**ECONOMICS**

Holland's Economic Situation

by A. Friedrich (Berlin).

Holland's economic situation is a good example of the conditions existing in those countries which were neutral during the war and which possess a higher exchange rate and it is furthermore an example of how the industries of these countries are affected by the cost-of-living of the countries possessing a low rate of exchange, especially such as Germany, and the cut-throat competition resulting therefrom. It is also a good example of how the fall of the German mark allows German products to get into the hands of capitalists of politically weaker countries.

In contrast with the state of the stock exchanges of Berlin and Vienna, industrial shares depreciated considerably in the last few weeks on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange.

The financial situation of a large number of big industries has been considerably disturbed. The number of bankruptcies has increased considerably in October, and has surpassed by far those of October of the previous year.

The possibility of competition by Dutch industry has been very much reduced through the depreciation of the German mark. The shipyards especially are complaining of the heavy losses which they are suffering through competition by German capital. They are scarcely receiving any orders for new ships or even orders for ship-repairs. The same is true of the iron-construction works, in which many establishments have shut down altogether and others have transferred their production to Germany. The incandescent lamp industry has again received some orders.

The reason given for this is that the German industry cannot fill all the orders and therefore something remains for Holland. The same reason is given for the slight revival in the paper industry. The situation of the chemical industry is very bad. As a consequence of the higher English and American exchange rates on German goods, there has been a rise in the prices of the German goods. The rubber industry, which rose rapidly last year has reduced its output considerably this year. Likewise the margarine industry as well as the printing-houses are complaining that the corresponding German industries have made it impossible for them to compete, as a result of the unprecedented low wages of the German workers. The tobacco and glass industries are in an especially difficult situation. The tile factories are almost all at a standstill. The photo-engraving factories have broken up their protective associations because they would have had to shut down in order to be able to maintain it.

During the war, Dutch banking capital became concentrated into several immense banks. The position of banking capital has remained intact until now. The fall in the market value of certain bank securities has not been nearly as enormous as in that of industrial capital.

The employers are taking advantage of the present crisis in order to reduce wages which they want to bring down to the level of the German workers' wages if possible. The big employers' leagues of the metal industry wanted to put through a general wage-reduction of about 15% at the end of October, but the opposition of the organized workers prevented this. The Catholic employers have decided not to reduce wages for the present. But on the other hand, workers have been discharged in large numbers. For example, the big Werksboulog machine factory near Utrecht has reduced its workforce by half. This shows how the exchange value of the German mark has made it possible to make enormous purchases in Germany, and to buy out the German retail trade. All this has been hindered neither through German prohibition of exports nor through Dutch transit-regulations. But the export of Dutch agricultural products and the export of fish to Germany has almost completely stopped. Holland's foreign trade is therefore on the debit side of the ledger, that is, imports are greater than exports. In September, the value of imports was 117,000,000 guilders and the value of exports 135,000,000 guilders. Thus the surplus in imports of 18,000,000 guilders. In August it had been 44,000,000 guilders and in July 85,000,000 guilders.

As a result of the transfer of the production of various industries to Germany, for instance the iron industry, because
the German workers are paid much less than the Dutch, the participation of Dutch capital in German enterprises has greatly increased. We note only a few cases here.

The Mues and Baxmann Chocolate and Sugar Factory in Münster was bought 75% by Dutch capitalists. The Hinrichs Auflermann Metal Works Corporation in Barmen has concluded a working agreement with the Rotterdam metal industry. A part of the shares of the German works is in Dutch hands. The Stöberherberberg Cotton Textile Corporation in Lübben has now been taken over by Dutch capital through the agency of the Buitlend Commerce Bank in Blaricum. Furthermore, the German margarine industry is controlled by Dutch capital, whose interest amounts to about 55% in this industry and 50% in the vegetable oil industry. The Jürgens concern is the controlling power.

In the same way Dutch capital has invested in other countries which have a low exchange. Thus the Wöllerendorf Works which until recently belonged to Austrian capital has now been taken over by a Dutch syndicate for 1,500,000,000 crowns. Dutch capital is also invested in Poland, Hungary and Georgia.

