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The V. Anniversary of the Red Army

(Statements made by well-known men of the Soviet government.)

HOOPER WAR
COLLECTION

The Red Army enters upon the 6th year of its existence in the proud consciousness that it will continue to defend the frontiers of Soviet Russia, firmly and unfalteringly, despite any reduction in numbers which it may undergo.

The Red Army emerged as victor from the civil war, at a time when it numbered 5,300,000 men. Scarcely the ninth part of this number now remains. Every fresh reduction signifies for the Red Army an increase of responsibility and duty. The V. Anniversary of the Red Army finds it striving to attain such a point of efficiency that, should the enemies of Soviet Russia force a fresh war upon her, every member of the Red Army would be capable of taking up the position of group leader. The Red Army is seriously and systematically learning the science of victory. I am firmly convinced that no enemy can seize the weapons of the Red Army, that is, the great truth for which it fights and the great reserves behind it.

The political sky of Europe is again overcast with threatening clouds. The whole of Europe is transformed into a powder magazine. The sole abode of peace is the "Federation of Soviet Republics", protected by the glorious Red Army ever ready to follow the call of the revolution.

S. Kamenev.

(Commander in chief of the armed forces of the republic.)

I cannot find any special wishes to express on the V. anniversary of the Red Army; its organization and composition, its personnel leave nothing to be desired. At most I might express the wish that in the future the technical equipment of our troops may be better.

M. Kalinin.

(Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.)

The Red army is beginning its sixth year, numerically much reduced. Our present army is really no longer an army but merely a group, and even a small group of this army. This necessarily involves certain drawbacks, which can only be removed by the united efforts of our Soviet and Party apparatus.

Frunse

(Commander in chief of the troops of the Ukraine.)

May the Red Army, after 5 years of existence, have no soldiers in its ranks who cannot read nor write; may it be well nourished, well clad, well equipped, brave, and unconquerable. May it be the object of most tender regard of the workers of the whole world, of the landless peasants; the prop of the oppressed, the terror of the oppressors. May the great ideal of the working class, Communism, be the most precious thing on earth to every soldier of the Red Army, to every Red Commander, to every member of the great Red Army family. May the new Red Army groups be worthy heirs of the heroes of Perekop, the conquerors of Wrangel, Yudenitch, Koltchak, and Denikin, of the innumerable enemies of the people defeated by Soviet Russia. Long live the Red Army!

N. Bukharin.

(Member of the presidium of the Comintern.)

As the first 5 years of the history of the Red Army are filled with victories, the Red Army must continue to be the bearer of the glorious traditions of the past years of war. The Red Army has won many victories, not thanks to its technical resources, but solely to the heroism and enthusiasm of its members, who were fully conscious that they were fighting for the great cause of the workers. If the high moral qualities hitherto inherent in our troops were to be supplanted by military

training, and by suitable technical equipment, we should have an army unique in the history of the world. It is thus our duty to work, with the utmost revolutionary energy, towards improved training and provisioning of our army, and not to forget that at any moment a situation may arise forcing us to defend the revolution and the republic by force of arms.

Rykov.

(Deputy chairman of the Soviet for Labor and Defence.)

The Red Army originated, and increased in strength, in defending the great gains of the revolution. It is a child of revolution, dominated by the spirit of revolution. The Red Army has pursued the aim of becoming a centre of culture, and herein lies its great merit. The Red Army has succeeded, to a very great extent, in reaching this goal, and the circumstance that the youth of the city and country alike find in the Red Army a training perfectly unique, is one of greatest significance for the republic.

It is much to be desired that the Red Army continue to be a nursery of culture and communism.

N. Krupskaya.

(Chairman of the Central Bureau for Political Enlightenment.)

POLITICS

The Balance of the Ruhr Occupation

By Kéro (Paris).

A war of attrition has set in the Ruhr area. Mobilization, state of siege, retention of hostages, and military occupation — is this not war, economic war pending the attack of our artillery and the massacres of workers predicted by Jacques Bainville?

Hold out!

"We shall not mobilize a single soldier nor a single railwayman", M. Poincaré assured us magnificently. But by January 24, 3,750 railwaymen had already been called up by the military authorities, put into sky blue uniforms, and sent off to the Ruhr area—although it may well be asked what they are going to do there, considering that they neither understand the language of the country, nor are familiar with the signalling arrangements or working regulations of the German railways.

Is it really still a question of finding a solution for reparations question? It is scarcely possible to believe it, for at the present time (precisely as during the whole of the war for "Right") nothing else is spoken of except holding out to the last moment. "It is a question of life and death!" declares the royalist *Action Française*, under the thick-type headline: "Berlin threatens the Ruhr magnates who want to deliver coal to us with a year's imprisonment. Very well, let us threaten them with the gallows, and they will bend to our will!"

Our valiant generals are not letting the heroic deeds of their German colleagues sink into oblivion, but are energetically confiscating private property, expelling inconvenient citizens from the country, and taking German prisoners, or rather making German martyrs, the future heroes of a new 1813.

But all these acts of violence will not collect a single sou for us, will not even place us in a position to pay the miners and workers and to provide them with food. But what does that matter? This is characteristic of war!

And now fresh sanctions are announced. For if any successful pressure is to be put upon Germany, either the Ruhr area must be completely separated from her, or the French must march to Berlin. "And then", so says Lucien Romier in the *Journée Industrielle*, "an intelligent military leader, provided with full powers of authority, would be placed at the head of the occupied territory, until a civil administration has been organized . . . in about a fortnight everything would be in perfect order".

According to this we should have to dismiss all Prussian officials, confiscate the sources of supply of German finance, and create an independent administration in the Ruhr valley, as in the Saar area.

We shall thus—in a fortnight!—learn the value of this magnificent political plan. But meanwhile we must establish the plain fact, viewed from an economic and technical standpoint, that the Ruhr occupation has proved a miserable failure.

What does a military adventure cost?

"The whole reparations questions, writes the *Usine* (The workshop) of January 20, "is here at stake. For if we were to abandon our confiscation of the coal pledges to-day, the

Germans would simply refuse to pay anything more in cash or kind, once the pressure of possible new sanctions is removed".

Our heavy industry requires 12,000 tons of German coke per day. Supplies of Westphalian coal and coke have meanwhile come to an almost complete standstill, so that the *Information Financière* of January 20, already raises the cry of alarm: "We must really ask what is to happen if the supplies continue to be interrupted or insufficient for a few days longer. There will be nothing left but to extinguish the blast furnaces and to slow down the rate of production."

Is this not a brilliant military victory, to be booked to the credit of the national bloc? Up to now the Germans have been delivering coal and coke absolutely gratis. The 13,864,000 tons demanded for 1922 were delivered to the extent of 11,710,365 tons. And the French government was able to sell this coal for the round sum of a milliard francs. But since our invasion of the Ruhr, the German government has ceased to pay, the collieries to deliver reparation coal.

In consequence of this, the French iron works have to content themselves with the supplies of expensive English coke, and have to limit their operations considerably. Within three days—from January 22 to 25—thirteen blast furnaces in Lorraine alone had to be extinguished, and to-morrow, other blast furnaces will share the same fate.

To this must be added another unexpected occurrence, which fills the nationalist shouters with holy indignation. The English collieries are being flooded with orders from the French railways and the German cities, gas works, and railways. It is further reported that the occupation of the Ruhr has led to large orders for cast iron being given to England.

And finally, the American dollar and the English pound are rising so rapidly in value that the supplying of France with wheat, cotton and wool, must soon, inevitably lead to an enormous increase of prices.

What will be the end of M. Poincaré's glorious expedition? What will be its consequences, in an industrial area densely populated by four million inhabitants, after a few days of unemployment and starvation?

Our narrow-minded and imbecile chauvinists are delighted at the idea of casting Germany into the abyss, as if "their" own country would not be the first victim of such a catastrophe.

One of these days we shall have to pay dearly, very dearly, for M. Poincaré's attempt at violence and robbery, and it will not be long before we cease to trouble ourselves as to what we are going to do with the Ruhr district, but will confine ourselves to the question of how we are going to get out of the Ruhr with as little damage to ourselves as possible.

The Plans of Polish Imperialism

By Antonov Ovseyenko (Moscow).

The failure of the disarmament conference in Moscow and the attitude adopted by our neighbors at this conference, shows that they have not the best intentions towards us. Among these countries Poland plays first fiddle. Therefore the aims and strivings of Poland's ruling circles are of special importance for us.

