

Two delegates were sent by the Foreign Bureau of the C.P. of Persia. This F.B. was dissolved by the Comintern more than 6 months ago. Apparently, however, it continues to exist, since it has sent two delegates to Moscow. The Mandate Commission thought it necessary to refuse credentials.

The recognition of the mandates of the C.P. of Austria entailed difficulties. Three comrades came from Austria with credentials given in Vienna on October 17 and 19. One of them left Vienna as early as October 19. On October 22 we received a telegram from the Executive Committee of the Austrian Party cancelling three credentials, and consolidating all the credentials upon the Austrian representative on the executive, comrade Grün. The telegram stated that the Austrian Party could not afford to defray the travelling expenses of the three delegates to Moscow. Notwithstanding this telegram, the three delegates arrived. Thus, we had, on the one hand, Comrade Grün with three credentials; and on the other hand the three delegates with what they regarded as valid credentials from the Austrian Executive Committee. The Mandate Commission decided, on the proposal of the four Austrian comrades, to recognise the credentials of the three who had specially come from Vienna, and also to give the right to vote to the fourth comrade. Thus the Austrian Party has 4 duly accredited representatives.

The women's Section of the Eastern Division, represented by their leader Kasparova, asked for a mandate with the right to vote. The application was refused.

Speaking generally the distribution of mandates conveying the right to vote and of mandates giving a consultative voice merely (when there were numerous delegates with valid credentials) has been effected on the following principles. As a rule those comrades who have come from their respective countries direct to the congress have been given the right to vote, whereas those comrades who had been for some time resident in Moscow and were no longer in direct touch with their respective countries, have been given a consultative voice only.

Furthermore, upon the instructions of the Presidium there were admitted to the Congress of the Comintern with a consultative voice all the delegates to the Profintern congress, and those delegates to the Young Communists Congress who had already arrived in Moscow were given visitors cards for the Comintern Congress. Admission with a consultative voice was also granted to two of the delegates to the Cooperative Congress, seeing that the question of cooperation is under discussion at the Comintern Congress and these two comrades had, therefore, to work upon the commission.

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Open Letter

To the Second International and the Vienna Working Union.

To the Trade Unions of All Countries, and the Hague International Conference of Trade Unions and Cooperatives!

The Slogan of the IV. Congress: United Front!

The IV. Congress of the Communist International, comprising 62 parties of Europe, America, Asia, and Australia, has confirmed that which the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International has already twice resolved: that it is the duty of all communist parties to devote all their energies towards organizing the working class into a solid united front, in order to resist the attack now being made by world capital on every position of the working class. Thus the highest tribunal of the communist parties has confirmed that which has been the aim and object of our last year's work, and has sounded as the slogan for our coming work: *The struggle for the united front of the world proletariat, the struggle for unity, for the common defense of all proletarians, regardless of their political tendency and attitude.*

As early as last spring the Communist International already applied to the Second International, and to the Vienna Working Union, with the request that they participate in a Workers' World Congress for the purpose of organizing this common fight for saving the eight hour day, against wage reductions, against the loss of everything which has been gained by the trade unions, against the renewed armaments, and against the danger of new wars. At the *Berlin Conference* of the representatives of the three executives, the representatives of the Communist International made this proposal. The parties of the Second International rejected it. As a first condition for the convention of a world workers' congress, the Second International demanded that the Soviet Government abandon its opposition to those parties attempting to induce the Russian proletariat to renounce the most important conquests of the

revolution, to give up the possession of the factories and to replace the power in the hands of the bourgeoisie; as a second condition the demand was made that the Communists cease propagating their views within the trade unions, and give up combatting those trade union heads who are in favor of weakening the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, although the intensification of this struggle is an obvious necessity. The Communist International was obliged to decline these proposals, for their acceptance would have been tantamount to the abandonment of the whole aim and object of the United Front. We are working for the united front with the aim of increasing, not lessening, the fighting and defensive powers of the proletariat against the international bourgeoisie.

Six Months of Capitalist Offensive.

Another half year has passed since the failure of our proposal to form a united proletarian front for the organization of the proletarian defensive struggle. This half year saw the uninterrupted advance of the bourgeoisie in all countries.

In England the reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie have gained the upper hand. They have put an end to Lloyd George's attempts to conceal the aggressive policy of English capital beneath phrases expressing anxiety for peace and for the reconstruction of Europe. The Conservative Party, now reigning supreme, has proclaimed "law and order" as its watchword, and "non-interference of the state in economics", that is, it gives capital a free hand in the strangulation of the proletariat. Its first step was the attempt to do away with the minimum living wage. Bonar Law even refused to listen to the unemployed.

In France the government gave the command to shoot at striking workers in Le Havre, only 4 years after the wholesale bloodbath. The French government attacks the eight hour day openly.

In Germany the coalition government of Social Democrats and bourgeoisie has openly and unequivocally declared that the sole means of stabilizing the mark is to squeeze more work out of the under-nourished proletarian masses. It has openly proclaimed that the last vestige of economic control is to be done away with, that is, that ruthless speculation is to be given a free hand. The new Cuno government is a government of industrial magnates, and the fore-runner of the open dictatorship of the iron and coal barons. The character of this government is so notoriously reactionary, so unmistakably directed against the first interests of the working class, that the Social Democrats were obliged to refuse to enter it. From Bavaria the extreme counter-revolutionists are preparing an armed attack on the last remnants of the November Revolution, on the republic. They are encouraged in their efforts by the success of the Fascisti in Italy, where the dictatorship of the sabre was proclaimed without the slightest resistance being offered by the democratic bourgeoisie, where the parliament has become a zero and now aims at so strengthening the rule of the bourgeoisie, that the working class is to be forced to place itself unreservedly at the disposal of capital, with blood and sweat.

In Czecho-Slovakia the capitalists are throwing thousands of workers into the streets daily. Unemployment increases; one lock-out after another is utilized to reduce the workers' wages.

Austria has been crushed into a colony of Entente capital. Austrian finance is to be put on a sound basis at the expense of the Austrian working class, by means of starvation wages for the workers and the lower officials of the civil service. The representatives of Entente capital are to be lords over life and death of the Austrian masses.

In the United States of America the employers are attempting to destroy the trade unions by depriving the workers of the right to organize. Capital is to possess its mighty trusts, and no-one is to drink a glass of milk without tribute to the Trust. But the working class is to be scattered by every puff of wind,—like sand.

In South Africa, General Smuts, the gem of international liberalism, is playing the Grand Executioner. General Smuts, pacifist of the League of Nations, not only commands workers on strike to be shot down, but he has the leaders of the South African mining struggle, provoked by his government, hanged eight months later.

New Wars Ahead.

All these are facts showing how the most elementary interests of the working class are being trampled underfoot. But the capitalist offensive is not alone directed towards intensified exploitation of the proletariat, but the danger of a fresh imperial world slaughter looms ahead with appalling clearness. Up to to-day no single capitalist state has set about carrying out the reduction of naval armaments resolved upon by the Washington Conference. Not a single old battle-ship has been scrapped. The building of new war-ships has not been interrupted.

The proposal made by the Russian Soviet Government, for disarmament, or at least for the reduction of land armaments, was rejected at Genoa by all capitalist powers. The League of Nations is impotent; it can accomplish nothing in this direction, even if it wanted to. The resolutions of the League have to be unanimous, and require the ratification by the governments opposed to disarmament.

Europe is bristling with weapons, now more than before the war. And during the Near Eastern crisis in September of this year the world had the opportunity of seeing what this means. Europe was saved from a new war solely by the renunciation of the Turkish Government of its right to occupy its capital city, and to cross the passage to that capital,—the Dardanelles; solely by the renunciation of the Turkish government of its right of self-determination. The English trade

unions and the English Labor Party accused Lloyd George of having stirred up a new war, a war which would not be confined to the Balkans. And who can be sure that the conservative government of England will not defend the rapacious interests of English Imperialism with as much determination as Lloyd George's government?

With infinite pains, the Soviet Government has persuaded upon Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, and Finland, to meet together for a disarmament conference in Moscow. Roumania is represented at the congress, because the Roumanian Boyars demanded, as a reward for appearing at the conference, a piece of Russian ground, Bessarabia, and the peasants dwelling upon it. At the moment when the IV. Congress of the Communist International is adjourning, the Moscow Conference is not yet ended. But the withdrawal of the representatives of the Entente states of the Entente shows plainly enough that they do not desire any reduction of armaments. This then, means: that the great war, which cost the lives of 12 millions of human beings, was not the last war. The bourgeoisie is preparing new ones!

The IV. Congress of the Communist International appeals to the workers of the Second International and of the Vienna International, to the millions of workers organized in trade unions throughout the world, to their leaders, and to the conference at the Hague, with the question:

Are you going to stand there inactive, and look on while the eight hour day, the first condition for the rise of the working class, is destroyed?

While the standard of living of the workers of the richest industrial countries is being reduced to that of a Chinese coolie; while the most elementary rights of the workers by the aid of which you hoped to attain emancipation from the capitalist yoke along peaceful lines, are being snatched from you; while the dictatorship of capitalism is being established are you going to remain inactive and look on while victorious capital, unhindered, dictates a fresh war in which you are to bleed in the interest of capitalism?

The IV. Congress of the Communist International appeals to all its affiliated parties, and to all sympathizing trade unions in all countries, state for state, country for country, to place this question before the labor parties, and to summon them to fight unitedly against the legal or practical abolition of the eight hour day, against wage reductions, against the deprivation of the working class of its liberty of movement, against fresh armaments, against the danger of new wars, for the minimum living wage of the workers, for disarmament, and for peace among the peoples.

The Call of the IV. Congress of the Communist International.

The IV. Congress of the Communist International turns to the Second International and to the Vienna Working Union with the plain question whether they are willing, now, after their policy has rendered the position of the working class worse than before, to join hands for the establishment of a United Front of the international proletariat, for the struggle for the primary rights and interests of the working class.

It turns to the Amsterdam International with the question, if it is willing to cease its splitting tactics in the trade unions and its tactics of expelling the Communists out of the trade unions; if it is willing to help lead a united proletarian front into action.

