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CONTENTS

MOYER WAR
COLLECTION

The Situation of Soviet Russia. By <i>L. Kamenev</i>	33	The Labor Movement	
Politics		The National Railroad Amalgamation Conference in the U.S.A. By <i>Wm. Z. Foster</i>	42
The All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the Invasion of the Ruhr	36	The I.W.W. Convention. By <i>Chas. Ashleigh</i>	43
Britain — France — Belgium. By <i>J. T. Walton Newbold</i>	36	The Defensive Struggle Begins in Poland. By <i>N. Ulan</i>	44
Belgian Social Democrats support Occupation of the Ruhr. By <i>Heinz Neumann</i>	37	In the International	
Essen. By <i>D. H. Wynkoop</i>	38	From Bologna to Rome. The History of a Split. By <i>P. B.</i>	44
The Foreign Policy of the Proletarian State. By <i>N. Bukharin</i>	39	In Soviet Russia	
British Honours. By <i>Wm. Zoul</i>	39	Who rules Russia? By <i>G. Neradov</i>	45
Against Imperialism and War. <i>The Paris Central Committee of Action to the French Proletariat</i>	40	Social Insurance in Soviet Russia. By <i>Rabinovitz</i>	45
Economics		In the Colonies	
A 6% Redeemable Loan in Russia. By <i>J. Schleifer</i>	40	Legal Murder in India. By <i>M. N. Roy</i>	46
What Becomes of the Reparation Billions. By <i>A. Ker</i>	40	Appeals	
German Heavy Industry and its "Vaterland". By <i>P. Frölich</i>	41	(E.C.C.I. and R.I.L.U.) To the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!	47
		(C.Y.I.) To the Working Youth	47
		(E.C.C.I.) To the Workers and Peasants of South America!	48

The Situation of Soviet Russia

By *L. Kamenev.*

(From a speech delivered at the 10th All-Russian Soviet Congress.)

This year we enter upon a fresh creative period of the revolution. In this period the tasks confronting the leaders of the first proletarian state consist in rapidly grasping the distinguishing features of the epoch, and safely and victoriously conducting the masses of workers and peasants through the innumerable difficulties and obstacles.

We must not forget that the severity and acuteness of the civil war was caused by the resistance offered by the bourgeoisie. We know to-day that the army and the resistance of the Russian bourgeoisie were trivial, and that the civil war could have been over in a few months, or even weeks, if the workers and peasants of Russia had been opposed by the Russian bourgeoisie only. The civil war dragged on for years; but this was due to the fact that the international bourgeoisie came to the aid of the Russian. It is only to-day that we can maintain that the first fundamental condition towards really peaceful and creative work has been fulfilled. For a long time there has no longer been heard with us the rattle of the White Guards' machine guns, nor the roar of foreign cannon, and this has almost made us forget that it is but a short time since the cannon of the foreign occupants have been silenced in

the Far East. The war was not ended when we defeated Denikin and drove Wrangel into the sea; it is only ended now, by the reconquest of the Far East. It is only now that we can assert that the working masses, from Vladivostok to Baku, from Batum to Petrograd, and from Odessa to Archangel, are united in one state organism under the red Soviet flag.

We are united, but this unity requires exact definition, demands strict state outlines. We now have the possibility of proceeding with this work, and one task of the 10th congress will be to solve the question of the creation of a Soviet Federal State. Our Federation will be an alliance such as the world has not yet seen. Cultural liberty, and the right of withdrawal from the federal state, are assured to every member. Tsarist Russia, which held its millions of people together by means of the knout, by means of prefects and governor generals, was forced to disappear. An alliance is arising over its ruins, an alliance based on equality of rights, on the recognition of the rights of every nation, on the unity of economic interests and of the goals being striven for.

Our second task is to strengthen our position with regard to foreign policy. We need peace. We are willing to adapt

ourselves to the economic life of the whole world. When we look back to the months in which the conferences of Genoa and The Hague took place, we see that real prospects existed of effective agreements being reached at these conferences; and because there were such prospects, we sent our representatives. We were indeed convinced that these conferences really meant business, but when we inquired the price, we found it so high that we were obliged to retire from the bargain. Our will to peace induced us to agree to far-reaching concessions, but international imperialism appears to have hoped for still more. Genoa and The Hague were failures, and failed because our delegates declared: "We cannot concede one step further."

To-day, more than half a year since Genoa and The Hague, we are able to say: "Not only can we not concede one step further, but we are now no longer willing to grant the concessions which we offered before." I believe that not only our friends, but also our enemies, are well aware that we are practical politicians, and when we make this declaration, it is solely because time has been working for us, because our position is becoming more and more secure, while that of our enemies is daily more shaken and insecure.

At the Genoa conference we entered into the Rapallo agreement, which we can set up as a model for future treaties to be made between Soviet Russia and bourgeois countries. This was the first treaty entered into by a bourgeois state laboring under the yoke of the conquerors. We also signed provisional treaties with Czecho-Slovakia, with Sweden, and with Norway, and are waiting patiently until the Parliaments of these countries follow their governments and ratify the treaties. On the other hand, we were obliged to decline the treaty with the Italian government for the reason that we were no longer in the position in which Soviet Russia found it necessary to sign any contract. The time is past when Soviet Russia, surrounded by enemies, was forced to make maximum concessions.

A certain change in the trend of feeling towards Russia may also be observed in America. We do not credit the bourgeois governments with cleverness, and no one will attempt to controvert me when I say that the bourgeois class, as a decaying class, has very little historical foresight; but still we must not deem our enemies so stupid that they can learn nothing from the fact that a proletarian republic has existed for five years. The American government applied to the Soviet government with the proposition that they send us a commission for the purpose of studying Russian conditions. The proposition was made in a very friendly form, and we therefore replied to it with equal politeness. We replied that we can well comprehend the interest taken by the American bourgeoisie and the American government in our internal affairs, in the position of our market, and in our industry, but that we cannot but assume that they are equally capable of thinking logically, so that our answer is: "We agree that a commission come to us to investigate the conditions obtaining here, but only on condition that it is made possible for the Russian state, the Russian proletariat, and the Russian peasantry, to investigate American conditions through a special commission."

At the present time we see a new phenomenon in America: After the new election a group appeared in Parliament which, although persecuting the communists in their own country, nevertheless demanded the *de jure* recognition of Soviet Russia. I speak of the group around Senators Borah and La Follette. This shows that even in the American bourgeoisie a tendency is arising which at last recognizes the undeniable fact that the Soviet power is not to be overthrown, not even with the best of French or English bayonets.

The bourgeois world cannot manage without Soviet Russia, cannot even manage without a Russia which repudiates its debts. However sad this fact may be for world capital, it has to recognize it. Every day we are enabled to observe facts proving that Western capitalism is gradually beginning to sober down. The conference at Lausanne may serve as an example. As the Turkish peasants were fighting for their independence, as they carried off the victory against the imperialists after a severe struggle, we cannot but welcome the Turkish victory. The international conference, which is to be regarded as a result of this victory of the Turks, at the same time characterizes the general international situation, and shows what we have to expect from the methods employed by the superdiplomats of the "civilized" countries in solving international problems.

The Lausanne conference has become a duel between England and the Federation of Soviet Republics. The

Turkish government has been driven into a position forcing it to sign the most humiliating conditions of peace, completely annulling all the victories won by the Turkish people. What is the position of the Russian delegation? We came to Lausanne as friends of Turkey, and we will remain friends of Turkey so long as she will fight against the imperialists. We defend the full sovereignty of Turkey, even when the Turkish government cannot get up sufficient energy to defend the fruits of its national victories against Lord Curzon.

Miliukov wrote an article in Paris in which he was clever enough to demonstrate that the attitude adopted by us in Lausanne is not a Russian attitude, but a Turkish one. All this is of course nonsense. Of course we do not deny the importance of the Black Sea and the Straits for the economic reconstitution of Russia, but we deny that it is possible to solve this question by the occupation of the Dardanelles and Constantinople by England, Russia, or any other country. We recognize that the interests of Russia in the Black Sea and in the Straits could be protected exclusively by an alliance with a sovereign Turkey against the imperialism of England and other imperialist countries. Thus we act in the interests of the Russian workers when we defend the sovereignty of Turkey. We cannot pass over in silence the fact that when Lord Curzon insists on the freedom of the Dardanelles for the warships of all countries, he is extending the area in which the next war will be fought. It is our desire that the Black Sea and its coasts be secured against every possibility of becoming the stage of war. This can only be attained in one way: by throwing open the coasts of the Black Sea to commerce, and by closing the Straits to warships.

The fate of our disarmament proposals is still a recent memory. We know that the question of disarmament is a favorite question with the League of Nations. For more than three years the League has been busy with this question, but during this time the whole world is feverishly arming. In order to put the disarmament question on a proper footing, the Soviet government proposed to its neighbors to hold a special conference in Moscow. We proposed that philosophical and theoretical considerations be set aside, and that actual disarmament be commenced. But what happened? So long as it was a question of moral disarmament, our neighbours were very willing to negotiate with us. But as soon as we passed from the moral to the real, the bourgeois participants in the conference resorted to every means to break up the conference. As we are demonstrating our actual will to peace before the whole world by reducing the Red Army of the Soviet republic, we must do our utmost to improve the quality of the Red Army.

The report on our foreign policy can be briefly formulated as follows: We began this year actuated by the desire for peace. During the year we have pursued a policy of peace. We enter the new year with the sincerest desire to continue this peace policy, and to carry it through at any price. To this end we not only participate in international conferences, we are not only prepared at any moment to sign any effective agreement securing us peace and normal economic relations, but we are proceeding to reduce—and have already actually reduced—our Red Army. We threaten nobody, but we demand that nobody threatens us.

Before we pass to a description of the internal situation in Russia, I should like to touch upon the very important question of foreign trade. The international bourgeoisie, unable to overthrow the Soviet power by open attacks, has started on a fresh manoeuvre having for its object the transformation of Russia's natural resources into sources of income for foreign capitalists; in other words, this manoeuvre aims at making Russia a colony of western capitalism. The Soviet government has only one weapon at its disposal against this manoeuvre—the monopoly of foreign trade. This monopoly is exposed to countless dangers, but we must exert every endeavor to establish it more firmly, to develop its apparatus up to the maximum of Russia's export capacity. Under no circumstances must we deviate from the principle of the monopoly itself. In this sphere we shall make no concessions. The capitalist world market must reckon with the fact that Soviet Russia's foreign trade remains in the hands of the state.

We are informed by the chief concession committee that in the course of the past year about 500 applications were submitted, dealing with various concessions and with the establishment of mixed companies. Out of these many applications 25 were granted and 250 are still under consideration. The large number of applications, as well as the character of those granted, shows that it is possible for foreign capital to participate in the reconstruction of our industry and trade in the form provided by mixed companies.

When speaking of the many proposals made by foreign capital, I must not omit to mention the Urquhart concession. The chief reason why this concession was refused was that its extent and power implied the establishment of firm political relations with England. We are fully prepared to keep economics separate from politics, but in the case of this great concession it would not do to forget that England's policy towards us at the same time was hostile. It is not improbable that when the political horizon clears, such conditions may be created as will enable us to reconsider the concrete proposals of this, and perhaps also of other concessions.

We must admit that we have done little in the sphere of concessions and mixed companies, but the reasons for this do not lie with the Soviet government. We know very well that capital can only come to us if it is given the opportunity of getting a return. We are quite willing to let it earn its profits, but we demand that this capital does not pursue political aims, that it is not a speculative capital, but a productive one, and that it takes actual part in the reconstruction of our economic life.

We have retained the fundamental branches of industry in our hands. We have taken up the struggle with private capital, and have 430 trusts in our hands, comprising 4,100 undertakings employing about 1,500,000 workers. If we add the transport workers and the workers of the non-trust state undertakings to these, we have a total of about 3 million workers.

We are thus able to place the following batteries in the field against private capital: complete state ownership of the land, which is cultivated by the peasants; complete state ownership of the railways, 63,000 versts in length, and complete control of all means of transport; the fundamental branches of industry retained by the state, and the whole import and export trade.

What has private capital at its disposal? There are about 4,000 undertakings, employing 70,000 workers, in the hands of private capital. With respect to commerce, private capital has 10 per cent of the total commercial turnover in its hands. To this we must add the not unimportant factor of the non-socialized agricultural surplus.

I need not further describe our activity in the sphere of foreign trade. I need only mention that the exports for 1922 exceeded by six times those of 1921; in this year we exported timber and naphtha for the first time. We exported naphtha to the value of 14 million gold rubles, timber to the value of 16 millions, and various agricultural products, through the cooperative central, to the value of 15 millions. There is no doubt whatever that our policy has here led to good results. But another question arises: How have we met our imports? In the year 1921 our exports only covered 5 per cent of the imports, in the year 1922 this had improved to 25 per cent. That is a comparatively great success. But still it is too little, much too little; exports must be developed to a much greater extent.