Thanks to a happy accident, we are in possession of a highly interesting document, informing us of the aims of Polish imperialism. This document is a report by Dr. Dombrowski on "Poland in the future war"; the report was intended for a Cracow newspaper, but was confiscated by the authorities.

Dombrowski is well known as a person closely associated with Pilsudski. There is no doubt that his report reflects the view of the Polish president, and is based on data supplied by the Polish army staff. He desired to publish the report in order to prepare public opinion for the — in his opinion inevitable wars with Germany and Russia. But it seems that Dombrowski blabbed out the plans of the Belvedere all too candidly, and the publication of his report was prohibited at the last moment.

As a skilful spokesman of the Belvedere, Dombrowski naturally seeks to obscure the imperialist intentions of the ruling clique of White Poland behind purely strategic considerations.

Russia and Germany, he considers, are of the opinion that "the creation of the Polish state itself . . . only came about during the temporary weakness of the former two states. Russia and Germany are impatiently waiting for an opportunity to revise the Polish question, and if they do not intend annihilating Poland altogether, at least they intend cutting it up into very small sections.

Many hope, observes Dombrowski, that "Russia, after the overthrow of Bolshevism, will return to an anti-German alliance with France, which would much alter Poland's orientation. Poland's policy does not calculate upon this. Dombrowski in a melancholy strain: "even if we do not admit that experience

augurs a long period of evolution for Bolshevism, still we see no prospect among its successors—either from the left or the extreme right—for an alliance with France. As in Russia to-day, so also among the emigrants, the Germanophile outlook predominates. . . . France is blamed for all the misery which has fallen upon Russia. Common hate, and common hope of vengeance on the mutual enemy—France—bring Germany and Russia together. This renders a Franco-Polish alliance necessary. . . .

This threatening danger, declares Dombrowski, can only be removed by the dissolution of one of the enemy states. As regards Germany, this is not very feasible, but the policy, tending to dissolve Russia into its constituent parts is in line "with the inclinations both of the Entente governments and the United States. The dissolution of Russia into its component parts is of vital interest to Poland, and represents the main object of all rational Polish politics."

With respect to the "defence" of Poland, in the first place the corridor is entirely unsuited to ward off attacks from Germany and to secure the passage to the sea. For this reason Poland must occupy East Prussia. Neither can she be contented with the German-Polish frontier. Poland is entitled to claim the whole of the remainder of Polish Silesia (Polis). The eastern frontier is equally disadvantageous. The Vistula area can only be rendered secure by the occupation of Kovno-Lithuania and White Russia. In the East, only the Dnyepir or the Bug can offer a fixed boundary. Dombrowski also complains that Poland's present standing army is inadequate; he complains of the lack of a serious war industry, and the lack of a sufficiently developed railway system, especially on the eastern frontier, etc.

Dombrowski, after considering several variants of a future war with Russia and Germany, concludes with the words that Russia "must be attacked, not only with military means, but also with political." Under the latter he indicates the separation of the Ukraine and White Russia from Russia. He regards a joint war of Russia and Germany against Poland as most probable. In this case Poland would be supported by France. The Polish army would then have to decide to neglect the Russian front at first, in order to be able to first strike an energetic blow at the German front. The first task is the occupation of East Prussia and a powerful defense of Silesia.

Dombrowski draws attention to the Polish-Roumanian alliance, but does not expect much from it. From the Baltic states, Poland only demands that they defend themselves against Russia with their own forces. There is no immediate danger threatening Poland on the southern frontier. But Germany might attempt to strike a blow at Poland from behind, through Czecho-Slovakia. Therefore Poland must win over Hungary, the more so, as Poland, in case of the Danzig corridor being out off, could be supplied with the necessary war material through Hungary. The winning over of Hungary must run parallel with a Hungarian-Roumanian agreement.

The quotations here given furnish the plainest evidence of the irreconcilable enmity of Poland's ruling class towards us. They enable us to understand the import of the intrigues we encounter with regard to Roumania, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Baltic states. They enlighten us regarding the brazen deeds of Lithuania against Germany. Belvedere has already commenced to execute the plans drawn up, and has begun—if not with the possession of Kovno-Lithuania—at least with a friendly alliance with Kovno-Lithuania, an alliance bought by Poland at Germany's expense, and involving Lithuania's grab of the Memel district.

The Russian Workers and the Occupation of the Ruhr

(R.I.L.U.). As a further proof of the deep interest taken by the Russian workers in the struggle of the Franco-German proletariat against the Ruhr occupation, we publish an extract from a communication addressed to the textile workers of all countries by the Russian Textile Workers' Union, on the occasion of the arrest of the secretary of the French Textile Workers' Union, Jacob. Among other passages, this letter contains the following:

"This arrest (of comrade Jacob) shows you more clearly than anything else that even in so "democratic" a country as France the bourgeoisie does not shrink from any means in order to suppress the labor movement. . . . The sole means of combatting such persecutions, and of simultaneously escaping the danger of a new war, is to create a united front among the workers of all countries, and to carry on a ruthless revolutionary class war."

And our comrades' letter appeals to the textile workers of all countries to work in this spirit and with this aim.

From Charlemagne to Poincaré

By Y. Y. (Paris).

The real aims of French imperialism.

In the same degree as the occupation of the Ruhr, with its disastrous results, reveals itself to be a second Mexico adventure or a second Spanish war, to the same extent do the real aims of French strivings for expansion become more and more apparent and threatening.

The invasion of Westphalia by 100,000 French soldiers, is in fact only the preliminary to a series of measures aimed at separating the Rhine country from Germany. The all too notorious report given by Mr. Dariac, as well as numerous other official and semi-official declarations, leave no doubt whatever as to the nature of the plans and intentions long prepared by Millerand and Poincaré.

Reparations, sanctions, or annexations?

"The economic sanctions" writes a liberal journalist, "are merely a pretext and a cloak concealing a political action which alone is capable of securing the fruits of a victory whose military results are threatened, and whose economic results are most uncertain."

Thus the liberal bourgeoisie denounces, in its leading organs, the motives and dangers of French foreign politics, for it feels that the frightful economic and social collapse which Germany will shortly undergo will shake the capitalist world to its foundations.

Before the Paris conference, the French government invited a certain number of civilian and military persons to the Elysée (palace of the president of the republic). Measures of extraordinary importance and range were discussed, in case of independent action by France. According to the report published by the *Bulletin of the Society for Economic Research*, the measures discussed included the following:

1. the taking of complete possession of the Rhine basin and the displacement of German officials by French in this area;
2. occupation of an important part of the Ruhr area.

There are many people who designate this reparation policy as disconnected. How naive! If restoration of the devastated districts were the real aim of our government, peace would have been assured long ago, and the war zone would no longer be peopled with innumerable families crowded together in unhealthy barracks or iron sheds.

But the reparations are only a medium of extortion in the hands of the men of the *Quai d'Orsay*. The French troops had scarcely arrived on Ruhr soil, when M. Poincaré delighted us with the information that this military step would bring no relief to the state finances, no furtherance of the reparations question. In anticipation of the hypothetical German reparations payments, the "National credit for the restoration of the devastated regions", is now raising a 6% loan, while the minister of finance, M. de Steyrie, demands a 20% increase of all taxes!

On one side exaggerated payments are demanded, and within impossibly short terms, while on the other side, the debtor is fettered with chains in order to make it impossible for him to pay, so that a pretext may be furnished for levying execution. This is the whole secret of the concealed policy which is driving us to an invasion of the Ruhr area under the pretext of obtaining a productive pledge, but in reality with the object of seizing political power in the area confiscated, of appointing new officials, of introducing a new currency, a Rhine mark or franc, and—if we follow the plans of the nationalists—of gradually extending the occupation of Germany as far as Berlin.

The eternal question of the Rhine country.

But this policy, against which the British statesmen are raising a wordy but completely ineffectual protest—for of what use is a protest against a France equipped with the most powerful military apparatus which the world has ever seen?—is nothing more nor less than the continuation of the old continental policy of monarchist France, and the Ruhr adventure is thus completely in keeping with the oldest traditions of French diplomacy.

The parallel between M. Poincaré's raid and the strivings of our former kings, is the more interesting when we see that then, as now, precisely the same diplomatic manoeuvres were employed, the same measures of corruption and violence, and that precisely the same historical, judicial, and humanitarian pretexts were used to serve the same policy of robbery.

After the religious and civil wars ceased, the decline of Spain freed the hands of the monarchy, and in the 17th century France again commenced to press towards the east with renewed force.

In 1632, the jurist *Charles de Cassan* claimed the succession to the throne of the Carolingian kingdom for Louis XIII. Louis XVI. employed bold "peaceful" means of extension to complete the results of his military victories. A leading factor in this was the astute distribution of cash subsidies to the peers and prelates. Thus at that time, we already had the Rhenish franc!