The IV. Congress of the Communist International appeals to the Hague conference of Trade Unions and Cooperatives, assembled at the same time as the capitalists of the Entente gather in Lausanne, after the bankruptcy of the Versailles peace, to force a new Versailles peace on the Turkish people, and thus to sow the seeds for fresh wars. The Communist International asks the Hague Conference if it is willing to join with us in a forward march of the working class, and to show the bourgeoisie that the international proletariat is no longer willing to be dragged without resistance on to fresh fields of battle.

As we already said at the Berlin Conference, the Communist International does not expect the parties of the Second

International, and of the Vienna Workers' Union or the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat which was and is our goal. But we ask them if they will fight against the dictatorship of capital, if they are willing at least to utilize the last vestiges of democracy for the purpose of organizing a resistance against the victory of this same Capital which transformed the world into one great grave, and is already digging fresh graves for our proletarian youth.

The Communist International has spoken. It has issued its watchwords for the fight:

For the united front of the proletariat,
for the control of production,
for the eight hour day,
for the minimum living wage of the proletariat,
for the armament of the workers and the disarmament of the bourgeoisie,
for the workers' governments of the united labor parties as instruments in the struggle for the immediate interests of the working class.

And now it is your turn to speak, Second International, Vienna Working Union, Amsterdam Trade Union International, and Hague Conference!

Moscow, December 4, 1922.

The IV. Congress of the Communist International.

POLITICS

Comrade Tchicherin on the Lausanne Conference

Before leaving Moscow, comrade Chicherin gave one of the Editors of the Russian Telegraph Agency the following exposition of the fundamental problems of the Near East and the program of the Soviet delegation at the Lausanne conference.

The Problem of the Near East.

At the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles East meets West, Europe meets Asia. Taken all in all, the struggle which has arisen around this spot is one between the imperialism of the capitalist lands of the West and the exploited peoples of the East. It is from this point of view that these exploited peoples regard the fight of the Turkish people and their last brilliant victory. In the great combat between world capital and the peoples it oppresses, one of the leading parts is played by the struggle for the Near East, the struggle for the Straits.

At the same time serious differences divide the great powers who meet together at Lausanne to defend their supremacy over the peoples of the East. It is just at this most sensitive geographical spot of the old world, the frontiers between Europe and Asia, that the jealousy between the great powers endeavouring to dominate one another has always shown its acutest character. Constantinople and the Straits have always constituted the most important subject of the whole diplomacy of the great powers. The Turkish empire, before the Turkish people took its fate into their own hands, owed its existence solely to the irreconcilable antagonism among the great powers, especially between Tsarist Russia and England. The geographical position of the Mediterranean renders it the most important of all seas, for over it flows the traffic between Europe and Asia, for the world route between East and West, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, leads through it, and it contains the most important fulcrums of world imperialism and especially the basis of England's world sovereignty.

The conquest of the Straits by Tsarism would have secured access to these world waterways for Tsarist Russia, and in addition an extremely important and strong strategic naval base backed by the gigantic territories of Russia. Thus during the 19th century Great Britain exerted all her forces, to keep Tsarism from approaching Constantinople. And it was not by accident that, when German rule extended to Constantinople, and began to stretch out its feelers across Bagdad into the depths of Asia and in the direction of India, that the Near East, the Bagdad peninsula, became the object of one of the sharpest antagonisms which led to the world war.

Soviet Russia's policy in the Straits question.

Fresh problems have cropped up within this problem. After three years of heroic fighting the Turkish people has saved itself from the danger threatening its existence; it has liberated nearly the whole of Turkish land from foreign oppression, and is now endeavouring to create a politically and economically independent state, permitting no enslavement nor exploitation of the Turkish people by other countries or by Western capital. Soviet Russia, the young workers' republic, supports the oppressed peoples, and follows this fight against world capital with the fullest sympathy. Soviet Russia is herself threatened by world capital, which seeks to exploit Russia. In the Near East, Russia defends the right of self-determination of the peoples, and their complete economic and political independence; she gives fullest support to the sovereign rights of the Turkish people as the owner of the Straits and the adjoining coasts. All thought of aggression is far removed from the Soviet republic; its sole desire is the preservation of peace on the Black Sea, and the security of its own coasts. Full realization of the principle of Turkish sovereignty over Turkish land and water, the complete exclusion by Turkey of foreign war ships from the Straits, perfectly free traffic for the merchant marine, and the complete security of Turkey's political and economic independence in every respect—these are the main points of Soviet Russia's Near Eastern policy, determined by Russia's general principles, by the interests of peace on the Black Sea, and finally, by the wish to secure the Soviet coasts.

England's policy.

England is striving in a diametrically opposite direction. England would like her fleet to have the right to pass freely through the Straits, and would like to keep the coasts of the Straits under the immediate control of her troops. or of the so-called international commissions over which England wields overwhelming influence. England is concerned over her numerous positions in the Mediterranean and also in the East, on the Black Sea and in the Indian Ocean. England's predominance in the Mediterranean is a necessary factor in her world-command of the seas. England therefore finds it hard to renounce claim to such a strong strategic position as that afforded by the Straits, from where the relation of forces in the Mediterranean can best be influenced. While Turkey is fighting in the elementary interests of her existence, England's program in the Straits and in the Near East is diametrically opposed; for England is fighting for the most important positions of her world domination.

France's Policy.

In the Near East, as in every part of the world, France is always the enemy of England. England and France have for centuries been hereditary enemies, and now, after a mutual victory over the opposing imperialist coalition of the central European powers, they are competing with one another with ever increasing intensity, and the antagonism between them becomes acuter every day. The new France which emerged from the war, an enterprising industrial France, is seeking new economic connections, markets, and sources for raw materials, and resumes her old traditional strivings for expansion. In pursuance of these objects France is trying to assume the rôle of protector of Turkey, with the idea of obtaining a ruling position in that country, of seizing the ores and other natural riches of Asia minor, and of forming over it a network of French railways. The new so-called Mediterranean policy of France represents an irreconcilable contradiction to the fundamental tendencies of English world expansion and English dominion of the seas. The struggle between England and France for mastery in Asia Minor and in the Straits is one of the most essential items of their antagonism. But now that it is a question as to whether it will be possible for the capitalist states to maintain domination over the Eastern peoples at all, Poincaré turns suddenly to England, and joins in the fight of the Western exploiters against the Eastern exploited.

Italy's rôle.

Italy represents an unexpected new factor at Lausanne, for her foreign policy is inspired by an unusual spirit of enterprise and courageous initiative. Italy now feels herself to be a young and powerful country, whose power increases day by day. While the population of France is gradually decreasing, that of Italy is increasing rapidly. In this respect she has already overtaken France. Her riches are increasing, she will soon be economically one of the strongest countries of Europe; her economic life is characterised by greater activity and productivity than that of France.

In Italy the consciousness of growing power has extraordinarily increased, and Italy now presents herself at Lausanne with an independent policy, the purport of which has not yet been made known to the outer world. Italy does not possess such long-standing and firmly rooted economic interests in Turkey as England and France, so it is easy for her to appear as a friend on the side of Turkey against England. On the other hand, Italy must keep in with the other great European powers, and her ever-increasing strivings after expansion will scarcely allow her to agree to the complete emancipation of the peoples of the East from every form of oppression and exploitation by the European powers. Italy's policy at Lausanne will be distinguished by complexity and by unexpected changes of scenery. Italy is striving to resist the predominance of England and France, and with the clear idea of best protecting her own interests, has already adopted the line of approaching and recognizing Soviet Russia, conscious that thus the most advantageous results can be obtained for herself and Russia alike.

The Little Entente.

The Little Entente, this echo of the Entente, appears at Lausanne as the fourth European power, and hopes to obtain some advantage to itself by submitting to the will of the Entente.

Our task at the conference.

The Soviet Republic appears at Lausanne as the opposite pole of world policy, as the friend of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the East, and especially as the defender of all Turkish rights in the Straits, and as advocates of the complete exclusion of all warships from the Straits. Without Russia it is not possible to come to any permanent agreement at Lausanne on questions dealing with the Near East. The Russian delegation will not sign any agreement or treaty not in accord with the fundamental principles of the Soviet republic. The independence of Turkey, the recognition of all the legal rights of the Turkish people in the Straits and in all districts inhabited by Turks, the exclusion of foreign war ships from the Straits in the interests of peace in the Black Sea, and the free passage for trading vessels, — these are the theses of our program at Lausanne, theses based on the principles of our policy, and in the interests of peace, the protection of our coasts and the approaches to our coasts. The Soviet Republic is fully conscious that without its participation no permanent agreement can be reached in the Near Eastern question. But it will only participate in such an agreement when it is in accord with the fundamental principles and the Near Eastern program of the Soviet Republic.

The Peace Conference of the Amsterdamers

By H. Brandler.

On December 10 the "Peace Conference" convened by the Amsterdam Trade Union International began at the Hague. In its inaugural address it appeals to all those organizations "interested in the maintenance of peace". The invitation has been sent to the various trade unions of all countries, and to all pacifist organizations, as well as to the Russian trade unions. The manner of the invitation, and the agenda drawn up, characterize this convention as an international exhibition of petty bourgeois pacifist sentimentality and impotence. The agenda reads as follows:

1. Necessity of concentrating the forces tending to peace upon a single aim, in accordance with the resolutions of the congress at Rome.
2. What the labor organizations have done for peace, and what they can still do.
3. What the governments and political organizations have done for peace, and what they can still do.
4. What can be done by instruction, and by the aid of educational institutions, to permeate the coming generation with the idea of peace.
5. What can be done by private organizations in the struggle against war.

The revolutionary workers of the world, and really sincere lovers of peace, cannot be warned too emphatically against the treacherous game of these social patriotic and pacifist congresses. The will to peace, living in the proletariat after four years of murder among the peoples, and penetrating far into the circles of the bourgeoisie, is to be lulled to sleep by such international pageantry. However objectionable and counter-revolutionary the ecstasies of "heroic professors" and capitalist politicians may be,

when they wax enthusiastic over the glories of war, it must not be forgotten that these are, in a certain sense, more honorable than the shallow petty bourgeois expositions, which form the bases of such congresses, and aim at persuading the people that the wholesale murder of war is solely the product of human irrationality, and can be done away with by the proper "exertion of human reason" and by a weak solution of moral peace asseverations. War has its roots in the antagonistic rapacious interests of the nationally organized bourgeoisie just as revolution has its roots in the antagonistic interests of the classes. The brutal war politicians are, to say the least, often possessed of much superior historical understanding than the social patriotic apostles of peace. A professor Otto Hontzsch or a Dellbrück, makes the mistake of assuming that the antagonistic interests of the nations are eternal. But Fimmen and Jouhaux make the greater error of either failing to recognize these opposing interests at all, or by failing to grasp the strength of capitalist interests as against all peace speeches, or, if they grasp this, they still continue to deliver peace speeches aiming at distracting the working masses from the danger of war, and do so in the interests of their hopeless capitalist reconstruction policy.

