moved by the railroads, and the gravity of the crisis,—and the significance of the railroad strike may be appreciated. *The men were winning*, which is the reason why the powers of Government have been thrown so suddenly and ruthlessly into the battle against the workers.

The reaction of Labor has been one of defiance. Every labor body that meets is openly defying the court order. The *Chicago Federation of Labor* immediately declared its solidarity with the continuance of the strike, and organized a large committee to collect funds for the strikers. Even Samuel Gompers has been jolted into uttering a few strong remarks, although no one expects him to do anything. A growing demand is being made from coast to coast that the American labor movement enter upon a general strike to block this menace to the life of organized labor. So strong has this grown that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the most reactionary body in the labor movement, has announced that it will give this demand serious consideration.

The attitude of the railroad crafts who have not yet gone on strike is not yet clear. They realize that their own existence is at stake, but whether they will have the courage to enter the battle yet remains to be seen.

But among the rank and file the fighting spirit has been growing by leaps and bounds, and a great smoldering sentiment exists throughout the entire body of railroad labor, for a solid fighting front. This is being crystallized in the demand for the consolidation of all the railroad unions into one industrial union of the railroads. The leader of that move is *Wm. Z. Foster*, whose agitation has reached into every railroad union lodge in the entire country. The whole atmosphere in the railroad rank and file is one of militant aggressiveness.

Thus the stage is being set for the bitterest class war which America has yet seen. Today the railroads are the center of this war, and the railroad men are preparing for what may be the crucial struggle of American Labor.

*

The Trade Union Left-Wing and the Red Raids.

The phenomenal growth of the left-wing in the trade unions, organized in the *Trade Union Educational League*, has drawn upon it the attack of the Governmental machinery with particular bitterness. This has resulted in a series of the most outrageous attacks upon the organization and its offices, culminating in a raid upon its offices, confiscation of its records, arrest of its secretary, *Wm. Z. Foster*, and a raid upon its National Conference on August 26, and the arrest of 13 delegates. This was preceded by a raid upon a gathering in Michigan, a few hundred miles away, which is alleged to have been a Communist Party Convention, and which it is attempted to link up with the National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League; 17 men were arrested at this gathering.

The first open attack came when *Wm. Z. Foster*, who was completing a long speaking tour covering all the cities from Chicago to the Pacific Coast on a route of 9,000 miles, came to speak in Denver, Colorado. Here he was taken from his hotel by State Cossacks, without any process of law, and hurried out of the State by motor car. He was taken to the State of Wyoming, where he was turned over to a sheriff who took him by motor car to the State of Nebraska. His baggage was confiscated, including the manuscript of a book which he had just written.

Shortly after Foster's return to Chicago, the Illinois authorities made an excuse that they suspected Foster to be connected with a train wreck in a nearby city, and raided the office of the T. U. E. L. They broke down the door in the middle of the night, had confiscated the books and records of the League. Next day they admitted that they had found nothing of consequence, but the records were not returned.

This was soon followed by the raid in Michigan, where 17 labor men were arrested, charged with violation of the anti-syndicalism law. The newspapers carried great stories about Foster being in that meeting, and escaping through the woods. Meanwhile Foster was working in his office, and calling upon the state authorities, demanding the return of his records.

Without regard to these facts, Foster was arrested upon a fugitive warrant from Michigan, and held under bond. This was just a few days before the date set for the holding of the National Conference of the T. U. E. L.

The press of the entire country had blazoned all these events abroad as a great campaign to break up the "reds". Undoubtedly it was expected to prevent the holding of the National Conference of the trade union left-wing. Raids and arrests were made throughout the country, in the various cities, and many of those who were delegates to the Conference were prevented from attending. But those who did arrive in Chicago for the Conference, 46 in all, and representing some 30 cities, decided to go ahead with the National Conference. This was done, and the gathering was conducting its business, when it was raided, and *Earl Browder* and *Phil Ahrenberg* were arrested on fugitive

warrants from Michigan, charged with having been in the convention raided there. Eleven others, aliens, were arrested in the Conference, but were later released. Browder and Ahrenberg were held on bonds of \$5,000 each.