How have we managed with transport? If we review the figures relating to the rolling stock, we find the following: in 1913 30,000 trucks were loaded daily, in 1918 7,500, in 1921 9,500, and in 1922 11,500. It may be seen from this that the lowest level of the year 1918 has been followed by a gradual improvement, and that one third of the pre-war traffic has now been attained. The supply of fuel for the railways reached almost 100 per cent during the past year, although here there was not always everything which could be desired. In 1913 wood comprised 19 per cent of the total amount of fuel consumed by the railways, the remaining fuel consisting of naphtha and coal. In 1919 the percentage of wood rose to 88. The explanation of this lies in the complete stagnation of coal mining in the Don basin and of naphtha production in Baku. In 1920 the percentage of wood fell to 64, in 1921 to 50, and in 1922 to 40. Taking all in all, we can say that our means of transport and traffic are gradually improving.

I now pass to our most important sphere, to industry. We have produced very badly and very little. The total production of the whole of our industry has only attained 25 per cent of the pre-war standard. In 1912 industry produced finished goods to the value of 32 roubles per head of the population, in 1922 to the value of 6.50 roubles. But despite this, we are not stagnating, we are moving forwards, though slowly and with few slight relapses. In the years 1920 and 1921 we produced 442 million puds of coal, in 1922 588 millions (a 25 per cent increase); last year we produced 223 million puds of naphtha, in this year 280 millions (20 per cent increase); 90 million puds of peat were produced in pre-war times—today 125 millions; last year we produced 7 million puds of cast iron, in this year 10 million; iron and steel,—last year 10 million puds, this year 20 millions.

These figures are lamentable enough. Their significance must not be over-estimated. But these figures are none the less characteristic. We are still in the midst of the period in which we have been shaken to our foundations, we are just beginning to feel our way, but still we can say: "During this year we have even taken a few steps forward in heavy industry, that is, in that industry which does not work for the market."

The statistics of light industry are much more gratifying. Last year, for instance, 1 million puds of cotton yarn were produced; this year 2,800,000 puds.

All our successes are due to the transition to systematic economics. It is true that the commercial basis often signifies a commercial basis—with state support, but we must and are fighting against such things. At the beginning of the New Economic Policy we were confronted with complete chaos in jurisprudence, and consequently in the organizational position of the whole of our economic apparatus. We must endeavor to attain to a clear rendering of accounts in state industry. This would signify a tremendous step forwards in the sphere of production.

Despite the many difficulties, and the chaos still ruling in industrial spheres, we can still maintain that on the whole: Our batteries have not fired badly, but certainty of aim must be increased.

A year ago comrade Lenin stepped forward with the slogan: Learn commerce! What have we been able to attain in our world of commerce? Let us take the market for articles of general and daily consumption for town and country. In 1914 the market had a turnover of about 4,200 million gold roubles; in 1921 this figure had fallen to 600 millions; to-day the market is again undoubtedly recovering, the sum of 1 billion roubles having been reached. Before the war the peasants put goods on the market to the value of about 2 milliards, in this year to the value of 375 millions. (This of course besides the taxes in kind). Before the war industrial undertakings put goods on the market to the value of 2½ billion roubles, in this year only to the value of ½ billion.

Our market is exceedingly limited, and the chief cause of this lies in the unceasing depreciation of the rate of exchange; our market has no credit, for credit has been reduced to 1/100 of pre-war credits. And we have not even done good business in this small and disorganized market. There is no use hiding our shortcomings. A great part of the blame doubtless lies with the lack of circulating mediums. Goods had to be sold under cost price in order to obtain the means for paying the workers; there was no rendering of accounts, and so forth. Our material sources have been reduced. Who has profited by our faulty trading? We can only reply—the profiteers.

Let us now consider the character of our commerce. 65 per cent of our total commerce represents trade between the state organs themselves. 12 per cent, trade of state organs with the cooperative societies, and 23 per cent trade of state organs with private persons. Why is the trade with the cooperative societies less than that with private persons? This is a great secret. We must discover this secret, and put the cooperative societies in a position enabling them to push the private agents into the background, for the private agents bear the germ of a new bourgeoisie. Above all we must enlarge the market and increase the circulation of goods. Only thus can we increase the productivity of our industry. We must exert every endeavor to place the largest possible amount of agricultural products on the market, and to convert them into money. We shall not be victorious until we have a system of book-keeping showing us plainly what course is taken by the exchange between our state economic organs and the petty bourgeois elements surrounding our undertakings.

We have never made a fetish of law and juridical standards, but as our market develops, organs must be created for the regulation of the market. We must have exact standards. The code of civil law, the regulations relating to civil law-suits, to solicitors, barristers, code of criminal law—all these have been created by the Soviet government in the course of one year.

But to put the market really in order, to render exact calculation at all possible, we must make it our first endeavor to give our market the right rate of exchange which has hitherto been lacking. Our rouble mirrors the whole disorganization and disproportion or our political economy. And at the same time the rouble plays a part in this disorganization. At the last congress the stabilization of the rouble was adduced as one of the tasks of the government, a task confirmed as imperative by the party conference, and actually forming the main task of the whole of the economic activity of the government. Until we have a stable rouble, systematic economics for the country are a delusion.

What are the prospects of stabilization? In January of this year 90 per cent of our revenue was represented by the issue of paper money, but in September only 53 per cent. This is a gigantic step forwards. It shows that we are not proceeding on the path along which the world bourgeoisie is pressing us. No, we have groped our way into the right path, and are going slowly but surely forwards. Our budget for 1921 showed a deficit of 84 per cent. During the first nine months of the year 1922 we reduced this deficit to 60 per cent, during the last quarter to 50 per cent. But we must proceed on the same path, for if we do not further reduce the deficit, we shall never be able to create a new and stabilized rouble.

We have no reason to maintain that we have attained any very great success in our internal economic structure. We must face the truth in cold blood, and admit that we are just beginning to work our way out of the jungle. I do not deny the danger attendant on the new economic policy, but we must separate political from economic dangers. The political danger of the new economic policy is non-existent.

We are convinced that the Russian peasantry will fully support the city proletariat if only the latter recognizes its fundamental duty, and exerts all its energy to provide the peasantry with manufactured goods.

The new economic policy has proved eminently successful. Its aim is the establishment of close relations between workers and peasants. Every attempt of private capital to make a breach in this united front of workers and peasants is doomed to complete failure from the outset. We are confronted with the task of proving that the communists and Soviet organs not only destroy the bourgeois order, but are equally capable of building up a workers' order.

POLITICS

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the Invasion of the Ruhr

(The following statement on the French invasion of the Ruhr was issued on January 15 by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries.)

To the peoples of the whole world!

The army of imperialist France has invaded the Ruhr Basin. Foreign slave drivers have taken possession of the industrial centre of Germany. Once again the German people have received a terrible blow, and Europe is once again menaced by a cruel international butchery. At this critical moment the workers' and peasants' republic of Russia cannot remain silent. Faithful to the incessant struggle against militarism, to the unwavering defence of the right of every people to independence, and to the demand for disarmament, Russia once more raises her voice in indignation, and protests against the crime that the French Government is now committing.

Five years ago the imperialist war, after a duration of four years, was ended by the shameful and absurd Treaty of Versailles. During the war the Allied Governments had proclaimed in all countries, to all peoples, that they were only struggling in the interests of liberty and in the name of the nations' right to freedom. The moment the war was over they suddenly forgot their promises and their "noble" speeches. They met at Versailles and dictated to Germany a treaty of a type unknown to history. This treaty proves beyond all question that the statesmen of the Entente were not thinking of liberty but of tyranny, not of the freedom of the nations but of cruelly enslaving them.

After having violently torn from Germany a number of provinces, after having taken from her all means of defence, the Versailles Treaty also robbed her of almost all her merchant fleet, of a third of her coal industry, and of three-quarters of her iron mines. It laid upon the German people a colossal burden of reparations, that is to say money indemnities, and indemnities in coal and goods, for all the destruction caused by the war in France and Belgium. The Versailles Treaty forged heavy chains for the German people and handed them over to the mercy of the French imperialists. The Versailles Treaty perpetuated the reign of hatred between the peoples of Europe and plunged Europe into economic and political chaos. The Russian Republic of workers and peasants protested energetically at the time against the brutality and madness of the Versailles Treaty, and predicted the terrible consequences affecting not only Europe but the entire world. These

predictions in effect have been completely realized. The years that have passed since the signature of the Versailles Treaty have been years of continual unkindness between the peoples, years of a steady growth in armaments, years in which the economic ruin of Europe has continually increased.

The present Government of imperialist France has not even been content with the Treaty of Versailles. In its insatiable desire for conquest it has violated this treaty which was drawn up on its own initiative in order to strangle the German people. Once more the French imperialists have flung the sword into the scales of history; they are proceeding with the military occupation of the most important industrial regions of Germany. By this action the French imperialists have taken upon themselves the heaviest possible responsibility for all the consequences of this revolting and reckless violation of the Treaty.

But imperialist France is not the only country culpable. Her allies, who could have opposed the perpetration of this crime, have not opposed it; some of them even are taking an active part in the invasion of the Ruhr, others hypocritically wash their hands of the matter and limit themselves to verbal protests and vain demonstrations. For these reasons their culpability is equal to that of France. Responsibility for what is happening does not only fall on the Government of Paris: the Governments of London, of Rome, of Brussels, and of Tokio must bear their share of responsibility.

The sovereignty of the German people to independence has been trodden under foot. The economic situation of Germany, already severely strained, has received a new and mortal blow. The working masses of Germany are threatened with horrible poverty and an unheard of oppression; the aggravation of the economic chaos threatens all Europe. The world is once again plunged into the fever that precedes war. Europe has been changed by the Treaty of Versailles into a powder magazine in which sparks are continually dropping.

In these decisive days the Russian Republic of workers and peasants again raises its voice in indignation, protesting against the mad policy of France and of her allies. She again protests with particular vigour against the violation of the German people's right to freedom. Again, and with the greatest possible emphasis, she warns the peoples of the whole world to be on guard against the danger of bloodshed which threatens Europe.

Peoples of Europe! Peace is in mortal danger. The future of peace is in your hands.

Kalinin,

President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Savronov,

Secretary.

Britain — France — Belgium

By J. T. Walton Newbold.

The situation in the capitalist world is developing from crisis to crisis with astounding rapidity and assuming a complexity utterly bewildering in its character.

The French have, by their occupation of the Ruhr, certainly succeeded in bringing the German people and the German state into something very near to chaos. The mark, oscillating insolently in its course, plunges down from one level to another. Prices rise by leaps and bounds and within the country there is an increasing instability. The whole population, of all classes and of all parties, resents bitterly the occupation of the Ruhr. Different factions have different ways of expressing their discontent and different ways of seeking to make that discontent effective, but one thing is obvious that all feel, with an intense irritability, their powerlessness to check the advance of the plunderers of the Paris Bourse.

The French, on their side, are not finding that they are getting or are likely to get anything more by way of Reparations as a result of their action. Already loaded down with debt, they have decided that they will pay the German industrialists for the coal which they take away to France and even if they assume that they will ultimately recover this sum from the German Government it remains an assumption not likely substantially to improve their credit on the money market. Furthermore they are needing to meet the immediate cost of moving in and maintaining large bodies of troops. They are incurring a heavy expenditure which will have to be met either by borrowing or by taxation, processes which in the present temper of the world will not differ materially in their economic consequences for France.

The French have, if their aim is really or even primarily to alleviate the condition of their national finances, gone to work in a

very foolish manner. They have adopted a course of action which can only serve still further to aggravate matters.

But the opinion is growing outside of France that the payment of reparations is not the reason for which the French Government has ordered the advance to Dortmund. The "Daily Chronicle" — the official organ of Lloyd George — has gone so far as to charge the French with seeking to possess themselves of the economic resources of the Ruhr, and has gone on to say that this would result in the same thing that was threatened by the Germans when they advanced into France.

Other English papers are not so direct and not so obviously hostile in the note they sound but all make it evident that they disapprove and distrust.

The official British attitude would appear to be an admixture of alarm at the action of France in jeopardizing the economic and political stability of Germany and of silent satisfaction at the spectacle of the French entangling themselves in a situation from which it will be impossible for them to withdraw with dignity. Probably, the British statesmen take the view that perilous as is the objective at which the French aim, viz: — the bringing together of the richest ore-fields, the finest coking-coal, the best water and railway transport and the biggest metallurgical and machine plants into one economic whole, such a project is fantastical. The British steel and coal masters would view with intense disfavor French effective annexation of Ruhr resources, but they view with almost equal approbation the putting out of business of the German plants at present competing with them.

The British diplomats have always favored the idea of France turning her attention towards the Rhine rather than seeking outlets overseas as in Turkey or the East. On the other hand, the newer economic powers in Britain, more fully understanding the importance of coal and iron in the modern world than do the officials of the Foreign Office are already warning their countrymen that France and Belgium controlling the Ruhr would be as grave a danger to the British as the Germans controlling Belgium, Northern France and Lorraine.