The record of the Second International, before the world war, must strike alarm in every sincere friend of peace. But the Amsterdam International goes on manufacturing peace resolutions in the same manner as before the war, just as if there had never been a world war. The one single step forward made by the Rome Congress as compared with Basle is that, besides the Swiss and the Dutch, the Germans too declared themselves prepared to agitate for the general strike as a means of preventing war. As is well known, at the international at Basle the Germans, under the leadership of August Bebel, rejected the proclamation of the general strike in case of war. At the international trade union congress of the Amsterdamers, held at Rome this year, Robert Williams (England) warned the congress against illusions as to the possibilities of carrying through a general strike. In theory (that is, to keep the workers quiet in the interests of the bourgeoisie) he is in favor of the idea. But he cautiously added, that in actual practice there would be difficulties. A sly fox lays his plans beforehand. Williams has created a reservation for himself. On the next occasion of betrayal of the working class he will be able to quote his own words, and to maintain that in Rome in 1922 he already declared his intention of betraying the workers, and defending his native country in community with the bourgeoisie.

Congresses of this description will continue to be a fate so long as they regard each capitalist war danger as an isolated case and combat it as such. The International of the Amsterdamers and of the petty bourgeois pacifists, will continue to be composed of deceived deceivers so long as they devote energy to working towards "normal conditions" of capitalist construction, and refuse to take up any real struggle against capitalism during a period between two wars, but start to combat war when a fresh war has broken out. Really efficient war against war consists solely in an organized and untiring struggle against every expression of capitalist existence, and must be carried out in the "period of peace". During this "period of peace" capitalism rallies its forces for war. At the moment when a war breaks out, capitalism is invariably at the summit of its power, and the attempt to struggle against war at a time when capitalism is most powerful means taking up a struggle just when it has the least prospect of success.

Efficacious fighting against the danger of war means awakening revolutionary forces, organizing them, and leading them into battle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for abolishing capitalism, and for building up the socialist state.

As may be seen by the intervention policy of the powers warring against Soviet Russia, the bourgeoisie will combat socialism so long as it possesses a remnant of military power. This fact proves that even after the proletariat has overthrown the bourgeoisie in its own country, it must still possess military forces enabling it to defend itself against the internal and external attempts to re-introduce capitalism. War is the most brutal and cruel form in which the old ruling class fights for its own interests, and no amount of pacifist talk can erase the fact that the proletariat too, at the commencement of its struggle, faced with existing conditions, is forced to use these same brutal means in order to ward off its deadly enemy.

The theory and practice of those convening the peace conference at the Hague prove that they entirely fail to recognize any of these hard facts. The bankrupt politicians of capitalist reconstruction want at The Hague, to carry on a sham fight against war and for peace, and hope thus to deceive themselves

and the working people of the world as to the actual bankruptcy of their politics.

The Russian trade unions have accepted the invitation. They are certainly under no delusions as to the choice spirits who have arranged a rendezvous at The Hague. The fact that they sent comrades Lozovsky and Radek as delegates guarantees that the meetings will hear some very disagreeable home truths.

The first peace comedy at The Hague was organized by the Tsar Nicolas, when in the year 1898, he was anxious to veil his imperialist designs behind the palm of peace. The social patriots of Amsterdam, who convene a peace conference at The Hague in 1922 in order to veil the universal bankruptcy of their policy of capitalist reconstruction, have invited the Russians in the hope that these will either decline to come, or permit themselves to be utilized as mere walkers-on. This plan will come to grief, precisely as the plan of Nicolas II., who wanted the prestige of the diplomats of 26 countries, also came to grief.

The pacifism of 1922 is doubtless of greater significance than that of 1898. After years of cruel slaughter, the idea of peace has taken root among the masses. The social patriots seek to keep the idea impotent. It is the task of the revolutionary workers, and above all of the communists, to break up these petty bourgeois pacifist combinations. The Russian delegation will work on these lines. If success attends the attempt to set the latent forces into activity, to give the impetus required to transform petty bourgeois impotence into active revolutionary fighting against capitalism, this will signify bringing broad masses into the struggle towards overthrowing the bourgeoisie and capitalism. The communists of every country must regard this conference of social patriots in this light.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

To the International Proletariat!

Workers!

In the most important centre of Germany's chemical industry, *Ludwigshafen*, 30,000 workers of the German aniline trust have been on strike for more than two weeks. The external cause of this conflict was the dismissal of three shop stewards, who took advantage of their holidays to exercise their mandates as delegates to the Shop Stewards Congress of Germany, held in Berlin from 23rd to 25th November.

The real cause of the conflict is a long prepared general attack, designed to deprive the workers of the eight hour day, and to force them to accept starvation wages in addition to the ten hour day. The aniline kings, the French occupation authorities, the German authorities, and the Amsterdam trade union leaders, have closed their ranks to defeat the striking workers. The authorities take the most brutal measures against the strikers, and the Amsterdam trade union leaders refuse to help the strikers, or to aid this fight in defense of the eight hour day.

This conflict is of the greatest importance, not alone for the German, but for the whole international proletariat. If the employers succeed in depriving the workers of their first hard-won rights, if they defeat the workers, the path is cleared for them towards the introduction of the nine and then the ten hour day. If they succeed in starving the strikers into capitulation, then the way is clear for carrying out Stinnes' program, a program which not only completely enslaves the German worker, but condemns the international proletariat to unemployment and hunger, for the cut-throat German competition must inevitably spell unemployment for the workers of the other countries.

The strikers, betrayed and deserted by the Amsterdam trade union leaders, are standing as firm as a rock. Despite starvation and misery they are holding out. The German Shop Stewards Congress issued an appeal for collections in aid of the strikers. The German workers are giving generously, as witnessed by the first returns. But at least 40 million marks a week are required to finance the strike. The German proletariat alone cannot afford this sum for any length of time. The fighting workers hope for the fraternal support of the proletariat of all countries. The international aid action of the proletariat must lend a helping hand here. Workers! Unite in the class war,

form a united front of all workers for the support of the Ludwigshafen workers!

Exercise proletarian solidarity!

Prompt aid is required!

For the Executive of the R.I.L.U.

A. Lozovsky.

Contributions should be addressed to:

Arthur Börner, Neukölln, Eisenstraße 83 or Postal check account No. 140,042, Berlin NW. 7.

A Significant Communist Victory in Turin

By Alfonso Leonetti.

On November 27 the election took place for two labor representatives for the administrative council of the unemployment fund of the metallurgical industry. This was the first appeal to the working masses in Italy since the seizure of power by the Fascisti. During the carnival of "rioting" in Turin the Fascisti had set the labor bureau on fire for the second time, and the premises of the "Ordine Nuovo", the communist daily paper of the Turin working people, were placed under military occupation on the orders of the prime minister Mussolini. The workers of the most important industrial centre of Piedmont might have expected to find themselves in a most uncertain position, as they were robbed of their press and the premises of their legal organizations. But the efforts of the police and Fascisti to destroy the workers' organizations and to extinguish the voice of communism have been in vain. This is proved by the election just held in the metallurgical industry.

The results of the election are awaited with the greatest impatience by workers and industrial employers alike.

The results of the voting are, at the time of writing, not yet final; a number of votes from some undertakings and from small provincial working centres are still lacking. But the results already gathered in are such that the final result can no longer be altered; an exact reflection of the trend of feeling among the metal workers has already been obtained.

The approximately final result is as follows:

Members of the unemployed fund	about 55,000
votes cast	" 35,000
for the socialist list	" 14,000
for the communist list	" 14,500
for the list of the clerical party	" 1,800
Blank	" 4,000
Invalid	" 700

The election is characterized by the fact that, as a rule in the large undertakings the great majority—frequently the whole working body unanimously—voted communist. In smaller factories, on the other hand, the socialist list almost everywhere gained the majority. The election bore almost the same characteristics in the labor centres outside of Turin: in the Aosta valley, for instance, where there are many small and medium undertakings, the majority voted socialist, but this was balanced by the results in the Ansaldo works in Aosta, where the majority of the workers voted for the communists. Villar Perosa, Avigliana, and Pinerolo voted communist, while Condore, Savigliano, Jorea, and the whole of Canaven voted socialist.

Last year the votes were divided approximately as follows: communists: 13,000, socialists 12,000, clerical party 1100, democrats 400.

It must be emphasized that the socialist list was supported by the managers of the works, by the directors, by non-party voters, and often even by the Fascisti. But after 2 years of raging reaction and constant dismissals, 15 thousand communist votes have been cast. Despite the knout of the Fascisti, despite starvation and imprisonment, the industrial magnates have not succeeded in suppressing the communists.

The workers have joyfully welcomed the result so favorable for the communists, and we must also express our appreciation of the heroic proletariat that remains faithful to the cause, despite the infamous terror now raging in Italy against the working class.

ECONOMICS

The Russian Financial Policy

By D. Loevetzky.

On October 20, the council of the people's commissars confirmed the decree regarding stock operations on the exchange. Stock exchanges will be established within a short time in Moscow and in other large cities. The question arises as to what policy we shall pursue with regard to exchange standards. The opening of a stock exchange necessarily implies the cessation of the monopoly of securities by the state bank, and the revision of the whole of our legislation relating to securities.

It would however be a mistake to suppose that this revision will completely do away with state regulation of exchange operations. The state of our security market excludes the possibility of too great a liberalism in questions of securities. This would only be possible if normal conditions prevailed between supply and demand in the security market. But at the present time these conditions are anything but normal, and exceedingly unfavorable for our rate of exchange.