The Conference, however, continued its work after the police had left, and with augmented enthusiasm and energy completed its work. It formulated full and detailed programs for the work of the left-wing groups in the trade unions, *declared for the Red International of Labor Unions, the overthrow of capitalism, and the inauguration of the Workers' Republic.* In spite of the suppression and terrorism, it was generally agreed that the First National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League has positively established this organization as a power in the American labor movement. The bureaucracy and the Government are both alarmed at the extent of its power, and are preparing for another attack upon it.

Meanwhile, the work of the left-wing goes on with broadening scope and intensity. The workers are preparing to fight with all their power the attempt to railroad Foster and his co-workers to prison. On the same day in which this is written the Chicago Federation of Labor has declared its solidarity with Foster and the others, and condemned the attempted frame-up. While Gompers and Co. are pleased, Labor generally is in revolt against this suppression.

The Economic and Social Condition of the Miners

By Gustav Sobottka, Berlin.

The world crisis and the competitive struggle of capitalist countries against each other, as well as the attempt to force the burden of the cost of the war upon the working class, has not only brought misery to the workers of the defeated countries, but has also reduced, in general, the standard of living of the workers in the "victorious" countries. This may be seen not only in the general economic situation but much more clearly in the production of one of the most important raw materials, coal. It is not only that the coal production of the world has gone back by 200 million tons during the past year, that thereby a great number of miners lost their employment and this excess of unemployed helped to reduce the wages on the labor markets of the world, but we see the employers of this very industry launching a general campaign against the working conditions and the wages of the workers, in order to enable them to compete on the world market. The reports which were laid before the International Miners' Congress by the miners' organizations of the various countries show this clearly.

The English report shows the following development of wages. (We bring only the figures for a few districts):

Coal District	Daily wages of the diggers			Underground workers		
	Jan. 1921	March 1921	July 1921	Jan. 1922	March 1922	July 1922
	Sh. d.	Sh. d.	Sh. d.	Sh. d.	Sh. d.	Sh. d.
Northumberland	22.5	18.11	9.4	17.5	13.11	6.8
Durham	20.0	16.6	8.8	16.10	13.4	6.8
South Wales and Monmouth	21.4	17.10	8.10	18.3	14.9	6.5
Nottingham	22.6	19.0	12.8	18.0	14.6	10.0
Derbyshire	21.9	18.3	12.4	18.6	15.0	8.5
Cumberland	19.0	16.0	8.3	19.2	15.8	7.10

The report states that all of the wages are only 20 % above those of 1914, while the cost of living is 80 % greater. The report does not say whether this comparison is based on the wages for March 1921, or for those already published for July 1922. Delegate Green stated at the Congress that the real wages of the English miners had never been so low for the last thirty years. The profits of the employers, however, have been constantly increasing:

1917	£27,700,000
1918	£29,500,000
1919	£100,000,000
1920	£35,000,000

We see the same picture in *Belgium*. Wages there dropped on the average 33 %, between February 1921 and May 1922; 5 % in March 1921, 5 % in April, 5 % in June, 5 % in August, 5 % in March 1922, and 8 % in May 1922. In protest against the last reduction, the workers of the Borinage District went on strike, but had to return to work, defeated after a few days.

In *Austria*, the wages have grown enormously due to the rapid depreciation of the crown. The wages of a digger in Lower Austria in April, 1922, were 30,096 crowns per week. But the real wage is much below that of pre-war years, and has been continually decreasing during the past years. The report does not give any exact numerical data. This was not possible because to the money wages were added all sorts of wages in kind; free lodging, free coal and wood, agricultural land. The grant of free lodgement and of land to the miners proves how far the pauperization of the proletariat of Austria has gone. An interesting point of the report is the influence which the Stinnes group exercises in the Austrian coal industry.