The Rhenish princes, jealous of their liberty, and anxious to secure for themselves a protection against their imperial lord, accepted the money and the support of the so-called Christian king. Before long the Rhine country was enclosed by a complete net-work of alliances with France: This was the famous Rhenish alliance, whose ramifications extended far into Central Germany.

And precisely as Poincaré continues to carry on war to-day in the midst of peace, by means of sanctions and confiscation of pledges, so Louis XIV. invented his Réunion Chambers for the extension on the boundaries of his country and for rounding off his kingdom.

To further secure his position on the Rhine, the Great King in 1688, began the wearisome war with the Augsburg Alliance, beginning with the subjugation of the Palatinate and the devastation of the Rhine country. The endless war of the Spanish succession finally exhausted the forces of the kingdom, and Louis XIV. died without having pushed the boundaries of his state as far as Cologne.

The impulse towards the Rhine was rekindled at the flames of the great French revolution. In 1797, *General Koëne*, the commander in chief of the Somme and Meuse army, subordinated the administration of the Rhine country to the control of a commission which was a worthy forefather of the present interallied commission. And the writer *Görres*, at that time an enthusiastic disciple of revolutionary liberty, and a sworn enemy of tyrants and monks, undertook to play the rôle played to-day by *Dr. Lortén*. In his character of a willing-agent of the Superintending Commission he carried on a separatist movement in favor of an autonomous Rhine country.

The "Zis-Rhenish" patriots attained more than they themselves desired: On December 4, the Directory proclaimed the annexation of the left bank of the Rhine, a claim to which had been expressly renounced by the German emperor in the peace treaty of Campo Formio. The princes of the German petty states had no qualms about leaving "their" beloved subjects in the lurch, and settled on the right bank of the Rhine, where ample compensation awaited them. In 1801, at the peace of Lunéville, Napoleon took care to assure the expressly repeated confirmation of the complete sovereignty of France over the Rhine country, which he intended to utilize as glacis for his future operations.

Faced by a new war.

And to-day French imperialism, urged by its ambitious plans, and fearful for its safety, has arrived at a policy of violence naturally following along the traditional lines pursued for centuries. From the Lorraine kingdom of Charles the First's son, to the Ruhr of Poincaré, through eleven long centuries, through the days of Charles the Bold, Louis XIV., and the Directory, there has always been the same question and the same strife: the subjugation of the Rhine country into a vassal state, the quartering of Germany, and the keeping of Germany in a state of chaos and complete impotence against the military hegemony.

And the reparations? you will interject. And our milliards?

This speaks the oracle of nationalism: "It is a hundred times better if we are not paid, but fetch the payment from Germany ourselves!"

Our ruling powers are very well aware that the problem of reparations cannot be solved on the basis of the Versailles treaty, but they utilize this treaty to assume the important right of interfering as they please in German affairs. In this the French diplomats of Versailles have proved worthy scholars of the old monarchy, and this is the real reason why at this moment the royalists, whose newspaper daily imparts to our statesmen an enormous quantity of advice and demands of inflexible and cynical logic, are the real and authentic interpreters of French foreign politics.

But Poincaré's republic takes up the policy of expansion, pursued by Louis XIV and the revolution, with a France which, at that time, was the richest and most densely populated in Europe, under conditions now infinitely more dangerous, and with a France relatively weaker than it was in the 17th, and 18th centuries.

Will Poincaré be successful where even the perseverance of the Sun King and the genius of a Napoleon failed? Not at all! This maniacal policy, dictated by a narrow-minded chauvinism, and representing a fitting counterpiece to the purest

Bismarck spirit, will only lead to an epoch of costly and oppressive armed peace, inevitably followed by a new world war, the blame for which has only to be pushed onto Germany again.

Not until after the seizure of state power by the working class, will the Rhine country cease to be a frightful war machine, directed alternately against the French and German peoples.

The Situation in the Balkans

By *Ch. Kabaktchieff*.

While the IV Communist Balkan Conference was still able to meet in Sofia in May of last year, the White Terror raging in the Balkans forced the V. conference to meet outside of the country, in Moscow, where it was held on December 12. of last year. The appended description of the events which have taken place in the Balkans during the last few months is taken from the report given at the conference by comrade Kabaktchieff. Editor.

I. The defeat of Greece.

Greece's defeat is to be solely attributed to the adventurous and criminal policy of the Greek bourgeoisie. It is not only a defeat of the policy of national conquest pursued by the bourgeoisie, but implies equally the defeat of the whole Balkan bourgeoisie; of Bulgaria's policy in 1913-18, Serbia's in 1913, Roumania's in 1916, and that of Greece in 1922. In every Balkan state the policy of the Balkan bourgeoisie has plunged one people after another into defeats and catastrophes, and has ended, despite temporary success in this or that country, in complete bankruptcy.

The first results of the Greek defeat is the acute inner-political crisis which has now broken out in Greece. The Greek people have made tremendous sacrifices, and are plunged into frightful want and misery. The workers and peasants returning from the front maimed, and called their rulers to account. The old government was overthrown, the king sent packing, but still the national bourgeoisie succeeded, with the aid of their followers among the officers, in getting the leadership of this movement into their hands and in limiting its aims. Despite this the discontent of the masses is growing, and the conditions for a revolutionary mass movement are maturing rapidly.

The Greek Communist Party is confronted with great and important tasks. It must use every exertion to penetrate into the masses of workers and peasants, and to organize these in such manner that they will be capable of conducting independent class war under revolutionary slogans. They must be made able to retain their full independence while fighting in support of the republic, and to endeavor at the same time to develop this fight into a fight for the Soviet republic in Greece and for the Federative Soviet republic in the Balkans.

But Greece's defeat is simultaneously a defeat of English imperialism, for behind Greece—in her war with Turkey—stood England. The position of the Entente, and especially of English Imperialism, is much weakened in the Balkans and Asia Minor by the defeat of Greece and the advance of the Turkish national army on Constantinople. This lessens the danger of a campaign of imperialism and of counter-revolution from the South, against the revolutionary movement in the Balkans.

But at the same moment the Entente again attempts to unite the Balkan states into a military and dynastic federation, with the intention of inducing the Balkan peoples to conduct war against Turkey or Russia. Immediately after the defeat of Greece, and after the approach of the Turkish army to Constantinople, Yugoslavia demanded a loan of 800 million francs from the Entente, in order to be able to prepare for mobilization; and Roumania, which has a large standing army, mobilized her reserves; Roumania prepares for war under the influence of England, Yugoslavia under the influence of France. The Balkan governments, which are blind tools of the Entente, and which have by no means abandoned their policy of conquest, may easily bring about a bloody catastrophe in the Balkans. Faced by this danger of a fresh war, the communist parties of the Balkans must organize the struggle of the masses of workers and peasants, in order to thwart the efforts of Entente imperialism to plunge the peoples of the Balkans into war with Turkey. They must demand peace between the Balkan peoples and Turkey, who is fighting against Entente imperialism and for her national independence.

II. Turkey and the Thracian question.

The successes of the Turkish national army undermine the colonial domination of England, and give a mighty impetus to the struggle for emancipation among all the peoples of the Orient. The Balkan peoples, will derive great advantage from Turkey's independence in Asia Minor and Constantinople, for this will give them a natural ally in the fight against European imperialism.

The Communist International and the communist parties aid the struggle of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples against

imperialism. The communist parties of the Balkans support it in so far as it is directed against European imperialism, and thus bears a revolutionary character. But they will decidedly oppose this movement as soon as it becomes one of conquest and subjugation of foreign peoples, as may be the case if Turkey does not content herself with ruling the Straits and Constantinople, but attempts the conquest of Thrace. The Turkish communist party must maintain its complete independence in its relations to the national movement, it must unmask the Turkish nationalist bourgeoisie, and fight against its policy of exploitation, and against every attempt of the Turkish bourgeoisie to subjugate foreign peoples and to come to agreements with European imperialism. The approach of the national Turkish army to the Balkans again raised the question of the domination of Thrace. Greece rules over Western Thrace, and is determined to continue to do so. Bulgaria demands autonomy for Thrace, but is striving for affiliation under cover of autonomy. The Greek and Bulgarian bourgeoisie alike aim at the conquest of Thrace. They are enemies of the independence and autonomy of its inhabitants. The communist Balkan parties, especially the Bulgarian and Greek communist parties, will aid the people of Thrace in their struggles for national emancipation and autonomy, at the same time clearly emphasizing that these peoples can only attain national independence by the revolutionary struggle of workers and peasants, by realizing the Federative Socialist Balkan Soviet Republic. But the communist parties will invariably unmask the policy of acquisition pursued against Thrace by Greece and Bulgaria, and will ruthlessly combat it.

