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The Federation of Soviet Republics

(By J. Stalin.*)

The correspondent of the Inprekorr in Moscow interviewed comrade Stalin on the union of the Soviet republics; comrade Stalin expressed the following opinions:

The alliance of the independent socialist Soviet republics into a unified federative state, consummated at the first Federative Congress at the end of December 1922, represents a new phase in the development of the movement towards union, already begun in 1918.

During the years of civil war and intervention, as the existence of the Soviet republics was in deadly danger, these republics were obliged to form a military alliance in order to secure their very existence. This phase of *military alliance* is now, at the end of 1921 and the beginning of 1922, passing into a new phase of development, for the great capitalist powers have lost faith in the power of intervention, and are attempting to re-establish capitalist property in Russia by diplomatic and not by military methods. At Genoa and at the Hague the *diplomatic united front* of the Soviet republics acted as a counter force to the diplomatic pressure of capitalism. The agreement of the 8 independent Soviet republics, and the Republic of the Far East, formed on this basis after the Genoa conference, must be designated as a creation of this united front. But later on the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic proved insufficient; the necessity was felt for a closer alliance.

Among the factors pressing the Soviet republics to union, one of the most important is the internal *economic situation* of the republics: the great dearth of resources resulting from the 7 years of war; the insufficient financial means at their disposal for proper utilization and development of the fundamental branches of production. Another factor is the natural division of work historically originating in the economies of the republics,

and the uniformity of the traffic network covering the whole federation.

The alliance was further dictated by the position of the Soviet republics with regard to other countries. The danger of attacks on the part of the capitalist powers demands a *united army* and a *united military front*,—especially now that the Red Army is reduced to 600,000 men. Besides being liable to military attacks, the Soviet republics are exposed to the danger of economic isolation, of being boycotted by the capitalist great powers. The events that preceded the conference of Lausanne, and those of Genoa and The Hague, show the endeavour of the Entente to *isolate* the Soviet republics. Unity with regard to foreign relations is thus a necessity.

Finally, the formation of a united federation of socialist Soviet republics is actually dictated by the *nature of the Soviet* as opposed to that of any bourgeois government, in that it is *international* in its essence, and brings every pressure upon the working masses of the separate nationalities to unite into one socialist family.

The combination of all these factors has prepared the soil for the alliance.

The initiative towards the alliance has been taken by the republics themselves. Three or four months ago the republics of Aserbaidshan, Georgia, and Armenia, brought up the question of forming an alliance of republics; the Caucasian republics were joined by the Ukraine and White Russia.

On December 10, the alliance was decided upon by the Soviet congress of the Caucasian Federation; on December 13, by the Soviet congress of the Ukraine; and after this decision had also been accepted by the last All-Russian Soviet Congress the *First Federative Congress* of the Soviets was held in Moscow on December 30, and the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics was formed.

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This Union was joined by: the R.S.F.S.R. as a united federative body, the Trans-Caucasian Republic, also as a federated whole (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia), the Ukraine and White Russia. The 2 Soviet republics, Bukhara and Khiva which are not socialist but people's republics, are not included in the federation. The R.S.F.S.R. forms the greater part of the federation.

The fundamental principle of the Federation is that the republics are voluntarily affiliated, have equal rights, and retain the right of leaving the federation of republics.

The supreme organs of the Federation of the S.S. republics are: the Federative Central Executive Committee, based on proportional representation, and the Federative Council of People's Commissars, elected by the former body as its Executive organ. As regards the separate commissariats, those for foreign trade, army, navy, traffic, and foreign relations, are amalgamated, so that special commissariats in the separate republics will cease to exist; on the other hand the commissariats for finance, political economy, local government boards, labor, and inspection, will be retained in each republic, but in such a manner that they act in accordance with directions issued by the corresponding commissariats of the federative centre. The remaining commissariats, as those for agriculture, justice, education, internal affairs, etc., having special reference to the customs and habits, cultural level, and to the special forms of land cultivation and jurisdiction of the various peoples, are left to the independent regulation of each of the allied republics. One effect of this is to secure the freedom of national development of the peoples belonging to the Federation of Soviet Republics.

This is the form of peaceful relations, of fraternal co-operation, of more than 50 nationalities, within the limits of a united state now created on the frontier between Europe and Asia. This is the solution of the nationality question which has been found by the Soviet republics. What the old and much praised bourgeois democracy has failed to accomplish has been performed at one blow by the new Soviet democracy. The peoples formerly held together by Tsarism, with the aid of the knout, within the limits of a single state, and who strove towards independence with every fibre of their being, these peoples have now united of their own accord to form a united state federation, and to point to the world the way towards the formation of the Socialist World Soviet Republic.

POLITICS

Paris — London via Ruhr

By J. T. Walton Newbold.

The situation presented to the British people, both the supporters and the opponents of capitalism, by the threatened occupation of the Ruhr valley is serious in the extreme. The very fact that it affects alike the exploiters and the exploited renders it very difficult for a member of the Communist party of Great Britain to adopt a correct attitude. The German comrades naturally expect that the British worker should oppose with might and main the action of the French. They see it as an act of predatory capitalism, of imperialism in its most blatant form. The British worker, in so far as he is class conscious and intelligently informed concerning the situation, regards it similarly, but he requires to keep clearly in his mind the fact that the offensive of French imperialism reacts most immediately and most severely upon the equally predatory capitalism of Great Britain. In the conference at Essen the difficulty that presented itself to the British delegation was that it feared, in declaring itself strongly against the French action, it might seem to assist the propaganda of the British interests which, rightly, see in the occupation of the Ruhr the death-knell of British supremacy in the heavy industries. To the Germans of all classes and to the French outside of the official financial and metallurgical circles, the advance of the French army to Essen and Bochum appears only to be directed against Germany. This, however, is not the gravamen of the whole affair. In reality, France, capitalist France, bankrupt but imperialist France, is attacking not so much Germany as, through Germany, striking a deadly blow at her age-long antagonist and competitor for world power, Great Britain.

If it were not for the fact, that Great Britain is dependent for its corn supply, for its meat, for its cotton and for many other essential raw materials either upon the U.S.A. or upon countries in South America from which ships must come along sea-routes easily to be menaced by the submarines and commerce-destroyers of the U.S. navy; were it not for the fact that Britain has been compelled by its creditor the U.S.

government to reduce the size of its fleet and that the world commitments of Empire defence are such that the British government cannot afford to maintain so many squadrons of fighting aeroplanes, as are at the disposal of Monsieur Poincaré, war between Britain and France would be a matter not of years or of months but of days and of hours.

The situation presented by the French advance into the coking coalfield of Germany is infinitely more menacing to Britain's economic and political position than was the advance of Major Marchand to Fashoda in 1898. Then, only an outpost of the Empire was threatened, though Egypt and the Soudan had a great value to Britain, lying as they do on the flank of that road to India which is the spinal column of the British Empire, but the Soudan is removed from the Suez Canal. It was "Honour" and "Prestige" rather than any more material safeguard that was threatened at the time of the Fashoda incident. Now, however, France is making her greatest effort finally to checkmate that cunning policy by means of which Britain has for centuries made it utterly impossible for any Power or combinations of Powers so to coordinate the resources of Western Europe as to make them financially, industrially and politically stronger than Great Britain.

It has, for centuries, been a first principle of British statecraft to prevent either Holland, Spain, Austria, France or Germany getting control of that region known as Belgium. A study of the map will show, whether you examine it as it is drawn at the present time or any time since the seventeenth century, that the rich manufacturing and agrarian territory of northern France and of southern Belgium, geographically and geologically one, has been cut across by an arbitrary frontier delimited by order of and in conformity with the interests of British commercialism. Again ever since the Congress of Vienna in 1814, when the British merchants had already begun to appreciate the value to industry of coal, British statecraft has taken care to prevent the whole of the Saar coalfield belonging completely either to France or to Germany. Cuning Old England took very good care that these rich deposits should be divided between two hostile states. Again when in 1830 Belgium revolted from Holland with the approval of the English Liberals the enthusiasm of the latter for their new protege, "free" Belgium, would not go so far as to permit the bourgeoisie of Brussels making common cause with that of Paris and attaching Belgium to France. Britain has ever stood for the self determination of "poor little Belgium", well knowing that in this case justice right and liberty consort with the interests of the London Stock Exchange and the Manchester Cotton Market.

Prior to the industrial revolution, France was much more populous and economically much more powerful than Great Britain. It was only by a policy of encirclement that the money merchants of London and Amsterdam, employing as condottiere the hired soldiery of Prussia, Hesse and other German states, as well as the declining naval and military power of Spain, contrived to keep France from gaining and maintaining the hegemony of Europe and adding to it a great colonial domain. A century of class struggles and of war with the states of Central Europe has entangled France in complications which have made it impossible for her seriously to challenge Great Britain's world supremacy. Added to this, France, with a soil much richer than that of Britain, has been handicapped by the fact that nearly all her coal-fields lie on the frontier or far removed from the sea coast, harbours and great rivers. This has meant that, in an age when economic supremacy is built on coal and iron in juxtaposition, France has suffered something akin to political eclipse. When, in 1871, Bismarck took from France the only part of the Lorraine orefield then being developed, it seemed as if France must sink to the status of a second rate power.

When, however, in the last decade of the nineteenth century it became commercially profitable to open up the populous rich areas of Lorraine and prospectors began to put forward great expectations of even richer iron fields in Anjou and Normandy, the French metallurgical and banking interests found new hope. They learnt from the incident of Fashoda that as long as Britain and Germany remained economically intact and comparatively friendly that there was no hope of France securing control of the great resources of tropical Africa or of any other unexploited part of the world. They noted in the very same year as Fashoda that the Germans were commencing to build a navy upon a plan which was alarming to the British governing class. Immediately, they saw and made use of this heaven ordained opportunity to make bad blood between two empires traditionally in alliance or, at any rate, favorably inclined towards each other. A mysterious change came over certain jingoistic newspapers in London. The "Daily Mail" ceased to cry that France "must be rolled in blood and mud".

and commenced to shriek against the menace of the German navy. Next, the Unionists, the party of the successful industrial and commercial capitalists, took up the cry of protection for the British steel industry against the competition of the German steel industry. Meanwhile there had ascended the throne of Great Britain an ancient rōu , notoriously in the pocket of Sir Ernest Cassel and a group of Franco-Belgian moneylenders. Edward the Peacemaker—architect of the bloodiest slaughter in human history—the present Lord Balfour and sundry other British politicians made an alliance, secret in character, which was the diplomatic reflection of a financial community of interests already existing for some time between coteries of moneylenders around one or two houses in Paris, Brussels, Antwerp and London. This dirty gang set themselves—just like the equally unscrupulous rascals associated with the Deutsche Bank and the Bleichrōeders their antagonists—to corrupt the mercenary politicians Loth, reactionary and reformist, of the Balkans Italy, Spain and Russia. Ten years of this intrigue and the French capitalists were able to hurl a combination of powers against the blustering might of German and Austrian Kaiserism. The result of the war is well known to everybody. When it came to making the peace, Britain and France alike held their hands up to heaven, swearing eternal allegiance to the divine principle of the self determination of small nationalities. This new policy of radical republican roguery consorted much more with the interests of France than those of Britain. The latter had no particular desire to see Austro-Hungary divided up into a jigsaw puzzle of tiny states drawing their financial and military support from Paris but had to agree to it for, as we English say, “needs must when the devil drives”. France and Britain have spent four years in reducing Central Europe to chaos and its currency to ruin. The real reason for all this seeming lunacy has been a struggle, not between two ideas or between two empires, but between two groups of financiers, one of which rose to power in the early 19th century and held the Habsburgs in the hollow of its hand, the other which has risen to prominence within the last quarter of a century and has become immensely rich in “promises to pay” since the beginning of the World War. The old group may be summed up in one name—Rothschild. The new group in three names—The Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, the Soci t  G n rale de Belgique and the Banque de l’Union Parisienne.

The former is the master of Andrew Bonar Law, the latter of Raymond Poincar . The year 1923 will see some wonderful happenings as these two duellists and their much interested seconds dance furiously around each other. But that belongs more to the story of Central Europe and less to that of the Rhine-land. Yet they are all of a piece. The question of the oil of Mosul, the mastery of the Straits at Constantinople (through which must pass the corn from Odessa and Constanza and the petroleum from Baku as also in payment therefor the cotton piece goods of Manchester); the question of Vienna and the railways and river routes of the Danube Valley; the occupation of the Ruhr—not one can scientifically be separated from its complement.

Some people think that Britain and France will arrange a deal and that in return for a free hand at Mosul and control of the oil, Andrew Bonar Law, a particularly stiff-necked Scotchman and, for a bourgeois, a singularly honest fellow, will allow Poincar  to have his own way at Essen and Bochum. They forget that Andrew Bonar Law before he was a politician was a business man, and that he was in business as an iron and steel merchant. He understands probably better even than Poincar , attorney of the Comit e des Forges, the importance to industry, to armaments to statecraft in the capitalist era, of the disposition of the Ruhr, whether to a weak but independent Germany, a strong and arrogant France, or an international control commission which would, probably, be under the thumb of the United States Government, that is to say of the United States Steel Corporation.