In *America*, at the beginning of 1922, the wages in the so-called central districts of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois rose from \$2.84 in 1914 to \$7.50 at the beginning of 1922. During the same period piece work was paid from 61 cents to \$1.08 per ton for hand diggers, from 48 cents to 96 cents for machine diggers.

The report gives no figures for the cost of living. It only says: "The cost of living during the same time went up much quicker than the wages." We see then, that in America the condition of the miners also grew worse.

Czecho-Slovakia is the only country in which the real wages of the miners rose, (according to the report for 1921), as against 1914.

The figures for that country show a steep drop in the real wage between 1913 and 1919. Conditions began to improve in 1920, when the real wage reached that of 1914. The weekly wages, however, are still insufficient to meet the cost of living.

The *German report* says absolutely nothing as to the real wage of the German miners. It is a well-known fact, however, that the real wages in Germany are 50 % below those of pre-war times.

The *report of the French delegates* sounds a note of despair. They considered it as entirely superfluous to go into details, since the general situation may be characterized as bad. After a short description of the crisis, the report continues:

"Our miners have suffered more than the others, because our governing circles and our employers have favored the sale of foreign coal as against French coal. The purpose of this action is to force the French miners entirely under their power, by means of continued unemployment and increased misery."

What the French report expresses so clearly may be gathered also from all other reports. The coal kings in all countries are not yet satisfied with the deterioration of the miners' condition, but they are everywhere launching new attacks. But what the reports do not say so clearly, and which appears from the speeches of the delegates, is that the attack of the employers is also directed against the working hours.

In spite of this, the Miners' International did not decide to organize the resistance against the offensive of the coal barons. It did not even display sufficient courage to help the American miners in their strike by forbidding the export of coal to America. The £10,000 which were voted as support for the strikers is a disgrace for the whole mining proletariat.

The French report to the International Congress ends with these words:

"We will have to decide whether, in presence of the international crisis, created and maintained by the employer class, we are to limit our fight to passive protests and vain gestures, which, even when followed by action, must remain unsuccessful if undertaken only by the national section; or decide to attempt an international solution on an international scale, for which purpose the Miners' International was created."

The Congress has reached its decision. It sat for six full days, and was adjourned without reaching any decision as to the struggle of the miners against the yoke which oppresses them. The only possible measure, *united international action*, was rejected. The demands are to be fought for on a national scale. But the Germans have given the first example as to how the Amsterdamers intend to put through their demands and the resolution of their Congress. Frankfurt had decided: No increased hours of labor, no overtime; two days later they were propagating to the miners in Bochum a prolonged working day, and reached an agreement with the mine owners to introduce overtime in

the Ruhr. Here we see the Amsterdammers in theory and in practice.

He is a fool who still believes that the Amsterdammers will help the proletariat, and struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of the world proletariat. Their international relief is relief for the reconstruction of international capitalism, and for the continued enslavement of the international proletariat. The International Mine Workers' Congress has proved that the Amsterdam leaders are incapable of leading the proletariat any further. The miners of the world must understand this lesson, and do their utmost to create a true fighting International, and not a mere debating club.

The Economic Struggles in France and the Need for a United Front

By Marcel Ollivier (Paris).

The economic crisis which is raging throughout Europe does not spare France. Though with some delay, due in part to the balance existing between its agrarian and industrial populations, and in part to the economic advantages acquired through the Treaty of Versailles, it is now in its turn drawn into the swift tide of events that carries along, one by one, all the great industrial nations. With its existence menaced by foreign competition, French industry finds itself in its turn, face to face with the problem of decreasing the costs of production.