III. The Conference in Lausanne.

The Lausanne conference afforded a fresh opportunity of observing the aims of the imperialist states, led by England and France, towards the conquest of Turkey and the Balkans. After the imperialist war, the policy of France and England with regard to the Near East took the following form: Supported by her naval and military power, and utilizing the defeat of her chief rivals in the Near East — imperialist Germany and Russia — England has been striving for the acquisition of the Straits and Constantinople, thus intending to partition and subjugate Turkey to her dominance in the Balkans and Asia Minor, and to further ensure England's influence in the Asiatic colonies. France desires a unified Turkey, in order to secure her monetary demands and her capital invested in that country; France wants to subordinate Turkey economically and financially, to transform it into a colony. These conflicting imperialist interests of France and England explain the antagonisms of these two countries with respect to Turkey.

This enmity between France and England at once retired into the background as soon as Turkey expressed the desire to become a completely independent state, as soon as it wanted to annul all the capitulations, to be rid of all financial control and all dependence on the great capitalist states. England and France came to a provisional agreement at Turkey's expense, England making concessions to France in the reparations question, and in the matter of the exploitation and subjugation of Germany, while France in return expressed herself agreed with England's occupation of the Dardanelles and Constantinople.

Behind the phrase: "Freedom of the Straits" England is endeavoring to become sole mistress of the Straits and Constantinople, to transform the Black Sea into an English lake, and thus secure her position against Soviet Russia and ensure her colonial domination in the Near East. England's conquest of the Straits, and the establishment of an English fleet in the Black Sea, would constitute a tremendous source of danger to the interests and independence of the peoples inhabiting the coasts of the Black Sea, and especially to the Balkan peoples. The peoples of the Balkans must thus lend Turkey every aid in its struggle for independence and against European imperialism; they should demand that the Straits and Constantinople be left to Turkey, and that the Black Sea should belong to the peoples inhabiting its shores, and should be closed to the war ships of the imperialist states.

In Lausanne, as in Genoa, Soviet Russia was the sole state siding with the oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialism. This fact taught the Balkan peoples that they should set themselves determinedly against the policy of their bourgeoisie and dynastic rulers which degrades them to mere tools of European imperialism, while they should stand as determinedly for Soviet Russia. They should demand from their governments that they form an alliance with the great Russian Soviet republic, the sole supporter of the Balkan peoples in their struggle for national emancipation.

ECONOMICS

Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4th Quarter of 1922

By E. Varga.

VI. The State of the Market.

In the last quarter of 1922 the state of the market in Germany changed decisively for the worse. On December 19, there were already 276,871 unemployed, 59,000 of whom were entirely without any means of subsistence. On this date there were over 55,000 unemployed in Berlin alone. The reasons for this decline are well expressed in the following notice (*Börsencourier*, January 5., 1923).

"The alarming increase of unemployment is to be attributed, in the main to the reduced export of those branches of industry whose prices have already reached or exceeded the world market prices. A second and no less important factor is the lessening of home consumption during the last few months. For despite all wage increases, the rapid depreciation of the mark has affected a considerable lowering of the real wage, and consequently of purchasing power among the broad masses. According to an investigation made by the Statistical Bureau, between April and November 1922, the wages of the miners in the Ruhr district remained 54% behind the higher prices, the wages of the metal workers 62%. To be sure, the workers in question are comparatively well paid skilled workers, and it is a well known fact that Germany's impoverishment is being most clearly expressed by the circumstance that the wage of the skilled worker is sinking lower and lower, down to the level of the minimum living wage. But there is no doubt that the "social existence minimum" of the German people—the absolute psychological existence minimum is practically of no importance—has sunk considerably."

The development of unemployment in the craft unions may be seen from the following:

End of Sept.	End of Oct.	End of Nov.
0.8 per cent	1.4 per cent	2 per cent

On the day on which the count was made, 129,000 of the 6% million trade union members were out of work as compared with 89,000 the month before. Besides this, there were 418,000 part timers = 7% as compared with 4.7% in November.

It is interesting to note that while 212,526 persons were drawing unemployment benefit on March 1., only 42,000 were doing so on December 1.

Coal production.

The coal production of the Ruhr area was increased not inconsiderably during the last quarter of 1922 by the introduction of overtime shifts. The production of Ruhr coal (1922), expressed in millions of tons, was as follows:

1. quarter	2. quarter	3. quarter	4. quarter
2,489	2,267	2,447	2,542

The number of workers also increased during the 4th quarter, as the slackening in the building trade and in agriculture caused the workers to stream back into the Ruhr valley. The daily output, expressed in 1000 tons, was as follows:

July	August	September	October	November	December
302	309	318	340	354	372

The increased coal output did not, however, suffice to cover the requirements of the industries, for great quantities of coal were delivered as reparations, and the coal from Upper Silesia, now separated from Germany, was also lacking. During the period of this report, English coal continued to be imported, though in smaller quantities than in the third quarter. How much coal was imported cannot be ascertained, as there are great discrepancies between the German import statistics and the English export statistics. According to the English statements, 1,600,000 tons of coal were exported to Germany in September, while the German import statistics only give 1,200,000.

Iron and steel industry.

In the iron and steel industry the state of the market began to be uncertain during the last quarter. The shortage of coke, as well as the frequent shortage of coal, prevented a full productive activity. The prices of iron relative to the depreciation of the currency increased with such rapidity that at the moment when the mark had been stabilized to a certain extent, the German iron prices were much higher than those of the

world market. The depression was strongly felt in December, when the mark rose in value. The prices of iron were also partially reduced at this time. Business was still good in most branches of the iron industry. There were even complaints of a labor shortage, especially of skilled technical workers. Business became worse in the locomotive building trade, wagon building, and electro-technical industry. On this subject the Prussian Ministry of Commerce reports as follows:

"In the electro-technical industry the receipt of orders in long terms delivery leaves much to be desired, as at present no work is being done for the electrical utilization of water power or for building new plants or extending the old ones."

All this shows that in Germany the actual accumulation is proceeding on a very diminished scale.

Textile industry.

In many cases the textile industry has been obliged to limit production because of a lack of capital. The depreciation of the mark rendered the price of cotton so high, that the factories were not able to buy the raw materials required for carrying on their work on their accustomed scale. The reduced buying capacity of the public has been especially noticeable.

Foreign trade.

In our reports we have often drawn attention to the circumstance that the gigantic fluctuations in the rate of exchange render Germany's foreign trade statistics almost useless. The Statistical Bureau of Germany has recognized this fact and has made an attempt to calculate in gold marks. These show us the following comparison:

	Import	Export	Import surplus
January	330.4	324.6	5.8
February	359.6	297.9	61.7
March	563.2	324.1	239.1
April	508.0	326.8	181.2
May	565.2	391.6	173.6
June	564.6	416.6	148.0
July	684.8	320.8	364.0
August	545.1	242.0	303.0
September	421.8	280.4	141.4
October	521.7	291.4	240.3
November	536.2	255.2	281.0
Jan. — Nov.	5610.6	3471.2	2139.4

We thus see that there has been a great drop in exports, as compared with the earlier months of the year, and a great increase of imports. This alteration has been brought about by the separation of Upper Silesia, and by the considerable import of foreign coal and ores during the last quarter of 1922. The figures are as follows:

Month	Quantity in double cwts.		
	Import	Export	Import surplus
July	47,982	16,365	31,617
August	46,762	14,067	32,697
September	48,291	15,871	32,420
October	55,516	15,391	40,125
November	45,512	15,512	30,000

The finances of the Reich, and notes in circulation.