This is the problem, the whole mighty problem of the Ruhr, the Ruhr with its mighty river, the Rhine, with its efficient canals, with its stupendous steelworks, with its wonderful cokeovens, with its gigantic collieries; the Ruhr, which if its coking coal and its machinery are allied with the mighty iron fields of Lorraine and Normandy and the finely equipped harbours of Antwerp and Rotterdam, will be a producer and a vendor of steel, the basic material of capitalist production; at a price and in a volume with which British capitalism can in no way hope to compete.

Sooner or later, somehow or other the proud, unbending British bourgeoisie whose flag “has braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze” will find a way to break the chains with which French imperialism is trying to bind Britannia. The issue can, in my opinion, only be—WAR.

What the British workers think at the present time scarcely matters. They are thinking very little at all about the Ruhr. Even if they were thinking, the Trade Unions have been so hammered by the capitalist offensive (which has, however seemed only to make their leaders more pudding-headed than before) that they could, in the circumstances of the moment, do little to help the German workers. It is for them a terrible danger, regardless of whether French capitalism enters the Ruhr alone or whether it comes accompanied—for the purpose of keeping an eye cocked upon it—by its fellow bandit, the capitalism of Great Britain.

In my constituency of Motherwell in Scotland where, in normal times, more steel is produced than anywhere else in Britain with the possible exception of Middlesborough, the works, considered according to our standard to be relatively efficient, are like toys in comparison with the work at Bochum, Rhinhausen and Essen. For two years some of them have been virtually closed down. For two years there have been from ten to twenty thousand workers unemployed in an area whose population does not exceed 80,000. These men receive in unemployment pay, inadequate to maintain them in decency and productive efficiency 15/- a week each, 5/- for the wife and 1/- for each child from the Labour Exchange, supplemented, in some cases, by parish relief. This payment is, whilst utterly inadequate, yet greater than the weekly pay of a German steelworker. This means that our employers, some of whom, to my certain knowledge, are financially interested in Krupp, can use and are actually using the German workers as blacklegs to beat down to yet lower levels of degradation and misery the men and women.

The British workers, though not the workers in Motherwell, Barrow and certain other centres where the communist propaganda is intense and our influence strong, do not understand the significance of the occupation of the Ruhr. It is our business in Britain to point this out and to draw the only conclusion possible, that within capitalism only three things are possible—slavery, starvation and their slaughter!

Against the Treaty of Versailles

By A. Ker (Paris).

The program of action of the French Communist Party places the fight against the Versailles treaty in the foreground of our tasks. It lays upon us the duty of strengthening by word of mouth and by aid of the press the feeling of solidarity binding the workers of France to the workers of Germany. At the same time it imposes upon us the duty of fighting with equal energy against French imperialism where it is endeavouring to oppress the peoples of Central Europe and the Balkans; the victims of the treaties of St. Germain, Neuilly, Trianon, and Sevre.

Besides this, the program demands a systematic intensification of our propaganda in the army, and an increase of communist work among the exploited colonial peoples. In this manner various duties are expressed as being special tasks of the French revolutionists, though at the same time coming under the general heading of the universal struggle of the proletariat against treaties of robbery and enslavement: the chief of these special tasks is the exposure of the parasitical character of the French bourgeoisie, and the lending of effectual support to the proletariat of the vanquished and vassal states, and to the colonial slaves.

Action in the colonies.

The colonial peoples were appealed to by France and England to fight for right and liberty. France has exhausted to a great extent the reserves of human material in Northern Africa, Senegal, the Soudan, Madagascar, and Indo-China. France made the most alluring promises to its colonial slaves. The Arabs of Algeria even hoped for civil rights. All these illusions have been cruelly destroyed. The yoke of the motherland has become even heavier and more oppressive than before the war. North Africa in particular is experiencing a reign of terror. There the communists are practically outlawed. Their letters are opened, their press suppressed and they themselves maltreated.

But at the same time the general movement among the colonial peoples has become a great revolutionary force. It has become a source of indescribable embarrassment for England, and is beginning to occupy public opinion in France. When thrown into the uncertain balance created by the Versailles peace treaty, the demand of the oppressed colonial peoples for emancipation may be of decisive weight. Therefore the party must support the native proletarians in their national, political and trade union struggles.

Help for the proletarians of Central Europe.

By the peace treaties our bourgeoisie has created for itself a number of powerful levers for the extension of its political and economic dominance on the continent of Europe. These treaties are besides, supplemented by a number of more or less secret or at least obscure agreements, ensuring the participation of French capital in the great industrial, commercial, and building undertakings of the vassal states of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Roumania, and Bulgaria. In this manner powerful groups of capitalists, represented by our greatest firms (Creusot, de Wender, Acieries de la marine, Credit Lyonnais, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Union Parisienne), with the aid of the French government, have been enabled to take an important share in the metal industry, the mines, the textile industry, the railways, the ports, and the banks of the states created or enlarged by the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

This financial, industrial, and military protectorate is nothing more nor less than a veiled form of territorial extension. In any case the role being played by our bourgeoisie in the countries of Central Europe and the Balkans creates clearly defined tasks for the French communists. The action of our capitalism in these countries shows itself in two forms: in economic penetration, and in the White Terror. It is the French bourgeoisie which instigates and leads the reaction in Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Austria. And therefore the communists must come to the aid of the proletariat of the countries thus dominated by France, must aid them in their press, their agitation in the country, and their efforts in Parliament.

The enormous profits yielded by the exploitation of Central Europe, and the projects for a complete seizure of German economy, clearly show the parasitical character of French capitalism. Our bourgeoisie is surprised that Germany's solvency does not increase in proportion to the requirements of the French budget. It wants to submit Germany's finances to the strictest control, it wants to stabilize the mark, collect the German taxes, balance the German budget—and all this in order to save itself from the inevitable financial ruin. The balance of our state finances, and the hope of restoration of our ruin, are based on the expectation that a foreign power will pay tribute. In France we have not had the courage to tax the bourgeoisie to the degree in which it has been done in England. The French minister of finance has no other plan for clearing off deficits than the hope of German payments, in which but few people still believe. It is a perfect impossibility for Germany to pursue any sensible financial policy if we continue to increase our demands without reference to the improvement or deterioration of Germany's position. Our government wants to force Germany, by economic and military compulsion, to raise money by further developing her foreign trade. But in this way production is ruined more and more, and the result is more harm than good. But what does this matter to our bourgeoisie, so long as it does not have to pay!

During the war we exposed the lie of national defense; today we have to expose the parasitical rôle played by French capitalism, its annexations and extortions. Too often have we limited ourselves to criticizing the world bourgeoisie in general terms. Let us now take up the conflict with our own bourgeoisie in particular, for in view of the leading part which it is playing in world reaction, it is the most dangerous enemy of the world proletariat.

The Communist Successes in the Norwegian Municipal and Rural Council Elections

By Alfred Aakermann (Christiania).

The municipal and rural district elections took place in Norway in October and December. The Communist Party ran candidates in 58 towns. In all, 560 communists were elected out of 2,120 members of municipal administrative bodies. The conservatives, including the associations of non-party citizens, won 775 seats, the democratic parties 246, right-socialists 254, land owners, prohibitionists, and other non-political groups 285. The labor parties have a majority in five municipalities. In five others they have as many seats as the bourgeois bloc, which in nine towns, including the capital city has only one more vote than the labor parties.

During the next three years the communists will be the strongest party in Bergen, Trondhjem, and 13 other towns. The socialists of the right take the lead in 13 other towns. With regard to the bourgeois parties, there is a purely conservative majority only in four places, principally where the prohibitionists are unpopular, in the remaining municipalities they have a relative majority, the decision lying here with the few democratic politicians of the middle class.

At the municipal elections in 1919 the labor party won 630 seats. On the occasion of the split which took place two years later, a great part of the elected town councillors joined the social democrats, and formed special organizations, for the most part in opposition to the old party organization. After the split there was a total of 333 followers of the party majority and 244 social democratic secessionists in 47 municipalities. 501 communists and 233 right socialist have now been elected in these same towns.

The number of votes cast is of equally great interest. At the parliamentary election last year the social democrats for the first time set up their own candidates. In 44 towns they then received 42,000 votes as compared with 80,000 received by the communists. This time the two parties received at the municipal elections in the same towns, 30,000 and 85,000 votes respectively. The communists have increased their vote from two thirds of the total labor vote to three quarters. In Christiania the party gained 5,000 votes. The increase was from 34,500 to 39,400. In the other towns the increase was from 44,600 to 45,800. As compared with this, the social democratic vote in Christiania decreased from 11,500 to 9,300, and in the other towns from 30,300 to 21,000. The capitalist parties have at the same time suffered a serious loss of votes, when comparison is made with the parliamentary election. The absolute gains of the communists are of the greater significance in that the limitations now imposed on municipal suffrage—the right to vote being dependent on two years residence in the municipality—are distinctly unfavourable for the working class.

The rural elections displayed the same political character as those in the cities. The country districts comprise almost two thirds of the total population, and represent a very important factor of local administration. As already mentioned, the rural elections took place in October. The communists gained an absolute majority in 27 rural councils. In nine others they possess one half of the total seats. In 25 other rural district councils the combined labor parties have the virtual majority. In one province the party received almost one half of the total votes. Here 14 communist district councillors were elected out of 29 councillors, so that the communists have almost the majority in the district meetings of this extensive district. A total of 1,800 communists and 500 socialists were elected to the rural councils. At the elections three years ago the labor parties had only 2,050 seats in all.

The new municipal and rural councils soon will be convened. In consequence of the election results the Norwegian Communist Party will receive a large number of chairman's (mayor's) positions, the importance of which varies according to circumstances. The communists have gained great influence in the three most important towns of Christiania, Bergen, and Trondhjem, and have created a most advantageous situation for the working class by breaking the power hitherto exercised by the reactionaries. The next step taken by the party will be the formation of a union of municipal and rural councils, administered by the workers, as an instrument for aiding the workers to represent their common interests in the class war.

ECONOMICS

On the Denomination of Paper Money in Soviet Russia

By E. Preobrashensky.

For the second time the Soviet government has struck off a few naughts from the figures of its paper money, that is, it has carried out a denomination. That we may be clear as to the significance of this proceeding, let us first ask the question: What is the difference between a denomination and an actual devaluation or depreciation of a currency.

Devaluation means a financial measure by which the state transforms the depreciated currency of the country, according to the rate of exchange, into new securities of fixed or gold value. The state actually buys up the old monetary mediums at their market value, paying the owner either in gold, or in paper securities of fixed or gold value. The bourgeois state which undertakes such a devaluation thus declares its bankruptcy, for bourgeois financial law considers the constant issue of fresh paper money for its budget requirements as a form of internal loan. Furthermore, a serious devaluation implies that no further issue of paper money will be made to cover deficits, and assumes as a pre-requisite—conditions in the state itself, favorable to a stable valuta.

Denomination, on the other hand, is purely a measure of convenience. At the first denomination in Soviet Russia last

year, for instance, 100,000 roubles of the old type were rendered equal to one new rouble of the 1922 issue; 4 noughts were thus struck off. At this year's denomination a new rouble becomes equal to a million old roubles, or to 100 roubles of the 1922; 2 further noughts are thus struck off. "One rouble" is written and spoken instead of "one million"; the rouble of 1922 is worth the hundredth part of the new rouble; it is equal to a kopek.

Denomination is thus simply a reduction of the gold nominals; it does not alter the purchasing power in any way, for this purchasing power is determined by the laws regulating traffic in goods and money in the country. The sole significance of a denomination is a simplification of calculation. The denomination of 1923 has thus struck off 6 noughts at one time from the old money as it was before 1922. But this was not done until the actual value had been struck off by the process of depreciation by the market itself, indeed to a much greater extent.

Neither does a denomination by any means signify the transition to a fixed rate of exchange. The currency may continue to depreciate. In a country which has been forced to resort to the issue of paper money for many years, a yearly denomination is very well possible. Such a yearly denomination would be very inconvenient for various reasons, and would not be a measure influencing the financial position of the country in any essential manner.

The bourgeois states have of late been showing much interest in the Russian denomination, but without comprehending its real significance. Denomination is frequently regarded as a method of expropriating the owners of paper money. What has been said above suffices to show that such an idea can only be held by the naive philistine. The owner of paper capital is expropriated by the actual depreciation of paper money in the market. This depreciation may take place under two conditions; it is either the result of a tremendous issue of paper money resulting from the decay of economics (as in the Western countries with depreciating Currencies); or it is the result of a large issue of paper money attendant on the circumstance that, where economics are being reconstituted, the factor of issue outweighs all other factors in the improvement of the currency (as in Russia to-day). But neither in the one case nor in the other is there any expropriation of a part of money capital as a result of the denomination, which is nothing more than a very limited resumé of what has already happened. The false idea of denomination also bears witness to a prejudice of bourgeois financial science. This science invariably regards state issue of paper money, accompanying sinking monetary standards, not as a particular kind of tax, but as a certain form of credit operation at the expense of the money circulation of the country, though in actual fact this is only the case when issues are made in the interests of traffic, and the rate of exchange is fixed, that is, under quite different financial conditions. Another naive conception results from this: the expectation that a government which has occupied itself for some years with the issue of paper money could reimburse the population by raising the rate of exchange to pre-war value. Quite apart from the fact that the values depreciated by the issues do not permit of reimbursement, it is totally impossible from a financial view point to replace precisely those values which have been lost by the fall in the rate of exchange. Let the German or the French government make an attempt at compensating their citizens for the losses they have suffered since the war through the depreciation of the mark or the franc!