During the first seven months of this year our foreign trade showed the following figures:

	Export in 1000 gold roubles	Import
January	4 447	22 855
February	1 675	22 791
March	2 708	27 390
April	4 506	61 931
May	7 407	84 801
June	4 105	58 850
July	6 952	41 271

As will be seen from this statement, our commercial balance is extremely adverse. And as our paying balance consists almost exclusively of our commercial balance, there is a great demand for foreign securities, covered by mobilisation of cash reserves.

This in itself does not exhaust the demand for foreign securities. The depreciation of our currency in our home markets has resulted in a „flight from the Soviet rouble“ and the accumulation of foreign securities.

These reasons render complete freedom of exchange operations entirely impossible, as the excessive rise in prices of securities would give rise to unsound stock operations.

It must however not be forgotten that any regulation, to be of use, must be effective, that is, the objects regulated must submit to the regulation, and yet must not be paralysed by it.

The objective conditions for such a regulation are favorable in Russia. The largest buyers of foreign securities are the state institutions, whose number is more or less limited, and whose activity can be controlled to the greatest extent. This circumstance secures the effectiveness of the regulation.

The regulations respecting the stock exchanges limit the possible subjects of stock-jobbing operations. These regulations permit only the following to be members or frequenters of stock exchanges: a) credit institutions, b) representatives of the state bank, of the financial and foreign trade commission, and other state organs which are granted special legal rights of carrying out stock jobbing operations at the exchange, c) All-Russian co-operative associations, and provincial and district associations which are members of the All-Russian Co-operative association or are managed by it, d) private commercial and industrial undertakings taxed beyond a certain fixed amount.

A most important question is the establishment of a fund of securities for the state, for purposes of import, and for enabling an active policy to be pursued with regard to securities.

Recent German regulations oblige exporters to deliver a certain part of their earnings on export operations to the state. This practice is also adopted by our regulations, which oblige all state, co-operative, and private undertakings to deliver up 50 per cent of the total yield of their export operations to the state bank.

Only those state authorities are admitted to the stock exchanges whose activity is closely connected with export and import operations.

The regulation of operations in securities in the above mentioned decree consists of the following two factors.

The first regulates the demand by limiting the possibilities of demand on the part of state institutions, the second guarantees

a systematic distribution of securities by establishing a certain fund of securities for the state.

Apart from these two factors, adapted to the objective situation, operations in securities will probably not be limited by any conditions other than those customary in normal times.

The Economic Position of Belgium

By Habaru.

The reconstruction.—The crisis.

Immediately before the war, Belgium exported 90% of its production, and imported 80% of its requisite foodstuffs. The richness of its coal districts, its favorable geographical position, and the quality and cheapness of its labor, made this country of 7 million inhabitants an important centre of the refining industry. In the year 1913, 14% of the population were engaged in trade and industry. The total exports amounted to 20,885,182 tons.

The war led to the almost complete ruin of the country. At the time of the armistice 10% of the dwellings were destroyed, of 54 blast furnaces only 3 were in working order, of the chemical factories only 5 were running; in the textile industry more than half the spindles were idle, numerous factories were entirely destroyed, a great part of the material had been carried away, the railways were much damaged, and had not sufficient rolling stock at their disposal. The Belgian government estimated the total loss suffered by Belgium through the war at 30 billions of francs. To this must be added 6 further billions for war losses and bodily disablement and injuries, and 7 billions resulting from the introduction of the compulsory rate of exchange of the mark during the war.

The restoration of Belgium' economic strength was, and still is, closely bound up with the reparation problem. The German payments in cash and kind have greatly contributed to national reconstruction. Up to January 1921 Belgium had received from Germany, in commodities and reimbursements, a total amount of 1,642,884,550 francs; in addition to this, Belgium has a preferential claim to cash payments up to the value of 2 billion gold marks of which she has received 904 million gold marks.

But however considerable the influence of the German reparation payments may have been, this in itself does not suffice to explain the rapid economic restoration of Belgian industry. The peace between capital and labor, the co-operation of these two, has ensured for Belgian capitalism the efficient help of the labor organizations during this critical period. Beneath the aegis of the socialist ministers, who preached social peace in the name of the „common good“ the rising flood of the proletariat, which swelled the membership of the trade unions to 700,000, has by its passivity contributed to the renewed strength of capitalism. Apart from some few local strike movements; there have been no social conflicts during this period, no really energetic expressions of the class war. Capitalism has thus been able to re-establish the powerful position of its undertakings without let or hindrance.

A glance at the economic life of Belgium during the past 4 years suffices to distinguish 3 characteristic phases, coinciding exactly with the different phases of development of the whole of Western Europe.

1. From December 1918 until the autumn of 1920 we observe an accelerated restorative work, a curve rising in every direction. Production increases, unemployment shows no increase, the cost of living rises, wages also show a tendency to rise; in short, the situation improves from month to month.

2. From the autumn of 1920 until the third quarter of 1921 we experience a general severe depression, resultant on the world economic crisis. Industrial restoration comes to a standstill, production diminishes, prices and wages fall, and the capitalist offensive makes its appearance.

3. Since the third quarter of 1921 feeble signs of improvement are again noticeable; this improvement continues during the year 1922, but at a very slow rate, and does not overtake the effects of the previous depression.

A few figures may serve to illustrate this movement within the sphere of production (The production of the year 1913 is taken at 100).

Branch of Industry	1919	1920	1921	1922 (June)
Coal mining	80.9	98.0	95.2	88.0
Coke	21.5	52.1	39.5	74.4
Pressed coal fuel	97.7	109.2	102.7	87.9
Lime	34.2	63.4	57.0	—

Branch of Industry	1919	1920	1921	1922 (June)
	1st Quarter	3rd Quarter	1st Quarter	4th Quarter
Cast iron	10.1	44.0	35.1	55.5
Crude steel	13.5	51.0	31.0	54.3
Fine steel	13.5	51.0	31.0	54.3
Fine steel	18.4	60.9	44.7	67.4
Crude zinc	9.7	41.2	32.4	48.8
Plate glass	27.5	63.5	40.0	—
Sugar	67.5	102.5	107.7	—
Cotton spinning	—	—	50.0	80.9
Worsted wool spinning	—	—	65.0	77.0
Imports		1919		1920
Articles of consumption	6.5	27.0	45.3	68.2
Raw materials	2.4	12.6	29.2	45.6
Finished manufactures	16.2	43.7	102.4	82.6
Exports				
Articles of consumption	0.5	40.0	26.9	29.3
Raw materials	6.0	49.4	37.6	48.3
Finished manufactures	1.4	26.9	67.6	91.3

During the first months of the year 1920, and in the course of the year 1921, the reconstruction of the country was hindered in every possible respect by the world crisis of capitalism. Belgium could not help being affected by the results of the lost international equilibrium, the collapse of the currency, the protective duties imposed by other states, and the changed relationships of power. The upward industrial movement came abruptly to a standstill again. A sinking of production is observable in every branch of industry.

Out of the 54 blast furnaces working in 1913, 28 were running again in 1920. This number again decreased in the year 1921, from month to month, until by October only 11 were still running. The production of cast iron, which had reached 61% of its pre-war standard in December 1920, went back to 19.5% by September 1921. The cotton spinners were idle for 3 to 4 days in the week; work in the wool, hemp, and jute spinning mills was reduced to about a half. In August 1921 the plate glass works were working with 3 cisterns only (18 in January of the same year, and 27 in the year 1913). Unemployment increased, and by May amounted to 32.3%. Wages, which according to agreement were to be adjusted to correspond to the cost of living, were everywhere reduced.

In the third quarter of the year 1921 signs of general improvement were again observable. Production became more stable and rose gradually. Unemployment decreased. In the year 1922 business activity has slowly increased from month to month. In July 1922 the coke production was 227,590 tons. In the same month 27 blast furnaces were working, the cast iron production was 127,220 tons, the raw steel production 112,040, and the cotton mills were working with 1,629,921 spindles. In August the output of the wool, hemp, and jute spinning mills attained 78% of the production of 1913. In September the plate glass works were again working with 22 cisterns. In November 35 blast furnaces were at work. Thus unemployment in July was not above 4.1%.

This improvement in the economic situation is however by no means final. The industrial reconstruction, hindered by the crisis, is not by any means completed. Despite the renewed activity of industrial operations, the financial situation of the state is as bad as before. In June of this year the national trade balance showed a deficit of 33%. The minister Theunis exerted the utmost endeavours to place the finances on a sounder basis. The budget for 1923 shows a certain decrease in state expenditure, and an increase of regular state revenue. But the inflation is still considerable. The state debt has risen from 5 billions in the year 1914 to 34 billions at the present time. The momentary improvement is merely a swing of the pendulum in the severe crisis shaking world capitalism.

THE IV. WORLD CONGRESS

Educational and Versailles Questions

(Radio to "Inprecorr.")

After the session has been opened, Hoernle (Germany) rises to give his report on the education question. He speaks as follows: The political struggle must be based on scientific socialism. The communist parties must be a medium by which their members not only obtain a minimum of historical, political,

and economic knowledge, but an amount of knowledge enabling them to apply the Marxian methods. It is of particular importance to have the party functionaries trained for their special spheres of work. The work of education is entirely in the service of revolutionary class war; it must be centrally led and organized. In all proletarian cultural organizations there must be education functionaries doing revolutionary education work. Art, photography, and the stage must be pressed into service. The work of education among the communist youth must receive material and ideal support. A special section of the Executive of the Comintern should be established for leading and superintending the work of education.

The commission considers desirable the establishment of a Marxian academy in Moscow.

Comrade Lenin Krupskaya points out that the Russian Communist Party has had much experience in the agitation question. Every member of the party must be an active member. At the Second Congress the question led to a split. Already at that time Lenin demanded active party membership, whilst Martov was content with the acceptance of the program, and did not require any active participation of members in the party work. During the nineties there were tendencies in the Russian party which assumed that theory was of no importance, and that the main point was agitation only. Another tendency proclaimed that economic questions only were of importance. The Lenin group combated these tendencies, on the ground that not only agitation, but also theoretical knowledge, is of importance. Agitation must be commenced on questions of interest to the masses. Therefore the Bolsheviks made it their first work to expose the economic misery of the working class, then its deprivation of political rights, and then, chiefly during the war, to deal with the question of war. It is not rhetoric, not effective speaking, which we require, but we must express clearly the will, the desires, and the aims of the proletariat. Art, placards, music, and the theatre, can all render excellent service in agitation work. The formation of propaganda circles is an old tradition of the Russian Communist Party. In the past such propaganda circles imparted Marxian education to the old Bolsheviks in exile and in prison alike. A great longing for theoretical education may now be observed among the masses. Youthful workers must learn untiringly. When the world revolution comes, the Russian working class will not only lead the theoretical combat, but will also be ready for war.