The banking interests in Britain realize how insecure are French finances and, probably, welcome the adoption of a policy calculated still further to undermine the fundamental stability of the French state.

At the same time, the British financiers and great industrialists generally can view with satisfaction a process which results in an immediate influx of orders for coal and also in a depreciation of the exchange value of the great workshops at present competing with their own establishments. These interests stand to gain by the liquidation of German capitalism and expect to be able to do very well for themselves when it comes to a general scramble for the assets of defaulting Germany.

The British have been to some considerable extent successful in detaching Poland and Czecho-Slovakia from exclusive dependence on France. They have waited their opportunity and have come in with alternative aid of a financial character. The power of France upon the Continent has ever since 1914 been much more apparent than real. She profited by the first enthusiasm of the new national states but, this over, the support of her armies, more especially as Bolshevism became a less pressing danger within and without, became a luxury that they were ill inclined to afford.

France was too evidently aiming at suzerainty and at financial exploitation. Therefore, the new nations preferred to turn towards Britain, traditionally unconcerned with the internal affairs of Europe and interested rather to trade than to enter and to exploit.

Besides, to-day, Germany and Austria have become so patently enfeebled that the Succession States no longer fear them while they do distrust France.

The best brains of British diplomacy understand too well how far France has to travel before she can weld her several elements of economic power into one working system. What they fail to understand is how dangerous to peace with themselves is a state like France whose rulers and whose bankers are conscious to a degree of the nearness of that time when they must meet their innumerable clients, the petty bourgeoisie, with the confession that no longer can they pay them any interest. The danger is that the French banks and big bourgeoisie will precipitate another world war in a desperate endeavor to avoid default.

France, official France, realizes not only the inadequacy of the economic substructure to support her financial and imperial superstructure but she is acutely conscious that it is and has been Britain which is in large measure responsible for aggravating the handicaps nature herself has put upon her.

For once, but for how long who can say, France finds herself in the closest co-operation with Belgium. This union is a union

built upon coal strata which underlie the frontier between the two countries, and make of one coalfield one industrial unity which expresses itself to-day in a financial union — the union of money and credit in the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*, the *Banque de l'Union Parisienne* and the *Société Générale de Belgique*.

Nature, economic geology, seem to cry aloud for the unification in one political system of the territories under which stretches one great coal seam from the Pas de Calais to the Ruhr, and on which stands one great industrial and commercial whole extending from Calais to Dortmund and Hamm.

That may be so but England willed otherwise. When trade was most important in the life of Belgium and when trade, moreover, centered around Antwerp and Rotterdam, Belgium inclined towards England.

Now that instead of commerce, of the exchange of all manner of commodities coming in and going out to and from Europe through Antwerp, industry, the heavy industry of coal and iron, has assumed priority in the Belgian economy, Belgian politics have tilted away from London and towards Paris.

In a rational political system — undetermined by historic jealousies and diplomatic intrigues — the whole of Northern France, the Scheldt, Treuse and Rhine Valleys would constitute one political as one economic area.

England has prevented this. She has fought Spain, France, and Germany to prevent it. Her rulers will, if necessary, fight France once more to prevent it.

The French Government is at the old game.

The British Government is at the old game.

We can go back across four hundred years of history and we can see this conflict proceeding, ever and again renewed.

It may be Richelieu, Louis Quatorze, Napoleon Buonaparte or Poincaré. It may be Cromwell, Marlborough, Pitt, Wellington, Grey or Bonar Law. Only the personalities change. Whilst the bourgeoisie of Britain and France prevail in their respective countries, the bloody battle will be again and again re-staged and re-enacted.

The eyes of the world may be upon Britain and France in the East. The eyes of those who know their history watch ever Britain and France on the Rhine and the Scheldt!

Belgian Social Democrats Support Occupation of the Ruhr Valley

By Heinz Neumann (Berlin).

On Wednesday, January, 10., the Foreign Committee of the Belgian chamber pronounced its attitude with regard to the invasion of the Ruhr valley. Vandervelde, in the course of his great speech, spoke to the following effect:

"We are unanimously agreed that our claims against Germany are sacred, as are those of France and Italy, and they must be paid—France has given her blood. There is no responsibility so great as that falling upon the German government. Germany's great industries remain a permanent threat against peace."

At the general council of the social democratic party of Belgium, held the following day, a resolution was passed, with only 3 dissenting votes and one withholding, condemning military measures for the purpose of "collecting effectual reparations", and recommending an arbitration award of the League of Nations, but stating in the first paragraph:

"The General Council holds it to be just and necessary that Germany make reparation for the damage she has caused."

The passing of this resolution was preceded by a two days' discussion, in which about the highest point of social treason and rabid chauvinism which has been possible since 1914 was attained.

The well known party leader Louis Pierard declared: "A part of our party notes with regret that the German socialists have done little or nothing to oblige their capitalists to pay the reparations to Belgium and France."

The social democrat Georges Hubin declared: "I am in agreement with the speech of Vandervelde and with the chamber. I regret that the *Vorwärts* has advised the workers of the Ruhr valley to take part in a (half hour's! Ed.) protest strike. The German social democrats, who have done nothing to prevent the proletariat from enriching Stinnes and his like, recommend the general strike as soon as it is a question of working for the

reparations. Germany is to blame for the world war. Germany added crime upon crime for four years. Now we demand reparation. We need reparation. Socialism is not merely peace, it is also justice."

The well known socialist leader Louis de Brouckere paid his German brothers of the 2. International the following compliment: "In 1914 the German social democrats did not oppose the German invasion of Belgium. They did not prevent the attack, and the name of Scheidemann is disgraced for all time." (Enthusiastic applause)

The social democrat Leo Colleaux found Vandervelde's resolution still too weak, "because it throws some blame on France."

"I do not believe in war, we only need to use force to oblige Germany to fulfil her obligations. I am a pacifist, I am an opponent of war, but if it has to come, then I want us to be victorious!"

René Branquart: "If the occupation of the Ruhr valley can really bring us anything, I am ready to endorse this step. When I remember the German atrocities, the deportations, the sufferings of our population, I have not the courage to say that we should not enter the Ruhr for fear of adding to the cares of the Boches." (Prolonged applause)

Joseph Bologne: "Poincaré is undoubtedly pursuing a policy of adventure, but I have great faith in the healthy common sense of the French people. We are afraid that Germany escapes punishment. I declare that if the policy of force cannot bring us anything to-day, it is because it comes too late. Unfortunately the Germans have learnt nothing from events. We must not forget that the reparations benefit the lesser classes as well."

The famous old social democrat Destrée, until recently a Belgian minister, declared: The whole world recognizes that the reparations are justice (1). Essen has been occupied without the slightest incident. What could Belgium do after France had resolved on the occupation? I am of the opinion that our government acted sensibly in joining France. We must not renounce our advantages. This is the feeling of the people. The policy of force is said to be unfruitful. But Belgium has already received 4.4 milliards of francs from Germany. The occupation has only cost Belgium 700 millions. Our policy has thus been right."

This is the voice of Belgian social democracy in face of the impending danger of war. And these Poincaré socialists form the second strongest party of the 2. International, they form the brother party of German social democracy.

Essen

By D. H. Wynkoop (Amsterdam).

It is known that recently more than ten trainloads of French troops have left Mainz for the direction of the Ruhr District.

Thus new French occupation is added to the territory occupied by Belgium between Aix-la-Chapelles and Kleve and the English zone which is concentrated at Cologne, an occupation which joins the district from Dusseldorf to Ruhr, already annexed by French Imperialism in 1921.

The French Government, according to the laconic American note, need fear no intervention from the American Government which itself occupies the district about Coblenz. The world can rest assured of that.

It is quite possible then, that *The Manchester Guardian* is right when it comes to this conclusion concerning the latest steps of French continental imperialism: "The French are sowing the seed of war, though they may not ripen for another generation". Or, to express it in other words, more familiar in the politics of today, the question remains localized for the time being.

For, as already indicated, war or revolution may not be the immediate result of the French action in the Ruhr district; France only sends her troops in order to "protect" her civil officials on the Rhine and in the Ruhr. But what will be the result?

Nothing else than the further destruction of life in peace time, millions of workers exploited like coolies and a more

dangerous reaction than ever in Germany and Central Europe which can link up with the Fascism already prevailing in Italy, Hungary and Bavaria.

The Essen business, the powerful alliance of Ruhr and Lorraine ore under a French political hegemony, aims at the creation of an unparalleled iron and steel market in Europe for the French Metal Industry, that backbone of the present monstrous French imperialism. In its aims, it has the help of Messrs. Krupp, Stumm, Stinnes and Thyssen. Naturally the question is whether these gentlemen will succeed better with these destructive measures than with any attempt at reconstruction. It is the most natural thing in the world that neither the Second International, nor the Amsterdam Trade Union International occupy themselves with this business, if only in an attempt at a really common line of action. For a protest meeting in Paris with Jouhaux as the speaker and a declaration from Vandervelde that he is convinced that Belgium is blameless, can hardly be called that.

The gentlemen are probably somewhat tired after their strenuous efforts at the Hague Congress, where they revealed what they would think of doing if another war should really come, that is, when it is too late to do anything.

Or, perhaps, they have been too much occupied with preparing for that world-event which appears to be about to come off in May of this year, i.e. the cementing together of the fragments of their Second International, which is engaging them so much in Cologne at present, that they have no eyes for what is happening in the neighbourhood of Cologne, in the Ruhr District.

Or, can the explanation be that Pacifism is so deeply engrained in them that these "workers" delegates do not care a hang if Europe's millions sink to a tragic ruin, so long as it happens under the flag of peace and not through open war.

However that may be, while the Communist International prepares for such action in Essen as the situation on the Rhine and the Danube, in the Near and the Far East demands, the Social Democratic International sticks to its correct declaration that the numerous divisions in the workers' organizations today, endanger the very life of the working class, in view of the present state of world-politics, and that under these circumstances, the most important duty of the proletariat is the building up of a united front in defense against the bourgeoisie. But as regards the possibility of a workers' world-congress convened by the Moscow International—such a thing is not to be thought of. While humanity, anxiously longing for peace and well-being, finds its world-problem in the question of how the proletariat, in its fight to emancipate mankind from the nightmare of capitalism, can learn to use its strongest weapon, the weapon of the first Proletarian State and the first world International in order to realize as soon as possible the mastery of the worker and the socialist economic state, the so-called Socialists, in the face of war or destruction, continue to declare: "The Bourgeoisie may rest secure, we will not make use of the only weapon we possess".

While, today, everyone knows (See the Italian Nitti) that no reparation settlement can be made until the armies of occupation are withdrawn and the absurd indemnity and Versailles policies are cleared up, the intelligent head of the British Labor Party, Ramsay MacDonald asserts that the indemnity should be definitely fixed, and so fixed that Germany can bear the burden.

France possesses the largest peace army that has yet existed, almost a million men, together with enormous modern armaments for land sea, and air fighting; her allies on the continent are armed to the teeth, Roumania has an army twice as large as that of Germany, Poland an army as great as Austria-Hungary's before 1914, and the Slav countries, Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, together, have an armed force greater than that of the United States. And this is not mentioning the world fleets.

The Essen policy may or may not lead directly to war; but the progressive decadence of Europe is leading this part of the world back to the tragic times of the Thirty-Years' War or the South American guerilla warfare of the last century. But still this downfall of a world disturbs the insensible thickheadedness of the Social Democrats not in the least. They parley, they chatter on as ever, with the terrible result that they merely hinder the working masses from the necessary unity in the fight against the Bourgeoisie.

Let the ever-patient and waiting masses learn this lesson from Essen and realize its necessity; throw off the leadership of the "modern" and Social Democratic leaders and make the

united front of the fighting proletariat, a reality in the trade unions, in international politics and in every other way. Join in the preparation for a common struggle, which has become more necessary than ever before, against Capitalism, for an immediate strike against the ever nearer approaching war.

The Foreign Policy of the Proletarian State

(A letter from comrade Bukharin.)

Dear comrade Souvarine,

French opportunists have been fastening on some words spoken by me at the congress, in my speech on the program, for the purpose of demonstrating their revolutionary radicalism. The words in question were my declaration that a proletarian government, under certain circumstances, may enter into agreements with bourgeois states, and that such a temporary agreement, in so far as it represents the interests of revolution, and is carried out under the control of the International, is of course to be supported by the International.

The question as to the justifiability of Soviet Russia making an agreement with Turkey against Western imperialism, when this imperialism not only threatens to enslave Turkey as a colony, but also to destroy the Russian revolution, is a question which must and will be thoroughly inquired into. We have no doubt whatever that such an agreement is perfectly permissible and suitable, and are of the opinion that the communists of all countries are bound to support such an agreement, and to explain its significance to the working masses. Should revolution break out in Germany, and Poland should attack Germany from the east, revolutionary Russia would probably be forced to take up arms against Poland. And in this case the revolutionary workers of the whole world would be bound to support the German revolution and the war conducted by Russia against Poland. Should petty-bourgeois Lithuania seize this moment as a suitable opportunity for attacking Poland, a military-political agreement with Lithuania for this purpose would be perfectly permissible.