The duty of our Dutch comrades is to serve by all possible means the interests of the proletariat as against those of the employer class. This work is made difficult in Holland by the Social Democrats. The picture we have given of the economic situation shows that the existence of the Dutch proletariat cannot be guaranteed only by the fight for the minimum real wages necessary for existence, or the fight against the lengthening of the work-day. The shutting-down of establishments and the discharge of workers can be checked only when these establishments are closed under control of the workers. When their own interests are at stake the German workers will immediately become allies of the Dutch proletariat. The struggles for better wage-conditions in Germany, the prevention of the selling-out of German industry through pressure of capital from abroad, the establishment of German industry on the basis of the domestic needs of the laboring masses in city and country, rather than on export as is the case now, will render impossible the cut-throat competition which is to-day throwing large masses of workers in foreign countries out into the street.

### POLITICS

**Present - Day Japan.**

*by Sen Katayama.*

Modern Japan dates from the revolution of 1868, which destroyed feudalism. The growth and development of Japan has been a source of astonishment and wonder to the Occident. Feudalism through pressure of exportation for three centuries—not until the 1868 revolution did it begin to have intercourse with the West. An idea of Japan's development can be obtained from the appended statistics:

(Units in millions unless otherwise stated.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Foreign trade</th>
<th>National debt</th>
<th>Investments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>820.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>820.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>820.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>105.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>820.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Wages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Factories</th>
<th>No. of Workers</th>
<th>Wages per hour in Yen</th>
<th>Working days per year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>298.2</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>2.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>298.2</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>2.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Factories under private ownership**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of workers</th>
<th>Wages per hour in Yen</th>
<th>Working days per year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>348,200</td>
<td>408,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>350,175</td>
<td>408,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>350,175</td>
<td>408,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note**

- 1 koku = 4,9629 bushels.
- 1 cho = 2,4507 acres.
- 1 yen = .50 American dollars.

The above figures are taken from the Year Book of the "Oriental Economist", Tokyo. They demonstrate how Japan has progressed in various fields of industry and finance. Fifty years ago Japan was in a semi-barbarous condition—there were no factories, no modern railways or industries in the modern sense. Japan had to catch up with the Occident in order to be able to do business with it.

Japan has dedicated everything to the altar of capitalism. The laws, the constitution, the government, and the social and political structure were all so constructed that they were specially beneficial to the capitalist class and especially to the employers. The workers were exploited without any restrictions.

The politics as well as the Parliament were controlled by a select few, as is shown by the franchise system. The number of electors for the Imperial Parliament were in 1902—587,193; in 1904—757,788; in 1908—1,582,676; in 1915—1,422,115, in 1920—3,085,028. The periodical increase of the electorate is due to the extension of the franchise. At first the electorate qualification was the payment of 15 yen in direct taxes (land, income and business). In 1904, it was reduced to 10 yen, and in 1920, to 5 yen. The ratio of electorate to population has been about the same for the last 20 years, namely, 20.91 per, 1,000 in 1913: 25.75 in 1917; but 46.33 in 1920. However, one member of Parliament represented in 1903—1,210,000 people in 1920—121,235. Thus Japanese politics are monopolized by the property-owners—the bourgeois classes. The workers have been excluded from the very beginning of parliamentary history.

The Japanese workers have been struggling for the past fifty years. Not only the most opulent and arbitrary exploiters and inimical police laws and barbarities. Under these oppressive conditions, our workers have had to learn entirely new methods of production, all imported from the West. There are to-day some 1,500,000 factory workers are all trained during the past forty or fifty years. They have been busy with technical training in the use of Western tools and engines. Consequently our workers have until very recently not had time to attempt to break the oppressive yoke of the government and of the greedy capitalists.

Recently, however, especially since the Russian and German revolutions, our workers have rather thoroughly learned to utilize skillfully every point of vantage and to gain and hold their ground. By strikes and sabotage they gained in many cases the right to organize unions and to establish factory committees. The street demonstrations and mass meetings are successfully held in spite of police opposition and often military interference. Sometimes strikers occupy a factory, not to work but to make it a meeting-place during the strike.

It is true that during the war (1914—1918), the Japanese industries thrived and millionaires sprang up like mushrooms after rain. But it the war was saved by the financial and subsequent industrial crisis of 1920. The crisis began on the stock exchanges on March 15, 1920. Tokyo Stock Exchange shares, which are a barometer of Japan's financial
condition, showed great fluctuations, as is shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Highest</th>
<th>Lowest</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>309.95</td>
<td>115.95</td>
<td>164.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>248.00</td>
<td>142.00</td>
<td>174.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>483.90</td>
<td>183.10</td>
<td>333.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>540.00</td>
<td>100.50</td>
<td>270.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A month ago it was somewhere between 130 and 150 at the best. It shows that Japanese financial conditions are very weak if not worse than last year. Wealth has been amassed in the hands of a few very rich men and they are far richer than before the crisis. Before the war, Japan had a gold reserve of 260,000,000 yen; today it has more than 2,100,000,000 yen, and, in spite of industrial and trade depression, it has been increasing for more than 20 months.