The theses on the work of education are handed over to the presidium.

This is followed by Marcel Cachin's report on the Versailles Peace.

He speaks to the following effect: The treaty of Versailles is perhaps doing more harm than the war itself. In Brussels the bourgeoisie attempts in vain to improve the so-called work of peace. For France, too, Versailles represents a constantly bleeding wound. The delusion that Germany would pay has vanished. One part of the French bourgeoisie recognizes that for three or even five years the French budget will merely suffice to cover the interest on war debts. Up to now France has received no cash payments, and only inconsiderable payments in kind. On the other hand 80 billions have been expended for restoration work and 12 billion gold francs for the army of occupation. A strong current of opposition against the Stinnes-Lubersac agreement is observable in French capitalist circles. It is questionable if such agreements can be carried out. The program of the French bourgeoisie is once more the occupation of the left bank of the Rhine and of the Ruhr district under the name of autonomy. The main object is the extermination of German industry in favor of the French metal industry. As England and America have not signed the guarantee contract, the French bourgeoisie is anxious to secure the contract for France by means of occupations. The new states possess none of the pre-requisites necessary for their independence. The collapse of the rate of exchange is another result of the Versailles treaty. The bourgeoisie cannot solve this problem. It is the duty of the French party to fight against Versailles, against militarism, and for disarmament and evacuation of the bank of the Rhine. This requires that the Communist Parties of France and Germany continually work together, and keep up a continuous exchange of party workers.

The speaker wishes the program of action against Versailles to be drawn up before the Brussels conference.

After this Klara Zetkin, in the name of the presidium, welcomes the Italian comrade Gennari, who was wounded by the Fascists. Gennari is requested to take a place in the presidium. The Congress strikes up the the International and gives Gennari an enthusiastic welcome.

Gennari speaks to the effect that the Italian party has remained intact, and will fight further.

The next speaker is *Smeral*, on the Versailles peace: The independence of the new states is merely fictitious, in reality they are vassal states of French imperialism. The treaty of Versailles did not take into consideration the economic and political interests of the peoples, nor their right to self-determination, but starts from the imperialist and militarist standpoint. The slogan was: Divide and rule. Instead of the economic unity of central and southern Europe being brought about, these states were Balkanized. The new states strive after their economic self-sufficiency, which involves a lettering and waste of productive force. As an example the speaker cites Czecho-Slovakia, where industry is being systematically destroyed. National minorities are everywhere being suppressed by the militarist reactionary regime. Czecho-Slovakia is a stronghold for French imperialism against Germany, Austria, and Soviet Russia. The overthrow of the Habsburg monarchy was historically progressive, but the economic, national, and political problems of central and east Europe can only be solved by a Soviet federation.

Radavenovitch (Yugoslavia) points out that the new states possess no vitality, and that the peace treaties are impossible of execution. There is constant danger of war in the Balkans. The national problems are not solved. The oppressed minorities are obliged to adopt the weapons of passive resistance and sabotage against the newly created states. The little Entente is a creation of French imperialism against Germany and Soviet Russia. French imperialism, finances and organizes reaction and militarism in the lands of the little Entente. Fiume, Tessin, Saloniki—these furnish constant matter for conflicts. The breakdown of economic unity has created great antagonisms within the little Entente. Militarism, reaction, and exceptional laws against the working class, characterize the situation in the basin of the Danube and in the Balkans. The Communist Parties must take action for the formation of federative republics.

The congress then resolves to send a telegram of greeting to the All Indian Trade Union Congress at Lahore.

The Italian and Czech Questions

(Radio to "Inprecorr.")

After the session is opened, Zinoviev speaks on the Italian question, to the following effect: The history of the last few years, written in the blood of the workers, shows in Italy all the weaknesses and the whole tragedy of the labor movement. The working class is numerically strong enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie, but intellectually and politically it is still too weak, for vestiges of the influences of the bourgeoisie still exist in the mentality of the working class. This is especially the case in Italy. In 1914 the Second International drove the working masses into the war, in 1919 Social Democracy threw itself protectively before the bourgeoisie and declared: If the bourgeoisie is to be attacked, it will only be over my dead body. By this action Social Democracy saved capitalism. In 1919 the trend of feeling among the masses was completely revolutionary. Even the Italian socialists acknowledged this. At that time Serrati wrote to the Executive that the Italian workers would not work any longer for the possessing class. The socialist party became stronger. In the year 1914 the Italian socialist party numbered 58,000 members, at the end of 1919 the number had increased to 217,000. During the same period the number of trade union members rose from 320,000 to 2¼ millions. The masses hoped that the party would lead them to battle and victory. The resolution passed by the Socialist Party of Italy at the party conference at Bologna was in favor of the revolutionary struggle of the Communist International.

After Bologna, the reformists remained in the party for the purpose of destroying it from within. The Italian reformists, with a wonderfully elastic capacity of accommodation, disguised themselves as communists. D'Arragona, Dugoni, and Turati played a grand masquerade. D'Arragona, who in Petrograd called for cheers for the communists, was one of the founders of the Profintern. At that time the Comintern was the fashion, and for this reason the 21 points rendered us excellent service, as they prevented too great a stream of reformists and centrists entering our ranks. But the comedy did not last long. There came the occupation of the factories, and the formation of Red Guards in Italy. At that time the leaders of the trade unions negotiated with the leaders of the socialist party for five days and nights. D'Arragona and the trade union leaders threatened to resign, upon which the socialist party capitulated. D'Arragona negotiated first with the ministers, then with the leaders of the trade unions, and finally with the socialist party, forging the last link in the

chain of betrayal. After this began the capitalist offensive which has now ended with the victory of Mussolini.

What rôle was the Comintern playing during this period? Before the time of the occupation of the factories, the Executive had already pointed out that Serrati's fundamental error lay in his making a fetish of unity with the reformists. Serrati, who was anxious for party unity at any price, complained that there were no suitable people to be entrusted with municipal administration. Unity became an idol behind which treacherous action against the Comintern was concealed. At Leghorn Serrati still declared himself against a split. He defended Turati, although Turati's paper: *Critica Sociale* was a bourgeois counter-revolutionary organ, supported by the *Banca Commerciale*. The split at Leghorn was a necessity, and under similar circumstances the Comintern will insist upon a split. In reply to Lenin's letter, in which he said that the party should not make immediate resolution, but should prepare for revolution, and that therefore the expulsion of the reformists was necessary, Serrati answered at the time with the question: "Who is reformist?" But now every sparrow proclaims from the house-tops what reformism is. And now even Serrati knows who is reformist. The young and weak Italian Communist Party has saved the honor of the revolutionary working class of Italy.

Into what paths has the movement been led by reformism? The socialist party lost three quarters of its members, the trade unions more than one and a half millions. Reformism has not only betrayed the revolution, but completely ruined the party. Serrati relied upon the compact between the socialist party and the trade unions. The speeches made by Mussolini, Turati, and others, in the Italian parliament, prove that this compact is broken, that the reformists are willing to sell the trade unions to Mussolini. The reformists maintain that they are anxious to spare the working class the sacrifices demanded by revolution. But there has been sacrifice enough in Italy, and no revolution. The chief lesson to be learnt from the Italian tragedy is: Reformism is the first enemy of the proletariat, and centrism is a dangerous opponent.

With regard to the future,

the Comintern desires a speedy union of the Communist Party with the Socialist Party.

The majority of the Communist Party is much averse to this, and this is easily comprehensible. The atmosphere is poisoned; too much has been lost. But we must not permit ourselves to be influenced by atmospheres. Much courage and determination are required to be a communist in Italy at the present time; it is there now, as it was in Russia at the time of Denikin's and Judenitche's attacks.

The commission proposes that the Vella group be expelled, because it only recognizes point 21 with reservation.

The speaker hopes that the alliance of the parties will initiate a fresh accumulation of proletarian revolutionary forces. He is of the opinion that the Comintern has not yet heard the end of the Italian epic. The Comintern will invariably support the real communists. The chief tasks in Italy at the present time are: 1. To defeat the reformists; 2. to realize the united front on the political and economic field; 3. to proclaim the slogan of the workers' government; 4. to influence the Fascist trade unions against the bourgeoisie by means of formation of nuclei and by united front tactics; 5. to unite *Arditi del Popolo* and all anti-Fascist elements against Fascism; 6. to restore courage and self confidence to the working class by uniting the Socialist Party with the Communist Party. If we proceed along these lines, the Fascisti will not be long in power.

Bordiga (Italy) declares, in name of the majority of the Italian delegation, that, although the majority has been against union, it is induced by the attitude of the congress to submit, loyally and in discipline, to the decision of the congress. He declares himself in favor of the resolution as a basis for future activity of the party.

Serrati, in the name of the Socialist Party, declares that the congress at Rome expelled the reformists, accepted the 21 points unconditionally, and decided in favor of the Comintern and of union with the Communist Party of Italy. The delegation has already informed the party leadership of the resolutions of the congress, and confidently hopes that these resolutions will be confirmed. The speaker further expresses the hope that, as a result of the required guarantees, the party will develop towards the left. Polemics on the past should only serve as a useful lesson.

Graziadi (Italy) makes the following declaration, in the name of the minority of the Italian delegation: Although the union of the Communist Party of Italy with the Socialist Party is bound up with dangers and difficulties, we hope that the guarantees will

ensure its being attended with favorable results. Therefore the minority of the delegation welcomes the union.

On this the resolution is accepted unanimously, amidst great applause.

This is followed by *Radek's* report on the Czech question.