It may be said of the latest Russian denomination that it has passed off quite painlessly. The new rouble has already banished the old "million", or, as it has been colloquially expressed, the "limone" (lemon); and it will not be long before every one will have become accustomed to this new and much more convenient method of counting money. But as soon as conditions permit to undertake a real financial reform, that is, conditions permitting a fixed rate of exchange, the question of outward form will be of secondary importance. The actual question is the liquidation of the budget deficit.

The State Bank of Russia

By A. Chvetzov.

I. Its difficulties and achievements.

The Soviet State Bank recently celebrated its first anniversary. In October, 1921, the fourth Pan-Russian Executive Session of the Soviets voted for the establishment of the state bank which the new economic situation had made necessary. On the 16th of November following, the State Bank (Gosbank) began its operations.

The founding of the bank involved almost insurmountable difficulties. Yet, within a year, one sees the appearance of a great national bank, possessing a complete system of branches, and firm in the confidence of the public.

Other equally serious difficulties have been overcome; for instance establishment of credit. And in applying the ordinary rules of credit under the exceptional circumstances following close on a social revolution, the bank has had no light task. How fix the rate of discount and the interest on credit with a paper money constantly depreciating? It was necessary to proceed carefully, step by step, to compensate the losses of one venture by the gains of another, until practical solutions were arrived at. The bank issues notes on a gold basis and under favorable circumstances discounts commercial drafts. It finances nationalized industries, it contributes to the revival of agriculture by the granting of long-term credits and encourages the development of business.

One should mention here, among the bank's commercial operations, its participation in the corn trade. The agricultural revival has not been entirely sufficient for its task, and the Bank has supplemented it by the purchase of great quantities of cereals.

The Bank has played an important part in the repairing of public buildings both in city and country. In this field private initiative has been largely encouraged and credits freely granted.

Before reviewing the chief results obtained by the State Bank in Russia, it should be remembered that they have had to be attained under the greatest possible difficulties. The bank has had to improvise, to adapt itself to situations both new and unforeseen even by the experts; in short, to achieve revolutionary results in a period of actual transition.

Note: the figures quoted in the following sections are in gold roubles.

II. Loans on Wheat.

The loans on wheat continue to be repaid. A total sum of 10 million gold roubles has been covered as follows:

1. To provincial branches of the Bank	3,966,655	or	39.7 %
2. Sold at Moscow	2,013,084	"	20.1 %
3. Sold to State organs (To nationalized industries and to co-operatives)	1,772,320	"	17.7 %
4. Exchanged against merchandise with nationalized industries	257,680	"	2.6 %
5. Given to co-operatives and to state organs on basis of long term loans	1,000,000	"	10.0 %
6. Sums turned over to various commissariats in payment of salary arrears	990,261	"	9.9 %
	10,000,000	or	100 %

Most of the bonds have finally found their way into the hands of the peasant population, which has received them in one way or another, from private industry or administration and are used for the payment of taxes in kind.

80 % of the bonds have been exchanged against merchandise or paid in ready money. Thus the object of the loan, which was to furnish the State Bank with resources which permit the restriction of emissions, has been attained.

The loan on wheat has also accustomed the masses, especially in the country to appeal with confidence to the credit facilities of the State.

III. Loans for the purchase of Horses.

The lack of horses is one of the worst drawbacks for agricultural Russia, ruined by imperialist and civil war and by famine. Consequently, the State Bank has, since August, placed important sums at the disposal of the peasants for the purchase of horses.

These credits are at the disposal of the Commissariat of agriculture and of famine relief. The loan, bearing 5 % interest, is to be repaid in two instalments by the 1st of December, 1924.

Preference, in distributing the loan, is given to those injured in war and industry and to peasants who have lost their horses either in the service of the state or as a result of a public calamity.

The Commission for the Revival of Cattle Raising examines all the horses received, so that the population receives none but healthy animals.

The horses are bought in Kuban, in the Orenbourg region, in Siberia and in the Ukraine. The arrival of the first consignment of horses from Kazan, about the 20th of October, created a great stir among the peasants.

The establishment of loans for the purchase of horses is proving, in the rural districts, one of the most fortunate activities of the State Bank.

IV. The Development of Banking Operations.

The State Bank of Russia, today, possesses 133 branches (19 banks of deposit, 79 branches, 35 agencies).

On January 1, 1922, its balance was reckoned at 476.4 million roubles; on November 1st it was 71,321 millions.

At the same time the current accounts have increased from 171,800,000 to 17,549 millions. On May 1, the State Bank possessed only 3.5 % of the total sums issued by the Soviet Republic, on November 1st, it retained in its vaults 17 %, which indicates a remarkable increase of business and a rapid strengthening of the public confidence.

Discount has undergone a similar development. Beginning in April, reaching the sum of 123.4 millions of roubles on the 1st of May, it attained the sum of 6,031.7 millions on November 1st.

In six months, credit on letters of exchange has increased 45 times. The interest on discount of bills for short terms has been lowered, since the 21st of June, to 2% per month (Up to two months).

The State Bank has financed nationalized industries, sometimes by transferring to them long term loans, on the account of the Commissariat of Finance, sometimes by granting them direct credits. On the 1st of June, the State Bank had consigned in this fashion, 550 millions, on July 1st 3,245, on August 1st, 6,773, on September 1st, 7,928 and on October 1st, 11,004.

At the end of March, the Bank began its operations in agricultural credit. The loans granted to agriculture increased successively from 11 millions (April 1st), to 121 millions (May 1st); 682 millions (August 1st); 1,136 (October 1st); 1,534 millions (November 1st). The credit was chiefly granted to manufacturers of farm machinery, to nationalized agricultural improvements, to model cultivation enterprises, etc. Agricultural credit can hardly attain any great extent without the help of agricultural co-operation.

Since November, 1921, the Bank has assumed the transmission of capital to and from foreign countries. At first, the sums transmitted through the Bank were turned over to the receivers in Soviet roubles, at the rate of exchange prevailing on that day. After May 1922, it could be done in foreign currency, at first at a rate fixed by the Bank, later at a rate established by a special commission. It will soon be paid at the rate prevailing on the money market. The State Bank will deduct a tax of 3 % at Moscow and Petrograd, and of 5 % in the provinces.

Commencing in May 1922, the amount of capital transmitted to foreign countries through the agency of the State Bank had increased, by the 1st of November, to a total of 1,242,292 roubles. The Bank charges a tax of from 1.5 % to 2 % for these operations. At first, this consisted almost entirely of small sums, evidently for the personal use of the recipients. But the remittances of a commercial character have been rapidly multiplying for some months. In September, 930 consignments of capital from Russia to foreign countries were registered, of which 239,250 gold roubles were in foreign currency and 195,750 gold roubles in actual Russian money. In October there were 1,162 consignments, a total of 356,708 roubles (One half in exchange).

To facilitate this transmission of money, the State Bank is contemplating the direct alliance of its branches at Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Rostov-on-Don, Minsk, Vitebsk, Novorossiisk, Nikolaev, Ekaterinoslav, Elisavetgrad and Homel, with foreign countries. This alliance exists, as yet, only in Petrograd and Moscow.

The Russian Naphtha Industry

From the *Pravda* (Moscow).

According to the reports received by the state naphtha management, the results obtained for the three most important naphtha districts, Baku, Grosni, and Ural-Embinsk, for the production year 1921/1922 were as follows:

	in 1000 puds		Percentage of program
Baku	166,191	177,870	107
Grosni	90,258	87,655	97
Ural-Embinsk	7,208	8,175	113.5
	233,657	273,700	average: 104

From this we see that in three districts the output exceeded the program by an average of 4 per cent. The highest percentage was obtained in the Ural-Embinsk district, but this is the least important of the three naphtha fields (it produces 3% of the total output). The most important district, that of Baku, yielded an output exceeding the program by 7 per cent, and produced 65 per cent of the total output.

The new program of production has been drawn up on the basis of the results yielded last year. The program of projected production for Baku has been fixed at 240,674,000 puds that is, 45 per cent higher than the program for last year. For Grosni the program has been fixed at 85,003,000 puds, that is, it been reduced by 5 per cent. The program for the Ural-Embinsk field has been fixed at 8,605,000 pud, 20 per cent higher than last year. The total output for the three districts for the production year 1922-1923 is calculated at 334,252,000 puds, that is, 27 per cent higher than last year's program, and 22 per cent higher than last year's actual output.

Out of an output of 240 million puds about 185 million are converted into naphtha products, while the rest is consumed at home and by working losses. From the 185 million puds, 77.7 million puds of lubricating oil, 41 million puds of petroleum and benzine, and various other naphtha products can be produced. Of the illuminating fuel thus obtained about 12 million puds can be exported, after the inland requirements are satisfied.

The amount of naphtha required by the country for the economic year 1922/1923 is as follows: For railway transport 100 million puds, for the Caspian and Volga fleet 38 million puds, and for war industry 11 million puds. An export of 145—146 million puds is calculated upon.

According to the reports received in October, the first month of the new production year shows a great increase of productivity, as may be gathered from the following figures:

	in 1000 puds		Percentage of program
	Program	Output	
Baku	14,221	16,095	113
Grosni	5,770	7,941	138
Ural-Embinsk	705	752	107
	20,696	24,788	120

For October the average fulfilment of the program is thus 120 per cent. In August and September of the current year, when the old and much lower program was still in force, this percentage was 96 and 92.5 per cent respectively. During the past fiscal year, October 1921 showed the highest percentage. But even then the percentage was only 114 per cent as compared with 120 per cent for October 1922.

If we compare the average percentage of the program carried out last year with that of October 1922, we find the following: The Ural-Embinsk district produced 113.5 per cent last year, 107 per cent in October of this year. But this result is probably explained by the increased program of production for the coming year. Last year Grosni produced an average of 97 per cent, in October of this year 138 per cent! Despite the great increase in projected output, the Baku district produced 113 per cent as against the 107 per cent of last year.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the Balkans

By G. Dimitrov.

The trade union movement in the Balkan states (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Greece, and Turkey) is comparatively young. With the exception of the trade union organizations within the territory of the one-time Austro-Hungarian state, which was united to Yugoslavia, the trade unions of the other Balkan countries have been formed during the last 20 years.

The trade union movement in the Balkans is developing in the atmosphere of a violent class war between labor and capital. The competition and pressure of the considerably more powerful and better organized European capitalism has caused the workers to be exploited with a barbarism which only finds comparison in the backward colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Even before the war the trade unions were forced to carry on long and difficult struggles for every trifling improvement in working conditions, while in many other European countries certain improvements were gained by means of peaceful negotiations between trade unions and capitalists.

The trade unions of the Balkan states have had to fight for the bare right of existence, have had to defend themselves against many attacks involving great conflicts and sacrifices.

It is thus very well comprehensible that opportunism has not been so successful in the trade union movement of the Balkan countries as is the case in the European movement, and that it has not been able to influence the theory and practice of the trade union movement in the direction of class peace, and of collaboration between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. And there has been even less room for a trade union bureaucracy ready to play flunkey to the bourgeoisie.

This objectively explains why, in the Balkan states, the trade unions did not permit themselves to be made the tools of imperialism, even before war was declared, as did the trade unions of Germany, France, England, and other countries, but on the contrary, armed themselves against the imperialist war, and condemned the treachery of the Amsterdam International.

This is also the explanation of the remarkable fact that all attempts made by the reformists, after the war and at the present time, to influence the trade unions, or to create their own organizations, have been unsuccessful.

In this respect Bulgaria and Yugoslavia offer a noteworthy example. The reformist trade union centre existing in Bulgaria up to the war joined the Red centre in October 1920, the latter being affiliated to the R.I.L.U. since its foundation. This effected the complete unity of the Bulgarian trade union movement, a unity entirely revolutionary.

After the revolutionary trade unions were destroyed in Yugoslavia, the reformists endeavoured to head a legal trade union movement. But although they were aided by the government to take possession of the buildings, funds, furnishings, etc. of the revolutionary trade unions, still they did not succeed in winning over more than a few dozen deluded workers.

The working masses of South Slavia utterly scorn the reformists, and the raging Terror does not prevent them from uniting in revolutionary trade unions possessing great powers of resistance. On the other hand, the favourable influence of revolutionary socialism has prevented the trade union movement in the Balkan states from being affected by anarcho-syndicalism.

At the present time the capitalist offensive is in full swing in the Balkans. The white Terror enables the capitalists of Yugoslavia to increase the exploitation of labor, for by its aid they have been able to introduce the nine and ten hour working day, and to reduce actual wages to their present level of 40 to 45% of the average pre-war wages.

In Roumania and Greece the same conditions obtain: The capitalists seek to reinforce their economic offensive by means of strengthening political reaction.