As already stated, Japan is a capitalist country and everything is based upon the capitalist idea, but they are not at ease. Their days are numbered and they realize it. A great wave of dissatisfaction is making itself felt among the Japanese people. The workers and peasants are complaining about their present condition and are manifesting their demands for an improvement by strikes, sabotage and riots. Economically speaking, Japan is ruled in the most reckless manner. It spends more than half its national budget for armament. It is to spend more than 40,000,000 yen for this purpose in the coming year. The people are heavily taxed and industries are severely depressed; the employers are trying to exploit the workers still more by cutting wages and maintaining the high level of prices. For instance, in-maidens cost 42.5 yen, shokun, higher than any previously recorded price. Cleaned rice costs 50 to 60 yen or more. Foodstuffs, in general, are higher than all other products. Raw material is cheaper, so that with cheap labor the employers are making a great deal of profit and are exploiting the workers more than ever before.

One of the very good signs for the proletarian movement is the awakening of the Japanese youth. The revolution of 1895 was started, earned on and successfully concluded by the youths of Japan. This clear understanding of the situation, which have already joined together into local associations. The peasants, and the youth of Japan makes us very hopeful as to the immediate future. One yea after Japan's foreign relations, Japan stands to-day in the worst possible light before the world. The brutal, yes, bloody policy of Japanese military rule in Korea and its miserable policy toward China have made Japan the Prussia of the Far East. The Japanese people are losing faith in the rule of the military and corrupt politicians. Uneasiness and dissatisfaction are increasing. Thus, from every standpoint Japan is ripe for the Social Revolution.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Revolutionizing of the Finnish Trade-Unions

by Yrjö Sirola

The National Executive of the Finnish Trade-Unions decided, in spring 1921, after a referendum, not to rejoin the Amsterdam International. Tactical reasons as well as considerations of legality prevented the open discussion of the question. Amsterdam International, which was the revolutionary proletarian tribune that this decision could only be a temporary one.

A movement immediately arose among the organized workers with the slogan "Toward Moscow!" The revolutionary groups in the various unions, put forth the demand at the First Congress of the Finnish Trade-Union International. The question of international orientation subsequently gave rise to a lively discussion in the trade-unions.

The Congress of the Metal Workers' Union last summer aligned itself on the side of Moscow. Subsequently the Leather Workers, the Food Workers (hotel employees, etc.), bakery workers and the teamsters passed similar resolutions.

A very important event was the Congress of the "Triple Alliance" - the saw-mill workers, the transport (dock) workers and the unskilled laborers which were unrepresented in the Amsterdam International and in which the three unions were joined into an organic unit. The new union has declared its adherence to the Red Trade Union International and instructed the Executive to hold a referendum on the membership.

The Central Committee of the National Office has passed a resolution that the referendum take place in January and February. The congress, with 23,000 members, represents 50 per cent of Finland's organized workers' action, and must change the attitude of the Finnish proletariat. The social-traitors will naturally do all in their power to hinder this process of revolutionization with which the workers' movement will reach its climax.

The bourgeois press is already calling the attention of the government to the "danger" and is of the opinion that there is no room in Finland for an organization "that is subject to the control of a foreign revolutionary organization." Several of the red trade-unions in Finland have decided to sever or not to resume relations with the international federations under "yellow" leadership. They are waiting for the establishment of a red federation. Of course, it would be better if they had remained in the international federations, in order to transform the old trade-unions into revolutionary organizations. The corresponding organizations in the West should get into touch with the Finnish comrades in order to work together with them.

A process of reorganization is under way in Finland. The old trade-unions are being amalgamated and new industrial unions being created. This revolutionization is being facilitated by the fact that in many factories workers councils are in existence, which have already joined together into local associations.

A minor wage movement is making its appearance in many factories - the movement in the metal industry has decided upon a general lockout in order to bring the workers of a single factory to terms. About 7,000 workers have been thrown out of work. The lockout began on the 3rd of October.

The question of unemployment is a very pressing one. More and more workers are being dismissed every day and the resulting misery is appalling. Huge unemployed mass-meetings are being held everywhere, which are making demands upon the government and the municipalities.