The final figures for the first 9 months of the current fiscal year, from 1 April till 31 December 1922, have now been published. The figures are as follows, in milliards of marks:

Revenue	340
Expenditures	1,572
Increase of floating debt	1,223

From this we may see that only about 22% of the Reich's expenditures have been covered by the revenue during this period. The floating debt has been correspondingly increased, and at an accelerated pace. If we take the fourth quarter of the year only, we have the following results, in milliards of marks:

Floating debt on 1. October	490
Floating debt on 31. December	1495

The floating debt has thus increased by more than 1000 milliards in the last three months. It is interesting to note that during the last 9 months 234 milliards marks have been employed, to obtain foreign securities for fulfilling the peace treaty, this being the fifth part of the total deficit. Unfortunately there are no data showing to what extent the German state has reimbursed the German capitalists for the payments in kind. The lack of these data renders it impossible to ascertain in how far the depression in the German finances is to be attributed to the reparations payments. The deficit in the state budget has been covered by Reichsbank treasury bonds, that is, by an increased issue of paper money. It must be observed

however, that the increased issue of paper money has not been contributed to by the state alone, but to a great extent by private capitalists. The figures here given are in milliards of marks:

	Total notes in circulation	Discounted treasury notes	Discounted bills of exchange
1. April 1922	131	147	2
1. October 1922	317	350	50
30. December 1922	1,280	1,184	422

From this may be seen that during the last quarter of 1922, the state obtained about 800 milliards from the bank of issue, while the capitalists obtained about 400 milliards. This signifies, that the capitalists have also made profits on the inflation.

The development of prices.

The cost of living has risen just as rapidly. The minification of the mark. The index figures of wholesale trade have developed as follows:

	Frankfurter Zeitung 1914 = 1	Statistical Bureau.
September 1922	291	287
October 1922	432	566
November 1922	945	1,151
December 1922	1,670	1,475
Beginning of January 1923	2,050	1,670

The cost of living has risen just as rapidly. The minimum living wage ascertained by Kuczinski shows the following developments:

1913/1914 = 1	
September	164
October	261
November	505

During this quarter of the year the wage increases remained farther behind the increased prices than ever before.

The foreign character of German capital.

It is difficult to give comprehensive data on the extent to which foreigners are participating in German capitalist undertakings. Much does not reach the ears of the public. We learn for instance, from the *American Journal of Commerce* of November 15, that the American company formed for the purpose of utilizing the reserves of marks accumulated in America for buying German goods, has already bought 100 million marks worth of shares in the best German undertakings. We cannot take up a newspaper without reading that this or that company has elected a foreigner to its board of directors, as a corresponding number of shares are in foreign hands. In this manner an American was recently elected to the board of directors of one of the largest potash undertakings. French capital participates largely in German coal mines. The collieries *Hamm* and *Friedrich Heinrich* in Westphalia, and the *Karl Alexander* and *Karl the Great* pits in the Aix-la-chapelle basin are for instance under French management. About 60 to 80 million French francs are invested in German coal mines, without counting the capital invested in mixed undertakings as for instance *Harpener's*. (Data furnished by J. Levainville, *Industrie de fer en France*, 1922.)

In a communication to the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* it is stated that during the last 5 months no fewer than 8,500 houses in Berlin have passed into the hands of foreigners. We thus find that the process of super-foreignization is going forward almost without limit, and under conditions exceedingly detrimental to German economics as such. For at the present rates of exchange all capital invested in Germany by foreigners, reduced to gold marks, is so invested that the objects involved are paid for far beneath their real value. This means that the tribute to be paid by German economy to foreign capitalists, as profits on the capital invested, is much higher in reality than the average inland rate of profit.

The prospects of German economics after the occupation of the Ruhr.

The decay of German economics has progressed rapidly during the last three months. Proletarians, officials, intellectuals, retail dealers, and independent craftsmen are proceeding rapidly on the downward path to poverty. It is only the large land-owners, large farmers, and large capitalists, above all the heavy industrial magnates, who become more and more wealthy and thus this general impoverishment. These latter have benefited by the depreciation of the currency, for their debts have decreased accordingly. They have secured themselves against the consequences of the collapse of the mark by calculating and selling in foreign securities or gold marks, or in rye. Only the workers are paid in paper marks. They have detached themselves from the state and pay no taxes. And they feel very

content with this state of affairs! No wonder then, that they are not particularly enthusiastic about the stabilization of the mark. They have arranged all their business on the assumption of a falling mark. Of course they could re-adjust themselves to a stable mark. But this would put an end to the constant reductions veiled by the depreciation of the mark, and would mean challenging the proletariat, possibly rousing it, by open wage reductions. The capitalists do not want to do this until they are certain that the stabilization will be permanent, and this only appears to be possible if the French and German capitalists come to an agreement on the reparations question. Therefore Stinnes, and with him the whole German bourgeoisie, rejects every attempt at temporary stabilization of the mark. What these gentlemen want is: *More work!* This is Stinnes' program (see his speech in the state economic council, reported in the D.A.Z. of November 11, and Thyssen's letter to the chancellor, published by the *Reichsecho*).

What does Stinnes say?

"... The first premise of life in Germany... is longer working hours. I do not shrink from declaring my conviction that the German people will certainly have to work 2 hours longer per day for a number of years—ten, fifteen years."

And Thyssen in the same strain:

"... The most unhappy result which revolution could bring us would be the introduction of the universal eight hour day... We lost the war. The Entente has deprived us of our fleet, of our colonies, of our property abroad, and of a great part of our land. Besides this, for years we have had to deliver many milliards in gold and silver to the enemy. And yet the German people, which had to work 10 hours to support itself in times of peace, now believes that it only needs to work 8 hours, and can live better than before."

And he demands the abolition of the eight hour day. "We have got to fight the battle at one time or another, and the sooner we do it, the more we can save. The chancellor Cuno should head the movement for the re-introduction of longer working hours... now that even a number of the social democratic leaders have declared that it is impossible to go on as we are doing at present."

The program of the great capitalists is here clearly and plainly stated: Restoration of capitalism, and payment of the reparation debt without sacrifice of property, by means of increased exploitation of the proletariat, with the aid of the social democratic leaders.

This program is not changed in any way by the occupation of the Ruhr. The German bourgeoisie, reckoning on England's aid, will perhaps attempt to thwart the French action by means of sabotage (removal of coal offices, cessation of deliveries of reparation coal, perhaps a "national" general strike of the miners of the Ruhr area). But this patriotic resistance of the capitalists will not last long, unless France's dominion in the Ruhr valley is interfered with by England or America. The common interests of the coal and ore capitalists will soon work their way to the surface, despite all patriotic indignation.

In our opinion the program of Stinnes and Thyssen is objectively impossible of execution. The under-nourished German proletariat cannot work 10 hours daily. And it is not possible, in the midst of general ruin, for the great industrial capitalists to go on flourishing and increasing their wealth at the expense of the proletariat, without making the slightest sacrifice themselves. But even the attempt to carry out this program will lead to severe conflicts, and—should these conflicts not end with the victory of the proletariat—to the complete collapse of German economics and culture.

VII. German-Austria.

Despite the smallness of the country, the development of economic conditions in German-Austria is of great importance at the present time, for here the credits granted by the great powers have been successful in stopping the depreciation of the currency for the time being. It is an actual fact that in the last 3 months, the Austrian crown has been fairly stable. The index figures of the *Austrian Economist* show the following developments during the last few months:

Beginning of October	20,551
Beginning of November	21,352
Beginning of December	20,537
Beginning of January 1923	19,932

The wholesale prices have developed in a similar manner. The *Austrian Economist* of December 2, 1922 comments as follows on this change in Austrian economics:

"Up to now our political economy has been enjoying a certain state of prosperity, but this has been more a pseudo-

prosperity, and state economy has decayed in a catastrophic manner. This apparent prosperity of political economy is over. The growing unemployment, the part time worked in numerous undertakings, show this plainly enough. Our economy has been granted a pause for breath. This is shown by the comparative stability of the crown for nearly three months, and by the temporary rest of the bank-note printing press. The future will show whether this pause for breath, this inactivity of the note press, will be of long duration. This depends on whether the international credits and loans reckoned upon with so much certainty will really be placed at Austria's disposal punctually; it depends further on the contents of the reconstruction program. It will further depend on the nature and duration of the political economic crisis caused by this program of reconstruction, on the means which will be employed to aid the hundreds of civil servants and workers threatened with dismissal in finding new means of livelihood and productive activity — a task not even mentioned in the reconstruction program."

The consequences of the artificial stabilization of the crown may already be plainly traced in Austrian economics. Prices are in general higher than abroad; the working capacity of the workers has greatly diminished. The resultant unemployment is very great; at the present time the number of unemployed is estimated at more than 100,000, a very large number for so small a country. The acceptance of the Geneva pact, which transforms Austria into a colony of the Entente, has been accompanied by a strengthening of the position of the bourgeoisie. This may best be seen in the declaration of the employers that they will no longer keep to the index when fixing wages, and will in no case grant further wage increases even if the index should rise further. This means that the wage reduction's hitherto concealed by the rapid depreciation, is to be replaced by an open campaign against wages. The Austrian social democracy has resigned itself to the changed conditions with but little resistance. This is probably the reason why there has as yet been no conflict between the Austrian bourgeoisie and the working class.