This problem can be solved in three different ways: 1. By improving the technical processes of production; 2. By reducing wages; 3. By lengthening the hours of labor. An improvement in the technical processes of production can be effected, first of all, by a better utilization of the productive forces. Regarding the active living forces of production, the improvement is equivalent to a betterment of the conditions of labor, and is opposed to a lengthening of the working day. Regarding the passive, insensible forces of production, that is, tools and machinery, improvement assumes a complete renewal; in other words, the acquisition of perfected machinery for turning out superior products. But this demands a considerable outlay of capital to which the capitalists are unwilling to have recourse except as a last resort. Besides, this material improvement is itself limited by the state of the scientific technique of the epoch under consideration.

There remain, then, the other two alternatives mentioned above: reduction of wages and lengthening of the working hours. Capitalists cannot, however, lower wages and increase hours at their pleasure. The labor conditions in any given period are not at all the result of the wishes of entrepreneurs, but vary constantly according to the condition of the labor market and the stage of the class struggle. Capitalists can influence them only indirectly by creating a labor market favorable to their interests, and by attacking the position conquered by the working class during the preceding period of the class struggle. The capitalists ought, then, to strive to reestablish the army of labor from among whom they draw their reserves; to which they will succeed in decreasing wages and in weakening the proletariat's power of resistance by wresting from it one after the other the advantages it has won in the course of the class struggle.

That is indeed what we are actually witnessing in France. By shutting down a certain number of factories, by successive lockouts, by dismissing part of the labor staff, and by individual discharges, the industrial lords try to sharpen unemployment and thus to create favorable conditions for a general slashing of wages. By a desperate campaign against the eight hour law, they create a state of mind favorable to a return of the 9 and 10 hour day.

Then the offensive begins. One after the other the most important industries force upon their workers reductions in wages. First it is the textile industry, then the metal works, then the mines. That done, a violent attack is made upon the eight hour day. After having been broken *indeed* in a large number of factories, it is abolished by law for the entire body of workers. The Law of Rio introduced the 12 hour day into the merchant marine. The law of Le Trocquer extended it to the railroads. All these measures combined support and complement one another. By prolonging the working day, unemployment is increased, by increasing unemployment favorable conditions are produced for a general wage reduction. In this general offensive against the working class, employer and government work hand in hand, mutually supporting one another.

How does the working class react against this offensive? Up to the present, left to itself, it has replied by isolated strikes having no connections one with the other, and condemned to failure by this very isolation. That was the case, notably in the past year, with the textile strike at *Roubaix-Tourcoing* and of *Ardennes*. That will be the case to-morrow with the strike at Havre, if it remains isolated like its predecessors, as well as with the movement of the miners and railway workers who are threatening to be the next to break out. In the face of the united and well organized offensive of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat ought to reply by unified action in defence of its wages and the eight hour day. It is not only a special category of workers, it is the entire working class that is menaced in its most immediate interests. It is therefore an imperious necessity for it to organize its resistance this time on a national, not a local scale. The sympathetic movement called forth in the working class by the strike at Havre, without distinction as to political tendencies, demonstrates that the country is ripe for action of this kind.

But how will that succeed in the actual state of division of the labor forces? It is only too evident that so long as this division exists, cleverly encouraged by the bourgeoisie, all the working class movements will be condemned to certain failure. There exists for it only one way of getting out of its state of actual impotence and of taking up again the offensive against the bourgeoisie; that is, to reestablish its unity of class in its action. The duty of labor organizations is, then, to agree upon a common program of action for the defence of the threatened interests of the working class; a program capable of rallying around it the vast majority of workers, organized or non-organized. In the present situation, the Communist Party and the C. G. T. U. would utterly fail in their most elementary duty if in a spirit of narrow sectarianism they should refuse to take the initiative in such a step.

Let there be unity, in every part of the country, among all the political and industrial working class organizations upon the basis of a common program of action for the defence of the threatened interests of the working class! The initiative taken by the Communist Section of Toulouse inviting the C. G. T. and the C. G. T. U. to a joint demonstration of solidarity with the strikers of Havre, quite timid and imperfect as it may be, ought to serve as an example.