The fight for workers' control of industry is beginning to assume concert shape. A commission of the National Executive has drawn up a plan for factory and district committees. The report emphasizes the principle of direct independent workers' control; it is not very clear however upon the question of expropriation. The proposal is therefore being severely criticized, as well as for its programmatic, unreal content, the revolutionary workers, and above all the Communists, insist that the workers should take the matter without hesitation and set up concrete demands in the factories for control. Only then should the election of factory committees as battle organs be placed on the order of the day.

The process of radicalization is proceeding at a high rate of speed in Finland. One year after the White terror in spring 1918, a left opinion changes into revolution, the trade-union bureaucrats, who had seized the positions of power, while the fighters in the class-struggle were starved in the concentration camps. One year later the Socialist Labor Party was established with the proletarian revolution and the dictator-ship of the proletariat in its program, and the trade-unions movement obtained a new, more radical leadership. Another year, and the majority of the proletariat stands on the platform of the Red Trade Union International. The proletariat which interrelated faced the bourgeoisie in civil war will not let itself be deceived any longer.

The Australian Trade Union Congress

by T. Wilkinson (Adelaide)

The All Australia and New Zealand Trade Union Congress, representing 700,000 trade-unionists, convoked by the Federal Executive of the Australian Labour Party at the Trades Hall Melbourne, on Tuesday, October 20-25, 1921 marks an important point in the development of the working-class movement in that country. The intensification of the class-struggle and the sharpening of class antagonism due to the industrial depression throughout the world is reflected in the rise of the trade-union wealth and resulted in a wave of dissatisfaction in the official policy of the Australian Labor Party - the dominant party within the working-class movement - relying principally on trade-union support for its position as a strong political force. In many of
was carried after discussion. The Communists on the Committee were convinced that a "Left wing" would be the prime factor that led to the convocation of the Congress.

In New South Wales, the premier State of the Commonwealth, the Trades and Labour Council (possibly an earlier version of the present NSW Labor Council) was more successful in its attempts to supplant the policy of the ALP—and repeated efforts were made to smash the revolutionary faction that controlled the Council and install in office an Executive favorable to the remaining bodies.

The Federated Seamen’s Unions of Australia adopted a distinct revolutionary policy and withdrew their affiliation; it rejected the policy of industrial arbitration in favor of the strike weapon and generally resorted to this method at all times. It manifested itself, at every point in the history of our seamen, wherever it was seen that the rank and file were getting ahead of their official leaders. The impotence of the Labor Government in New South Wales and Queensland—their failure to cope with the problem of unemployment and ameliorate the social conditions of the workers—was also a source of the workers to exercise their franchise. In the principal support of the A.L.P., the Australian Workers’ Union was the largest and most influential in the Commonwealth and the proponent of the highest type of trade unionism. The A.L.P. gave itself to the task of building a revolutionary Industrial Unionism and repeatedly checked the attempts to form a One Big Union for the whole of Australia. All these influences resulted in a liquidation of the strength of the A.L.P. and seriously undermined its foundation by leading to the extreme apathy of its supporters, who at the same time were not rallying to the support of the Communist Party (the CP is still in the stage of endeavouring to win the support of the vanguard of the working-class—this problem can only be solved by definite communist political strategy, and the liquidation of the influences of “Left doctrinalism” found within sections of the revolutionary workers).

The Premier of Queensland, the late John Storey, the labor Premier, the failure of the Labor Party in office was responsible for a great wave of apathy amongst its supporters. At the by-election for west Sydney, one of the greatest labor strongholds in the Commonwealth, the candidate supported by the House of Representatives, caused by the death of the deputy-leader of the A.L.P. T. G. Ryan a record low poll resulted. It was only by a small majority that the A.L.P. candidate was returned. The South Australian strike which was initiated under the old executive of the rank and file and the failure of the workers to exercise their franchise. In the principal support of the A.L.P., the Australian Workers’ Union was the largest and most influential in the Commonwealth and the proponent of the highest type of trade unionism. The A.L.P. gave itself to the task of building a revolutionary Industrial Unionism and repeatedly checked the attempts to form a One Big Union for the whole of Australia. All these influences resulted in a liquidation of the strength of the A.L.P. and seriously undermined its foundation by leading to the extreme apathy of its supporters, who at the same time were not rallying to the support of the Communist Party (the CP is still in the stage of endeavouring to win the support of the vanguard of the working-class—this problem can only be solved by definite communist political strategy, and the liquidation of the influences of “Left doctrinalism” found within sections of the revolutionary workers).