He speaks as follows: The Czech Communist Party has been formed from the left wing of Social Democracy. The political centralization of the Czech party is still very slight. Party work is extremely faulty. The trade union nuclei are inadequately organized, the combat with Amsterdam is not carried on consistently. The parliamentary fraction neglects agitative and demonstrative activity. Although the Czech soldiers possess the advantage, there is but little agitation done among the soldiers by the Communist Party. The opposition shares the responsibility for all errors. The unemployment crisis renders the situation more acute.

The opposition took unjustifiable steps in spreading slanders among the workers. After thorough investigation, the commission holds the accusations to be without foundation. The opposition committed a breach of discipline. It must not be forgotten that there are excellent proletarian elements in the opposition. The commission moves unanimously that the expulsion of the opposition be not confirmed, but that the members of the opposition be suspended from official positions in the party until the next congress, because of their breach of discipline. The speaker exhorts his hearers to cast out distrust, to cease to spread evil reports, to combat the anarcho-syndicalist tendencies, and to proceed unitedly against the dangers of reaction.

Sturc (Czecho-Slovakia) declares, in the name of the opposition, that despite many misgivings the opposition submits to the decisions of the congress. *Smeral* declares that the majority of the Czecho-Slovakian delegation is in agreement with the resolution. The majority is not desirous of expulsion at any price, but only of maintenance of discipline and of the authority of the party leadership. This is an unqualified necessity if the errors hitherto made are to be avoided. The majority will therefore vote for the resolution.

The resolution is then passed with only one dissenting.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

First International Workers' Loan

"There is no other method of relief for Russia so necessary, and so adapted to the exigencies of the times, as the productive economic relief of the working class. I beg you to take good note of this."

(Lenin in his letter to the American tractor group of the I.W.R. at Perm.)

The relief given by the international proletariat to its starving brothers has not been limited to humanitarian famine relief, to the daily gift of a certain quantity of food, like the aid of the bourgeois committees, but has been extended into a work of organization, having for its object the reconstruction of the districts exhausted by the famine. The power to work, crushed out of the exhausted peasants by starvation, has been reawakened by the relief activity carried out by the workers' aid, for the proletariat giving relief speedily saw in the problem of the Russian famine its own particular class problem. And at the same time it saw the problem of proletarian reconstruction, of socialist workers' organizations, as are being fought for all over the world.

The starving peasants of Russia needed not only bread for to-day or to-morrow, but a restoration of the possibilities of production, destroyed by the war and the famine, in order that they might themselves produce the necessities of life. Recognition of this fact developed impulse and initiative for the practical work of reconstruction. Economic relief grew organically out of the famine relief; farms and fishery undertakings in the famine district were taken over as also other productive concerns, factories in Moscow and Petrograd, etc. Production was started everywhere in the famine district, and the products exchanged through the mediation of the International Workers' Relief.

This productive work has been a living impetus, and is the firm basis of the workers' loan. It was necessary to carry on the undertakings under favorable circumstances, to establish them on a broader foundation. This required capital. Not

capital and profits for individual share-holders, but the means for maintaining the undertakings on a sound basis. The workers could not assist the reconstruction of Russia by speculation, but only by proletarian reconstruction. To find capital, self-help had again to be called upon. The idea of the workers' loan corresponded exactly to the need of the moment—a workers' loan on an international scale appeared as an economic necessity naturally resulting from the trend of development.

Russia is lacking in machinery and in capital required to set her plants going. The international workers' loan is the sole form in which the financing of productive relief can be put on a broader basis within the capitalist world, to the end that productive tasks be carried out on the basis of commerce and free of profit cooperative exchange and barter.

The concessions granted by the Soviet government to foreign capital have, in many instances, been made the object of speculation and usury. The capitalist, at home or abroad, has no interest in Russia's reconstruction. This practical experience was perhaps necessary in order to render the Russian workers and peasants, and the world proletariat, fully conscious of the necessity of proletarian self-help. In "The great initiative" Lenin writes: "The proletariat must lead the way to the new economic structure by the creation of new social relations, new working discipline, and a new working organization. . . . By the mass union of workers conscious of their aim carrying on socialist large-scale production."

Precisely at this moment, when workers' self-help and the taking over and superintendence of plants by the workers' international have become the watchwords of the day, this international proletarian action towards realizing self-help in the working class is being observed by the whole world, and is of the greatest practical and practical importance. The proletariat is fighting along the whole line, with a bourgeoisie which occupies itself more and more with gigantic speculative operations. Capital is in the last stage of decay. Everywhere there is collapse, disorganization, dissolution of production, gigantic growths of speculation and usury, everywhere capitalist construction built on the immeasurably increased exploitation of the workers. In Russia, where the worker himself is actually building the structure, the profiteer can no longer find a footing. In this respect the reports are more and more favorable. Russia has become the rampart of proletarian reconstruction of the world's economy. The international proletariat must defend this rampart, for it is the stronghold of its own proletarian class war, its own proletarian reconstruction, which it must hold against capitalist reconstruction.

The international workers' loan marks the first step to workers self help on an international scale, just as the activity of the International Workers' Relief was the first practical and at the same time international demonstration towards the realization of proletarian self-help, and just as the famine relief action, has been the first great continued evidence of International solidarity. There are comrades who say: "It is of much greater importance to further Russia politically by intense party work towards extending the revolution", and who therefore do not want to hear anything of famine relief, and who regard economic relief and loans as of subordinate importance. To this view the quotation from comrade Lenin, at the head of this article, may be opposed, in which he says that at the present time famine relief is the first necessity for Russia's economic development, the most needful action which the international proletariat can undertake for Russia. Soviet Russia has stood alone at the outposts of the world revolution for 5 years, and the international proletariat is in honor bound to support it; it is the duty of every workman to participate out of gratitude in the economic relief action and in support of the loan.

Who subscribes to the Workers' Loan?

Our comrades must make sure, above all, that in the trade unions, co-operative societies and sick clubs, the organizations take part in the workers' loan. For comrades in good pecuniary circumstances, and for the inhabitants of countries with a good currency standard, subscription to the loan is a duty of solidarity. The conditions of the loan are as follows:

1. The loan is issued by the Industrial and Commercial Joint Stock Company International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia, 11 Unter den Linden, Berlin W. 8.

2. The loan serves for financing productive undertakings in industry and agriculture in Soviet Russia. It is an undertaking for the common good. The share-holders, board of directors, and members of the administrative council, have no claim to personal enrichment from the earnings of the company; these are to be employed entirely for the improvement of

economic life in Russia, except when required for repayments and for interest.

3. Interest is paid on the loan at the rate of 5%, and from the 1st January 1933 the loan is repayable on 6 months notice

4. The Russian government, in accordance with the decision of the Council of People's Commissaries, resolved upon on September 13, 1922, undertakes full guarantee for payment of interest and repayment.

5. The shares are issued in the currency of the country or in dollars, as desired by the subscriber. In the latter case interest and repayment are also paid in dollars.

6. The total amount of the loan is 1 million dollars, divided into shares of 1 dollar each.

7. Interest and principal are paid through the cash department of the Industrial and Commercial Joint Stock Co. Berlin, by the Russian state bank and all its foreign correspondents, and by all the national committees of the International Workers' Relief

8. Holders of shares can obtain loans on the same at any time up to 80% of their value. This is done by the Guarantee and Credit Bank for the East, 68a Unter den Linden, Berlin W. 8, and by the Svenska Ekonomi Aktibogalet, Stockholm, Hamngatan 5.

9. Every owner of shares is entitled to prompt payment of interest. Subscribers in sympathy with Soviet Russia are recommended to forego their claim to interest for the first years in favor of the Children's Homes of the International Workers' Relief in Russia. This renunciation is purely personal, and imposes no legal obligation on a later owner of the shares in the case of their being sold.

Should the subscriber require his money before 1933, he can obtain a loan on the shares through the banks. The Credit Bank of the East has undertaken to grant loans to the extent of 80% of the value of the shares. The Russian state guarantee renders the shares of the International Workers' Loan one of the safest securities at the present day. Even capitalist undertakings have more faith to-day in the signature of the Soviet government than in that of their own governments. Results up to now show that members of the middle class and officials have also participated in the subscription. This will certainly be for reason of securing a sound investment than for reasons of sympathy with Russia.

But the International Workers' Loan must above all be the concern, the great concern of the world proletariat. No workman should consider his mite too small, or that what he can do is of no importance. The world proletariat, through the International Workers' Relief, succeeded in collecting 2 million dollars for the starving. And now the next task is to help to wipe out the results of the famine catastrophe.

Put your shoulder to the wheel again for solidarity in Relief, for proletarian self-help. If you cannot subscribe, do not fail to agitate for the workers' loan! Close the ranks for a new and great action of the world proletariat!

The Famine Catastrophe

By A. Vinokurov.

The famine, which is now almost completely vanquished, has left behind it deep wounds in the Russia of the workers and peasants, and it will be long before these heal.

In the famine districts the cultivated area has diminished by a half as compared with the year 1920. In the year 1920 20,412,000 dessyatines were cultivated, at present only 10,986,500. In the districts especially visited by the famine the situation is even worse.

The working cattle (horses and oxen) have also been reduced by about half, as a matter of fact from 5,123,000 to 2,789,200, in the Volga district. In the five famine departments of the Ukraine the working cattle have diminished from 2,182,500 to 1,118,400. In Samara and the Crimea the famine effects are still more disastrous.

The number of abandoned agricultural properties amounts to 20%. The number without working horses is 40%.

The population has been reduced by 10%, that is, by about 2,500,000 inhabitants. It is assumed that about 1,500,000 of these have taken refuge in neighbouring provinces. About one million human beings have been starved to death. In the province of the Ural district the population has decreased by 25 per cent; in the Tartar republic by 20 per cent, and in the Crimea by 16%.

Industry has also suffered much. Out of 188 undertakings only 41 are still running. In the famine district the metal industry has been reduced by half. Home industry which is highly developed in many districts, has not suffered less.

The number of deserted children amounts to about 2 million.

These are the wounds which Red Russia has made it its duty to heal. The blockade, the intervention, the civil war, and the failure of crops, have caused these wounds. The agriculture and industry of these devastated districts must be restored. The deserted districts must be repopulated. The American Relief action, Nansen's organization, and The International Workers' Relief, are continuing their efforts, and may reckon upon the greatest possible support from the Soviet government.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Jurisprudence and Laws of the RSFSR.