The Soviet republic offered Menshevik petty-bourgeois Georgia an alliance against Western European imperialism, when the latter was endeavoring to seize power in Caucasia. Was this offer in contradiction to the interests of revolution? It was made for the defence of revolutionary positions.

The social revolution in Europe will still require many years, and its completion many decades. During this time many proletarian states may find themselves in the position of being obliged to make temporary agreements with subjugated or semi-subjugated bourgeois states, with weak and threatened states against strong and threatening ones. Each such agreement must be strictly tested, thoroughly deliberated upon. It is superfluous to say that no agreement is permissible under which workers' states could be employed, directly or indirectly, as tools of imperialism, tools for the oppression of other peoples. When an agreement of the nature above mentioned is being tested as to its permissibility, the criterion must be not the apparent interests of a single workers' state, but the world proletarian movement as a whole. The Communist International is the organ of such an international control.

The circumstance that two or three sentences of my speech, which I held in my own name only, and which did not by any means represent a decision of the international congress—have been torn from their context and made the object of noisy protest on the part of open opportunists, and of reformists and nationalists of yesterday and today, only shows too plainly that the aim pursued by these gentlemen is not the defence of revolutionary principles of which they are undoubtedly perfectly ignorant, but a speculation on the nationalist prejudices of a part of the working class.

With communist greetings,

N. Bukharin.

British Honour

By Wm. Paul.

A great deal of needless fuss has been created in political circles in Britain, by the report of a special Commission recently appointed by the government to enquire into the scandal regarding the sale of honours. This Commission's report is the usual bourgeois whitewash which is generally applied from time to

time, to the democratic institutions of capitalism. One of the members of the Commission was Mr. Arthur Henderson, a distinguished luminary of the Second International and the foremost leader of the British Labor Party. He presented a minority report in which he set forth his viewpoint in opposition to that of the majority of the Commission. But even his minority statement does not differ, in essence, from that presented by the out and out upholders of capitalism.

Capitalism, being based on the production and exchange of commodities, moulds its various social institutions in its own image. Even its conception of honour is regulated by the mercantile standard. Every sane and honest student of modern politics is aware that the bourgeoisie only grants honours to those who serve the propertied interests. In order to cover up the hypocrisy of their method of granting honours the cunning capitalists now and then confer a distinction upon an artist or a man of letters. But in Britain the traffic in honours reached such a stage of scandal that something had to be done in the matter. Even some of the most reactionary organs of the Press, in denouncing the honours scandal, were able to quote what were considered the market prices for Knighthoods and Peerages.

In democratic Britain the usual method of obtaining an honour is to pay over a sum of money to the secret funds of one of the bourgeois political organizations. These funds are utilized to fight the Communists and Socialists and to demonstrate to the masses that capitalism means social equality. It has been estimated by anti-socialists, like Belloc and Chesterton, that the purchase of a Peerage—which carries with it a seat in the House of Lords—confers legislative power upon the buyer equal to that of almost thirty thousand citizens. Regarding this aspect of the sale of honours, which has a most important influence upon the class struggle, Mr. Arthur Henderson said nothing.

It was of course very difficult for Mr. Arthur Henderson to expose the hypocrisy of the granting of honours under a capitalist state. This gentleman, like many more of his colleagues in the British Labor Party, has himself received an honour from the bourgeoisie. He was made a member of the King's Privy Council and is, therefore, a "Right Honourable Gentleman". Some time ago when Mr. J. H. Thomas—who also is a "Right Honourable Gentleman" and a prominent Amsterdammer—used the legal machinery of Capitalism to force the Communists into the law-courts he declared, under cross-examination, that the Privy Council was one of the few honours in Britain that could not be purchased for money. This is perfectly true. A seat on the Privy Council can only be won by a record of splendid service devoted to the propertied interests. In this connection it may be worth our while to pay attention to one or two facts.

One of the most critical periods in the history of the British capitalist class was between 1914 and 1918; it was also a most critical period for the working class. The safety of British capitalism during those years depended, to a very great extent, upon the attitude taken up by the prominent trade union leaders—particularly in the mining and iron and transport industries. What do we find? That the Labor leaders in the iron industries—Messrs. Arthur Henderson, George Barnes W. Bowerman and John Hodge—were elected to the Privy Council during 1915—1916. During this period the government made desperate efforts to crush the miners. It was just at this time that important miners' leaders, like Messrs. Wm. Bruce, T. Richards and Wm. Adamson, became Privy Councillors. All during the war the Amsterdam leaders of the engineers and miners, officially took their stand with the imperialist British Government against their own trade union members. All the great strikes conducted by the miners in South Wales; and by the engineers on the Clyde, at Liverpool, Sheffield, etc., were carried on by unofficial committees and in opposition to the very leaders who became Privy Councillors. When trouble began with the railwaymen in 1917 it was the turn of Mr. J. H. Thomas to be transferred into a "Right Honourable Gentleman". The dates, and the nature of the unions which these Amsterdam leaders controlled in Britain, speak eloquently as to the why and the wherefore they were chosen to receive such important honours from the hands of the most cunning ruling class in the world.

These facts further explain why it was difficult for the Right Honourable Arthur Henderson to denounce the shameless system of granting honours under capitalism. They also explain why the official leaders, who opposed the struggling masses during the war, are now within His Majesty's Privy Council; and why the unofficial leaders who fought for the workers, and who were imprisoned and deported, are now carrying on the struggle from within the ranks of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Against Imperialism and War

Appeal of the Paris Central Committee of Action to the French Proletariat.

To all workers!

Every time that the bourgeoisie prepares a coup de main, it fabricates a conspiracy, and throws the workers' functionaries into prison. Poincaré la Guerre has held true to this tradition.

The alleged fresh conspiracy has only one object: The concealment of the true character of the Ruhr occupation from the eyes of the French workers.

But this occupation of the Ruhr district is a real conspiracy on the part of the magnates of the Iron Works Committee, and direction against the workers in France and Germany. Poincaré la Guerre is their tool.

The reparations are only a pretext.

The occupation of the Ruhr valley will bring the country nothing. Poincaré knows this quite well! He said so himself in the Chamber. He is raising all direct taxes by 20 per cent, because he is well aware that the expedition will not put a penny into the coffers of the French state exchequer.

The Iron Works Committee wants the Ruhr valley. It already possesses the iron ore of Lorraine. On the day that it comes into possession of the Ruhr coal, it will possess the hegemony in the iron market.

The great German capitalists, Stinnes, Thyssen, and the like, are ready to come to an agreement with it. They do not fear the occupation. It is only the workers who have to fear it.

The French and German capitalists will conclude their agreement, and the proletariat of both countries will have to pay the cost.

The metal industry and mining companies will utilize the unfair competition of the German Workers to press the French workers to the wall.

They will renew their attacks against the workers' wages, they will again press forward with their ten per cent reduction of wages, as a preliminary to further wage reductions. Their offensive against the eight hour day will become irresistible.

Workers of France!

If you let things drift, to-morrow you will share the hard fate of the German workers. Their misery will be yours. You will learn, like them, that deprivations sap your strength and devastate your homes, whilst the Stinnes of France and Germany become richer and richer.

The capitalist press, which spreads abroad its lies in millions of copies every morning, hides the truth from you.

The men whom the government has just thrown into prison have committed the crime of denouncing these lies, and of summoning you to fight for your existence. Their further crime consists of having united with the representatives of the revolutionary workers of Germany, England, Belgium, Holland, and Czecho-Slovakia, for the purpose of organizing the fight of self-defence.

The Marquis of Lubersac is permitted to receive the All-German Stinnes. He is permitted to negotiate with him, and the government approves of his proceedings.

But when a French workman arranges to meet a German workman, this is a deadly crime, and the great lying press denounces him as a traitor to his fatherland.

The German communists, who are supposed to have been hatching plots conjointly with our imprisoned comrades, are the same people who were the first to denounce the crime of German imperialism. It is not they who carry on an anti-French campaign. They pursue the same aim as ourselves: the defence of the threatened working class.

Poincaré maintains that the occupation of the Ruhr valley does not signify war.

But it has already created a most threatening situation. The allies of yesterday have become the antagonists of to-day. From now onwards British imperialism takes up a defensive attitude against the imperialism of the French Iron Works Committee. This does not signify immediate war perhaps, but it signifies that the threat of war again overhangs the world.

Workers and peasants of France!

Our committee of action has been constituted for the purpose of guarding you against these dangers of ruin and war.

It has scarcely commenced its task, but the bourgeoisie is already up in arms.

Strengthen it by your support, respond in masses to its summons: further committees of action must be formed in all the cities of France. They must spread enlightenment all around them. They must not fear the vengeance of the bourgeoisie.

They must prepare, with perfect self-control and mature deliberation, to follow exactly the slogans which will be issued to them.

The moment is not far off when every individual will have to rise and follow us, in perfect unity and discipline, into the fight which circumstances forces upon us.

Down with imperialism, the generator of war!

Long live the international solidarity of the workers!

Paris, January 14, 1923.

The Central Committee of Action.

ECONOMICS

A 6% Redeemable Loan in Russia

By J. Schleifer (Moscow).

The means required for wiping out the budget deficit, and for enabling the issue of paper money to be stopped or reduced, cannot be raised solely by taxation and by the incomes of state industrial undertakings. And as the Western European bourgeoisie will only grant us loans on terms which we will not accept, we must turn to the inner resources of the country.

For five years no loan operations have been carried on in Soviet Russia. It was only in the summer of last year that the Soviet government launched a grain loan on 10 million puds of grain. This loan was a brilliant success. Hundreds and thousands of peasants paid their taxes in kind with corn bonds, and many workers are now eating bread which they have received, at the prices obtaining in summer, for their loan subscriptions. These workers and peasants have now learnt by personal experience how thoroughly they can rely on the solvency of the Soviet government.

The Soviet government is equally determined to pay back the redeemable loan of 100 million gold roubles now being issued, at its full value. Security for this is offered by the rapid increase of state revenues, and the obvious recovery of our economics. It is not by accident that the representatives of various foreign banks apply to us with the proposal to float a part of the loan abroad; despite the counter-propaganda of the White Guard press, the success of the grain loan made a great impression abroad.

In issuing this redeemable internal loan, the Soviet government is reckoning upon the broad masses of the population. The bonds are issued in values of 5 and 25 gold roubles. The term of redemption is ten years; pre-war loans had a redemption term of sixty years. The total sum of the proceeds, and the yearly sum of the allotted proceeds, are considerably greater than for the pre-war loans (1,600,000 gold roubles for the present, 1,200,000 for the Czarist loans). The loan has the additional advantage of preserving savings from the depreciation of the paper rouble.

These conditions are so advantageous for the buyers of the loan bonds that all our enemies, to whatever category they may belong, will not be able to bring up any arguments for agitating against the loan.

What becomes of the Reparation Billions?

By A. Ker (Paris).

On December 1, 1921, the total number of the men in the army of occupation stationed in the Rhine country, including those in Düsseldorf, Ruhrort, and Duisburg, amounted to 130,000. To-day the Rhine army, occupying 228 places, amounts to 140,000 men. Of these 95,000 are French. The German regiments stationed in this district in the year 1913, and distributed over 28 garrisons, amounted however to only 70,000 men.

The abuse of requisitions.

It is not only the French, Belgian, English, and American military forces which have to be provided for at the expense of the German people, but also their relations and servants. Has anyone even the slightest idea of the tremendous burden imposed on the Rhenish population by the foreign occupation?

Article VIII of the agreement on the Rhine country binds Germany to put at the disposal of the allies all existing aeroplane stations, shooting grounds, and military plant, formerly employed in the service of the German army. But the allied troops, in flat opposition to the wording of this agreement, have requisitioned a total of 1300 hectares of land for the erection of 24 new aeroplane stations; 11,000 hectares of land for 70 new exercising and shooting grounds for troops, for numerous mansions chateau, and great modern hotels, 23 theatres, 52 cinemas; 56,500 hectares for hunting purposes, and besides this a large number of desirable building sites, hotels, and private houses, which last have been transformed into brothels. The appropriation of houses for purposes of prostitution has only taken place within the zone of French occupation, and has cost the German state the pretty sum of "only" 800 million marks.

The Military Gentlemen make themselves comfortable.

With regard to dwelling rooms, linen, household furnishings, table accessories, and with regard to rebuilding and re-furnishing of houses, the needs, and especially the caprices, of our elegant officers exceed the dreams of the wildest imagination. The generals, and the officials of the same rank, are entitled to a private dwelling consisting of a whole house, and comprising seven to nine apartments apart from the servants' rooms. Besides this, they are entitled to official apartments, these having to consist of a building containing: a hall, a large staircase, one or two ante-rooms, a reception room, a small drawing-room, a large drawing room, a drawing room as ante-chamber to the general's study, a study, a dining-room, etc. etc.

By December 1, 1921, the allied troops had requisitioned at least 9,700 dwellings with a total of 38,000 rooms, and besides this 13,000 single rooms, from the civilian population.