The澳洲 National Congress was called by the Australian Labor Council, which was a clear indication of the fact that this Congress was likely to be made the cockpit of the political conditions of Australia. Much disagreement is evident as to the position the Communist Party should adopt towards the Labor Party. The problem is complex and upon its solution depends the success of the Communist Party in gaining a position of influence and power amongst the working-class and building itself up to be a revolutionary instrument capable of directing and leading the masses in an era of Social Revolution. The execution of the A.L.P. are opposed to anything of a revolutionary character and are using their power to liquidate anything of a revolutionary nature in the Labor Party policy. Part of the report by the Military Committee states, that as the Pacific War is to be a conflict between the two great nations, the Congress of Action is intended to get into communication with Labor organisations generally, and particularly with those in Countries bordering upon the Pacific for the prevention of future wars. New Zealand Labor Council, the executive issued a manifesto stating their attitude to the decisions of the Congress which, while accepting the decisions of Congress in favour of the Nationalisation of Banking and all industries required to be re-established by the workers of a Supreme Economic Council for the control and direction of all industries, nevertheless insists that such functions cannot be established for the benefit of the workers under a capitalist order of society. It established under capitalism, it would tend to stabilise the capitalist order of society, it would be contrary to the interests of the workers. A pre-requisite for any effective institution of nationalisation, of labor control of industry is the conquest of political power through to overthrow by the revolutionary proletariat, of the capitalist state machine (which, by its structure,
Workers' Relief Committee and Comrade Coates, secretary of the British "Hands Off Russia" Committee, were instructed to initiate a conference of all the delegations at the conference to all the peoples of the world, calling for a more intensive relief action and demanding that all organizations put increased pressure upon the governments of all countries to enter into relations with Russia.

The conference was marked by a spirit of unity before the political differences of opinion which distinguished the various problems facing the relief organizations. In spite of the sharp differences represented in the various delegations, they were at one in their readiness to cooperate in rendering the relief more extensive and more unified than in the past.

**Aid for Soviet Russia**

G. G. L. Alexander (Berlin).

In the course of the relief work for Soviet Russia one fact stood out clearly, namely, that very little is to be expected from bourgeois circles. Most of those few forces which promised to co-operate with us dropped off after a short while. There are only a few organizations whose sympathy and aid can be counted upon.

In his pamphlet entitled "Starving Russia and Well-Fed Europe," Trotsky lays stress upon the fact that the character of the organizations as those of Nansen, the Quakers and Hoover, a new attitude is being assumed by the capitalist governments toward Soviet Russia. This, he says, is due to the fact that the keenest realization of public leaders and capitalists that there is no other power in Russia outside of the Soviet and the leading Communist Party, which could even hope to attain success in establishing order and organization, or to undertake the economic reconstruction of the country. This realization, Trotsky claims, is due to the very famine which Russia is now suffering from. But nevertheless, unless the necessary aid comes from these governments, Russia depends chiefly upon the contributions of the proletariat. "Proletarian aid," says Trotsky, "must be alert in creating new possibilities for aiding Russia, and in developing and utilizing the aid already furnished in the most efficient manner."

In order to make the various individual forms of relief work possible it seems to us that our main task will be to raise all the relief activities into a sphere of solidarity which will be permeated by a great will to aid and which will fire every one with enthusiasm, so that the thoughts and deeds for Russia may become a daily duty. Every individual must become conscious of his duty to undertake a complete work with all his heart and soul, and not consider a single small contribution as sufficient. In order to fire this conviction for a general and lasting duty to aid in the hearts and minds of all, we must first of all launch a more extensive and permanent campaign in this sense. We must strive to make everyone extend our influence by contributing articles to all supplements and independent organs of the trade-unions, the Woman's, the Youth and the children's movement. It is not sufficient that the papers in the leading correspondents use the word "proletarian" only during the special propaganda weeks. We must carry on our propaganda daily. Not a single day is to pass without in one form or another reminding the reader in the entire press that Russia is starving, and that millions of children are exposed to cold and hunger without clothing or shelter and that they are undergoing an infinite torture. Our other task is to reiterate incessantly that it is a question of life and death for the Soviet Republic and the World Revolution! It is furthermore of the greatest importance to enlighten the worker on the necessity and significance of Russia's concession policy, which the proletariat does not yet fully comprehend or appreciate. Is there any other alternative but that the laboring people of the world must be stirred to new aid, however slight, when they think daily of the danger which confronts a work as gigantic as the one which the Russian proletariat has undertaken in the transformation of the system and the systematic work of social-economic reconstruction, is fraught with such a terrible possibility when they think of the untold misery brought down upon immense masses of people by the famine catastrophe?