By J. Brandenburgsky (Moscow).

I.

At the present time, now that the administration of justice in the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic is not only determined by separate decrees issued by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and by the Council of Peoples Commissars, but also by codes of law, as for instance the code of criminal law, the code of civil law, the code of land laws, the labor code, etc., it is of essential importance that every worker and every peasant should clearly understand the fundamentals of our Soviet law and its difference from the law of contemporary bourgeois states.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Russian workers' and peasants' government ever held it to be possible, even immediately after the great October Revolution, for state and economic life to be normally developed otherwise than with the aid of legality, that is, with the aid of the organized intervention of legal justice in the life of the country. During the first critical moments of the revolution the immediate application of armed might was naturally the sole criterion of right. Might was right. But as soon as social relations began to settle down, the new society arising out of the revolution began to feel the need of stability and security. Stability and security can however only be imparted to a society recognizing a certain law of justice as an established force.

As a social revolution, the October Revolution cut deeply into all the economic relations which had existed under the Tsar's regime and under the provisional government, and as all jurisprudence is inevitably a mirror of social and economic reciprocal relations, the collapse of such relations involves the simultaneous collapse of the old law, so that in October 1917 there ceased to be a justice to administer.

It was unavoidable that the revolution should bring new economic relations with it, and consequently the need of new legislation without which it would not have been possible to establish the revolutionary cause on a firm footing. The October Revolution, as a proletarian revolution, had to form and establish a system of legal justice diametrically opposed to that hitherto existing, and it is thus not surprising that its first task was to destroy the whole existing legislation, for this was built up on the principle of defending the interests of the large landowners and capitalists. The whole of the old courts of justice, beginning with the local courts of the justices of the peace and going up to the governing senate, were abolished, and the whole of the 16 books of consolidated laws of the former Russian Empire were scrapped.

It was now necessary to approach the question of a legislative regulation of the new social relations now replacing the former social system. It will only be possible to maintain a state of human society without laws when the proletariat has been able to follow its class victory with the abolition of the old productive relations, and has simultaneously abolished the conditions giving rise to classes, so that classes and class rule cease to exist. These conditions will come to pass under socialism, when the harmonious common life of humanity will no longer be based on social compulsion and social necessity, a state of affairs premising all law-making, but in a harmony based on complete social freedom.

For eight decades the working people of the whole world have been fighting under this banner of a free harmonious socialist society. Beneath this banner the heroes of the Paris

Commune died a glorious death. Beneath this banner the Russian proletariat consummated the great October Revolution, whose victory opened out the path to communism. But every worker knows that we are divided from communism by the transition period of political dictatorship of the proletariat, and that this involves economic relations of the most complicated nature. The classes still exist; society with a definite economic structure still exists; and consequently the state power inevitably bound to exist under such conditions must be adapted to the economic organization of this society.

When the workers and peasants seized power in Russia, they were obliged to take up the organization of their state apparatus, and the judicial structure of the new state, immediately and without the loss of an instant. And indeed, who is not aware that those forms of administrative justice and people's courts, now so popular among the broadest masses of the working and peasant population, were already proclaimed in the year 1918?

The VI All Russian congress of the Soviets unanimously passed a resolution relating to exact definition of the law. The idea of a uniform people's court of justice also made its appearance, and was carried out, in the year 1918. It would be of no purpose to explain here the reasons which have prevented us, for more than three years, from systematizing our jurisprudence and establishing our administration of justice on a firm footing.

The reasons are already too well-known. We are compelled to accept the challenge of the bourgeoisie. The civil war forced upon the victorious proletariat obliged us to devote our whole attention to organizing a powerful apparatus for carrying on the immediate struggle against counter-revolution. All other tasks, even that of legislation, were pushed into the background for the moment. It was not until the victorious liquidation of the battle fronts, that we could return to the tasks which the young Soviet republic had set itself in the year 1918. Our military victory over a bourgeois world which has exerted itself to the utmost, for three years, to destroy the first socialist republic of the world; enabled us to return with full energy to the work of creating a code of administrative justice, and the IX. All Russian Congress of Soviets passed the word of revolutionary legality.

Revolutionary legality has been directly called into existence by the development of civil life arising from the development of the new economic policy: "The more we attain to conditions which are those of a strong and firmly established power, the further we proceed in the development of civil life"—these words are from comrade Lenin's speech—"the greater must be our emphasis on the proclamation of the watchword of revolutionary legality".

The IX. All-Russian Congress of the Soviets marks a turning point in our lives; but the fundamental aims of revolutionary jurisprudence were established long before December 1921, when this congress took place. What then, is the essential import of all the decrees and decisions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissioners, issued during the first 3 to 3½ years of the existence of Soviet power? These decrees and decisions contain a rich store of material in fundamental revolutionary and socialist principles, and show a slow but persistent endeavour to clear the way for socialism, to facilitate and shorten the way. In the future our decrees will be studied and placed in a system, and it will be surprising, how much that is essentially useful for the proletariat, and necessary for socialism, has been accumulated by the Soviet power within a comparatively short space of time in these separate decrees, although these have not been issued in any connection, and are frequently bare even of external connection. It was possible to collect a number of decrees into a code of laws long before the official proclamation of legality. Before the first anniversary of the October Revolution we possessed a code of marriage, family, and trusteeship laws. This was accepted on September 16, 1918, by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and with it a code of Labor Legislation. A further development of our legislation did not then take place until 1921 and 1922, when the further development of civic life based on the new economic policy began to be apparent in our public life, and called for greater legality on revolutionary lines—as rightly characterized in our quotation from comrade Lenin's speech.

The need of a code of criminal and civil law was strongly felt. Both have since appeared. What peculiarity do they possess? In what do they differ from the corresponding codes of laws of bourgeois countries?

A result of three years of civil war has been the strengthening of Soviet Russia not only in its external relations, but also within its own frontiers. Conditions were created ensuring greater firmness and security of power, and the extraordinary

fighting against counter-revolution began to play a considerably less important rôle than during the years 1918-1920. It became possible to leave the combat against lawbreaking within the country with a calm conscience, to the normal administrators of justice, and small concessions to bourgeois ideology now constituted no great danger.

The second circumstance which must be taken into consideration is the nature of the new economic policy, which has called private enterprise into being, and has led to the creation of new forms of economic relations: to private trade and small private industrial undertakings outside of state trade and large state industrial undertakings.

These new economic relations, with their concessions to private capital and to petty bourgeois ideology, emphatically demanded a new legal superstructure. From day to day it became more apparent that it was necessary not only to regulate single parts of the new organizations of national economy by separate decrees, but also to create a more systematic and more firmly established legal superstructure for criminal and civil law.

The Soviet power created its own definite, uniform, centralized legislation, a mirror of our new economic policy. If our new economics are wrongly understood, it is inevitable that our justice will also be misunderstood. The new economic policy does not in the least represent even the slightest return to former pre-revolutionary conditions. Neither therefore does our justice represent any restoration of the past. But the new economic policy is the rebirth of capitalism in a limited form, and this limited character of restored capitalism affects our law-making in general, and our civil rights of property in particular.

II.

In contradistinction to the civil law of bourgeois countries, our civil law sanctions two systems of property: a communistic and a civil—and herein lies its characteristic feature. Where we have made concessions in our new economic policy, in order to call forth the private initiative required for a sound development of the productive forces of the country, and for the restoration of its economic power, our commanding positions are perfectly untouched, for we declare the ground itself, its resources, the forests, waters, railways designed for general use with their rolling stock, and aeroplanes, to be the exclusive property of the workers' and peasants' state, that is, to be communistic property. These things are categorically excluded from any free economic traffic. No trade may be conducted in these objects. They cannot be bought or sold. They cannot form the subject of a business or any other agreement. They are communist property, and the communistic character of this property is confirmed by the Civil Code of Laws of the R.S.F.S.R. The land, its treasures, forests, etc., remain exclusively in the hands of the workers' and peasants' state, in the same manner as all large industrial undertakings, all large factories and plants, remain in our hands.

On the other hand the necessity of restoring our whole economic force induces us to give private initiative a free hand in commerce, and in small and medium industrial undertakings. The Code of Civil Law thus first specifies everything which can be the subject of private property. The code is not limited to a declaration, and does not enumerate the objects of communist property, but gives a detailed list of all objects of private property with an exactitude excluding every possibility of ambiguity or false interpretation. All objects are named *expressis verbis*. These are: non-municipalised buildings, commercial undertakings, industrial undertakings, in which the number of wage workers does not exceed a number fixed by special laws, instruments and means of production, money, securities and other values, including gold and silver coins and foreign securities, articles of general household and personal use, goods, the sale of which is not prohibited by law, and other property not excluded from private commercial traffic. The code further adds that telegraphy, radio-telegraphy, and other institutions possessing state importance may only form the object of private property by virtue of special concessions granted by the government.

We thus know exactly what can be private property under the new conditions. But what is the might of property in the light of our code? Is it that limitless, sacred, inborn, unapproachable right of property, the right of possession as understood by bourgeois law? By no means. The right of property is limited in two essentials by our code. The owner possesses the right—this is clearly and exactly stated by the code—with legally established limits, to possess, use, and dispose of property. Beyond this our code recognizes no property, that is, it does not recognize that well known arrangement of the bourgeois world, by which under certain circumstances prescription changes automatically into right of possession. Our Soviet law does not recognize such a right of possession. Such

rights it only recognizes to the extent of utilization, or, more exactly stated, to the extent of utilization on tenure.

In the second place, in the Soviet republic the right of property, like every other private right, must certainly contain elements of conformity to social purposes. In certain cases the state power grants a right of possession to its citizens, but it fixes certain limits to the use of the property thus granted out of consideration for the interests of the development of the productive forces of the country. In exactly the same manner as the state reserves the right, in accordance with the fundamental laws on the socializing of the land, to deprive a landowner of land which he systematically does not cultivate, the code of civil law gives the state the right to deprive property owners of the protection of the law in cases where civil property laws are being utilized in antagonism to their social-political aims.