The desire to unite is there among the working class. It is a question simply of expressing it, of putting it into action. Their support once enlisted the Communist Party and the C. G. T. U. will coordinate the movement. *There is no time to lose! The bourgeoisie does not wait.* A united front of the working class, for the defence of its wages and the eight hour day, that should be the slogan of today!

ECONOMICS

Production must be Increased! . . .

By F. Karl (Berlin).

In Germany we are faced with a general attack upon the eight hour day. The attack was introduced by an agreement extending the length of work shifts and agreed upon by the trade union leaders and the coal barons at a round-table conference behind the backs and against the will of the workers who are demanding in a powerful movement the annulment of the agreement. It is clear that with regard to the victorious advance of the bourgeoisie against the "gains" from 1918, there was never such an opportunity presented as is now, for the attack upon the eight hour day.

The agreement between Stinnes and Lubersac, which is only the beginning of further huge business deals of a similar nature has, in view of the markets assured to it, created a new situation for the iron and steel industry. In order to bring the business to perfection and to make the best use of all opportunities for profits, the output of the workers is now to be increased at any cost.

Majority Socialism and petty bourgeois pacifism have mismanaged; in the new epoch which is now to come, the attempt will be undertaken to force through, not only the political, but also the economic program of capitalist reconstruction in Germany. And this program cannot permit any eight-hour day; it is the program of the ten hour day of the Wilhelminian pre-war Germany, which is now supported by an exploitation based upon an inhuman standard of living and upon paper wages which have shrunk to $\frac{1}{3000}$ of their pre-war value.

"The idea of improving the standard of existence by an increase of production instead of by raising wages played a noteworthy part in the trade union organs", writes a German trade journal on Sep. 16th. In fact, for some time past scarcely a bourgeois paper appeared without some open or hidden reference to the lowered output of the working class.

We have to do here with a leading slogan in the the press campaign in connection with the coming general attack and which already plays an important part in the preliminary skirmish over the lengthening of the miners' shifts and in which the trade union champions of the reconstruction of German capitalism have a hand.

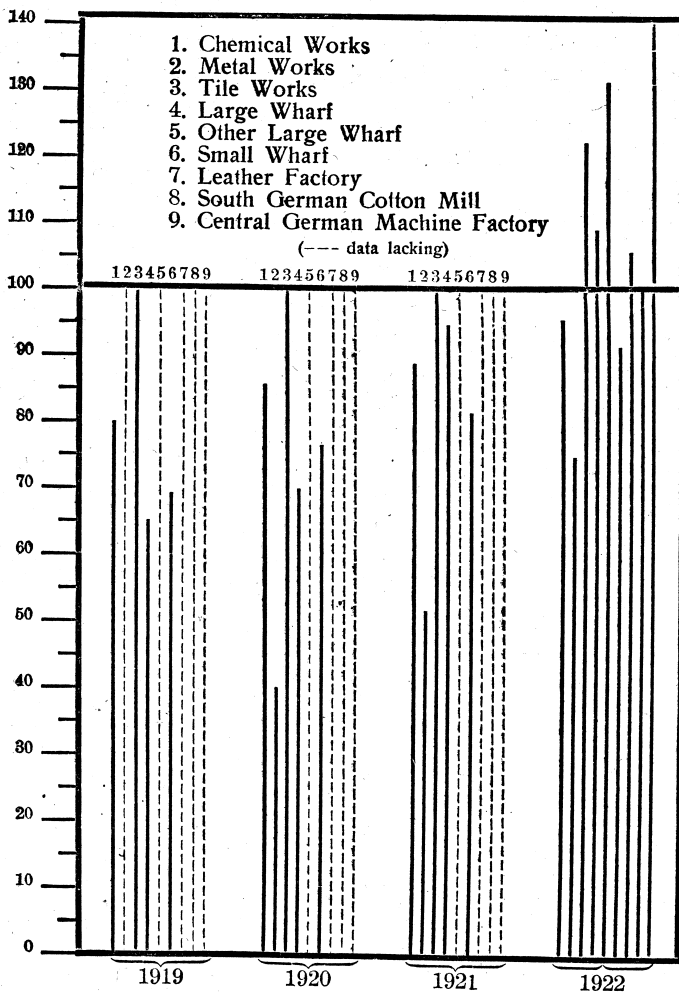
For the class-conscious working class no vindication from the work output is required for defending the eight hour day. It is amazing, however, what frauds are being perpetrated for the cultivation of bourgeois and non-class-conscious proletarian public opinion.