The fact remains however, that the proletarian relief work must be recognized in the final analysis as the most important and the most philanthropic one, notwithstanding the element of sentiment attached to the detailed parts of it. In his pamphlet, the further distribution of which is a matter for the literature commissions, Trotsky speaks of "the universal mobilization of social forces which is at present taking place because of the Russian famine," and which have the Russian emigrants at their extreme sight. But the emigrants do not unite and organize themselves in order to aid the starving. Not their greater purpose is to furnish aid to the counter-revolution. For this purpose they make use of
The independent Communist Relief has thus far gathered 2,500,000 crowns. 2,100,000 crowns of this fund have for some time already been incorporated into that of the Workers' Council. Outside of this, the collections made by the Workers' Council contain at least considerable amounts, that of the Workers' Committee of Lower Austria, as in the case of the Workers' Committee of Austria. Of these the following are examples: the largest Austrian cooperative factory—"Arsenal", the largest factory in the Ottakring district of Vienna—"Walachowsky", also the largest chemical factory—"Semperit Rubber Factory". This happened only because the Communists insisted most energetically upon handing over the moneys collected in common by the Communist and Social-democratic workers, to the common coffers of the Austrian Committee of the Workers' Council. This was done in other factories also.

Then, there are at least 2,000,000 crowns of Communist contributions, contained in the collections made by the Trade-Union Commission, and by the Social-Democratic Party; this being a conservative estimate. This came about because most of the collections in the factories were made by the council through wage-assessments. The refusal on the part of the workers to have this assessment made is a breach of union discipline. In various large factories of Vienna, in the Floridsdorf locomotive factory, for instance, or in the industrial districts of Lower Austria, as in the Wollersdorfer Works, the Daimler Works, the Trasse and the like, as well as in various industrial plants, in which the Communists constitute a considerable minority, the contributions which in some large factories often amounted to 200,000 crowns, were handed over completely to the office of the council, instead of being kept in care of the collections made by the Trade-Union Commission.

Indeed, in one of the largest iron-works in Austria, in the "Schöllwerke von Ternitz", where the Communists are in the majority the contributions amounting to 190,000 crowns were likewise handed over to the Trade-Union Commission.

The organized workers of the Communist Party have thus contributed at least 5,500,000 crowns for Soviet Russia. When we consider that out of the 10,000 organized workers about 7,500 contribute a monthly sum which falls to each comrade amount to 460 crowns. This contribution is bigger than the average daily wage of a worker on the 1st of September of this year.

2. The Collections of the Workers' Council. The contributions gathered by the Workers' Council amount to about 5,500,000 crowns, 2,100,000 of which came from the independent Communist aid (as were shown above), and 1,000,000 of which is the moneys contributed by Social-democratic workers, the rest being contributed by Social-democratic workers.

3. The Collections made by the Austrian Trade-Union Commission in common with the Social-Democratic Central Committee. According to the latest report on the total receipts, made on the 10th of October, their collections amounted to about 17,500,000 crowns. Among these, 3,000,000 crowns have been collected. Two of these eighteen million come from Communist sources, as was pointed out before; the rest of the money comes from Social-democratic workers.

4. Various collections made in August and in the first half of September. All together the total result achieved by all of the Austrian proletarian relief organizations is:

24,000,000 crowns.

The uses to which the proletarian moneys are put to.

1. According to the decision of the National Labor-Council, a large quantity of important medical supplies, with a total value of 1,051,250 krones, has been bought by the Austrian Trade-Union Commission. In the next few days these goods will be sent directly and unconditionally to the Soviet Government, through the local representative of the Red Cross, that is through the representative of the Soviet Mission in this country.

2. Medical supplies were also bought for a large part of the trade-union collections, that is for over 6,000,000 crowns. These are soon to be sent from Amsterdam to Soviet Russia. How the remainder of the trade union collections are to be spent is not yet known.