It is in Bulgaria alone that all the attempts of the bourgeoisie to establish the white Terror have been without avail. Thanks to this circumstance the Bulgarian trade unions are in a position to organize the resistance of the masses against the capitalist offensive in comparative peace, and are doing this with great success. At the present time the whole country is pervaded by a united strike movement, and led exclusively by the Red trade unions. This unanimous and organized resistance of the working masses against the attack of capital has already borne excellent fruit in Bulgaria.

Not only has the eight hour day been retained, and the main objective of the capitalist offensive thus successfully defended, but in some of the most important branches of industry it has been possible to gain an actual rise in wages. Thus for instance the average cost of living in Bulgaria rose by 25% between April and October 1922, and during this same period, thanks to the influence of the trade unions, the wages in the leather, sugar, and tobacco industries, and in the building trade, were raised by 35% to 40%. (The average wage in Bulgaria is however still 40% lower than before the war.)

This energetic resistance naturally enrages the industrial magnates, and they are organizing armed bands in their works and factories, led by White Guard Russian officers. In many places these bands have already attempted to attack the workers, and to render strikes impossible. It is gratifying to note that the favorable influence of the R.I.L.U. and of the C.I. is promoting the rapid formation of the proletarian fighting front of the workers of the Balkans against the capitalist offensive.

At the same time we are enabled to see with increasing clearness that the first pre-requisites for an organized fighting front must be created in the Balkans for the trade union movement. The formation of this front is the most important task of the trade union movement in the Balkan states at the present time.

There is no doubt whatever that the tremendous difficulties obstructing the development of the trade union movement, the white Terror in Yugoslavia, the violent persecutions in Roumania, Greece, and Turkey, and the attacks of armed bourgeois bands in Bulgaria, will be shortly overcome by the revolutionary trade union movement.

Defense against the Capitalist Offensive in France

By Bernard Lecache.

In 1921 the press, at the behest of a French government which had become more and more dependent on the capitalist class, proclaimed the necessity of a "reduction in prices". Soon after this press reported that prices were actually reduced. If the reports were to be believed, high prices had

simply vanished. This was nothing but a legend; there has been no reduction in prices.

This did not prevent the metal workers' union, in the persons of its famous leaders—Merrheim, Labé, and Lencir—from participating in the equal representation committees, under the pretext of instituting investigations regarding costs of living. These commissions are direct connective organs between capitalism and the labor organizations, actual links joining capitalism and reformist trade unions. The working class was speedily able to taste the fruits of this collaboration between the classes. The metal workers' share in the produce of labor was rationally limited, cut down in the most shameful way. An index was set up which was bound to lead to a further reduction in wages. The representatives of the trade unions, with Merrheim at their head, accepted this reduction. Within less than two years—from May 1920 until January 1922—the workers were obliged to submit to three reductions in wages, mainly through the personal fault of their representatives. Is the cost of living actually less? The exact contrary is the case. In fact during the severe winter of 1921 prices showed a tendency to rise. The metal workers, thus robbed of their illusions, and meeting one disappointment after another, demonstrated with considerable energy against the reduction of their wages. Merrheim's star began to decline. At this time—in December 1921—the split in the trade unions was brought about through the fault of the reformists. The Unitarian General Labor Confederation (C.G.T.U.) was founded. Immediately after coming into existence, the new unitarian metal workers' union had to undertake a number of fighting movements following one another in close succession, and clearly and determinedly directed against reductions of wages of its members.

The first conflict broke out in the Département du Nord—in Vielle Montagne.—40 out of a total of 200 workers were expected to submit to a fresh reduction of wages. The employers adopted the good old tactics of trying to undermine the solidarity of the workers. In this they failed however; the 200 workers held together, proclaimed a strike, and were victorious.

A few weeks later the foundry workers of Marseilles ceased work for fifty days. The attempt was made to force them to submit to a ten per cent wage reduction. They were successful in getting the wage reduction lessened to 2 per cent.

Another strike broke out in Lille, and lasted for fully 13 weeks. 3,000 workers protested against a 10 per cent wage reduction. The employers were obliged to capitulate in this case also.

In the Département du Nord the chain-smiths withstood and attack of the employers on their wages by fifteen weeks of determined and united fighting, and were successful in repelling the attack. This was followed by the glorious fight at Havre. For more than 15 weeks of the severest struggle against a united band of capitalists, the workers were defeated. The movement, which had been general in Havre for a few days, could not be extended further. It encountered the all-powerful Iron Works Committee, which dictates its will to the government.

At the same time an equally imposing metal workers' strike in the Seine et Loire district failed for precisely the same reason. In the Département Loire Supérieure, in Vantes, the mere beginning of a defensive movement sufficed to bring the employers to reason, as they feared a general strike extending over the whole country. This result was obtained by the determined unanimity of the 20,000 metal workers, who did not even require to lay down their tools.

From this point onwards there were no more strikes. The employers generally submitted without a struggle to the pressure of the organizations. But still there was an exception. The railwaymen of Batignolles (quarter of Paris) and the dock workers were obliged to resort to a strike to force their exploiters to abandon their wage reducing plans at least for the present.

What is the situation otherwise?

In the tailoring workshops, and in the works controlled by the Iron Works Committee, wage reductions have been made, with the result that large numbers of workers leave the district altogether. A secret circular issued by the capitalists of Havre regrets this circumstance, and complains, through their organization, against the industrial undertakings of the Département du Nord for taking these workmen into their employment.

The workers in the building trade have been considerably affected. Where the trade union organizations are but weakly developed the workers have had to submit to fairly large reductions in wages. In the Paris district, on the other hand, where the building workers union has been more active, there has been practically no reduction in wages.

In the years 1920 and 1921 the miners' wages were reduced, in various instalments, from 3.50 to 8 francs per shift.

The miners of the Allier and Gard districts have suffered to a very high degree. In the Département du Nord the reformists declared themselves in agreement with a reduction of wages of 3.75 francs per shift.

The mining companies announced a fresh 15 per cent wage reduction for this year. But the miners countered this intention by the threat of a general miners strike.

An industrial technical periodical, "L'Usine" (The Workshop), the organ of the Iron Works Committee, recently calculated the results of the offensive. It admits that wage reductions have done practically nothing to alleviate the situation of French industry, and comes to the conclusion that new and improved methods must be employed if tangible results are to be obtained. "We must reduce the rate of exchange of the franc" — so writes this organ of the capitalists.

Will the French industrial magnates venture to resort to this extreme means? They are fully capable of it. The French industrial magnates are no longer satisfied with the profits which they gained by the slackening of the eight hour day law since the strike of 1920. They are anxious to attain a reduction in wages by means of a forced depreciation of the value of the French franc.

But it may very easily happen that they will cut their own throats by this procedure.

The Capitalist Offensive against the Eight Hour Day in Austria

By Ernst Haidt (Vienna).

When the National Assembly in 1919, resolved on the forty-eight hour week for workmen, and the forty-four hour week for youthful workers and women, the capitalists were still influenced by the insurgent proletarian power. They were anxious to show the workers a different countenance, to make them forget what they had suffered before and during the war at the hands of these same capitalists. The resolution of the National Assembly did not proceed from conviction, it was a concession which it could not avoid. The Social Democrat Hanusch, as secretary of state, also took good care to provide so many exceptional regulations that it was not difficult to pass the bill. But after about three months he himself began to pick holes in this shop-window measure of the Austrian Social Democrats and to reshape it more in accordance with capitalist desires. The first thing was to do away as far as possible, with the 44 hour week, which at first applied to all women without exception. A decree issued by Hanusch ordains that the 44 hour week is only valid in undertakings in which women are in the majority. The employers gladly accepted this hint. All officials, foremen, etc., were added to the number of workmen, so that in most undertakings the required majority of male workers was found. In the state tobacco and cigar factories a permanent agreement was made with the workers' organization for three hours weekly overtime, so that 47 hours were worked per week instead of 44. In the workshops of the state railways the "necessary repairs to plant" were put forward by the organization, as a pretext for squeezing 10 hours overtime weekly out of the workers employed. Thus the first attempts at abolishing the eight hour day, and the 44 hour week for women, were made by the social democratic secretary of state and by the leaders of the reformist organizations.

The capitalists were naturally encouraged by this example and wherever it was possible the eight hour day was made a dead letter, for the time at least, by the introduction of overtime. It must be especially noted that this was done with the connivance and even the aid of the reformist trade union. Even in the undertakings of the city of Vienna, the deputies of which are three quarters Social Democrats, the eight hour day was temporarily set aside by the demand for overtime.

The slogan chosen by the capitalists, the government, and the trade unions for the work of re-construction, was "more work". The Social Democrats somewhat shame-facedly interpreted this motto as signifying that the eight hour day was to be used to the fullest extent, that the workers should work as industriously as possible.

Thus the way had been sufficiently prepared for the capitalists by the trade union leaders before the actual attack was made. So long as the markets were favourable, the greater number of undertakings could do no more than merely wish for longer working hours. But the scene changed with the beginning of the crisis, with its attendant wholesale dismissals of workers. Even more were discharged than necessary, in order to exercise pressure on the "high wages", and to weaken the resistance of the workers to reductions. Reduced wages — so the capitalists argued — will induce the workers to work the ninth and the tenth hour, to compensate for the shortage of wage.

It is an actual fact that in one mining undertaking, 280 workmen were dismissed on the pretext of shortage of work, and were then told that they could start again if they would give a written pledge to work ten hours a day. This case is not isolated, and it is especially in small undertakings, standing alone, that the employers openly approach the workers with the demand for longer working hours. The plans of the Seipel government towards a "sound basis" are obviously drawn up with the intention of extorting the longest possible working hours out of the workers. Even now, the trade unions lend willing aid toward lengthening working hours. In the "Engine Driver", the organ of the railwaymen's organization, it was explained that the eight hours only applied to the time of actual official duty. Preparatory and subsequent work were not to be reckoned, so that the practical carrying out of this organization shift involves at least 10 hours work. Working hours based on this interpretation have actually already been introduced, step by step of course, so that we have no longer to reckon on an eight hour day for engine drivers etc., but with a nine hours day. In private industrial undertakings, 60 to 100% of which are at present on short time, there is as yet no open effort on the part of the employers to lengthen working hours. At present they are merely endeavouring to increase the army of unemployed, to reduce the wages of the workers employed, and to increase the misery of the unemployed, so that they may utilize these in their main attack against the eight hour day. It is characteristic that despite short-time, despite the hundreds of thousands of unemployed, the leading theme of the bourgeois press, and of the capitalist conferences, is the necessity of doing away with the eight hour day.

So far as the reformist trade unions are concerned, the capitalists will find but few obstacles thrown in their way. They have already demonstrated that they are not only willing to tolerate, but are prepared to further, a violation of the eight hour day. Fortunately, the state of affairs is very different among the working people. To their honor it must be said that they have resisted every attempt at bribery, and have only succumbed to the extreme pressure of trade union bureaucracy. It may thus be confidently expected that, as soon as all undertakings are running again, they will defend themselves against the united attacks. The eight hour day law in Austria was, in actual practice, only an official sanction of an already existing state of affairs. Most categories of workers had already fought for and won an 8½ hour working day. The workers will thus be able, despite the endeavours of the capitalists, and despite a complacent trade union bureaucracy, to maintain the eight hour day and to render all attacks against it abortive.

The Development of the Class Struggle in Cuba

By L. Guerrero.

The real history of the working class movement in Cuba begins with the revolution which gave independence to the Island. The movement came swiftly and boldly to proclaim the irreconcilable conflict of classes. It won many offensive victories against the new Cuban Bourgeoisie despite its youth, it declared war upon all that was Bourgeois and all that originated from that implacable enemy. It fought with courage and audacity. Though it held no special view regarding the Proletarian state, at least, it fought. It was a movement of bold action, of war to the knife with the enemy, in the face of enormous sacrifices.

Before the Cuban revolution, Spanish imperialists had looked upon her as a possession of only minor importance from the capitalist point of view. She merely served as a place of exile for serious delinquents and for inconvenient preachers of the class struggle. It was the Spanish "Sibera". And because its climate is pleasant all the year round, it was also the meeting place of prominent bourgeois, out for enjoyment and distraction. But, as far as the Cubans themselves were concerned, they were allowed to die of starvation and misery. Since the entire ruling class was foreign, there was no need to distinguish between one Cuban and another. The Spanish bourgeoisie was the undisputed master of Cuba, and all the Cuban people, a single class, were at its mercy. Under this rule there existed only exploited Cubans and exploiting bourgeois Spaniards.

The revolution of 1898 ended the brutal tyranny of the imperialist Spaniards and the people breathed more freely. But this event by no means liberated all of them who had been equal under the foreign exploiters. It signaled merely a new phase of history, it plunged this oppressed people into a new epoch, the epoch of the class struggle.