In Mayence the general in command spent 750,000 marks during the year 1920—at that time worth 185,000 francs—for fitting out the castle of the grand dukes of Hessen according to his taste. In the same year no less than 1,572,000 marks were expended on the alteration and furnishing of Waldhausen castle, near Mayence, for a temporary sojourn of the general. A second whim of the same general, in the year 1921, again cost the trifle of 375,000 marks. In short, by December 1, the absorbing passion of the great military leader for decorative art had already cost the German state more than 3 million marks.

His Eminence Le Grand, the head chaplain of the French army of occupation, was somewhat more modest in his requirements; he has been living in one house with his mother, his sister, his niece, and the family of his valet, and, has caused an expense of "only" 330,000 marks.

The same abuses are reported in every direction: from Wiesbaden, from Coblenz, from Bonn, from Neustadt, from Trier, etc. In this last mentioned place, for instance, the wife of a general had the furniture which had been requisitioned for the personal use of her husband, to the value of one hundred thousand francs, packed into a furniture wagon and taken away.

Who foots the Bill?

From the simplest corporal to the general in command, every single soldier in the occupied territory of the Rhine country is making himself as comfortable as possible. In this vanquished country everybody can take just what happens to please him. The German state must provide at its own expense for the wives, relations, and lady friends of the most gallant soldiers of the world.

And why feel any embarrassment about it? Germany pays for everything! But will Germany really pay in the end for the tremendous expenditure for luxuries for the occupation army? According to the French budget, the arming, payment, and provisioning of the Rhenish army of occupation have already cost us 12 milliards of francs. At the same time the requisitions, the supplies in kind, and the special compensations, represent a heavy burden thrown on German finances, and this kind of "costs of collection" are included in the reparation account.

It may be confidently stated, on the basis of the figures given, that considerably more ease and comfort would obtain among the houseless of our devastated districts, if the wives of the generals and colonels would content themselves with somewhat less mahogany furniture, somewhat less pink silk wall hangings and Persian carpets, and if the appetite of the officers did not swallow up the greater part of the indemnities paid by Germany.

German Heavy Industry and its "Vaterland"

By Paul Frölich (Berlin).

The severe crisis through which Germany is passing at the present time has broken the thin crust overlaying the decay beneath. The rottenness of the system is revealed in broad daylight. One scandal follows another. It is becoming evident to all eyes that the great capitalists are utilizing the economic and political break-down of the state in the most shameful way for their own enrichment, and for seizing upon one fragment of political power after the other.

That fact that Germany has only been able to keep economically afloat for so long a time by continually lowering the workers' wages, by the aid of the depreciation of the currency, is already sufficiently well known, but it has not sufficed to rouse the working class to determined resistance. To express this more clearly by a simile: The great capitalists, the parasitic growths on the economic tree have been enabled to live because the rottenness of the trunk enabled the sucking roots better to reach the vital sap. This consumption of the vital force of the people of its living working powers, in favor of a comparatively small strata of capitalists, is in a manner a perfectly legal phenomenon.

But now it appears that the same clique of great capitalists is utilizing the terrible situation of state finances, and the political crisis, to an even further extent, for the purpose of scandalous extortions and impositions.

The revenues received by the state from the taxes were recently made known. It turned out that in October, the workers, that is, the recipients of wages and salaries, had paid no less than 72 per cent of the income tax, and even over 80 per cent of all direct and indirect taxes. This was full proof of the incredible extent of the cheating practised by the capitalists with regard to taxation. It must also not be forgotten that of the turnover taxes squeezed out of the mass of consumers about 40 per cent are embezzled, and not paid in to the state exchequer at all. And the turnover tax brings in the largest amount.

At the moment of the occupation of the Ruhr valley, the Coal Syndicate raised the price of coal by about 50 per cent. As a reason for this it was stated that the rise in price was rendered necessary not only by the increased prices of materials and wages, but by the necessity of supplying the collieries with more capital. The capital required for such purposes is generally raised by the issue of new shares, or by utilization of credit, but here it is raised by sums accumulated directly out of the increased want and misery of the consumers. A criminal enrichment of the brutal rulers of German industry! It must be noted that the trade union representatives in the Coal Syndicate also took part in this crime, and that indeed the joint workers' and employers' councils are nothing else than a great profit pump. The state government is also responsible, for it supervises all transactions in coal.

The government—this government of unheard of financial bankruptcy—now admits that since August 1922 it has permitted the mineowners to postpone payment of large sums which the latter had received from the consumers, and which represented coal tax. The government granted some months deferment of payments, yielding a total of over 22 milliards of marks. A social democrat has ascertained the fact that this amount has meanwhile reached a sum of 41 milliards. What this signifies can only be grasped if the development of the German rate of exchange is taken into consideration. When these respites first began, the dollar stood at about 700 marks in Germany. Now it is over 20,000 marks. It may be assumed that the taxes collected by the coal barons, but not delivered up by them, have meanwhile depreciated in value to about $\frac{1}{200}$ th. If the German currency continues to depreciate at its present catastrophic rate, and if these scandalous deferments of payment continue to be granted, these extra profits will soar into the immeasurable.

The responsibility for this criminal policy falls in the first place on the former Wirth government, in which there were social democrats, and the trade union leader Robert Schmidt was minister for industry; and in the second place on the present Cuno government, which continues to plunder state finances in favor of the great capitalists.

Considering the financial position of the state, and the political consequences of German insolvency, this policy is simply high treason. But there is even worse to come. The

great industrial magnates intend to plunder the state, and with it the working class, down to the last farthing. It is perfectly obvious that the great capitalists have largely contributed to the sabotage of the policy of fulfilment of war obligations, and to bringing about the present catastrophe. They are now utilizing the extreme need of the country for the most villainous extortion. Here are the facts:

On January 9th the Paris *Temps* published the statement that leaders of German industry with Stinnes at the head, had applied, through the intermediation of industrial magnates of Luxemburg, to the French government, and declared that they would guarantee the German government a loan of 18 milliards of gold marks on condition that the German railways were pledged to them.

It is obvious that Poincaré sought to obtain the pledges by force. He occupied the Ruhr Valley. After this it was reported from Paris that Poincaré had declared to French journalists that the French government had reasons for assuming that the German government would presently recognize its former errors. The industrial leaders of the Ruhr Valley would appeal to the chancellor, and would doubtless succeed in breaking down the resistance of the government.

It is now known that Stinnes and his companions of the French and German governments made the following proposal: that the great industrial capitalists grant a loan of 20 milliards gold marks, which means, one milliard gold marks interest yearly. In return for this the German government was to hand them over the railways. It is said that both governments considered this to be a suitable basis for negotiations. The great industrial capitalists, who with the effective aid of the Social Democrats, so shamefully sabotaged the compulsory loan, will simply pay these gold milliards out of the sums won by their taxation swindles. The railways cost them nothing, and give them a complete grasp of the whole economic life. The whole state has become a mere schedule. The whole population of 60 million souls has become one army of slaves to this handful of industrial barons.

What was Panama in comparison with such corruption? Among the political parties supporting the government—from the nationalist right to the social democrats—there is never any knowing where stupidity ends and crime begins. The whole of German politics has become a putrefying corpse. The German bourgeoisie, which is full of patriotic phrases at the moment, is only living—in so far as it is still dragging on its wretched existence at all—by means of open high treason. The sentence against it must be carried out.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The National Railroad Amalgamation Conference in the U.S.A.

By Wm. Z. Foster.

The National Railroad Amalgamation Conference, so long looked forward to by militants in all industries, has come and gone. It was a tremendous success. On Dec. 9-10, in Chicago, some 425 delegates, of all trades and callings, including smaller delegations from the four Brotherhoods, from all over the United States and Canada, came together to consider the proposition of amalgamation. They endorsed it 100%, declaring wholeheartedly for one union for the entire railroad industry. Then, organizing a committee of 100, members of which be located in all the principal railroad centers, they prepared to launch a great campaign to bring the many organizations together. It is safe to say that after the historic conference the realization of industrial unionism on the railroads, the dream of militants for a generation, now looms as a prospect of the near future.

Difficulties Overcome.

The conference was held in the midst of great difficulties. Prime among these was the shopmen's strike, which still involves half of the railroads in the United States. The effect of this was paralyzing. With practically all the unions financially handicapped, it was impossible for them to send delegates.

Another obstacle, though not so serious as the strike situation, was the opposition of certain officials of the International Association of Machinists and of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers who warned their membership to stay away

from the conference. Many Brotherhood militants were kept away thereby, but sent assurances of support.

No Craftism: No Dualism.

A remarkable feature of the conference was the overwhelming sentiment for complete amalgamation. The partial amalgamationists, those who advocate the fusing together of two or more closely affiliated trades here and there, got absolutely nowhere. The almost unanimous sentiment was for a thoroughgoing consolidation all along the line. Everyone recognized that the companies have become so militant and powerfully organized that the only way railroad workers can hope to stand against them is by complete solidarity of all trades. Federations and understandings between the various groups will not do. There must be an organic connection between them; they must be so many departments in one all-inclusive union. Conductors, Engineers, Firemen, Trainmen, Switchmen, Trackmen, Clerks, Shopmen, and all the rest united in this opinion. The general conclusion was that craft unionism, particularly since the shopmen's strike, is entirely out of date on the railroads and that only complete industrial unionism will suffice. When the conference voiced this conclusion it was the determined conviction of an overwhelming majority of the great rank and file of nearly all the organizations.

Another remarkable feature of the conference was the absence of dual union sentiment. Had such a meeting been held two years ago the demand for a new organization would have been practically unanimous, particularly from the more radically inclined. But in this conference not one speech was made in favor of secession; in fact, not even a sentence was spoken in favor of quitting the old organizations. Everyone was against such a course as suicidal; the radicals especially condemned it. The conference repudiated it formally by resolution. This bespeaks nothing short of a revolution in the minds of American militants. And the significant part of it is that just now the rank and file, particularly in the shop trades, are discouraged and are tending to quit their unions as individuals or to secede in small bodies in the time-honored disastrous way that has so long cursed our movement. The conference went on record unanimously to check this tendency and to divert the attention of the demoralized rank and file towards amalgamation. This changed attitude by the militants betokens a new day for Labor in this country.

Amalgamation the Chief Issue.

Seeking to avoid division in its ranks and striving to concentrate all possible amalgamation sentiment, the conference rigidly restricted its business to the proposition of fusing the organizations into one body. Few departures were made from this policy. Chief of these was about the shopmen's strike. The shadow of this great struggle hovered over the conference constantly, affecting its deliberations in many ways. The delegates went on record unanimously urging the striking shopmen to stand their ground and pledging all possible financial and other help to them. Another diversion was the adoption of the so-called "Chicago" resolution, calling for the amalgamation of the craft unions in all industries. A further resolution protested the suppression of amalgamation discussion in the official journals and demanded that their columns be opened to this subject.

An amusing and highly significant phase of the conference, which was made up of at least 95% American-born delegates, was the reiteration by many delegates that one of the principal tasks confronting the movement was to interest the foreigners in amalgamation and industrial unionism. In past years radicals have insisted that it was the Americans who were almost hopelessly resistant to such ideas. This conference goes to show that when these ideas are put up to the Americans so they can understand them—in their old organizations rather than in new-fangled ones—they will take to them readily and assume their proper place of leadership in the militant wing of the labor movement.

Railroad Men and Metal Tradesmen.

One of the most intricate problems confronting the conference was the question of what part the metal trades shop mechanics are going to play in the proposed industrial union. At the present time the heads of the metal trade unions are opposing the railroad amalgamation on the pretended grounds that if it takes place it will tear the railroad mechanics away from the contract shop men who are also members of these unions, thus greatly injuring both. But the conference refuted such contentions by adopting the principle of double affiliation. That is to say, while the railroad shop mechanics shall retain their membership in the purely metal trades unions (because they have an interest as metal workers in maintaining good conditions in the metal industry generally) they shall also be subject to the discipline of the railroad industrial union. Their negotiations with the companies shall be carried on by the general railroad union committee, and

in case of a crisis they shall participate directly in general strike votes and in the strikes themselves, without the interference of the outside metal unions. A part of their dues would be sent directly to the railroad union, sufficient to defray their pro-rata share of the latter's expenses. In reality they would be members of both the metal trades and railroad unions. The beginnings of this double affiliation system now exists in the relations between the Railway Employee's Department and the present craft unions. The virtue of the system is that it guarantees the solidarity of the shop mechanics with the railroad workers as a whole without tearing them away from the outside metal workers.

Realizing the close relationship of the metal trades and railroad unions and the great desirability of amalgamation movements proceeding simultaneously in both, the conference authorized the calling of a special sub-conference of metal trades workers to initiate a general amalgamation movement in their industry. This was held on the evening of the first day of the general conference. It consisted of some thirty delegates from railroad and contract shops all over the country. These delegates elected a provisional committee, entitled the International Committee for Amalgamation in the metal industry, and instructed it to initiate a campaign in the metal industry along lines similar to those that have proved so successful on the railroads. With these twin amalgamation movements at work, attacking the problem from all sides, and both agreeing on the double affiliation principle, it will be impossible for the reactionary leaders of the metal trades to block amalgamation in either industry.