On the other hand it is very much to be questioned if the stabilization of the Austrian crown is permanent. We have every reason to doubt it. In the first place the credits granted by the Entente have not yet been all placed at Austria's disposal. Moreover, the country consumes more than it produces. If this assumption is correct, the stability of the currency will only last till the securities provided by the Entente are used up. As soon as these are consumed, the depreciation of the Austrian crown will begin again.

Special attention should be paid to conditions in Austria, for the impending conditions in Germany may be deduced from them. But here it must be observed that in the first place, much larger sums would be required to stabilize the German mark, and in the second place, Austria is not burdened with reparations payments. But on the other hand, Germany's economics possess, in our opinion, more real vitality than Austria's.

Hungary.

Despite the smallness of the country, it is extremely interesting to trace out Hungary's economic development, for here, an actual test is being made as to whether it is possible or not to put the economic household of a country on a sound basis by the complete victory of the White Terror. The question can by no means be answered in the affirmative from the example offered by Hungary. If we select the course of the rate of exchange as a characteristic symptom, we find that the Hungarian crown, the English pound being taken as standard, has sunk to a quarter of its initial value. During the last few months a stabilization has taken place, but this is principally due to an extensive limitation of imports, and probably to direct financial intervention as well.

It is interesting to note that the prices within the country itself — as compared with other countries with depreciating currencies — have, during the past year risen more than would correspond to the depreciation of the Hungarian crown. Wheat, for instance, has risen to six times its original price in the course of one year. This must of course be partly attributed to last year's bad crops. The export of flour, which amounted to 12,000 carloads in the second half of 1921, has fallen to 5000 this year.

Hungarian industry can report a generally favorable state of the market, based on the exceedingly low real wage of the worker. A large number of Czech-Slovakian undertakings, especially from the north Hungarian districts separated from Hungary, have removed to Hungary. Foreign capital penetrates the country more and more. The great French firm *Schneider*, has commenced to build the Budapest mercantile harbor, conjointly with the Hungarian government. The German *Stinnes* concern recently invested extensive capital in Hungarian iron works and

machine factories. It is also interesting to note that the Hungarian petroleum refiners, who at present cannot obtain any crude oil from Roumania, purchased 400 tanks of crude oil from Russia. The arrival of this consignment was greeted joyfully by the Hungarian capitalist press, as the Hungarian petroleum refining plant is at present working at only 1/10 of its capacity. The Hungarian capitalists are now endeavoring to do business with Russia on a larger scale. Although the industrial conditions appear fairly good Hungary's trade balance is quite adverse. In 1922 the liabilities amounted to no less than 53 milliard crowns. As Hungary possesses practically no foreign capital, this adverse trade balance actually signifies a passive paying balance. To this must be added the interest and profit on the capital invested in Hungary, and the interest on the old debts to France, England, Belgium, etc., which at the present rate of exchange, and after deduction of the counter-claims, amount to 147 milliards. To this must again be added large debts to Germany, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. Moreover, the reparations question is not yet settled; Hungary, unlike Austro-Germany, can scarcely be said to be freed from all reparation claims, especially if we take into consideration the unfavorable political relations of Hungary to the Little Entente.

The deficits in the state finances are covered by the issue of paper money. Between September and December, the notes in circulation increased from 55 to 74 milliards.

Taking all in all, we may say that the reactionary regime has by no means succeeded in developing the economics of the country in any higher degree than is the case in the neighbouring democratic countries.

The Balkan states.

There is little change to be observed in the economic situation of the Balkan countries during the past half year. The economic situation in these countries is mainly determined by the crops. Last year these were generally good. But that no economic equilibrium has been attained here either is proved by the general depreciation of the currency. We shall not discuss the conditions in the separate countries in detail, as this would extend our report too much.

Poland.

Here we may observe the continuation of the great contradiction in Poland's economic life: improvement of production, but deterioration of the state finances and depreciation of the currency.

In our last report we gave all details regarding the harvest and the extensive export possibilities:

The following statements are given by the chairman of the Union of Agricultural Organizations and by the main import and export office: After the requirements of the country itself had been met, it was possible, during the past year, to export about 160,000 carloads of corn, about half as much barley and oats, and large quantities of pulses and oil-seed; besides this, 250,000 car-loads of potatoes. To this must be added about 1 1/2 to 2 million hectolitres of potato spirit, 300,000 tons of starch and 20,000 car-loads of hops. The crops of various field and garden vegetables were so excellent that it was possible to export large quantities. The mushroom export has assumed such large dimensions that the state will earn several million marks from this alone. The export of 1 million pigs and as many geese is also being counted on. Export licences have already been granted for 250,000 geese. The export in eggs is however to be limited, and will probably not be permitted to exceed 60 carloads at most in November.

(Industrial and Commercial Periodical Nov. 8.)

Business also appears to have been satisfactory in industry during the past months. In the textile industry 90% of the pre-war production has been attained. The Russian market being lost, the goods are mostly sold to Roumania and the Balkans.

On the other hand, the state finances are in a hopeless condition, and consequently the rate of exchange as well, as may be seen from the following figures:

	Notes in circulation in milliards of marks	Advances to the govt in marks	Rate of exchange of £
20. June	256	225	20,000
20. Sept.	418	314	40,000
20. Nov.	729	582	70,000
12. Jan. 1923	—	—	95,000

In the course of five months the paper money in circulation has increased by 500 milliards, and the Polish mark is still below the German.

The cause of this contradiction between the economic and financial development of the country is difficult to explain; it is probable that it arises, as in Germany, from the complete freedom

from taxation enjoyed by the owning classes; on the other hand the huge state and military apparatus appears to have swallowed up the fruits of the increased production. But these are mere assumptions which should be tested by data unfortunately not at our disposal.

Czecho-Slovakia.

The economic crisis in Czecho-Slovakia continues; indeed, it seems as if it has become more acute during the last three months. It is not possible to ascertain the exact number of unemployed. Social democratic sources estimate it at about 1 million. The number of unemployed receiving benefit is much smaller, as the authorities employ every possible means to deprive the unemployed of the dole. The production of coal continues far below normal. The production of iron and steel is only about 20% of the actual producing capacity of the country.

Industrial undertakings continue to emigrate. A great section of the textile industry has removed recently from Grosnitz to Poland, a part of the Reichenberg yarn industry to Saxony. The great weaving factory Rosenberg (18,000 spindles), and the yarn factory in Prossburg (9,000 spindles) are negotiating with Hungary with respect to moving the factories. The glass industry continues to emigrate to Saxony. The great Slovakian iron works are also preparing to emigrate to Hungary. A part of the workers emigrate with the plant, but the greater part remain at home, without the least hope of finding work there. Under these circumstances it is probable that emigration to America will assume great dimensions before long, should emigration be in any way facilitated. In Czecho-Slovakia the cost of production of manufactured articles is so much higher than in the neighbouring countries that in many cases the Czech manufacturers pass on the orders abroad. Textile and leather factories for instance, have had their orders filled in Hungarian factories.

The smaller undertakings go bankrupt one after the other in this severe crisis. The number of bankruptcies and insolvencies rose from 40 in January to 182 in October. A large number of undertakings are only able to keep their heads above water by affiliating themselves to some large concern, or by being absorbed by some large bank. Concentration thus advances rapidly. But even the large banking houses are not able to overcome the crisis; a great sensation was caused by the collapse of the Moravian-Silesian Bank, with an uncovered deficit of 100 million Czech crowns.

As was to be foreseen, the Czech crown could not maintain its high rate of exchange. The crown has actually fallen. The prices quoted for an English £ were:

Beginning of 1922	26 August 1922	3. January 1923
277	117	150

It turns out that the high rate of exchange of the Czech crown was brought about to a great extent by speculative purchases. After the mark collapsed, Central European speculation cast itself upon the Czech crown. The Czech government encouraged this speculation by spreading the report that the Czech crown was to be stabilized at 20 Swiss centimes. The demand for Czech crowns was further increased by the circumstance that in Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Roumania, much business was done on the basis of the Czech crown, the currencies of these countries being subject to still greater fluctuations. This gave rise to the remarkable phenomenon that the Czech crown possessed a higher value abroad than buying power at home. The *Fearal Reserve Bulletin* published an interesting table in December 1922, showing that the retail trade index was about 20% higher than the dollar parity of the Czecho-Slovakian crown.

Another example of high prices in Czecho-Slovakia is offered by the railway freight charges. According to the *Economist*, the comparative freight rates, for the same weight over the same distance, are as follows:

Cz.-Slov.	Germ.	France	Yugosl.	Belg.
205	92	76	60	57 Czech. crowns.