Because of its immense riches and of its geographical situation, Cuba has passed under the guardianship of the United States. The petty bourgeoisie, whose number has increased with

such enormous rapidity since the revolution, have copied in every detail the government at Washington, their strangler of today. All its institutions, carefully modelled under the direction of the cunning politicians of the United States, serve largely to a development of the bourgeois class and the exploitation of human and material resources. The American capitalists had an eye open for the possible exploitation of Cuba, before, perhaps, but the possibility of exploitation rested largely upon the form of state and government. So they have succeeded in establishing their institutions, and have safeguarded them with innumerable political and economic treaties, among others, that of monetary control. When the gibbet was ready and the cord adjusted to the neck of Cuba, the formal execution began under the hands of the bourgeoisie of the United States.

Earlier, the new Cuban bourgeoisie had embraced the executioner as its "Liberator", its "Messiah", destined to carry the petty bourgeoisie to the capitalist class. But this dream has been shattered by later events.

By reason of its nearness to a country so developed, Cuba has quickly absorbed productive discipline and has developed industrially with astounding rapidity. The penetration of capitalism has brought with it an almost complete extermination of the small manufacturers and their absorption in the large industries.

This event has hastened the rapid division of the Cuban people into classes and has prepared the way for the historic struggle. In short, Cuba, at the present moment, is considered to be a country considerably developed from the point of view of production and of the division of classes. There are two ruling classes in the island, the Cuban and the foreign. The latter is crueler and more brutal, but from the point of view of the worker, they are equal, they fight side by side against the Cuban Proletariat.

The course of capitalist development has not been wholly peaceful nor without sacrifice. There have been revolutionary convulsions, moments when the entire bourgeois foundation trembled beneath the ruling class. The new bourgeoisie, drunk with the success of liberation from the tyrant, embraced its ally, and together, they began to dictate their terms to the working class. But they deceived themselves. The Cuban working class, influenced by the large number of Spanish workers who had come over as exiles or for some other reason, inherited their fighting experience and set up its trade unions against the new bourgeoisie, who suffered defeat after defeat under the attacks of labor organizations. They had cause for astonishment at these attacks. The trade unions constantly reinforced by new energy coming from Spain, united more and more in a fighting front.

But the petty bourgeoisie learned its lesson soon enough. Under American guardianship, it progressed rapidly. One soon saw the adoption of new tactics to protect its position. The tactics imported from America began to play their effective part in the struggle between the classes for power. The state, the bourgeois government, backed by the American government, has signalized the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by deportation, by imprisonment, by assassination. The victories gained by the working class have become more and more difficult to retain, the exploiters have begun to regain their power. For they have had their common plan of action, a strategy for all their class, without treason and without any collaboration. By such means, they have prepared a resistance of iron, while the Cuban working class has begun to struggle in the confusion, without a definite stand, divided in the face of its common enemy. The situation has become tragic for the workers organizations.

After a certain number of bloody strikes for bettering conditions, for the carrying out of the eight hour day, discouragement is deepening in the ranks of the working class. The lack of unified effort in the ranks of the working class, the lack of a preconceived plan of action or of a definite and clear stand, has plunged the Cuban proletariat into further confusion. Our Cuban comrades, after their first victories over the eight hour day, have seen the petty bourgeoisie reorganize its damaged front and prepare a plan of action. The workers organizations hold these conquered positions without fortifications. They remain ever divided, each group with its craft organization, without national or international centralization, a prey to the unity and strength of the capitalist class.

Until nearly the end of the European war, the Cuban workers struggled under two distinct tendencies, Anarchism and Socialism. Naturally, as in the rest of the world, there was a constant struggle between them, since there is no common basis for the principles of Marx and those of Bakunin. Nevertheless, they fought with unusual antipathy, even accusing one another of being agents of the police, etc. But before the reaction, they were practically equal. Their papers suppressed, their centers closed by the government, they have become victims destined to

disappear. Perhaps, this event clears the way for the reorganization of the proletarian front in Cuba under a definite program, and a program united with national and international revolutionary politics.

The anarchists who came from Spain in such numbers since the revolution, with their vague and flighty conception of a proletarian state, with an arcadian conception of liberty, undisciplined, uncentralized, have contributed largely to the disintegration of the proletarian front in Cuba. Their position, hesitating between individual action and opportunism, between anarchism and bourgeois reaction, between heroic action and betrayal, has hastened the rout of the proletarian organizations in the island. Leaning to the right like the politicians of the bourgeois class, they have often betrayed their own anarchism and the entire working class.

Nor has the little group of socialists contributed more to bring about a movement more unified and strengthened with revolutionary Marxism. With a position almost indistinguishable, without a definite stand for the proletarian state, for revolutionary tactics among economic organizations, or for the daily struggle of the masses, they fought confusedly, without so much as attempting to create a definite objective for the proletariat. True, they have had their victims like the anarchists, and they have contributed something to the struggle between the classes, but the working class of Cuba cannot pardon either the Anarchists or the Socialists for having contributed, by their confused action, to the disorganization of the labor movement. Still it is not too late to redeem these old mistakes, and for that, no moment has been more opportune than is the present. The Russian revolution has cleared the road for the emancipation of the proletariat. The Cuban working class has set itself to renew the old struggle, to take a genuinely revolutionary stand which will amaze the entire world by its boldness. For the working class of Cuba has understood well enough, the historical significance of the Russian revolution and knows how to appreciate the sacrifices of Red Russia.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Struggle of the Soviet Republic against the Counter-Revolution

By Ashmarin.

(On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Tcheka.)

The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for combating counter-revolution and profiteering (the Tcheka) was founded on the 20th of December, 1917, in Petrograd. During the first period of its activity, the technical apparatus of the commission was exceedingly limited; it was composed of a collegium of 10 and of 120 employes. The development of the struggle with the counter-revolution obliged the commission to gradually enlarge its apparatus, until it became a mighty organization extending over the whole country. We shall try to trace in broad outline what the Tcheka has brought to light from out of the subterranean darkness of counter-revolutionary conspiracy, and to give a slight idea of what this extraordinary organ has been able to accomplish towards saving the workers' and peasants' state.

The Soviet Republic inherited many mighty bourgeois organizations from the Kerensky government; these had gradually deserted Kerensky, and being disappointed with the revolution, longed to return to the past. The Russian bourgeoisie, and the liberal democratic classes closely related to it, gathered together in Moscow in July 1917, after the Cadets had withdrawn from the Coalition Government, and attempted to mobilize all non-socialist elements in the country from this centre. In the middle of October the *National Political Council* was formed, which worked towards the restoration of the monarchy, and opened up connection with the counter-revolutionists Koltchak and Denikin, then abroad.

The *Trade and Industrial Committee* united the big bourgeoisie of Moscow, which had no faith in the provisional government, and greatly feared the threatened proletarian revolution. The activity of the Commission in the period 1918-19 shows the hidden side of the struggle of the big bourgeoisie against the Soviet power. The representatives of the Committee frequently visited the German embassy in Moscow, at the same time keeping up relations with the Allies. The agents of the Committee succeeded in penetrating into various Soviet organs. The Committee lived solely on the hope of the overthrow of the Soviet power, made active preparations for reconquering the nationalized factories should counter-revolution be victorious, and financed the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organizations.

We now pass to the organizations which were founded after the November Revolution.

The *Right Centre* was founded in March, 1919, by the representatives of the *National Council*, the *Cadets*, and other counter-revolutionary organizations. Its main object was the resumption of the Eastern front against Germany, and for this purpose it received the instructions of the Entente, and was supported by the S.R.'s. In the autumn of 1918, the *Right Centre* collapsed, as most of its leading functionaries went south.

The story and the rôle of the *League of Rebirth* have been made sufficiently clear by the trial of the *Right Social Revolutionaries*. The *League of Rebirth* occupied a common platform with the monarchists and *Cadets*, acknowledged *Koltchak's* power, and kept up relations with the Entente and with the *White Guard* generals in the South.

The *National Centre* was founded in May-June 1918. It gathered together the representatives of all non-socialist parties. It was headed by *Tchenkin*, who was also the leading figure in the *League of Rebirth*. The Centre maintained relations with the *White Guard* General *Alexeyev*, with the representatives of the Entente, and united in a bloc with the *Association of Socialist Parties maintaining the Idea of the State* and the *League of Rebirth*. Its agents endeavoured to disorganize the army, its Petrograd organizations performed the work of spies for *Yudenitch*.

In May 1918 the Tcheka discovered a great counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the *Association for the Defense of Fatherland and Liberty*, headed by *Savinkov*. The members of this organization, one-time officers, enlisted in the Red Army without mentioning their past. The aim of the organization was to unite the officers, on the common ground of patriotism and of hate against the Soviet power. The risings in Moscow and Kazan were prevented by the Tcheka, but the centre of the association fled, and set to work energetically to reconstitute the organizations and to make fresh plans. Risings in various districts of Russia were projected in connection with the expected landing of the Allies in Archangel. The association had its nuclei everywhere. The planned uprisings were discovered in time, and the *White Guards* received proper punishment.

In the summer of 1918, the Entente missions were exceedingly active. These were headed by the English representative *Lockhart*. The Tcheka discovered the whole network of the spies of the Entente agents; the material found in the possession of these, showed that the agents of the Entente had not only to act as spies, but were also concerned in the disorganization of the Red Army, the blowing up of bridges, etc. *Lockhart*, *Lavergne* (French agent), and *Pool* (American agent), were exchanged for the *Bolsheviki* retained in the concentration camps of England and France. Their agents had however to answer to the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, in the famous "Lockhart trial."

The *Tactical Centre*, which was composed of monarchists, *Cadets*, *Social Revolutionaries*, *Mensheviki*, and other groups, stood for the recognition of the *Koltchak* government, and showed great activity in the cause of overthrowing the Soviet power; it is solely due to the watchfulness of the Tcheka that this most dangerous organization was rendered harmless in good time.

The first collapse of the *Association for the Defense of Fatherland and Liberty* took place after the famous *Yaroslav* rising, when the *White Guards* were successful in seizing power. After the rising in *Yaroslav* had been suppressed, and after other attempts at mutiny had been prevented, the association ceased to exist, but came to life again in 1920. This organization was finally crushed by the Tcheka in 1921.

We make only brief mention of the provocations of the central committee of the *Left Social Revolutionaries*, which inspired the murder of the German ambassador *Mirbach*, and attempted a rising for seizing power in Moscow. We only draw attention to the fact that at the moment of the rising, half of the collegium of the Tcheka was composed of left social revolutionaries; the deputy chairman and the majority of the troops were also from the ranks of the *Social Revolutionaries*. This is the sole explanation of their temporary success. Our rapid and energetic action was successful in arresting the fraction of the *Left Social Revolutionaries* at the Soviet congress, and to put an end to these futile attempts.

Everyone will still remember the murderous act perpetrated against the Moscow committee of our party in *Leoniev St.*, where many of our party comrades were killed and wounded. The Tcheka speedily discovered the culprits, and arrested all the "subterranean anarchists" concerned in the affair. This organization, though "left" in phraseology, maintained relations with the *White Guards* of the Ukraine and of the Don district.

In Petrograd the Tcheka had no light task. Here the conspiracies of one-time officers were frustrated, and in November 1919 a conspiracy organized by an English spy was

discovered. In the summer of 1921, the Tcheka discovered a huge conspiracy which seriously threatened the republic. The Tcheka crushed the great military and terrorist organizations connected with the *Mensheviki* and the S.R.'s.

The Tcheka played an important rôle in the unceasing struggle with the right social revolutionaries. The activity of the right S.R.'s was revealed in its true light before the proletariat of Russia and of the whole world at the public S.R. trial held in Moscow during the summer of this year.

It is solely due to the energy of the Tcheka that the Russian peasantry has been finally freed from the banditism which was endangering our agriculture, and which formed a great support of the *White Guards*. At the present time banditism has almost completely ceased.

After the organizational forces of the counter-revolution had been defeated, after internal and external enemies had been ruthlessly crushed, the Tcheka ceased to play a great rôle, and we were able to proceed with peaceful constructive work.

The Tcheka, now dissolved, was replaced by an organ adapted to peaceful conditions, the *State Political Administration* (G.P.U.).

The new economic policy, which represents a medium for the economic revival of a country exhausted by imperial and civil war, leaves a loophole through which ideology antagonistic to Soviet Russia is endeavouring to make its way. Unwearying fight against the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship, against the traitors on the economic field, and against the illegal struggles of the social traitors, whose work must be discovered and stopped—these are the future tasks of the G.P.U.

This work was carried on by the G.P.U., during the year 1922, with an energy by no means inferior to that shown by the heroic *Extraordinary Commission*.

Salary Increases

Some valuable information. — The real wage of the Russian worker more than 50 % of that before the war. — Comparison with German wages.

By V. Solsky (Moscow).

There is no doubt that the material condition of the worker throughout the world has grown worse since the end of the war. This is noticeable in varying proportions, both in victorious and in defeated countries. The closing of foreign markets to many countries with high valuta—the United States, England, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia—have caused serious unemployment. Wages in these countries have been constantly decreased in the hope of decreasing the cost of production. In the countries with low valuta, real wages have decreased daily owing to the rapid increase in the cost of living, an increase much more rapid than the increase in wages.

One saw the same phenomena until recently in Soviet Russia, in consequence of the civil war and the blockade which ruined production. It was obvious that better material conditions for the Russian workers, and especially an increase in real wages, were dependent upon the general restoration of production. But here the crisis has already been passed, and the condition of the worker closely follows the improved economic conditions; we need only cite certain figures to show how rapidly and in what proportions the real wages of the Russian workers are increasing.