The Campaign Ahead.

The conference changed the name of the amalgamation committee from the "National Committee to Amalgamate the Sixteen Standard Railroad Organizations" to the "International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry". The International Committee of one hundred militants was partly chosen at the conference, some 65 being nominated and elected. The remainder will be selected by the three executive officers from the large numbers of militants who are active in the amalgamation movement, but who could not be present at the national conference.

The conference adopted a general plan of action looking forward to the calling of a general amalgamation convention, at which all railroad unions, or as many as possible of them, shall be combined into one body. Instructions were given the executive officers to push this relentlessly. The plan of this program is of the utmost importance, destined in fact to mark an epoch in American trade unionism.

The I. W. W. Convention

By Charles Ashleigh.

The Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, meeting in Chicago, has expressed its abhorrence of the Communists, its doubts as to whether the Soviet Republic is really a workers' Republic, its concern for the accused Social Revolutionaries, and its strict abstention from affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions or the infantile Berlin Syndicalist International.

Their official organ, *Industrial Solidarity*, in its report of the convention, states that "whatever the metropolitan newspapers may have said about the I.W.W. being hand-in-glove with Lenin and Trotsky, little love for the Communists, either in Russia or in America, is being displayed by delegates at the present convention." After this, we may expect the capitalist press of America to treat the I.W.W. with the same "fairness" with which it treats Samuel Gompers or the "Socialists".

A member of the former Executive Board told the Convention how the Communists had "gained control" of the Eastern organ of the I.W.W., and that this paper, for some time, published "undiluted Communist propaganda". When he reported this to the Executive Board, the Board immediately suspended publication of the paper. The Board also found it necessary to remove the editors of the Italian and Hungarian official organs of the I.W.W. because they were Communists.

The Convention having applauded this cleansing process, it proceeded to a discussion of international affiliation. Both the Red International of Labor Unions and the Berlin Syndicalist International were discussed. It was decided that affiliation with the R.I.L.U. was impossible because of their disagreement with the program of the Communists. The Communist tactic of mass action, said they, was fallacious because "it seeks to take in everybody regardless of the class in which he moves." These naive fellow workers of ours evidently believe that the Communists are rallying the millionaires of the world to fight on the barricades, side by side with the workers. Or is it that they object to the inclusion of the peasants and poor farmers in the

Communist revolutionary program? If so, how do they intend feeding their revolution, after they have secured it in America, through resolutely folding their arms until their food supply has run out? Do they really believe this, or is it merely the theoretical excuse of the I.W.W. leaders, who desire to maintain their membership in ignorance of the real nature of the Communist program and of the Red International of Labor Unions? For, it seems that I can remember parleys and rapprochements between the I.W.W. and the Non-Partisan poor farmers of North Dakota; and even rumors of tacit support accorded to friendly candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party in the state of Washington. But this last cannot be true, for that would be "political action" and "political action" is one of the main reasons why they cannot have anything to do with the Communists, as the report goes on to state,—the election of I.W.W. sheriffs at Butte notwithstanding. It is all right to share a platform with members of the Socialist Party, but we cannot work with the Communists because they are political actionists. Aias! Aias!

And the Convention also said it could not join the Berlin-Syndicalist International. The reason for this was, according to their official journal, that "at their preliminary conference in Berlin, a few months ago, the Syndicalists went on record approving the use of sabotage and violence as weapons when deemed necessary in industrial strife. Both of these weapons are discountenanced by the I.W.W., which officially declared against them more than four years ago, on the grounds that force invariably defeats itself." No one blames the I.W.W., a legal organization, for not advocating force or sabotage—especially in the face of the great persecutions to which its members have been subjected. But surely these were not the sole reasons for not joining the Berlin International? Was not the main reason that the leaders had here a glimmering of sense—a feeling that the Berlin International was not an International at all, but merely a thing which existed on paper and in the minds of a few isolated and muddle-headed idealists, and that it probably would not last a year? Let us at least credit them with this.

And so the I.W.W. decided to remain without any international affiliation, but to open correspondence with both these Internationals, in order to exchange information. Later, it was said, the I.W.W. would aid in the formation of a "true" International which would really be the right one.

Reports were made of progress in organization of the marine transport workers and the coal miners. It was stated that the members of the United Mine Workers were joining the I.W.W. as a result of their recent unsuccessful strike. Here we see an apt illustration of the disastrous policy of dualism, which has for years paralyzed the American labor movement. An interesting example of the utter *illogicalness* of the orthodox I.W.W. leaders may be observed in this convention. Some time ago, the leaders of the United Mine Workers introduced a clause forbidding any of their members to hold an I.W.W. card. The report states that many of the members of the United Mine Workers, however, do hold these cards, and "it is considered likely that, at the next constitutional convention of the miners' organization, there will be action to abolish the prohibitive clause". And this, from the leaders of an organization which has always attacked the policy of working within the trade unions! This, from those I.W.W. spokesmen who have always derided the possibility of ever accomplishing anything against the reactionary machine of the older unions! If it is impossible to alter the old unions, and make them into better ones, through working within them, how on earth can they expect to abolish a clause in the constitution of the Mine Workers, by these means? And, if they can succeed in this, in the face of the opposition of the reactionaries, then they can succeed in anything else. They have here themselves given the lie to their own teachings and it is to be hoped their membership will perceive it, and learn the lesson.

The I.W.W. has doubled its membership in the past year, it was reported, and is now over 50,000. How pitiful is this acknowledgement of wasted energy, suffering and heroism! In 1905, when the I.W.W. was founded, it had 50,000 members. After 17 years of dual unionism, they are still feeding their Utopianism on "encouraging reports" on the growth of the membership. If all the splendid efforts, the enthusiasm and unexampled courage of the membership had been devoted to the struggle of the workers within the great unions, what a movement we should have in America, after these 17 years!

At it is, the I.W.W. has manifested, by its latest Convention, the complete bankruptcy of its theoretical leaders and of dual unionism in general. Also, it does not show the old I.W.W. spirit—the remarkable spirit of proletarian valor, which once distinguished it. The membership is sound; it contains still all the elements of the old fine fighting force. But there are new

and different leaders—or old leaders grown older and atrophied—and it is to this rank and file, this sound and courageous membership, that we should appeal. Let them ascertain for themselves what the Red International of Labor Unions stands for. Let them forget old prejudice, and read for themselves of the splendid work of the Trade Union Educational League in America. Let them apply the lessons of the past to their present condition, coldly, scientifically, realistically.

If they do this, we feel sure the members of the I.W.W. will demand of their leaders that they join hands with the great forward movement of American labor, rather than seek to pry this or that petty section from the body of the trade unions which are now suffering the full force of the capitalist "open shop" offensive. They will manifest their intention of working harmoniously with all those forces in America making for one great united revolutionary labor movement; and they will then see that the only International which really is building up a world-wide industrial revolutionary army of the workers is the Red International of Labor Unions.

Let us hope they will see this. If they do not; if they forget all their glorious revolutionary traditions, and meekly follow their present vacillating leaders—blind leaders without a program—then there is still some advice to offer them: they forgot the Yellow Amsterdam International. It is safe and sound and characterless. However, it is just a little too radical for Compers. It may be just right for them.

The Defensive Struggle Begins in Poland

By N. Ulan (Warsaw).

In Poland, as everywhere else, the endeavours of reaction to seize political power have been accompanied during the last few months by attacks of ever increasing violence against the standard of living of the proletariat.

During the last quarter of a year prices have risen by a further 300 per cent. Workers' wages have however only risen by 96 per cent. "Free trade" celebrates its orgies. The propertied classes in Poland enjoy almost perfect freedom from taxation. The Polish government covers its expenses by issuing banknotes to the value of hundreds of milliards, and by indirect taxes. While in England, Germany, and France, the indirect taxes form 20—30 per cent of the total state revenues, in Poland, at the present time, they form 88 per cent of the whole income. The rising prices are caused by the freedom from taxation of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and on the other by the constant increase of prices for articles and services of which the state has the monopoly, as salt, tobacco, saccharine, railway and postal tariffs, etc.; the increased prices are *only felt by the proletariat*, for up to now the Polish working class has not been powerful enough to obtain a sliding scale of wages based on the index figures. Up to now every penny of wages has had to be fought for. It is true that in Poland there exists a Statistical Commission, which ascertains the percentage of increase in prices every month, from a purely theoretical point of view, but in the course of the last few weeks the labor representatives have been politically excluded from this commission.

The Polish working class, decimated and misled by the P.P.S., which organization helped to throw members of the red trade unions and communist workers into prison by its eager co-operation with the *Okhrana*, has not shown any great inclination to fight during the past months. The agricultural laborers' strike in Posen, throttled by the P.P.S., and brutally suppressed by the Polish authorities, was the last fight of the Polish proletariat. But during the last few weeks the Polish working masses have begun to resume the fight, thanks to the strengthening of communist influence with the masses, and to our beginning to recover from the blows dealt us by the mass arrests of our best comrades.

The greatest industrial centre of Poland, *the traditional Lodz*, leads the way with its good example. On December 18, a conference was held here of all trade union and workshop delegates. While the conference was sitting, factory, meetings were held in all works and factories in Lodz, at which speeches were delivered by our comrades, and under our compulsion, by the P.P.S. This conference is the best proof of the strength of our organization in Lodz, and this is characteristic of the whole of Poland. The conference passed resolutions calling upon the government to dissolve the reactionary organizations, and to remove all reactionary officials from authoritative positions.

The most important part of the resolution is that demanding *real freedom for the proletariat for its press, for right of combination and assembly, and requiring the proclamation of complete amnesty for all workers and all those taking part in the proletarian movement.*

The conference also appealed to all trade unions to form a self-defence guard conjointly with the factory committees, this guard to be held in readiness to fight at any moment. The 4th point of the above resolution is particularly important and is as follows: "*The conference appeals to all labor parties to organize the common fight against the capitalist offensive.*" This point of the resolution marks the victory of the united front idea, which the communist party in Poland propagated for months past.

As a sign of protest, and of readiness to fight against Fascism, the conference resolved to proclaim 2 hours cessation of work, by means of all the factory sirens, at 11 o'clock in the morning of December 19, 1922. During these two hours, meetings were to be held in all shops and works.

This two hours protest strike was a pronounced success. The workers of Lodz, as ever, showed that they were to be relied upon. At the first sound of the sirens all work ceased in the factories and in the streets. Not a single undertaking continued to work. The tramways, the electricity and gas works, stopped work for two hours; even vehicular traffic and the business of the shops ceased.

The brilliant success of this action in Lodz was a threatening reminder, not only to the Polish bourgeoisie, but also to the P.P.S. The P.P.S. realized the danger at once, and hurriedly convened a central committee meeting for December 21. The object of this sitting was an appeal to the faithless and "undisciplined" organizations to be "ready for action to be proclaimed in case of need by the central committee of the P.P.S. conjointly with the trade union commission". The manifesto issued to the proletariat by this central committee sitting contains the following statement (emphasized in the original by italics):

"Our party demands no vengeance; we are nauseated by the echo of despicable party quarrels which destroy great causes, and prevent the attainment of freedom and independence for the whole nation. We want no bloodshed, no tumult, no ruin of people and state, all of which are threatened by the conspiracy of the Black Hundred."

This manifesto has met with the reception it deserves at the hands of the whole bourgeois press. The leading reactionary paper the *Rzeczpospolita* describes this manifesto as a "minor tone". This paper, like all the others, comments on the obvious dejection of the P.P.S. The whole bourgeoisie feels once more encouraged.

Lodz has always led the way for the proletariat of Poland; the cries of alarm of the P.P.S., and its attempts to retard are the best proof that it feels itself threatened and that the Communist Party will lead the masses into battle despite all persecutions, will force the P.P.S. to fight with it or reveal its true colors, as in the present case, and will break down the apathy of that part of the proletariat hitherto misled by the P.P.S.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

From Bologna to Rome; the History of a Split

By P. B.

The complete break up of the united socialist party is reported from Italy. Turati, Treves, d'Arragona, and their followers, after the seizure of power by the Fascisti, split up into open friends or opponents of Fascism. The reformists are not considered as an important political factor in Italy. The bourgeoisie can no longer even utilize them as a fig-leaf to cover their brutality against the working class. The reformists are so scattered, so lacking in influence among the proletariat, that the ruling class finds them incompetent for collaboration. The political collapse of the party of 203,000 members, and of the reformist trade union movement in Italy, are object lessons from the history of the international treachery of the II. International. The proletariat of the whole world should learn from this object lesson.