The high rate of exchange of the crown has been very detrimental to the competitive capacity of Czecho-Slovakian products, especially in the neighbouring countries with depreciated currencies, the natural markets of Czecho-Slovakia.

In order to render the country capable of competition in the markets of the world, it is imperatively necessary to reduce the costs of production. This can be done and is being done at the present time, automatically, by the falling value of the crown during the last three months. On the other hand the Czecho-Slovakian bank of issue has thrown great quantities of foreign securities on the market, — as may be seen by a perusal of the note bank returns — to the value of about 330 million Czech crowns, in order to retard the falling rate of exchange.

The Czech bourgeoisie is also attempting to lower costs of production by reducing wages. It has succeeded in this to a certain extent during the last quarter of 1922. But this method is bound to fail, not only on account of the resistance offered by the workers, but because the buying power of the crown is small in the country itself, and the prices of the necessities of life show no tendency of falling. The whole development confirms the words of our last report, six months ago:

"A single small industrial state — when surrounded by states whose economics are in a state of decay and whose currencies are constantly depreciating — cannot possibly maintain a sound economic situation."

As a matter of fact, the present economic crisis in Czechoslovakia is much more acute than the crises in the United States or in England.

The neutral European countries.

The economic position of these countries has also improved somewhat during the last three months, but all these countries are suffering from a high rate of exchange, which hinders their commercial relations with countries of depreciated currencies. For this reason the unemployment is relatively very great in these countries.

Switzerland.

The economic crisis is still on in Switzerland, although a certain improvement may be observed. The number of unemployed, which reached its maximum in March 1922 — 100,000 fully unemployed — fell to 50,000 by October. 400 million francs are said to have been expended on unemployed benefit since 1918. With regard to the position of the working class, this is said to be satisfactory. According to the "Manchester Guardian", Reconstitution 10 11, the present wages are 92% higher than those of 1912, while the cost of living has only increased 72%.

The vote on the capital levy is of international significance. In September 1921 the socialist party introduced a motion, supported by 90,000 signatures, for the introduction of a capital levy to the value of 8 — 60%. The referendum on this question was long retarded, and did not take place until December 3, 1922. It ended with a complete victory for the capitalists. The introduction of a capital levy was rejected by 730,000 votes against 110,000. This result is the more interesting in that, according to statistical data, only 6% of the population would have been subject to the capital levy. It is further interesting to note that owing to the threatened capital levy, much capital left Switzerland to be invested abroad. As a result of this, the rate of exchange of the Swiss franc fell considerably in the autumn, and showed a loss in relation to the dollar. At the present time the Swiss franc is still lower than the Swedish crown or Dutch florin.

Holland.

The economic crisis in Holland has scarcely undergone any change during the last quarter of 1922. There is still much unemployment. At the end of September there were 72,000 fully out of work. The position of Dutch industry is rendered particularly difficult by German competition. For this reason there is a strong tendency to introduce protective duties. This policy has been successful in some cases, especially in that of the cigar industry. The unhappy position of the shipping trade plays an important part in Dutch economics.

On the other hand, the foreign trade balance of Holland developed very favorably during the first 9 months of last year, and the deficit has been well covered by the revenues obtained from the Dutch colonies and the investments abroad. As a result of this we see that Holland's currency is stable, at the present time only a fraction below dollar parity.

Sweden.

The improvement in Sweden's economic situation, which began in 1922, continued during the last quarter of the year. Despite this, the crisis cannot be said to be over. The state of the match industry is satisfactory, a very important point for Sweden, as $\frac{1}{3}$ of the world's production of matches falls to Sweden, and a further fifth is under the control of the Swedish match manufacturers. The economic condition of the wood, paper, and textile industries is normal; the same is to be said of iron ores. But in the machine building trade, and in the whole iron and steel industry, things are still very unfavorable. The improvement of the economic condition is best shown by the decrease of unemployment:

The number of unemployed, in thousands, is as follows:

End of January 1922	163
" " June 1922	49
" " September 1922	35

Since then, however, the number of unemployed has again increased. Among the organized workers, there were 15.3% unemployed as compared with 27.1% a year ago. The majority of unemployed belong to the iron and machine industry. The machine building trade suffers most, especially from the lessened possibilities of selling to Russia since the rejection of the Swedish-Russian agreement by the Swedish parliament. The number of locomotives ordered by Russia was reduced from 1000 to 500.

It is an interesting phenomenon that the Swedish crown has risen above dollar parity during the last few weeks.

In Stockholm the gold parity of the dollar is 3.73 crowns. During recent weeks it has frequently occurred that the official quotation for New York was only 3.72, even 3.71, at the Stockholm exchange, so that the crown was above par. This tendency is causing much disquietude among Swedish business people, and not without reason. For the severe economic crisis into which Sweden has been plunged by the deflation of its currency, has just recently been somewhat alleviated by the appearance of American as an angel of salvation, there being a great American demand for certain Swedish products, especially wood, cellulose, and paper.

The high value of the Swedish crown naturally greatly hinders the export of Swedish goods. The association of Swedish banks has therefore demanded that action be taken against the further rise in the rate of exchange. The government has intervened in the security market and bought up large amounts of dollars. This is further shown by the fact that the amount of paper money in circulation has increased between the December 9, and 23, from 522 to 547 million crowns.

The position of the Swedish working class has altered but little of recent months. The Swedish capitalists complain of high wages. According to a comparative table drawn up by them, a London worker has to work 1,415 hours to earn the sum which a Stockholm workman earns in 1,133 hours. In spite of this, there have been no great labor conflicts; the wage agreements, which expired on September 30, were automatically renewed for another year, as neither employers nor employed gave notice of withdrawal from the agreements. The eight hour day law was extended for a further three years.

The Krupp concession

By E. (Moscow).

On January 16 the Council of People's Commissaries confirmed the amended contract made with the firm of Friedrich Krupp. The contract is one of the most important concessions granted by the Soviet government.

The Russian government grants 25,000 desyatines of land to the firm, in the Saalsk district, in the Don Province, for purposes of carrying on rational agricultural activities without exhausting the fertility of the soil.

The concessionaire has no right to sub-lease the conceded ground, or any part of it, without the consent of the government.

The amount of the proceeds to be delivered up to the state is 17.5 per cent of the total proceeds of the crops, delivered free on rail to the nearest railway station. The government reserves the right to purchase the remainder of the harvest, at the prices ruling on the Rotterdam corn exchange, the difference in freight and other costs being deducted.

With the exception of the product tax and the cartage tax, the concessionaire engages to pay all other general taxes.

The concessionaire submits to all decrees and regulations of the Russian government, including those of the code of labor laws.

The concessionaire pays the full customs dues, except for those goods which he imports under the control of the government, according to the general economic plan, for the needs of his enterprise.

After the expiration of the term of the contract, the concessionaire is bound to hand over the whole undertaking, in perfect running order, to the government, with all proper equipment, based on the average amount and quality of the equipment between the twelfth and eighteenth years of the contract.

The government has the right to repurchase the undertaking after the expiration of 12 years from the time when the contract comes into force.

All undertakings are subject to the superintendence of the government inspection.

The original concessionary contract with the firm of Krupp was signed in March, 1922, and was to come into force on April 1, 1922; Krupp, however, delayed execution on various grounds, and later in the year resumed negotiations which ended in the signing of the slightly amended contract summarized above.

The financial situation in Brazil

By A. Pereira (Rio de Janeiro).

The president of the Brazilian republic, Arthur Bernardes, who has been in office since November 15, 1922, recently submitted to the Parliament a report on the financial situation of the country.

"Of recent years", says Mr. Bernardes' report, "the fever for business expansion has grown enormously, without there being at the same time the slightest attempt at ensuring the requisite means for payment or maintenance. It will suffice if we recollect that in the course of the last few years new and gigantic enterprises of every description have swallowed up over 2 million contos de reis (1 conto de reis, or 1000 milreis, being equal to about 120 dollars at the present rate of exchange), over and beyond the regular budget income, and that these sums have been raised by various foreign and internal loans involving all sorts of obligations, many of them shamefully high".

Calculating the present value of the milreis at a rate of exchange of 9 pence — par value being 27 pence! — the total foreign debt of Brazil amounts to no less than 4,200,524 contos de reis. The internal debt amounts to 2,438,104 contos de reis, so that the total burden of indebtedness resting on the country is 6,638,628 contos de reis, requiring an annual payment of no less than 307,504 contos de reis as interest, a crushing and disastrous burden.