To render our figures more correct, we have reckoned the wages of the Russian worker in gold roubles. Thus, in January 1922, a textile worker earned on the average 4.50 roubles per month, a mechanic, 5.30 roubles, a skinner 3 roubles. In September 1922, we find these wages more than doubled, the weaver earns 8.60 the metal workers 13.32, the skinner about 12 roubles.

And the raising of wages continues. What are they at this moment in December? Here is a table suggestive of what is being accomplished. It shows that real wages are well on the way to equaling those before the war. For the purposes of comparison the wages obtaining in 1913 are reckoned as 100 and present wages calculated in relation to this standard.

Metal industry 42.9%; Wood, 57.9%; Shoe-making 33.3%; Chemical industries, 58.6%; Textile, 42.1%; Sugar, 66.7%; Bakery, 81.9%; Tobacco, 131.5%.

Which gives us, in Moscow, a general average of 60%. It is noticeable that in certain industries, such as Tobacco, wages are higher than under the old regime. And further, it is to be remembered that workers in the national industries receive certain important privileges from the State, free municipal service, wood at cheap rates, provisions at cost price.

We are certainly justified in concluding from this that the real wages of the Russian worker are rapidly approaching their pre-war standard.

When they have reached the pre-war standard, there is no reason for supposing that they will stop there. Soviet Russia is the only country in the world where the least improvement in the economic condition is bound to translate itself almost immediately into an improvement in the condition of the workers.

To prove the truth of this statement, one has only to consider for a moment the wages in Germany. And here the contrast is astounding. Before the war, a qualified German worker earned on an average 30 marks a week. On the first of December, he was earning between 5,400 and 5,800 marks. In 1914 his thirty marks enabled him to buy 37 pounds of meat. With his 5,800 marks he can today buy 7 or 8 pounds. If we take sugar instead of meat as the measure of comparison the result is even more overwhelming, since reckoned in this commodity the German worker receives only 10 to 15 per cent of his real pre-war wages!

This of course is comparing conditions where they are at their worst, i. e. in Germany and in Austria. But a study of real wages in Italy, or even in Switzerland or among the English miners, leaves little room for rejoicing.

These observations lead us to the conclusion that wages keep decreasing in most of the capitalist countries while in Soviet Russia, in spite of the formidable difficulties of economic reconstruction, they are increasing.

FASCISM

The Reign of Terror in Italy

By Umberto Terraccini.

All the Italian newspapers, Fascist, pro-Fascist, neutral, and anti-Fascist, publish long reports on the frightful carnage in Turin; there is no comment, the horrible drama of bloody and cowardly barbarity has everywhere called forth confusion and disgust. The bare chronicle of events suffices, all comment is superfluous. It may be seen however, that even the unbridled reaction leading to these murderous deeds is still not enough to satisfy the accomplices in the government; the telegram sent by the minister De Vecchi, expressing solidarity with the Turin murderers, has been followed by an official communiqué which excused the fact that the streets of Turin during the last few days were strewn with the corpses of workers, by referring to the "temperament peculiar to Fascist mentality, originating in the traditions caused by the war, and which welcomes any kind of action or sport."

Within a few days Mr. Mussolini will again cross the frontier in order to hold diplomatic consultation with a colleague of the countries of the Entente, and the halo conferred on him through shedding the workers' blood will shine more brightly than before. We also will abstain from comment. We will only give literal reports of particularly typical episodes of the days of terror, taking these from the bourgeois Turin newspaper *La Stampa*.

"... The killing of the tramway worker Matteo Chialero was a most dramatic episode. He was sitting at supper with his wife and child, when a knock was heard at the door. He got up, opened the door, and asked: "Whom are you looking for?" "The tramway worker Matteo Chialero." "I am he", was the reply, and at the same moment a number of shots were heard. Wife and child sprang up and called for help, but the man staggered and fell; a bullet had gone through an artery..."

"... The shoe-maker Mario Probo, now lying severely wounded in hospital, met a troop of Fascists, who placed him on a lorry and drove him away from Polefer. Here two shots were fired at him, and he was thrown into the water. The scene had been observed by some citizens, who, after the Fascisti had gone away, pulled him out of the water and took him to the hospital..."

"... Karl Berruti was conducted outside of the town in a motor car by 4 or 5 Fascisti; he was then set down with the order to run. A number of shots put an end to his life..."

"... The tramway assistant Luigi Barolo met a Fascist patrol. He was asked: "Are you Barolo?" "Yes", was the reply, and a shot stretched the unhappy man to the earth..."

"... In Borgo St. Donato some passers-by found a man, apparently a workman, lying with his head in a pool of blood; the breath rattled in his throat. He was taken to the hospital where it found that his skull was fractured. The man's name is Chiomo and he is well known in Turin. The Fascisti had seized him and a friend of his in the afternoon, and had afterwards released the friend; some witnesses maintain that the Fascisti dragged Chiomo through the town the whole evening..."

"... Shortly after midnight, a manufacturer who was going along the Corso noticed a man lying in the street and groaning. He had a large shot wound in the forehead, his face was covered with blood. The man was discovered to be Pietro Ferrero, secretary to the Turin metal workers' section; he was

very well known, having always had to carry out the negotiations with the authorities and manufacturers during trade union conflicts..."

"... During an expedition a Fascist patrol entered the tavern of a certain Leone Mazzola. All that is known up to now is that, the neighbours heard a tremendous noise, and several shots. When the security officials appeared shortly afterwards, they found Mazzola dead in his bed. A dagger stab had wounded him in the body, a shot from a revolver had hit him in the temple. It is assumed that the Fascisti had found the sign of the hammer and sickle when searching the house..."

"... About 2 o'clock last night the Fascisti set fire to the Labor Headquarters, which they had occupied in the morning. The signal for the fire was given by a loud explosion, a shell with a fuse having been placed for the purpose at the highest point of the building, the tower. From here the flames spread with the greatest rapidity to the lower stories. The flames darted from all the windows, spreading with enormous speed, being fed by benzine purposely poured on the floors..."

This incendiary act had been carefully prepared in every detail. Fascisti with whom we have conversed have told us this themselves. It was intended to completely destroy the whole building. And the fire did actually reach the intermediate story and the ground floor premises within a very short time. From time to time the detonations of percussion caps were heard, interspersed with the more violent explosions of bombs and mines intended to spread the fire as rapidly as possible.

The half open door presently fell a prey to the flames; a dark figure had poured in an inflammable liquid causing it to take fire.

The Fascisti formed a complete chain of troops around the building. The unmoving figures in their black shirts contrasted strangely to the purple background of flames. When the fire was at its height, the Fascist song "Giorinezza" was sung, accompanied by the music of a band. A large roll of paper was brought out of the Labor Chamber, which served to kindle bonfires here and there.

Numerous Fascisti and small groups of soldiers of the royal guard (police troops) remained near the burning building. Some few police constables also put in an appearance, but these were prevented from doing anything by the absolute determination of the Fascisti to have the building completely ruined. This determination was confirmed by the fact when the fire brigade received news of the fire, and hastened to the spot to extinguish the fire, the Fascisti forbade the fire brigade to even approach the burning building..."

"... The dead bodies of two men, apparently workmen, were found in a ravine near the Barriera di Casale. Near one of them a piece of paper was found with the inscription: "You have paid for it, canaille!"

The frightful list of dead is not concluded; every day brings fresh names of unfortunate victims, new details of tragedy. The Fascisti are absolutely determined to break the last resistance of the red city.

On the evening of the day of horror, in the midst of the raging terror, the following communiqué was placarded by the military command of the Turin Fascisti:

"The citizens are herewith called upon to raise the national flag, draped with crape, as a sign of mourning for the death of the young Fascist Dresda!"

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

What is Being Done

By Edgar T. Whitehead.

(Member of Berlin Central Committee of the Workers International Russian Relief.)

After the four terrible years of the World War, the years of civil war with the attacks of the armies subsidised by Capitalist Governments, the sufferings from the blockade, and the horrors of the unexampled Volga Famine, the First Workers Republic has at last won through to a period of comparative peace and tranquillity.

The Needs of Soviet Russia Today.

There are two main tasks that face the First Workers Republic. These are the development of production, both in the agricultural and industrial fields, and the care for that legacy of the famine, the many many thousands of orphan children. Both fields have been covered by the plans of the international organization known as the Workers' International Russian Relief.

The Needs of the Children.

The bare statistics covering orphan children in Russia are such as must cause the most hardened supporters of the system

of privilege and exploitation to feel remorse at the results of their hellish efforts to drown the First Workers Republic in blood.

To-day no fewer than 2,150,000 young children are orphaned in Russia and entirely dependent upon State support or private charity. It is a responsibility the Soviet Government gladly shoulders, for there is no place in the world where child life is so cherished and cared for as in the land of the Soviets. But it is a task of such immensity and extent that the normal mind can hardly grasp it. If we think of one of Dr. Barnardo's charitable Homes, which perhaps houses some five hundred children, and think of the amount of organization and charitable effort that has to go on year after year, the amount of administrative work or service given in connection with it, and we then multiply this effort by four thousand, we shall have some idea of the magnitude of this task.

At present these little mites are being cared for as follows. Through the establishments of the Russian Trade Unions and the Red Army, 550,000 children are being looked after. The Soviet Government itself is caring for 880,000, and all foreign organizations combined, the American Relief, the Quakers, and others, are caring for 1,350,000 children. The organization of the remaining 270,000 waifs from the famine is also being undertaken by the Soviet Government.

This situation was known to the Workers Relief at their International Conference held in July last, and a decision was then made to take over the responsibility for 20,000 of these little people. This figure may seem small, but even then it meant the raising of £20,000 immediately to establish the necessary homes, and a further £8000 monthly for maintenance. We must remember that these sums were to be raised for the most part from the pennies and sixpences of Workers, ground down by exploitation and harassed by unemployment in all countries.

So far some 14,000 children situated in 34 different homes in different parts of Russia have been taken over, and soon we hope, as the movement gathers way, to have the full quota. Several national committees, in particular the Dutch, French, and German, have their own homes, supervised by women workers of these countries, where not only the rationing, but the education and care of these children is fully looked after in every way. The German Home is "The Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht Home," situated in Tscheliabinsk. We hope soon to be able to announce the foundation of a "Keir Hardie" home, on which the efforts of workers of Britain could be focussed.

Productive Help for Russia.

This second field of help for Russia is neither so simple nor so straightforward as the Relief Work for the Orphans.

A start was made in the famine days, when it was found that there was a serious shortage of tools and implements of all kinds, and collections of tools and implements were made in several countries to remedy this shortage.

But a much deeper and more systematic Productive Relief soon developed. This grew naturally from the experiences of the Workers Relief in the famine area, which showed that not only was it a case of rationing the starving, but much more of building up a twentieth century system of agriculture for the prevention of future famines. The management of several large estates was taken over, and it was found by experience that the combination of western technique when harnessed to the labor power of the peasant workers, rapidly produced most gratifying improvements. I inspected two of these estates in Kasan and they compared favourably with the cultivation and good management of English country estates.

A great advantage of this form of productive help for Russia lies in its comparative inexpensiveness, for by the provision of a tractor and a certain amount of agricultural machinery, excellent results may quickly be reached.

A much more serious problem was the question of help in rebuilding the industrial undertakings, where not only is considerable capitalisation required, but difficulties with regard to markets and raw materials are also great and require the application of unusual business ability.

Fortunately the Workers' Relief was able to draw upon the services of many expert German and Hungarian workers who had been prisoners of war in Russia and had learnt something of the language, and in the few months that operations have been carried out in this field quite satisfactory results were obtained. A boot factory in the neighbourhood of Moscow was taken over, fitted with new machinery, and is now functioning well, as also are two smaller factories for the manufacture of spoons, drinking vessels, and different electrical equipment.

In one domain only was it found impossible to operate, the domain of heavy industry, and in this case the capitalisation required was so great that it has been beyond our powers to do much in this field.

Two undertakings deserve especial mention. One of these is the "Remont Colony" in Petrograd, where repairs of buildings, harbour paving, and other work is carried out.

The other undertaking which is deserving of special mention arose through the initiative and energy of the American Workers, who through the "Friends of Soviet Russia", the American branch of the International Workers Russian Relief, sent out a tractor colony consisting of twenty tractors, complete with all accessories, in charge of a score of young American farmers. This colony operated in the neighbourhood of Perm, and its work reached such a high value that it was the subject of a special letter of thanks from Lenin himself. This colony has trained forty Russian peasants in running the tractors, and put 4000 acres under the plough since its arrival last July. The Russian workers and peasants cooperated with this colony energetically and it has indeed been a model experiment.

There are two other activities in productive help that are noteworthy. One is the "Kusbas" scheme, where the development of the Kusbas basin in Siberia is being undertaken by American worker pioneers, led by Rutgers and Bill Haywood. The Kusbas organization stands in close relation to the Workers Relief and its amalgamation in the near future is more than probable.