The II. International attempts, by every possible infamous slander, to cast the blame for the victory of Italian Fascism

upon the Communist International. It asserts that the communists split the Italian Socialist Party at Leghorn, and thus rendered the Italian proletariat helpless against the black s. This old slander is served up anew every day by all social democratic agitators and newspaper writers. The lack of international outlook unfortunately has the effect that the communist workers are seldom in a position to confront the Menshevik assertions with historical facts, and to unmask them as lies. The publishers of the Communist International have now brought out a publication on the history of the Italian labor movement, one which should be made accessible to every worker.*)

The scope of the work is not adequately described by the title. The author not only relates the history of the Italian socialist party, he gives a brief but correctly defined outline of the history of the class war in Italy from the end of the war until the schism conference of the Italian socialist party at Rome in March 1922. The political failure of reformism in every phase of the struggle is demonstrated in this work by documentary evidence.

The Italian social-democratic party was the first European mass party to join the Communist International. The fact that the majority of Italian workers passed through great vacillations, that some left the Communist International, or even joined the Fascisti, this historically, is the fault of the Maximalists. Documentary proof that this was the case since the party conference in Bologna in October 1919 is given in this work. Under Serrati's leadership, the Maximalists held it to be right to sacrifice uniformity and strictness of political principles for the sake a united organization. In 1922 Serrati was obliged to admit, at the party conference in Rome, that he had been in error, and that it was impossible to work in common with reformists in one organization. The Italian proletariat had to pay for this tardy recognition of the truth by Serrati and his followers with the heart's blood of its best workers. The part of the Maximalists has brought about the precise opposite of that which it aimed at. The organizations are completely scattered, not united; the trade unions are dissolved, not revolutionized; the proletariat is divided, not ready to fight.

The Communist Party is now the sole party around which the proletariat may gather with confidence in its fight for existence. The position of the Italian proletariat is not hopeless. Fascism will be forced to dig its own grave. The proletariat will be the sooner able to proceed to the counter-attack when the Maximalists carry out their resolution made at Rome, and return unconditionally to the Communist International. Then it will be possible to gather the whole of the masses in Italy around one flag.

*) The Italian Socialist Party. By Giulia Aquila. Publishers of the Comm. International Carl Hoym Successor. Hamburg 1922.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Who rules Russia?

By G. Neradov (Moscow).

Full information is provided on this very important question by the material compiled by the Russian People's Commissariat for international Affairs on the members of the Executive Committees in the governments and districts, during the year 1922.

Of the members of the Executive Committees of the governments in 1922, 99.4 per cent were men and 0.6 per cent women. The professions of the members were as follows: 40.8 per cent hand workers, 11.8 per cent peasants, 4.1 per cent technicians with medium and high school education, 2.5 per cent physicians, 11.3 per cent of the legal profession, 9.9 per cent teachers, 21.7 per cent clerks, etc., 1.6 per cent soliders, 0.3 per cent free professions, 2.5 per cent students, 3.5 per cent other vocations; 89.1 per cent belonged to the Communist Party and 10.9 per cent were non-partisan. The members of the district executives are divided as follows: men 99.1 per cent, women 0.9 per cent, workers 30.6 per cent, peasants 26.4 per cent, technicians 1.3

per cent, physicians 0.6 per cent, legal profession 0.1 per cent, teachers 6.5 per cent, clerks, etc., 25.9 per cent soliders 2.4 per cent, free professions 0.7 per cent, students 3.3 per cent, other vocations 2.2 per cent. Communists 81.7 per cent, other parties 0.1 per cent, non-partisan 18.2 per cent. The executives of the cities were composed of the following proportions: men 95.1 per cent, women 4.9 per cent; workers 53.7 per cent, peasants 7.3 per cent, physicians 4.9 per cent, clerks, etc., 19.5 per cent, students 12.2 per cent, other vocations 2.4 per cent, communists 61.0 per cent, non-partisan 39.0 per cent.

Thus for the whole of Russia, in the executives of the governments, of the capital cities of the governments, of the districts, of the cities, and of the main towns of the districts, we find the following proportions represented: men 99.0 per cent, women 1.0 per cent.—Workers 33.0 per cent, peasants 24.0 per cent, technicians 1.6 per cent, physicians 1.0 per cent, legal profession 0.3 per cent, teachers 6.8 per cent, clerks, etc., 25.0 per cent, soldiers 2.1 per cent, free professions 0.5 per cent, students 3.3 per cent, other vocations 2.4 per cent.—Communists 82.5 per cent, non-party 17.5 per cent.

In the above statistics the proportion of the vocations is of great importance. The largest percentage, falls to the manual workers, the second largest to the employe's; then follow the peasants, and then comparatively insignificant numbers of representatives of other professions, chiefly teachers and students. It is much to be regretted, considering how important economic questions are at the present time, that the technicians should be so poorly represented among the members of our executives. There is however no doubt but that after our schools have trained large groups of red specialists, these figures will undergo a favorable alteration. At present it seems as if the workers and peasants prefer to manage without specialists in their representative organs, rather than elect bourgeois specialists whom they do not trust.

As regards the education of the members of the executives, the proportions are as follows: 6.7 per cent with high school education, 16.5 per cent with medium, 66.6 per cent elementary school, 7.9 per cent self-taught, and 0.3 per cent with very slight education.

These statistics show the Soviet republic to be very poor in educated administrators. But this is not our fault. The ruling classes gave the people no education, and it was extremely difficult to make this good during the years of civil war. These figures only go to show that in Russia the Soviet democracy rules. This democracy is still uneducated to-day, but the process of appropriating cultural advantages has begun, and is continuing rapidly. Our high schools, our workers' educational institutions, are filled to-day with representatives of the city proletariat and the peasantry. A few years more, and the reigning Soviet democracy will have the cultural level, it falls short of today.

Social Insurance in Soviet Russia

By Josef Rabinowitz (Moscow).

The Russian Soviet government has made epoch-making strides on the field of social insurance. It has provided a legal regulation of the rights of the proletariat in every case of incapacity to work, illness, accident, disability, old age, widowhood, orphanage, expectant and nursing motherhood, and of unemployment. The law comprises all wage workers and their relations, without exception. The administration is facilitated by new provincial treasuries established by the Commissariat for Social Welfare, managed by workers delegated by the various parties and technical organizations. The proletariat is instructed on the essentials of insurance by means of meetings, lectures, articles, and studies. Special courses of instruction in the theory and practice of insurance are held for the delegates commissioned with the management of the treasuries.

It was not until 1903 that the Russian government introduced a law regarding the responsibility of employers for accidents occurring at work. This modest beginning was followed in the year 1912 by a law providing for the establishment of factory and cooperative sick clubs. These laws applied however to only a very small part of the whole Russian workers, and there were many loopholes by which the employers could evade the law, so that it cannot be maintained that there was any real social insurance under the Tsarist system.

The October revolution finally brought the question on the road to solution. On December 11, the law on unemployed insurance came into force, on December 22, 1917 the law on insur-

ance in cases of illness, maternity, and death, and in October 1918 the law providing insurance for every form of disability. It is true that at the time neither the political nor the economic situation was favorable to the carrying out of these laws. Civil war raged in the country itself, and the Russian proletariat was shedding its blood on more than one counter-revolutionary front. The first general regulation of social insurance was rendered possible by the introduction of the new economic policy, bringing with it the law of November 15, 1921.

The law comprises three groups of insurance:

- a) temporary working incapacity,
- b) permanent working incapacity,
- c) unemployment.

Leading outlines of the law.

1. The law includes all wage workers and their relatives, without exception. 2. The costs of insurance are borne by the employer only. 3. The administration is in the hands of the insured; the employers take no part whatever. 4. The insurance includes every case of incapacity to work or earn—from whatever cause—and lasts from the day of loss of earning capacity until restoration of same or until total disability is acknowledged. 5. The insurance includes unemployed benefit. 6. The insurance extends to the relatives of dead or missing insured. 7. As complementary relief the insured or their relatives receive benefit for confinements, nursing mothers, and in case of death. 8. The insurance money paid amounts to the full wages of the insured. In all cases of temporary incapacity to work the insured receives full wages during the whole period of disability. Disabled workers receive the average local monthly wages (under some circumstances one and a half times this amount). 9. The insured and his relatives are entitled to free medical treatment, medicines, hospital, sanatorium, and health resort. 10. The insurance fees are calculated in accordance with the injurious and dangerous nature of the work. 11. Women workers engaged in manual work receive, in case of pregnancy, their full wages 8 weeks before and after confinement; those not engaged in manual work only 6 weeks before and after confinement. 12. Every insured woman worker, or wife of insured workman, receives at her confinement a single payment of benefit to the amount of the average local monthly wages, for the purchase of necessary articles for the new-born child. 13. Nursing mothers receive benefit amounting to one quarter of the average monthly wages for a period of nine months. 14. Funeral benefit is paid to the amount of one half the average monthly wage in the case of the death of members of the family under 12 years of age, and to the amount of a full average month's wages in the case of the death of older members of the family.

Unemployed entitled to benefit are:

- a) every assistant worker, day laborer, or employé who has been employed for a total of three years as wage worker—whether in one or several situations; b) every qualified wage worker; d) every woman worker personally responsible for the care of a child under 8 years of age.

Unemployed having claim on benefit have to report themselves at the labor exchange for registration at latest 7 days after leaving work. Men who have served as soldiers in the Red Army are entitled to unemployed pay if they were wage workers before being mobilized, and if they have themselves registered at the labor exchange within three weeks of their demobilization.

Unemployed benefit is granted for 15 successive weeks, but in cases of repeated unemployment in cannot be granted for more than a total of 26 weeks in one calendar year. The rates of unemployed benefit are: for qualified workers the half of the local average wage, for other workers the sixth or third.

Provision for those incapacitated for work.

Every wage worker having partially or wholly lost his working capacity as result of an accident, industrial disease, old age, or wounds or illness contracted during military service, is entitled to this benefit. Those incapacitated from earning by old age have to prove that they have worked for a total of 8 years as wage workers.

Disabled persons who have not only totally lost their earning capacities, but are also personally helpless, receive a permanent pension corresponding to the average local wage; (more if required). Invalids incapable of working, but not dependent on the help of other persons, receive a permanent pension amounting to two thirds, and those capable of performing any work receive a pension amounting to the half of the local average wage.

Disabled persons who are only partially incapacitated for work receive the unemployed dole in case of unemployment.

Disabled persons provided for in homes are maintained for life. As these invalids have their needs provided for in every way, they do not receive any financial payment.

Provision for Widows and Orphans.

The family of a deceased or missing wage worker, that is, children and brother or sisters up to 16 years of age; the wife if incapable of earning or if having children under 8 years of age under her care; parents, if the deceased or missing worker has provided for them and they have no other child capable of working, receive a pension.

The standard amount of the pension is one third of the average local wage when there is one person in the family unable to work; the half of the average local wage if there are two persons in the family unable to work; two thirds of the average local wage if three or more persons in the family are unable to work.

Members of the family provided for in orphanages, asylums, homes, or other state institutions, have no claim to pension. The pension is granted for life to persons incapable of working.

Some extracts from the regulations.

Persons incapacitated from working, and undergoing medical treatment, cannot be dismissed by their employers for four months after the beginning of their incapacity for work, and are entitled to all the privileges enjoyed by the healthy workers of the same undertaking. Employers offending against the regulations relating to expectant and nursing mothers are punishable by imprisonment up to the term of one year. Nursing mothers are entitled to leave their work for half an hour every three hours. Pregnant women or nursing mothers are not to be employed at night work.

Persons without means, and not liable to any obligatory insurance, are cared for in institutions provided by the Soviet government. In central Russia there are at the present time 3,200 such institutions with about 16,000 beds. At the beginning of 1921 there were already 329 institutions where disabled persons are taught other vocations. The number of these institutions has increased steadily, and continues to increase.

Besides the provision for the relatives of those killed or missing in the war, the state also lends aid to peasants suffering from social or elemental misfortune. The "state organs of mutual compulsory aid for the peasantry", called into existence by the Soviet government in May 1921 (the compulsory character of which originated with the peasants themselves) are perfectly autonomous. The number of committees belonging to these organs had by February 1922 already amounted to 40,000. Among the duties of these committees may be mentioned the restoration of farms, villages, or districts suffering from failure of crops, hail, fire, or other elemental or social misfortune; the distribution of state aid among the needy; the collection of means of relief by means of self-taxation; the material and legal defense of the rights of the needy; general provision for the relatives of the soldiers of the Red Army, etc.

The beginnings of a really efficient social labor legislation, roughly outlined above, derive their special character from the fact that they originate from a government supported by the workers actually engaged in production. There is no capitalist country which can even approach that which impoverished Russia has created up to now, out of its own resources, for its workers. After the wars at home and abroad, after the blockade, threatened continually with the danger of intervention, and in the midst of the most difficult economic conditions, the Russian proletariat can point with pride to what it has already succeeded in creating.

THE COLONIES

Legal Murder in India

By M. N. Roy.

Out of 228 men put on trial for "rioting and arson" at Chauri Chaura, 172 have been sentenced to death, and six men have practically suffered the same penalty, because they died in jail of maltreatment during the trial, which lasted almost a full year. Even the records of the British government in India cannot produce an instance of imperialist "justice" which surpasses this one in its majestic vindictiveness and brutality.