production which is fairly unanimously given out as being about 40% of the peace time production. Reference is made to the statistics of the government departments and indirect proofs are drawn from the "reading of the economic barometer", from the consumption of coal, from the railway services (amount of transport) etc. Further reference is made to the adverse trade balance,

and the low production of the workers is made responsible for all these alleged proofs of underproduction.

Of actual investigations of the output of labor which would confirm these assertions *there is none*. On the contrary, where investigations are impartially conducted they prove something quite different; they prove that in spite of *under-nourishment*, in spite of misery and a low real wage unexampled in history,

What then, are the actual facts with regard to the output of work by the working class in Germany today? Are there any proofs that it remains considerably behind the normal output of the pre-war years? In the press campaign for "increased production", continual reference is made to the falling off of German the output of the workers has, in the last years, continually mounted, reaching and even surpassing the pre-war output. Of the most noteworthy investigations are those which are published by the Frankfort *Economic Curve*, a quarterly publication of the commercial department of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. We reproduce the results of these enquiries in the following brief form. In twelve enterprises investigated up to now, there is shown so signally and without exception the exact contrary of the alleged underproduction on the part of the workers. It would be a singular occurrence if the average productivity of enterprises not specially selected, were to differ from the average productivity in Germany as a whole.



The output of a worker in 12 industries amounted according to the Frankfort Economic Curve. (1-10: 1914=100, 11, 12: 1919=100)

	1914	1919	1920	1921	1922
1. Chemical Works					
Coopering Joinery	100	94	95	102	120 Jan. Febr.
Turning	100	51	86	107	110
Smiths	100	86	106.5	110.5	—
Dye-stuff filling	100	—	85	85.8	—
Coal loading (House)	100	—	—	71.5	93.7
” (Steam Crane)	100	70	79	79	62.8
” Average	100	80	86.5	89	96
2. Metalware Works:	100	—	17.11. 40	16.9. 52	1.4. 73
3. Brick-yard	100	100	100	122	122
4. Large Wharf	100	65	70	95	109
5. Other Large Wharf	100	—	—	—	131
6. Small Wharf	100	69	77	82	92
7. Leather Factory					
a) time worker	100	—	—	—	90
b) piece worker	100	—	—	117	119
8. South German Cotton Mill	100	—	—	—	100
9. Centr. Germ. Mach. Fact.	100	—	—	—	139
10. Cigarette Factory					
Hand workers	100	126	118	113	113
Band rollers	100	451	570	544	750
Despatchers	100	233	260	227	196
Together	100	270	316	261	352
11. Large Machine Factory	—	100	149	154	—
12. Clothing Factory					
Department A	—	100	320	252	409
” B	—	100	97	181	405
” C	—	100	143	—	—

These figures speak for themselves. We leave a further analysis to the reader. It is only pointed out here that of the much talked-of *reduced output by the miners* as deduced from the official publications and as is inferred from the official data on the coal production, there is *no counter-proof*. In what condition most of the mines were, after their criminal operations during the war, and in which they are still today, how criminally backward the technical apparatus is for the most part, is alone proved by the heavy disasters of the last years, to which tens of thousands of mining invalids, of widows and orphans of sacrificed mine workers could bear witness.