The other activity is that under the leadership of Hillman of the United Clothing Workers of America. This has reference especially to the clothing industry, and a million dollar loan has been floated and nearly fully subscribed by American workers for developing clothing factories in Russia. The American section of the Workers' Relief has also been energetically assisting this enterprise.

The First Workers Loan for Soviet Russia.

The question of how to get to grips with this matter of productive relief was the subject of long and earnest cogitation by the Workers' International Russian Relief, and after consultation with the Russian workers, it was finally decided last July to issue a Loan for £200,000 to supply the necessary capital to enable a sufficient number of undertakings being acquired and to enter upon the work with that freedom and organizational scope that such a field as productive relief necessitates. The Russian Government agreed to guarantee this loan and 5% interest, to be repayable in ten years. The full working out of the details of this Loan have occupied valuable time, but it has now been launched in Holland, Germany, Sweden, and the issue for the British quota of £20,000 is now ready.

The question of interest was a burning question in regard to this loan, many comrades feeling that all interest was immoral, and that to take profits from the Russian workers in this form was illogical. However in view of the laws of many countries regarding interest, it was finally decided that the loan should bear 5% interest, at the same time issuing an invitation that for the first years at any rate, subscribers could renounce their claim to interest for the benefit of the Russian Children's Homes.

There is no government in Europe so stable and so secure as the government of Soviet Russia, and its guarantee of this loan enables all to place their savings at the service of Russian reconstruction with full confidence.

For the actual floating of the Loan, "The Industrial and Commercial Company of the Workers International Russian Relief" was founded in Berlin as the most convenient international centre, and the Loan is issued in the form of Loan Shares of this company. The basic capital of the company was fully subscribed by the Berlin Central Committee, and the articles of association further provide that no emoluments or profits shall accrue from this company to any person whatever with the exception of the yearly fixed interest and repayment of capital. All profits are thus to be devoted to the task of rebuilding the industrial and agricultural life of the Soviet Republic.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The "Women's Question" at the IV. World Congress.

By Else Baum.

The women's question was one of the items on the agenda of the IV World Congress of the Communist International. It was necessary to have this question discussed at the congress, for it is one of the most burning questions which confront the proletariat today and imperatively demands solution.

Capital is attacking all along the line, and the proletariat is completely lost if it does not defend itself tooth and nail. United and unanimous the proletariat must take up its position of defense, must oppose the front of the exploited to the front of capital. But this front will be incomplete, will contain gaps,

if women do not take their place in it. The women who are exploited in the factories and workshops, who receive smaller wages than the men for the same work, or who work for untold hours in the household for no payment whatever; these women who to-day still form for the most part a compact reactionary mass, may to-morrow be the comrades in arms of the revolutionary, class-conscious, fighting workmen, if the communists succeed in winning their confidence.

These women are easily won over, for the capitalist offensive is sowing misery and death in their ranks. The abolition of the eight hour day signifies more than prolonged working hours for the proletarian women. It signifies that they will now have to work day and night to fulfil their duties as worker, housewife, and mother. The women are the first sufferers when the regulations relating to workwomen, protection of motherhood, and social insurance, are slackened. The increased exploitation and starvation signify immediate danger to life for the women and their children; they are the easiest victims to tuberculosis. The objective conditions are thus given for winning over the women for the conflict.

The most important question is to ascertain what methods have proved most efficient in influencing the mentality of proletarian women? What are the results of experience? That special methods must be required to reach this backward section of the proletariat is clear to everyone who is not wilfully blind. But at the congress, it was still necessary, to again draw attention to and specially emphasize the fact, that particular methods must be employed for inducing women to take their place in the proletarian fighting front. Comrade Zetkin made this perfectly clear in her emphatic and unequivocal speech: "We must not forget that the broad masses of women live under special social conditions. The exceptional position accorded to the female sex in human society has been the means of imparting a special psychology, and as a general rule it appears that women best understand how to carry out communist work amongst women. In the countries where such special organs exist, as for instance in Bulgaria, Germany, etc., the communist women's movement has become a force in the general communist party life. The same naturally applies to Russia."

It was necessary to emphasize this, for even within the Communist International there are comrades who have not sufficient faith in this work. They see spectres in broad daylight. They regard every attempt at special organization as an attempt to protect mere sex rights. Many comrades, especially in England and France, are still possessed with fear of the undoubtedly harmful women's movements which have done so much to weaken class consciousness. The fear is without foundation. The line of class antagonism has been drawn with particular clearness during the last few years, it has not stopped at the "weaker sex", and an unbridged chasm yawns between the worker bees industriously gathering treasure, and the drones of the leisured class. Women do not soar in the clouds like Raphael's madonna, they stand with both feet on the hard ground of the capitalist world. The actual experience of recent years has demonstrated that there are no so-called purely feminine interests binding all women to one another without distinction of class. In every case where there is a question of so-called special women's interests, in questions of protection for working women, mothers, and children, of aid during confinement, protest against abortion laws, etc., the women members of Parliament have invariably bowed obediently under the yoke of their class laws. The "women's rights" movement has ceased to be a real danger to the class movement of the female proletariat.

Comrade Zetkin's report on the work of the International Women's Secretariat showed that a start has been made in all countries, that the beginnings of a communist women's movement already exist. She could even report that excellent results have already been attained in various countries. Women, especially of late, have taken more and more active part in defending themselves against the lowering of their conditions of living, and against the abolition of the eight hour day. The awakening of the women of the proletariat was internationally expressed at the international women's conference, and in the relief action for Soviet Russia. It could also be seen from the report that all the weaknesses and deficiencies of the party are mirrored in the women's movement. The firmer and more purposeful in action a communist party is, the more united its organization, then the firmer and more concrete is the organization of the masses of women within this party and under its control. Every error and confusion within the party has a paralysing effect on the work of the women. Thus the strife in the French and Italian parties, and the weaknesses of the English Communist Party, have not failed to retard the mobilization of the proletarian women of these countries. Petty bourgeois reformist tendencies, retained by some parties as relics of a social democratic past, are also not without influence on the work amongst women.

Comrade Hertha Sturm was quite right when she referred in her report to a general weakness in the international proletarian movement. The women organized in the Communist Parties are, for the most part, housewives. Only a comparatively small number of women going out to earn, working in factories, etc., are organized in the Communist parties. There is no doubt that the proletarian housewife is a valuable ally in the proletarian struggle, especially at the present time, when the fight against the shameful exploitation and increased misery of the proletariat is receiving the greatest impetus from the suffering housewives. But the fact must none the less be recognized that the participation of the proletarian women working in factories, workshops, etc. will be of more decisive significance, both as regards the great economic struggles for the improvement of conditions of living, and as regards the fight for political power. The times call for women to enter the proletarian fighting organizations, to enter the Party. This weakness of the Party has a fatal effect on the trade union movement. The communists in the trade unions have done very little up to now towards uniting and organizing the working women. This neglect must be made good. The efficiency of trade union work in factories and workshops, the establishment of closer relations between the communist nuclei and the leadership of the Party—these are the factors upon which the bringing about of closer connections depend, and these closer connections must be made between the centrals of political agitative work among the women and the working women organized in the communist nuclei.

Besides the report from Russia, which showed the steady systematic manner in which women are entering into the communist sphere of thought, and into the struggle for communist economics, there was another most interesting report, by comrade Kasparova, on work among the women of the Orient. Here communist agitative work falls on a soil already ploughed by capitalism.

During the congress there was a special meeting held by the women delegates from all countries, participated in by a number of male party comrades. This conference resulted in many stimulating ideas and practical suggestions for work among women being brought forward, and succeeded in bringing about that for which written intercourse had proved inadequate—personal relations among the comrades, and insight into the conditions of the various parties which is so absolutely necessary if there is to be mutual comprehension, and if correct judgments on international conditions are to be formed.

With that openness which is only found in the Communist International, both the congress and the conference of women delegates discussed all the faults and deficiencies of the various parties and their work.

The resolutions passed by the congress will help to render the parties strong, united internally, and prepared for battle; when they are carried out in all seriousness, they will, at the same time, give a forward impetus to the proletarian women's movement. The working class can neither defend itself successfully, nor effectually combat the bourgeoisie, if broad masses of proletarian women stand on one side, or even form an actual obstacle in the way. On the other hand, only the united working class can emancipate the working women. We communist women join with Klara Zetkin in saying: "We women want to take part in all the work and struggles of the Communist Parties and of the International and it is our ambition to stand in the front rank".

Women in the German Shop Stewards Movement

By Bertha Braunthal (Berlin).

Now that the workers have fully recognized the necessity of establishing a united front, they have of recent months sought more and more to give tangible expression to this recognition. The movement following the murder of the minister Rathenau, at the beginning of July, and having for its object the combatting of reaction, caused the spontaneous appearance of control committees in the factories and workshops, by which attempt is being made to attack the counter-revolutionary nationalist murder organizations.

This movement greatly increased in energy towards the end of the summer and the beginning of autumn, with the disastrous depreciation of the mark. The workmen, and above all the working women, saw their households deprived more and more rapidly of even the barest necessities of life, saw the amount of their little pittance exhausted a few days after its receipt. The women were seized with utter despair at the sight of their starving children, weak and ill-nourished, subject to the attacks of disease, and at the realization that it was utterly impossible for them to feed and clothe their little ones. Hitherto women had been accustomed to confine their cares and sorrows

within the silence of their four walls, but now despair drove them into the streets, into the market places, to protest with other equally desperate women against the wrong being done there, against the usurers and profiteers. It was quite natural that communist women came forward from among these desperate women, and explained to them the cause of their misery, and that they and the whole of the working class must fight in self-defense.

In July, shortly after the murder of Rathenau, a spontaneous demonstration of women took place in the market place at Mannheim; they marched before the town hall, and laid before the mayor their demands for the establishment of a living wage, and for the appointment of a control committee.

As prices rose higher and higher during the next few months, when the price for the cheaper bread allowed by the weekly bread card rose from 45 marks at the beginning of September to 308 marks at the beginning of December, and the price for milk from 76 marks to 190-200 marks per litre, the movement against high prices increased proportionately amongst the housewives, and drove them in masses to our meetings and demonstrations. During recent months there were great public meetings for housewives held in all the important cities of the country; these were preceded by the distribution of leaflets, and brought us many sympathizers and members. These meetings proved that a real fighting spirit existed among the women. In Ahlen (Rhineland) 120 women joined our party in one week. In Düsseldorf, Bremen, Königsberg, Leipzig, Danzig, and other cities, our women comrades have appealed to the women's committees of the German Independent Socialist and Socialist Parties to join forces with them. These appeals have however been in vain, for the leaders of these two parties were invariably so alarmed at the idea of fighting alongside of communists, that they either entirely ignored the inquiry, or made use of the ridiculous pretext that they did not think the right moment for action had arrived. And this at a time when even the bourgeois class — as exemplified for instance by the Association of Physicians in Saxony — was appealing to the German public for aid in the most heart-rending manner, trying to awaken its conscience and rouse it to help, in view of the desperate physical condition of the proletarian population, particularly of the children.

The movement has developed with particular strength and energy in central Germany. Here is the centre of the home industries, and here the manufacture of toys, lace, and woollen goods is carried on in the homes of the workers, forcing not only all the women, but all the children, even those of the tenderest age, to toil in the treadmill of the capitalist working front. Here the indignation of the women, and their determination to resort to self-defense, reached the highest point. The women of Gotha, before all, set the example for the whole country. For this reason we take the development of the Gotha movement to illustrate the movement of the housewives as a whole. At the beginning of October a gigantic meeting for women was held. A women's committee was elected, and commissioned to enter into negotiations with the town council for the purpose of obtaining a number of demands, as for instance the obtaining of a supply of cheap potatoes and coals for the working population, feeding of school children, etc. The meeting closed with a request to the shop stewards and confidential representatives of the workers of Gotha to form a common control committee with the women. Thus in Gotha, in Mannheim, and in many other places, it was on the initiative of the women that the joint control committees working with the shop stewards were formed. The demands formulated by the women's meeting were then most effectively brought forward by our representatives at the town council meetings, and numerous working women mounted the platform. Despite the heart-rending descriptions given by our comrades as to the misery in the families of the workers, of the unemployed, and of the recipients of small pensions, who were being forced to sell one article after another of their household effects in order to stave off the utmost hunger of their children, all the demands of the women's meeting were rejected.

A few days later a second spontaneous demonstration of the housewives of Gotha took place before the town hall, demanding the distribution of bread cards for cheaper bread for the families of workers. Although the town hall was surrounded by the police, the women forced an entrance, and succeeded in obtaining bread cards for the whole of the demonstrators, in accordance with the size of the family. But this is all that the women have been able to attain up to now. But they have not allowed themselves to be discouraged. They have attempted to spread the housewives' movement beyond their own town, and have sent representatives to all the most important towns of Thuringia for the purpose of holding women's meetings and forming women's control committees. In order to carry out this

task it has been necessary to organize speakers' evenings, in order to train the members of the women's high prices committee for the work of agitation.

After every fresh action in Parliament, public meetings were held pledging again to continue the fight for the demands already formulated, and to mobilize still more forces for this fight. Thus it was decided, on the occasion of the last impressive women's demonstration on November 25, to make all preparations for a housewives' conference for Thuringia, to the end that the struggle being carried on by the housewives may be unified and extended.