The incidents that led up to this legalized murder were as follows: In February 1921, the agrarian revolt in the United Provinces where Feudalism reigns supreme, had reached a very acute stage. Ignorant of the social revolutionary character of this

discontent of the poor peasantry, the nationalist Non-Cooperators turned towards this spontaneous outburst to utilize it for their political agitation. The result was that the rebellious peasantry readily responded to the call of the nationalist agitators, and took up the slogans of Non-Cooperation. It was just at the time when the Congress and particularly Gandhi, was talking very much about Mass Civil Disobedience, the main slogan of which was to be non-payment of rents and taxes. This electrified the imagination of the exploited peasantry, weighed down generation after generation under exorbitant land rents, and innumerable kinds of feudal dues exacted by the landlords. The vision of the day when they would not have to bear all these burdens inspired the peasantry who, all over the province, rose in revolt to overthrow the British Raj, which to them was Landlord-Raj, and to establish "Swaraj", which they called Gandhi Raj. The entire province was like a volcano and the authorities were extremely alarmed.

Thousands of villagers joined the Congress Volunteer Corps, and in addition to the campaign of attack against the properties of the landlords, took active part in the picketing of the sale of foreign articles and liquor in the market places. Everywhere they came into conflict with the police forces. On February 2, the volunteer pickets were fired upon by the armed police in a market, owned by a landlord notorious for his loyalty to the government and tyranny over the tenants. Two days later the Volunteer Corps, swelled to almost 3,000 strong by peasants from the adjoining villages, decided to renew their activities in the same bazaar. On their way they had to pass by the Police Station at Chauri Chaura, at which point they were attacked by the police. After some exchange of brick bats, the police opened fire on the crowd, which grew furious and attacked the police Station, set fire to it and 21 policemen were killed in the affray. Naturally the casualties on the other side must have been much greater, in view of the fact that while every one in the Police Station used fire-arms, the volunteers had scarcely any. The government has always been very careful in putting the number of the killed and wounded among the volunteers as low as possible. But it is not hard to imagine the result of firing volleys on a crowd of over three thousand unarmed peasants. A correspondent of the loyalist press wrote: "the police must have fired on the mob in earnest, but whether it was before the rush or after it I cannot say".

From Chauri Chaura, the revolt spread in all directions; but the forces of law and order were mercilessly brought to bear upon the situation, and what would otherwise have been a peaceful demonstration of the exploited masses ended in a blood-bath. Armed Police and military forces were used freely to "protect life and property" and scores of lives of the expropriated peasantry were sacrificed. In a few days, a government communiqué declared the "situation well in hand" all the centres of disturbance being "under military control".

Thus was drowned in blood the voice of the exploited peasantry, driven to premature action by government provocation, and the ignorance of the nationalist agitators. Hundreds of arrests were made; 228 of the prisoners were finally sent up for trial. They were charged with "murder, arson and being members of an unlawful assembly". After a trial which lasted 8 months, bourgeois justice has pronounced its verdict: 172 will be "hanged by the neck until dead".

The facts speak for themselves. No comments are necessary. This justice surpasses in brutality the doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". 172 lives must be taken to pay for 22. But bourgeois justice conveniently forgets about scores of poor peasantry that fell before the rifles of the police and military. Who is going to avenge these soldiers of freedom? Not bourgeois justice, but their own class when victorious. The reason for such brutal ferocity is that in Chauri Chaura, and the incidents that preceded and followed it, the growth of a force threatening the rights of the landlords, was to be noticed. British Imperialism has proved how ably it will defend the property of those loyal to it. 172 lives will be sacrificed on the altar of Landlordism in league with Imperialism. A lesson for the Nationalists.

APPEALS

To all workers, peasants, and soldiers!

Comrades!

French capital is preparing to commit a new atrocious crime. It is sending its troops over the frontiers for the purpose of plundering Germany. Humanity trembles anew at the threat of a new war in the immediate future and at the prospect of further unheard of sacrifices, increased starvation, annihilation of

the proletariat, destruction, ruin, and death. Those who were victorious in the world massacre, and who are so fond of boasting of their civilization and justice, now tear the mask of hypocrisy from their own faces, and reveal themselves in their true colors as robbers. The proletariat of Germany is to be crushed by Entente capitalism. The bourgeoisie uses every means to secure its victory; in France it throws the proletarian fighters into chains, in Italy it murders and ravages them, in England it casts them into prison, in Czecho-Slovakia it arranges pogroms. The whole of Central Europe is abandoned to ruin if the criminal policy of the financial kings cannot be stopped.

Workers of France! Soldiers of the French army! It is now your duty to exert your utmost endeavors to prevent Poincaré's army from lighting a new conflagration which will reduce Europe to a heap of ruins. You must not allow the Paris bankers to crush your German fellow workers beneath the heels of the gendarmerie.

Your enemy is in your own country. Your proletarian honor must not be defiled by the executioners of the working class. You must not permit yourselves to be degraded into despicable tools for Poincaré. You will not lend yourselves to plundering the German people. Carry the living word of living truth to the masses! Frustrate capital by strikes and demonstrations!

Workers of Germany! What awaits you! An ocean of sufferings, twofold oppression, starvation, and degeneration. The bourgeoisie does not even secure for you your daily bread. It enters into business relations with its French colleagues, at your expense, at the expense of the working class. It will not depart from this path in the future. You must unite to form one mighty proletarian front to fight for a workers' government! Utilize this workers' government for organizing the defensive fight against foreign robbers! Stretch out your hands to your French brothers, who are ready to fight side by side with you against the criminal French bourgeoisie! Bear the slogan of unity with Soviet Russia to the masses! Only by these means can we frustrate the enemy.

Workers of all countries! Working people of the rural districts! You are all threatened with the danger of being drawn into fresh massacres in the interests of capital. Confront your governments with your determined will to self-defence, your will to fight against capital, to fight for your workers' power, for the European federation of socialist republics. The bourgeoisie is ready to inaugurate another blood bath over the division of the booty, to murder fresh millions of workers, to tear them to pieces, to make cripples of them. Then unfold the mighty banner of general war of all exploited against the exploiters, the financial kings, the diplomats! Tear the mask of hypocrisy from the faces of those leaders who seek to quiet you, to reconcile you with the bourgeoisie! Organize mass actions, mass attacks against the bourgeois governments!

Down with the new imperialist war!
Long live the Workers' and Peasants' government!
Long live the federation of socialist governments!
Long live the proletarian revolution!

Moscow, Jan. 13, 1923.

Executive of the Communist International.
Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions.

To the Working Youth!

Rise up against imperialism and war!

The French capitalists are sending their troops into the Ruhr valley under the pretext of forcing Germany to pay the reparations. The German bourgeoisie saw in advance that this was coming, was fully aware that it was playing with the fire of war, for it did not want to bear the burden of reparations itself, and sought to shift it upon the proletariat. And now the workers are once more to foot the bill for the bourgeoisie. The frightful danger of a new war, conjured up by French imperialism and by the mad unchaining of reactionary forces, is at our doors. New and unbearable economic burdens are to be laid on the German working class by the Entente and by the German bourgeoisie, and these burdens are to fall above all on working youth in town and country.

Working youth! Workers, peasants, and soldiers! You are to be the first victims to fall on the battle fields of imperialist war and misery, you are to pay with your blood and your young lives for the aspirations of French imperialism. Defend yourselves to the utmost! Follow the slogans of the Communist International, and take part in the fight of the awakening working class with all your youthful vigour and enthusiasm!

You French and Belgian, English, Italian, Czecho-Slovakian, youthful workers and soldiers. Rise against your bourgeoisie! Refuse to act as the executioners of French imperialism, and to murder your brothers. Fraternize with your German class comrades! Fight for the united front of the proletariat, for the overthrow of the imperialist government and for setting up a workers' government!

Young German workers! Fight for the united front of the proletariat, against the bourgeoisie of all countries! Fight to force the propertied classes to pay the reparations! For the workers' government! For the arming of the proletariat! Only by following these slogans will war and increased misery be prevented.

Youthful comrades! We do not want to starve and perish in the interests of capitalism. Wherever the proletarians of all countries, unite to fight against their imperialist bourgeoisie, there you must stand in the front ranks.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

To the Workers and Peasants of South America

Comrades!

The Fourth International Communist Congress, held at Moscow on the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution appeals to all the workers and peasants of South America to prepare themselves for the class struggle and to support the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat.

The Role of the United States of America.

The European War has announced the beginning of Capitalism's last convulsions. The antagonisms of the international bourgeoisie have ended in the most terrible massacre the world has ever known in order to decide which of the imperialist groups shall dominate. The proletariat has been sacrificed by millions on the battle fields for the sake of capitalist Imperialism and its attempt to solve the sharp crisis that is leading inevitably to bankruptcy.

The war has not solved that crisis. European Capitalism sees its inner convulsions increasing at the same time as the class struggle becomes more acute. In the treaty of Versailles, there is a new source of conflicts and the proletarian masses are coming more and more to realize that nothing but a revolution can abolish the capitalist antagonisms. The unheard of repressions to which we are subject today, the implacable offensive of the bourgeoisie proves how critical the situation is to the capitalists of the United States.

It is in North America alone that imperialism has been able to strengthen its position since the war, and the United States is today a strong imperialist state. But following the war there have arisen new causes for imperialist disputes. The antagonism between the United States, England and Japan threatens anew the peace of the world. American imperialism is developing, is creating the germs of future conflicts which mean new sacrifices of blood for the proletarian masses. North America bids fair to be the center of the international bourgeois reaction against the proletariat.

The Extent of United States Imperialism.

American Imperialism is trying to extend its domain into all countries of the world. In Asia, in Africa, on the Pacific coast it is looking for new fields of exploitation. And above all, United States Imperialism intends to secure its domination in Latin America, either under a concealed economic form, or by open political domination. It is looking to South America as a secure market for its goods, now that Europe with its capitalism rotting at its base, can no longer provide that market.

The Monroe Doctrine serves the American capitalists as a means to secure their economic conquests in Latin America. The loans, the new investments of American capital in industrial enterprises, in commercial and banking concerns, the railroad concessions, the shipping ventures, the acquisition of oil wells—all these many forms of American economic expansion show how

American capital is trying to make South America the base of its industrial power.

This economic precaution also leads the bourgeoisie of the various countries to interfere in the imperialist struggles of Central America, of Panama, Columbia, Venezuela and Peru. The bourgeoisie of all the American countries prepares its reaction against the proletariat by government opposition, and when the workers of South America protest against the criminal measures of United States capitalism, as in the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, the governing classes stifle these demonstrations of the proletariat in order to show the subordination of their will and interests to those of Northern imperialism. The Pan-American Union of the bourgeoisie is a plain fact as is its function, the maintenance of class privileges and a regime of oppression.

The Duty of the South American Proletariat.

Workers and peasants of South America!

Imperialist capitalism has introduced into your country the same international antagonisms which led the people of Europe into a most bloody war and most formidable reaction. It is time to unite the revolutionary forces of the proletariat just as the capitalists throughout America have united against the working class.

Comrades, the workers and peasants of South America have not yet developed organization sufficiently disciplined and united for action. Your class government avails itself of the help of the formidable power of the United States, to stamp out your efforts, stifle your struggle for emancipation and prevent every revolutionary movement of your oppressed masses.

Workers and peasants! The Communist International summons you. Do not forget that in the United States there are Communists ready to help you in the revolutionary struggle. The common fight of the proletariat of all the American countries against the American capitalists is a vital necessity for the exploited masses. It faces you as the one means to your security. The heroic example of the Russian Revolution fighting desperately against international capitalism will make you comprehend what end awaits you, if you remain indifferent while the ruling class intensifies its capitalist exploitation. The antagonism between high finance and industry is increasing in your countries and the international imperialist struggles threaten to involve you also, in the massacre.

Comrades, face the bourgeois offensive with a united proletariat. Organize, ally your revolutionary actions with the movements of the workers and peasants in America and all countries of the world. Fight against your own bourgeoisie and you will be fighting United States imperialism which represents the highest point of capitalist reaction. Rally round the banner of the Russian Revolution which has laid the foundation for the world revolution of the proletariat.

Like the Russian revolutionaries, prepare yourselves to transform all attempts at war into an open struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Like them, undertake action against Imperialism and prepare the dictatorship of the proletariat which will destroy the bourgeois dictatorship in all America. If you remain divided and disorganized, the American bourgeoisie will destroy you, will stamp out your movements and increase capitalist exploitation in nullifying your previous conquests. The fight against your own bourgeoisie will become more and more a struggle against world imperialism and a battle of all the exploited against all the exploiters.

Comrades! Organize! Strengthen your Communist Parties and create parties where they do not already exist. Ally your movement with the movement of all American Communists. Organize the revolutionary proletariat who fight under the red flag and work for the existence of sections of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions in every part of America.

Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!
Long live International Communism!
Long live Soviet Russia!
Long live the revolutionary proletariat of America and the World Revolution!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.