3. In case the Communist fraction in the Workers' Council should be discontinued, the moneys, amounting to a total of 400,000 crowns, which have recently been collected by the Russian Relief Committee of the Workers' Council should be added over to the Berlin Foreign Committee for Workers' Relief to Russia.
in Germany.

bourgeoisie based of letting a capitalist was for example in its seek least led mistakenly propaganda work, he withdrew more and more from the bad condition of his health which he ruined through his stifle the propaganda, proceeded against Wynkoo p, old party. resigned,

theory of mass action. Besides some pamphlets only person fitted for a certain important astronomical post. At present however, he is employed as a municipal position in the astronomical world. We need only recall the fact that a few years ago, after he had returned from Germany, the government however, disregarded him, because of his theoretical work on the stars) . At present however, he is employed as a municipal position in the astronomical world. We need only recall the

little book was a deed. At that time Gorter was a similar case. The name is indeed appropriate. It does not refer to the fighting Dutch Party, but rather to a few of its former teachers, who at present have very few followers in Holland; they still make an impression on us, because to teach in Germany.

Hermann Gorter, doctor of classical philology, was in 1888 one of the most distinguished representatives of the modern individualistic school of poetry which then made its appearance in a number of different circles. The work of the young man from a classical nature poetry of a glorious freshness. His socialistic activities of the later period were less agreeable to the bourgeoisie.

Gorter acquired a general influence among the workers through the pamphlets which he later published together with some translated works, (Lenin's "State and Revolution" being one of them), in a series of ten volumes. Due to the astounding clearness with which they were written, his works continue to be a foundation in theoretical instruction. His later work on the world war, which was translated into several languages, marked the birth of the Dutch Communist Party, and proved a very effective means of propaganda. The works which he already dwells upon generalities a little too much; he speaks for instance, of "united world capital" surprising the world proletariat through the declaration of war. But at the time of its appearance, the book was a deed. At that time Gorter was still the spirit of the party. This is not the place for discussing Dr. Pannekoek's position in the astronomical world. We need only recall the fact that a few years ago, after he had returned from Germany, Dr. Pannekoek was considered by the scientific world as the only person fitted for a certain important astronomical post. The government however, disregarded him, because of his political principles (Lenin had even ended his propagandist work), and he is even against aiding Soviet Russia in overflowing the catastrophe. This was correctly stigmatized by Roland Holst, who until recently was their intimate comrade, as a disgrace. Now that a hand-to-hand fight is near, Gorter and Pannekoek are still preaching "Purity", and are in this way betraying the brave attackers.

Their ideas still belong to the time when the big thing was only taught; not done, not formed from the rather unclear clay of this dirty world.

Hence, their stupid contempt for the rise of the Eastern peoples, and their complete misunderstanding of the historical significance of the seizure of power by the Bolsheviki. Instead of finding the facts, they want the facts to adopt themselves to their theory. To them it matters not what it is; it should be--out of nothing. The trade unions are not good. The factory organizations are too much; he speaks about their misunderstanding the world Bolsheviki. Their ideas still have very few followers in Holland; they have the dirty Bolsheviki. Their errors, but all of them were soon extinguished. In Germany we see how the vastly vanishing KAP. (Communist Wor-
The Results of the Geneva Conference

by W. Eada

The Third Conference which lasted almost four weeks concluded its work on the 19th of November. Let us analyze its social and political significance.

The peace of Paris has created very serious strategic and political problems. It had to consider almost the whole complex of problems which form what is termed the agricultural laborers' question, i.e., the working hours, measures against unemployment, protection of women, youth, children, insurance against accidents, sickness, invalidity and superannuation, housing conditions, safeguarding of the right of organization for rural workers and education. Further it had to deal with the question as to the possibility of the co-operation of employers, workers, and the government in the matter of rural industry, the use of lead in the painting trade, the destruction of authraix-infected wool, and the protection of the labor of minors on board of ships.

The result of the conference shows that it tried to avoid all those questions which involve strong antagonism of interests or to pass over them by adopting a miserable compromise; only on those questions which do not affect very seriously the interests of the employers did the conference manage to adopt a convention or quite harmless recommendations.