Furthermore, the actual coal production has fallen off because the manufacture of by-products, especially of coke, which is more profitable, is more exploited, and because the production figures are calculated on the basis of the total number of workers employed which has considerably increased, whereas the number of coal hewers has dropped. (If the output of the coal hewers per shift is officially given as being on an average about 600 kilograms against 1000 kgs. before the war, there is also the official data from the Prussian mines, for instance the *Hibernia* where they amounted in 1922 to 1700 kgs.) The production of coke has also reached the pre-war figure, not to speak of the tar and asphalt production.

But with the indirect proofs things are very doubtful. Almost all publications refer to the data for the year 1921, and the year 1921 was for half the time a year of underproduction, with great unemployment, etc. The change only took place in the

As to consumption of coal, indirect conclusions can be

As to consumption of coal indirect conclusions can be drawn from the fact of the increasing importation of coal (especially since July). The coal deficit of 1921 along with the increase in the production of peat coal, shows that the German coal industry approaches the industrial consumption of pre-war years. Above all it must not be forgotten that the decreased consumption of coal by the working class population with its lowered standard of living has set free a great quantity for productive purposes. And one will find the conclusion of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* correct, which declared on the 8th September: "It is hard to decide whether or not the labor power engaged today in production is not greater than in peace time. The intensity of production on the part of the individual worker per hour has decreased but little". The fact remains, that the economic crisis in Germany, the open bankruptcy of the nation, is not caused by the lowered production of its working class. It is used as a pretext for the quack-like attempts at curing capitalism with the abolition of the 8-hour day.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Internal Situation

By R. D. (Izvestia, Moscow).

The crops.—The insufficient crops of last year and the subsequent famine have had a very depressing effect on our economic life. Another such year would have placed us before an impasse. Happily, the present crop will give us, besides the necessary amount for home consumption, an excess of several hundred million poods (1 pood = 16 kgms.). Compared with last year's crop, the 1922 crop is not only much better, but much better distributed throughout Russia, which will enable an easier transportation. The crop, however, is somewhat below normal.

The tax in kind will be paid in full this year. We have every reason to believe that we will be able to collect it promptly. This is necessary to provide food for the famine-stricken regions, upon which depends the extension of the area under cultivation.

The general data that we have been able to gather on the progress of production show that we have overcome the economic depression, and are slowly recovering from the crisis. The increased activity which follows every good crop should be a great help to our industry.

Trade in Soviet Russia must be the bond between industry and agriculture. First, we had exaggerated the hopes that could be founded on cooperation. Now we have entered upon a phase of exaggerated commercialism. Trade is to be found everywhere. The government's offices buy and sell and dispute with each other the right to buy and sell. To regulate trade finally, a special commission for internal trade has been created. It is composed of representatives from the Supreme Economic Council and the *Centrosouz* (Soviet of the Cooperatives). Two commercial events which have just taken place must be mentioned: the opening of the *Nishni Novgorod Fair* and the *Commercial Conference*. The Fair of Nishni Novgorod was a great success. Our state industrial trusts, a certain number of big businessmen and the tradesmen of the Near East, especially Persia took part in it. It is difficult at the present time to measure the capacity and the extent of the Russian market. The Fair and the Commercial Conference throw some light on the matter. These recent experiences have shown us the defects of our system of credit, and the necessity of giving the closest attention to the reorganization of our transportation.

The instability of the rouble was the obstacle to the development of trade. This year has brought an important amelioration. The rouble has been relatively stable for the past few months. Several measures become apparent to maintain this stability: reduction of new note issues, regular collection of taxes, balancing of the budget. But the stabilization of the rouble is primarily dependent upon the amelioration of the general economic situation.

On the whole, we can say that our internal situation has much improved since last year. The new economic policy has justified all our hopes. Nevertheless, we must recognize that it has created several political dangers which Lenin had foreseen and foretold.

The best means to ward off these dangers is the consolidation of socialized production, that is, of our state capitalism.