All we need is a sound private initiative. We want to spur this on. But private initiative is only of interest to us if it is useful for the development of the productive powers of the country. It is solely with this object that we are restoring capitalist relations in Russia. Solely for the purpose of developing the productive forces of the country—so declares the code of civil law of the R.S.F.S.R.—do we grant to persons a civil right of possession, that is, the possibility of possessing civil rights and obligations.

Here it is proper to emphasize that the code of civil law permeated exclusively with the aim of furthering the rebirth of our economic life—does not concern itself in the least with the former owners of property "ill-treated by the revolution". Any possibility of misunderstanding is avoided by a paragraph of the code of law, which declares that the former owners, whose property was expropriated by revolutionary law, or passed into the possession of the workers before May 22, 1922, have no right to demand the return of their property.

After creating a suitable legal protection for communist property, after designating everything which can become the object of private property, after establishing the limits and conditions under which civil law is to be applied, the code of civil law grants the most favorable possible conditions to private initiative, to civil economic life, to commerce, and to small industrial undertakings, but invariably keeps the interests of the state in view, and defends these when they come into conflict with private interests.

The code of civil law establishes a number of points protecting the interests of private property and of civil economic life: thus for instance the building law, the law of inheritance, the law of mortgage, and the system known as liability laws: the laws pertaining to rents, sales and purchases, exchange, loan, deliveries, liabilities, powers of attorney, companies (simple, full, trust companies, limited liability companies, joint stock companies), insurance companies, etc.

The code of civil laws recognizes the right to build. In order to solve that sad inheritance of 7 years of war, the housing problem, the code of civil law grants private persons the right to enter into agreements with local organs entrusted with the disposal of land, for the purpose of building on ground belonging to town and country, for a term not exceeding 49 years; the right of possession of these buildings, that is, the right of using them and freely disposing of them, also of selling them, is granted for the same period. The code of civil law does not however grant the owners of the buildings any right to the ground on which they stand.

As a concession to petty bourgeois ideology, the code of civil law partially restores legal and testamentary rights of inheritance; but in the first place we limit the right of inheritance to a certain sum, a maximum of 10,000 gold roubles, so that any inheritance exceeding this sum falls to the state, and in the second place we limit permissible heirs to direct offspring (children, grand children, and great grand-children), surviving wife or husband, and persons unable to work and without possessions, who have been actually supported by the deceased for at least a year before his death. Besides this we impose a high progressive tax on inheritance.

As regards the standards of the so-called laws of liability, it is perfectly clear that if the new economic policy aims at introducing private enterprise in the place of the former principle of strict state regulation, and if this private enterprise is to be granted legal protection, this naturally cannot be done in the name of any abstract principle of justice, but in the interests of the essential needs of the economic rebirth of the

republic. Private enterprise, free economic intercourse, and the development of the money system, accompanied by the real rights granted to private persons, render it imperative that these persons are given the possibility of making agreements among themselves, and that these private agreements are under the protection of the state.

The characteristic feature of our liability laws lies in the fact that the protection of state interests is placed before the protection of the personal rights of individual citizens. Where the well-known Professor Duguy, the leading legal theorist of the University of Bordeaux, merely raised his hammer to destroy individual juridical personality, individual property, and the subjective rights of human beings, where Professor Duguy only laid down the doctrine that private civil law should not differ in any way from public law, our code of civil law created not merely a theoretical situation, but an actual one, in which relations based on civil law, as understood in bourgeois countries, do not exist at all.

And it is not possible for such to exist in a land under proletarian dictatorship. In our state, public law alone can exist. When Duguy says that private civil law, after passing through the metaphysical phase, reaches the positive phase, and from there passes swiftly and inevitably to complete objectivity, this signifies in our situation nothing else than the inevitable substitution of the subjective conception of individual personality by the objective conception of social function, the conception of social economic adaptedness to purpose. The state shall not protect the rights of private persons so much, as rather the citizens are under the obligation to fulfil social functions.

In bourgeois science the whole conception of law is built up on individualism, consequently a contract between two persons is nothing else than a simple accord of two wills. But it is not true that this principle, arising from the depths of the French revolution, has been transformed in actual capitalist practice, into the fact that the stronger dictates his will to the weaker?

Civil law maintains the principle that all requirements of the law (requirements of public right) possess a complementary character only, that is, they do not come into force until the parties (here private civil law is in action) have not been able to regulate their relations in any other manner. According to civil law the relations of private justice thus dominate over public justice, and in recent times many learned representatives of the capitalist countries have begun to recognize the obligatory character of some laws, that is, they admit that these laws (public law) must continue in force even when the parties have come to an agreement in a contrary sense.

Our code of civil law has decisively broken with the old standpoint, that is, with the standpoint of unqualified defense of that which civil law names "free will of the parties". The Code of Civil Law also gives the state the right to annul economic relations, based on agreements, which obviously do harm to the proletarian state, as an economic organism. The Code of Civil Law of the R.S.F.S.R. has also imparted a character of public justice to the private judicial relations of individual citizens.

I shall adduce an instance illustrating my assertion, and showing the deep chasm dividing Soviet law and civil private law.

Our code makes it a demand of public law that parties having made an agreement can apply to the court of justice in cases of conflict. Is it now possible for the parties to agree not to do this? No; such an agreement would not receive the protection of the proletarian state, for the proletarian state accords due weight to the fact that the stronger can always force the weaker to engage not to appeal to the law.

These are the principles upon which our Code of Civil Law is built up, and which differentiate it so sharply from the civil law of bourgeois countries.

For us the Code of Civil Law was chiefly necessary for the reason that, the new economic policy is in reality nothing else than a carrying of our war on capitalism into the camp of economics, after we have succeeded in completely routing capitalism in the political arena.

The Code of Civil Law of the R.S.F.S.R. possesses a form rendering it at one and the same time an instrument for facilitating private initiative in commerce and industry, and an instrument serving the proletarian state in its work of combatting capitalism; and, finally, it gives organized society the possibility of obtaining supremacy over economics, that is, of carrying out the material task of the proletarian revolution.

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In Defence of the Eight Hour Day

By J. Watcher, Berlin.

The international capitalist offensive against the eight hour day has been carried on with special energy in Germany during the last few months. In this struggle no means is too small to be despised by the capitalists. At one time they throw a sop to the workers and another time they use the whip; anything to subdue them. But the greater the determination with which the German workers hold fast to the eight hour day, the more energetically they ward off all attacks, the greater the tendency of the capitalists to use the whip.

The situation of the German proletariat daily becomes worse. The wages are miserable. But it is just these miserable wages which render it possible for the German capitalists to sell at cut-throat competitive prices all over the world, and which thus give foreign capitalists a plausible excuse for introducing wage reductions and other retrogressive measures for their workers.

In Germany, the recognition that things cannot and must not go on as they are, has led to the mighty Shop Stewards Movement.

The German capitalists immediately recognized the dangers stored for them in the Shop Stewards Movement. They declared war against it, and threatened with dismissal every participant in the congress of German Shop Stewards. The capitalist exploiters were in such a hurry to carry out their threats, that even during the congress they conveyed notice of dismissal by telephone to a number of delegates from various provincial places.

In many cases the determined attitude and solidarity of the workers was successful in forcing the employers to withdraw the dismissals. But this was not the case with the Baden Aniline and Soda Factory in Ludwigshafen on the Rhine. The 22,000 workers of this factory had sent 3 delegates to the Shop Stewards Congress. These were dismissed without notice. All the workers immediately adopted passive resistance. The Shop Stewards negotiated with the directors with regard to withdrawal of the dismissals. The reply was the closing down of the works; the locking out of all the workers.

This impudent provocation roused the ire of the workers, to the boiling point. The next day a conference of the confidential representatives of the workers declared the general strike for the whole of Ludwigshafen. And not the workers of Ludwigshafen alone, but the whole proletariat of the province declared its solidarity with the locked-out workers. The general strike spread over the whole province.

The local representatives of the trade unions at first adopted an uncertain attitude. But the committees of the organizations involved, especially the Factory Workers' Union, whose attitude is decisive, declared the strike to be "wild", and refused to pay out strike benefit. This was not all; these same trade union leaders, whose duty it is to represent the interests of labor against capital, ranged themselves on

the side of the employers and of the occupation authorities, and organized a comprehensive campaign against the strike.

The brute force of the capitalists, the arbitrariness of the police, and the lies of the trade union bureaucracy and social democracy — this now quite customary trinity — combined to undermine the fighting will of the workers.

But this time, these methods, so often successfully employed, failed in their effect. The misery of the proletarians, exploited as they are by the most brutal group of capitalists, has become so extreme, that instead of being a subjugating factor it has become a revolutionary factor. Official statistics show 95 per cent of the children to be tuberculous. At a great women's demonstration held on the December 5., there were terrible and affecting scenes. Women tore off their clothes and showed that they wore only their upper clothing on their naked bodies. When the attempt was made to induce the women to persuade their husbands to return to work, in order to alleviate their misery, they replied: The more work, the more misery! We have nothing more to lose! We have lost everything already!

The misery has reached such a point that the fighters have adopted the one-time watchword of the Lyons silk weavers: "Live working or die fighting". This is the spirit inspiring the strikers.

The fighters will not return to the factory unless as victors. But left to their own resources, their own organizations against them, they are not in a position to win the victory. The victory can only be secured for them if the whole international proletariat unites in active solidarity. In Germany the whole of the class-conscious proletariat is demonstrating its solidarity with the strikers. Despite the threats of the employers, despite the counter-agitation of numerous trade union bureaucrats, collections are made in all large factories, etc.

Large sums are raised, but not sufficient to support 30,000 strikers, with wives and children, for many weeks.

At the present time about 40 million marks are required weekly. Such an amount cannot be raised without the aid of our class comrades abroad.

We are fully confident that the appeal to foreign comrades to aid the Ludwigshafen workers will not be in vain. But it is not only a question of giving, but of giving promptly. Here it is indeed the case: "He gives twice who gives quickly". Every individual foreign class comrade, if he thinks the matter over only for 5 minutes, must appreciate the fact that he is helping himself if he hastens to the aid of the strikers. The eight hour day is threatened throughout the world. We may say without exaggeration that the fate of the eight hour day is being decided in Germany. And as the real aim and object of this mighty struggle is to deprive the workers of the eight hour day, it follows that the workers of Ludwigshafen are holding the fort for its defense and retention, and therefore