To the second set of questions the conference had to deal with belong the problem of unemployment and its consequences, the extension of insurance against sickness, invalidity and superannuation, the protection of women, special agricultural instruction, protection of minors, the housing question, the right of organization of agricultural laborers. Regarding all these questions recommendations have been adopted, which for the affiliated countries mean nothing but a repetition of what has already been done. Social reformers are sometimes led to adopt a compromise; only on some projects which have been carried in reference to some of these questions. Thus, for instance, in the question of compensation for agricultural workers a scheme has been adopted which resembles the fourth International Convention to extend their existing Workmen's Compensation Acts to agricultural laborers. It is obvious that only those states where a sufficiently strong organization of agricultural laborers exists, that will force them to carry it through, will act upon the recommendation. The moral authority of the International Labor Convention will not suffice to attain this end, seeing that the French and Swiss governments have declared from the outset that they do not recognize and will not act upon the respective decisions of the Conference and that they generally dispute the right of the International Labor Convention to deal with rural problems. The representatives of the British and Japanese governments declared— with regard to several decisions and recommendations adopted by the Conference that they do not ratify them. In their efforts to reduce this part of the convention to nothing, England and France at times found support from Luxemburg, South Africa and Belgium.

The characteristic feature of the decisions of the convention is that they were carried by a considerable number of members of the Conference refrained from voting. Out of 109 members only between 70 and 90 voted on a number of questions. Experience has shown that those who refrain from voting opposed after all the majority in the real country of the carrying out of the decisions. Further at Washington and Genoa representatives of many governments voted in favor of certain resolutions but their governments declined afterwards to ratify them.

Of the most important questions especially those in which class antagonism is most apparent are the questions of the working-day in agriculture and of the prohibition of the use of lead in the painting trade. As is already known the first of these questions had been wrangled over the agenda as a result of the opposition of France. It is true it was decided to consider it at one of the next conferences but this actually means the baring of the question.

On the second question the conference met with the opposition of Great Britain, England possesses a great lead industry, and therefore opposed by the leading delegates that the prohibition of lead in the painting trade—as a Canadian delegate expressed it, "here the interests of Capital were struggling against those of Labor." The representative of Labor in this question as well as in all other questions agreed to a weak compromise; thus an agreement was reached.

Generally the lack of ability to do anything real exhibited by the International Labor Bureau of the International Labor Organization in all social questions is its most evident and the clearest expression in the concluding speech of the chairman, Lord Burnham. After having praised the role of the Labor Convention as a tie between different classes, which assists the states in overcoming the present crisis, he said: "I wish I could place in your hands, I believe it will do so, the hope that the principle on which your work will be based may be festina lente—be slow in progress—there is no panacea, against the evils under which humanity is suffering; there are no remedies against earthquakes. If you put a machine under too strong a pressure it will go to pieces." Further Burnham indicated that it will be necessary to work out in agreement with the League of Nations a more political line of conduct, a report of the committee will be drawn up in a different form and the application of concluded agreements to existing conditions. Taking into consideration all that took place before and during the Third Conference of Labor, it may be said that capitalist congresses in the form of the International Labor Convention desired to create an instrument for exhibiting to the proletarist its willingness for great social reforms, at present tries to reduce these reforms to a minimum.

Thus the conference, as far as its political decisions were concerned, explained itself by two important facts. In the first place it is obvious that the leading powers of the League of Nations, France and England, desire at present to keep the social activity of the conference in the form of a compromise, which is explained by the fact that they are trying to rob it of all political significance as a factor of international legislation. On the other hand the political importance of the Geneva Conference consists in the fact that it was once more shown that the workers do not adopt the International Labor Convention as an instrument for the solution of the problems of labor. The representatives of Labor at the Geneva conference i.e., the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, tried to avoid sharp conflicts with the bourgeoisie in all questions. Whenever it was impossible to adopt a decision they agreed to a recommendation in order to get a resolution adopted, which was inadmissible by the bourgeoisie in its original form. They deleted from the proposal all the parts objected to in order to buy in this manner the votes of the representatives of the governments and the employers. They were only interested to show the workers so many decisions and agreements were adopted by the Geneva Conference! However, they reconciled themselves with the fact that governments and employers were sabotaging the work of the International Convention of Labor. In a long speech of indignation, during the discussion of Albert Thomas' report, Jouhaux declared: 'Although the workers are not attained in all points the satisfaction they could expect, they will nevertheless leave the Conference without embellishment or resentment, for they know that what have not got to-day they will obtain at the next conference.' In approving of the advice to act cautiously which Burnham gave the Conference, Jouhaux insisted on the need of seeing things as they are, being inspired by the feeling of responsibility needed for firm decisions. As Jouhaux concludes in his report: "The Amsterdam Trade Union International should see in the International Convention of Labor exclusively in the common interest and that in this sense they will support it in the future."