The economic rebirth of our country has raised the economic importance of the trade union movement. The August Conference of the Party has drawn the balance of the first period of trade union activity since the introduction of the economic policy. Here too, the results are satisfactory. The voluntary adhesion to trade unions has strengthened our position. We have lost but an infinitesimal portion of adherents. 90 to 95% of last year's members have taken union cards this year. The trade unions remain what they must be,—schools of Communism and defensive organs of the workers. They take care of the settlement of wage scales, labor protection measures, social insurance, etc.

The cooperatives did not justify our hopes. Perhaps we expected too much of them at the start. They must be more firmly grounded, and developed. The relations between the working class and the peasantry may be assured by Consumers' Cooperatives, uniting both workers and peasants. Up to the last conference of the Party, certain comrades demanded that Workers' Cooperatives be separated from General Cooperatives. The Party decided otherwise. Workers' Cooperatives must influence the whole cooperative movement. Besides the Consumers' Cooperatives, the Agricultural Cooperatives which are now in a precarious state, require the whole of our attention.

The last Conference of the Russian Communist Party, examining the new problem brought about by the development of a *bourgeois ideology* due to the introduction of the new economic policy, said definitely: "Our economic retreat has ended and the political offensive continues."

That does not mean that we intend to return to our old methods of combat. New circumstances demand new methods. The petty bourgeois elements have given up the attempt to overthrow the Soviet Regime by force of arms and try to take advantage of all possibilities of legal activity. Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, the *Smena Vekh* cadets, hope that the new economic policy will slowly bring back the bourgeois state. Their capacity for adaptation is often surprising. To defeat them, the working class must maintain the direction of political affairs with a firm hand, and assert its leadership in the ideological field. This is what Zinoviev pointed out at the Conference of the Party which advocated several practical measures, among them, intensification of the activity of the Socialist Academy, the central laboratory of revolutionary thought, the formation of a red professorship for the universities, the amelioration of our press, the improvement of our Party Schools, the enlargement of the work of Marxian Study Circles (especially in the country). Which does not exclude any repressive measure that the Soviets may adopt against the intellectual representatives of the petty bourgeois class, whose counter-revolutionary activity is particularly dangerous. A certain number of them have been recently exiled to foreign countries and to the provinces of the North.

The trial of the Social Revolutionary leaders has confirmed before public opinion the terrible accusations against them. The indignant protests of the bourgeois and reformist press are due to the blow which the trial brought to the united front of counter-revolutionary "Socialists" and the bourgeoisie. The revelations from the archives of the *Administrative Centre* in Paris, revealed the powers behind the S. R.'s and have finally discredited the S. R. Party.

The reform in the Russian Church continues. It results from the opposition which the counter-revolutionary clergy and patriarch Tikhon met when they attempted to exploit the famine and the seizure of the Church treasures in favor of the famished, for their own cause. The Congress of the Living Church has shown the way for the religious rebirth of Russia. The *Old Church* was the daughter of a capitalist autocracy. Most of the Bishops came from the large landed aristocracy or from the nobility. The *Living Church* is that of the small clergy and the peasant masses. It has not yet sufficient courage to break definitely with the old theocratic tradition, but it reached several important decisions such as, to demand from the Superior Administration of the Church the democratization of the clergy, the transformation of monasteries into labor associations, etc. Finally, the Congress of the Living Church has withdrawn the excommunication of Tolstoy. Two opposite tendencies, led by Bishop Antonin and Archdeacon Krasnitsky are manifest in the Living Church and will result in a split. At any rate, it remains certain that the Russian Church will no longer be a weapon of the counter-revolution.

We see then, that our economic situation has improved and will continue to improve after the crops have been gathered.

Our internal political situation is more satisfactory. The petty bourgeois and counter-revolutionary elements are in process of disintegration. The white emigration is becoming more demoralized and more divided day by day. The day is not far when it will be composed only of men bound indissolubly to the past, every active element desiring to return to the native country.