The movement has made practically the same progress in the important industrial centres of the Rhineland and Saxony, where housewives' control committees have been formed and are working in the same manner. The committees themselves are formed of communist and nonparty women in proportion to the character of the housewives' meetings; in the Rhineland the women participating energetically in the movement are Christian women under the influence of the Centre Party.

The housewives' control committees have regarded themselves from the very beginning solely as forming part of the common control committees of the workers, and have carried out all work in consultation with the latter. The housewives' representatives also take part in the meetings and consultations of the control committees of the shop stewards; they were present at the Provincial Shop Steward Congresses in Saxony, Thuringia, and the Rhineland, which preceded the General Shop Steward Congress. At all these preliminary conferences proletarian housewives were also elected to the provincial committees of the shop stewards.

The General Shop Steward Congress was also participated in by the representatives of the housewives from all important districts, and their demands were brought forward, especially those regarding combatting the misery among children, in which they were further supported by a demonstration of the proletarian women of Berlin. If the resolutions and the program of the General Shop Stewards Congress are to be carried out, if the measures which it proposes against usury, profiteering, housing difficulties, and the capitalist offensive are to be really effective, it is absolutely necessary that the proletarian housewives participate actively in the work, and they were appealed to by the congress to gather together in the control committees, and to undertake the special tasks of controlling the markets and retail prices. A representative of the housewives was also elected to the General Committee of the Shop Stewards, her duties consisting in forming housewives' control committees, combining them into provincial and national housewives' conferences, and organizing and training the masses of housewives for the struggle towards the common goal.

The movement of the proletarian housewives, and their organization into housewives' control committees, is the beginning of the mobilization of the masses of women still outside of our ranks, for the class war, and their enrolment in the united front of the revolutionary proletariat for self-defense against further oppression and usury. The fact that these women are being revolutionized will be more effective in the near future in helping forward the proletariat in the coming decisive battles between the bourgeoisie and the working class.

APPEALS

To the Working Youth of the World! Soldiers and sailors!

New imperial wars threaten the world.

The war in the Near East, the conflicts of the imperialist powers at the different conferences, the constant threats of the French bourgeoisie with the occupation of the Ruhr valley,* the enslavement of Austria, the refusal of the border states to accept Russia's proposals of disarmament—all this shows the atmosphere to be charged with storm. The standing armies alone, which numbered 6 millions of men before the war, have today increased to 11 millions. *The capitalist states are arming for fresh wars!*

The bourgeois preparations for a new war are closely connected with the advances being made by reaction in all countries. In many states the White Terror rules. In Italy it has come into power. In England and in Poland reaction is again impudently raising its head. The bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth, and is not content to use its weapons against the workers alone, but intends employing them for imperialist war.

* This has since become an accomplished fact.

Comrades, Young Proletarians!

All this shows with frightful distinctness that the capitalist states are working unremittingly in preparation for a new war!

The first victims of war have always been, and always will be, from the ranks of working youth. They serve as cannon fodder and have to bear the most terrible sufferings and privations.

The youthful workers must therefore be the first to declare determined war against all new wars.

Working youth!

Millions of your elder brothers, of all nations and races, were slaughtered during the last war in the interests of the bourgeoisie. The alluring promises made to you during the war have all been broken, and all that the working class has gained from the last war is blackest misery, alike whether the workers belong to the vanquished or the "victorious" capitalist countries.

A peace conference was recently held at The Hague, but led to no practical result. No real and practical measures against war were resolved upon. The working youth can wait no longer. *It must begin with the propaganda needed to arouse the working class of the whole world!* It is only in this way that really effectual war against war can be carried on.

The III congress of the C.Y.I. has commissioned the E.C. to propose to the two social democratic youth internationals, despite all differences of opinion, to form a united front for the fight against imperialism and reaction, and to participate in an international propaganda week against war, to take place from March 11-18, 1923.

Youthful working men and women; soldiers and sailors!

The working class is not defenceless. United in determined fighting ranks, it can frustrate all the designs of capitalism, can offer an iron resistance against which every attack is shattered.

Join us in the fight against a new imperialist war! Every means is to be used to combat it. Revolutionary general strike and revolution in case of war. For the annulment of the peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, etc., treaties which signify the enslavement of innumerable millions of workers, and are bound to be the cause of fresh wars.

For the prevention of armaments!

For revolutionary propaganda in the army, and for the formation of revolutionary nuclei among the troops, especially among the colonial and semi-colonial troops.

Against the disastrous theory and practice of defence of the capitalist fatherland.

Against the false pacifism of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Against international reaction, against Fascism!

For the complete disarmament of reactionary organizations and of the bourgeoisie, for the arming of the proletariat!

Young Social Democratic Workers!

It is the second time that the C.Y.I. proposes to you and your leaders to join us in the fight against capital and imperialism. Once already your leaders have prevented the formation of the united front and you tolerated this. To-day we repeat our proposal to join the youthful workers of the whole world, to form a united fighting front against impending new imperialist wars and against reaction. *What answer will you give to your class comrades and fellow sufferers?*

Working youth!

The first propaganda week against war must be a mighty demonstration of the working class against fresh slaughter, against the imperialist world bourgeoisie already stained with the blood of millions.

Respond to our call:

Down with imperialist war!

Down with reaction!

Long live the united front of the working youth against war!

Long live the victory of the working class!

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

The Moscow Soviet to the Workers of All Countries!

The Moscow Soviet newly elected by the Red Army soldiers, and hand and brain workers of Moscow, sends its greetings to the workers of all countries. In the year 1922 proletarian Moscow gathers, firm and unshaken, around its tried and trusted leader: *The Russian Communist Party.* After five years of experience the working class of Moscow is convinced that, whether in con-

flict or in organization, the shortest way to victory is the way of the Communist International and its Russian section. After suffering the torments of starvation, cold, war, blockade, and devastation, the workers of Moscow are beginning to feel the approach of better times, of an improvement in their material position. We hope to be able to attain even greater cultural and economic successes during the next few years. The working masses of the countries of Europe and America, on the other hand, are exposed to the constant attacks of the ruling bourgeoisie. All the rights and liberties already won by the proletariat are threatened with annihilation. The terror of international Fascism forces not only the Communist Parties into illegality, but places even the broadest masses outside of the law. The proletariat is confronted with the untold misery of possible wars unless the bourgeoisie is made to feel the mighty arm of the proletariat at its throat. The cause of the proletariat can only be saved by the united front of the proletariat, by determined armed struggles against capital, and by complete renunciation of open and concealed opportunism.

The Moscow Soviet appeals to you, in the name of the hundreds of thousands of working voters, to tread this path, the sole path to salvation and victory, the path of international proletarian revolution.

Appeal of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party

In accordance with the resolutions of the IV Congress of the Communist International, the Central committee appeals urgently to the district organizers to ensure that the resolutions relating to *Free-Masonry* and to the *League for Human Rights* are carried out with the utmost strictness.

The Central Committee reminds the members that before the 1st of January 1923 all members of the Communist Party are bound to leave the two above named organizations, and to inform the sections to which they belong of their having done so.

Those members of the party who refuse to submit to the resolutions of the IV. World Congress will be expelled from the communist organizations.

The Central Committee will not insult communists by assuming that they will have any difficulty in choosing between the party of proletarian revolution, to which they have belonged for two years, and political organizations utilized by a part of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of distracting the workers from the class war.

The communists must devote themselves entirely and unreservedly to their party, to its conflicts and discipline; they must place themselves at the service of the working class which is fighting against every political formation, of whatever description, containing representatives of the bourgeoisie.

It is the duty of the district organizers to keep the Central Committee posted as to the measures adopted in the interests of carrying out the resolutions of the International.

Appeal of the Committee of Action of the CGTU. and the CPF.

The joint appeal of the committee of action of the French Unitarian General Federation of Labor (C.G.T.U.) and the French Communist Party marks the commencement of the common action now to be expected from the French and German proletariats against the slave treaty of Versailles.

In this appeal the sharpest protest is raised against the threatening French military forces which have contributed to bring about the defeat of the heroically fighting workers of Ludwigshafen. The eight hour day all over Germany is to-day threatened in consequence of this defeat, and it will be threatened in France to-morrow. The occupation of the Ruhr district is a crime, not only against the German proletariat, but against the French. The duty of the committee of action against the war is to face the Interallied Conference of Paris with the threat of a Franco-German general strike, by means of extensive and comprehensive agitation. This living threat is to be kept continually hanging over the heads of the enemy.

This important appeal of the French revolutionary trade unions and the French communist party closes with the following slogans:

Down with the capitalist offensive!
Down with the occupation of the Ruhr district!
Long live the German-French proletariat!
Long live international solidarity!

Open Letter

To the London and Vienna Internationals and the Amsterdam Trade Union International

On the 13th of this month the Executive of the Communist International had addressed the question to you, as to what you intend to do in order to carry out the decision of the Hague Conference regarding the organization of a general strike in case of a war. The Executive of the Communist International has empowered the undersigned, together with Marcel Cachin, to enter into negotiations with you on the question of a common fight against the danger of war. Owing to the persecutions to which the Communist Party of France is subjected because of its struggle against the occupation of the Ruhr, and owing to his impending arrest, Comrade Marcel Cachin is unable to participate in these negotiations. The undersigned are awaiting your reply to form a joint *Committee of Action* with you, capable of taking up the struggle against the threatening war.

At the Hague, the Russian Trade Union delegation proposed that an international protest strike be called for the 2nd of January. This would have demonstrated to the international bourgeoisie the determination of the proletariat to wage war against the dangers of fresh wars. At the Hague, the Russian trade union delegation predicted that January would surely see the occupation of the Ruhr. Our warnings at the Hague fell on deaf ears. Those present at the conference were satisfied with platonic protests, in the belief that bourgeois diplomacy would find some way out. But as we have seen these last four years, capitalist diplomacy has completely failed to create the simplest conditions for the peaceful development of the world. The occupation of the Ruhr threatens the world with a new and unprecedented wholesale slaughter.

The French plan aims not only at compelling the German capitalists to pay over money, but also to force them to admit French interests to the exploitation of these properties and thereby to add great numbers of cheap workers to the low paid labor army already at the disposal of Entente Imperialism.

But this plan was based on the assumption that the French occupation authorities would be able to supervise the Ruhr Valley, to keep industry going and, by distributing or retaining the coal, to force the German industry into submission. But with the removal of the German Coal Syndicate from Essen to Hamburg, the French plan suffered shipwreck. The French occupation authorities are helpless, and find it impossible to keep the Ruhr industry alive. Every succeeding day makes it more difficult for them to pay out the miners' wages. For this reason it is almost certain that they will reach out beyond the boundaries of the Ruhr Valley in order to tighten their pressure upon the German people.

Already we hear of war preparations in Poland. France will set her vassals against Germany. But apart from all this every moment is liable to bring a collision between the French troops and the Ruhr population, in which case the nationalistic spirit in Germany may reach its explosive point. Should it happen

that the French military elements will take advantage of Poincaré's difficulties in order to drive him on towards the Rhine-Secession-Policy, — the policy of dismembering Germany, — it may also well be that the chauvanistic elements in Germany will precipitate a war, in order to profit by the nationalistic craze for the purpose of seizing power by means of a counter-revolution.

Already the governments on either bank of the Rhine do not know what the morrow may bring. On the 31st of January the situation will become more acute, for on that day Germany will not be in a position to pay the sums demanded of her. The possibility then arises that the separate action of the French government may turn into a general inter-Allied action. In that case the German people may be faced with the only alternative: *Complete subjugation and enslavement, — or War.*

The Hague conference has decided that the proletariat would fight the danger of war with all means at its disposal, and that in case of imminent danger a general strike would be called.

The danger of war is here. Only the blind can fail to see it. *It is not only a question of war between France and Germany alone.* Such a war would set the whole East and South East of Europe ablaze. The capture of Memel by Lithuania and the events on the Roumanian-Hungarian frontier demonstrate clearly the acuteness of the present situation, in which all forces tend to render every central European conflict, the starting point for a fresh European catastrophe.

We doubt not but that the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, as well as those of the Vienna and London Internationals see the situation in the same light as we do. We therefore call upon you to lend reality to the solemn declarations which you have made at the Hague only a month ago, and to take the preparatory measures for the undelayed organization of the mass strike. We call upon you to meet us without delay, in order to decide upon the necessary steps to be taken.

The parties of the Communist International and the working masses behind the Red Labor Union International will do their duty, as our French comrades have sufficiently demonstrated.

We propose the 31st of January as the day when the international protest mass-strike is to begin.

The duration of the strike must be decided upon by the joint conference of the three political and the two trade union Internationals. We propose that this conference be held on the 21st of January in Berlin. Should you prefer another place, we have no objection whatever. We only ask you to act immediately, so that the undersigned may have ample opportunity to obtain the necessary visas.

Berlin, January 16, 1923.

For the Communist International

Clara Zetkin, Walton Newbold, Karl Radek.

For the Red International of Labor Unions

Heckert.

P. S. The other delegates, Comrades Dudilleux, Hais and Watkins, could not be reached until now.