In order to give the outside world an idea of what these figures mean it must be mentioned that the revenue of 744,890 contos de reis provided for by the state budget for 1923, is confronted with a total expenditure of no less than 1,240,750 contos de reis, which gives a deficit of 495,860 contos de reis. Although the budget deficit has long become a permanent institution in the Brazilian republic, the country has never yet had one of such dimensions.

Apart from this, the naval and military estimates alone swallow up at least 250,000 contos de reis, that is, more than 30% of the revenue provided, and 20% of the ordinary budget expenditure. This proves that though Brazil only played a part in the last great war for "right and civilization", she is thoroughly capable of taking the part of a super in the weird farce of armed peace now being performed by the great powers.

But how is the Brazilian government to meet the frightful demands required of it? Let us hear Brazil's own melancholy confession:

"We honestly and candidly admit that the means at present at our disposal, for meeting this most difficult situation, are practically nil."

That is a plain declaration of bankruptcy! "But that is really frightful!" shouted a deputy, when criticising the government's report.

It is not difficult to predict the effects of this sorry state of affairs on the masses of the working people. The existing taxes will be raised, and a number of new ones will be introduced. This implies increased prices in the country itself. Public and private undertakings will slacken work, trade and industry will decline, and tens of thousands of workers will be condemned to unemployment.

Brazil is still a young country, with inexhaustible natural resources, and is still in the midst of an ascending phase of capitalism. The present crisis could thus be overcome with comparative ease. But it must be recollected that Brazil's position as a semi-colonial country chains it to the great financial powers of the world — England, France, and the United States, and she is thus affected by all reverses suffered by these countries. Given a normal economic situation all over the world, Brazil — even the present bourgeois Brazil — could easily overcome the existing severe crisis. But her internal and external dependence on the general world situation, drifting to ruin and collapse, forces Brazil to share all the consequences and accompanying phenomena of this world situation, so that despite all her natural resources she is a country tottering on the verge of bankruptcy.

It is another clear and striking example of the inevitable results of the fatal contradictions inherent in capitalist rule.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Trade Union Movement in Holland

By Reesna (Amsterdam).

The economic situation in Holland continues to be bad. Unemployment is increasing, while the funds of the reformist and Christian unions will soon no longer be able to pay further un-

employment benefit. A conference held by these unions at the end of December came to the conclusion that if the government does not raise its contributions, the trade unions will be forced to transfer the whole task of caring for the unemployed onto the government. The number of unemployed throughout the country at present amounts to about 150,000. According to the statements of the Amsterdam labor bureau, unemployment varies from 2.4 per cent among the bakers, to 14.3—15.3 per cent among the transport workers, carpenters, building workers, and metal workers.

The revolutionary unemployment committees are, on their part, extremely active in the unemployed question. On December 26, these committees held a joint conference with the syndicalist trade unions at The Hague. 1,200 unemployed came from Amsterdam, and 1000 men marched from Rotterdam. A demonstration took place, participated in by about 12,000 workers. On January 12, there will be another conference of the unemployed committees, and it is hoped that this will be successful in centralizing the whole movement.

The capitalist offensive continues, under the stated economic conditions. All conflicts end with the victory of capital. Victory is rendered the more easy for the latter through the reformist and Christian unions refusing to have anything to do with a united front with the revolutionary labor organizations.

The book printers' strike provides an object lesson in the tactics of the reformist trade union leaders. From January, 1, and 15, respectively, the book printers are faced by a 6 per cent wage cut, and by a 48 hour week instead of the 45 hour week hitherto obtaining. No decision has yet been reached as to whether a strike is to be proclaimed on this account or not. All that we can ascertain at present is that a large number of the book printers' leaders are prepared to put up with these working conditions, despite their excellent workers' organization.

And now to other industries. The seamen's strike ended in December with the defeat of the workers. The shipping companies have announced fresh wage reductions and longer working hours for the dock laborers. The reformist, Christian, and neutral Transport workers' Unions have rejected the united front proposed to them by the revolutionary Federation of the Transport Workers' Union, and are negotiating with the employers. In the textile industry the lock-out in the eastern district (Twente) ended with the victory of the employers; all the labor organizations in this industry of whatever political tendency, are very weak. In the Limburg coal district, the reformist and the Catholic unions demanded an 8 per cent rise in wages. The demand was refused by the employers on January 8. There is little prospect of the miners fighting for their demand, for out of 26,000, only about 6,000 are organized. In the clothing industry the employers are planning to impose fresh wage reductions and other deviations from the wage agreement. It is still uncertain whether a fight will ensue, although the workers' organization is fairly strong. The way the leaders deal with the organizations may be seen from the fact, that the Amsterdam section of the syndicalist textile federation was expelled from the main committee for refusing to depose its communist committee!

On the whole, we can observe the same course of events in Holland as in other countries: capital is carrying on a successful offensive against the working class, and its victory is rendered easy by the reformist trade union bureaucracy, which either capitulates to capitalism or weakens the forces of the workers by splits.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The All-Russian Congress of the Soviet Republic

By G. M. Serrati.

We print the following article, although it reached us somewhat too late, because it gives a graphic picture of the character and significance of the congress.

Ed.
Moscow, December 1922.

On the eve of our Christmas the tenth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets, the great general meeting of the Communist Republic was opened.

What the All-Russian Congress of the Soviets is, is or should be at least, well known to everyone. As a matter of fact the Soviet institutions have, for five years, been a leading object of propaganda, of study, of criticism, of love, and hate, in every country of the world. The Bolshevik revolution, a thousand times proclaimed dead by the janissaries of reaction,

has occupied the interest of the general public, and continues to occupy it, to the widest extent. The unforeseen phases which the revolution passes through, — difficult phases, which have up to now been successfully overcome by the undeniable skill and determination of the leaders — supply to all sections of society, material for discussion, for hopes and fears. Beyond doubt: on Russia's fate depends the fate of the whole world. On the success of this powerful and gigantic experiment depends, at least for a certain time, the result of the struggle between the two principles: individualism or communism.

Two thousand delegates.

The number of delegates attending, this meeting, and coming from all provinces of the gigantic country amounted to two thousand. The peoples of the snows of Siberia were represented, and those of the sands, of the Caucasus, the peoples of the Pamir Plateau (whither the news of the revolution did not arrive until some months after its outbreak) and those of the banks of the Volga; the people whose horse is the reindeer, and the people whose horse is the camel. Representatives were there from the enchanting shores of the Black and Azov Seas, where the orange trees blossom, and the orchards yield as delicious and scented fruit as our Mediterranean shores; the men of the Don valley mines and the Altai Mountains were represented, the men who dig for coal, for iron, for gold, for platinum and diamonds; the men who hunt the seal in the Polar sea, and the men who lasso the gazelle in Turkestan. It may well be said that two worlds were represented, two civilizations, which the revolution will fuse into one proletarian world unit with one mighty movement, creating a power transcending all theories.

Among the delegates was to be found the old conspirator, who had languished in the Petro-Polovsk fortress, who had trodden the path of Calvary in Siberia, who had taken part in the most passionate and intense revolutionary conferences in Paris, and had visited Berlin's scientific circles; we could find industrial workers who had worked in the factories of Petrograd and Twer, who had emigrated to America and absorbed internationalism in the gigantic factories of Baldwin, Armour, and Pullmann; there were peasants who at one time scarcely ventured to even raise their eyes, until the revolution transformed them into free citizens of the Communist republic. We could find men and women, old and young, dark and fair, of Mongolian and completely Caucasian types. Their costumes were so multifarious that they defy description. But beneath the varying apparel all the delegates were inspired with one single united thought. This great miracle has been brought about by the revolution.

In the one-time Imperial Theatre.

The plenary session of the Soviets was held in the Great Theatre, the one-time imperial theatre, a mighty building. The vast and beautifully decorated hall, once the rendezvous of the most aristocratic and wealthiest of Moscow's bourgeoisie, once the scene of the most luxurious entertainments, is to-day devoted to meetings convened by the people. The inaugural sessions of the most important congresses including that of the All Russian Soviet Congress, are held in this hall.

It must be observed that this variegated throng appeared to feel quite at home in these aristocratic surroundings. There was no feeling of strangeness. The two thousand delegates occupied the pit. On the stage, behind the table of the presidium, were seated the All Russian Central Committee, comprising three hundred members. The boxes were occupied by guests, members of the Communist Party, delegates from the factories, peasants and Red Army delegates, all provided with special passes issued with the utmost precaution. The press, fairly well represented, occupied the orchestre stalls while the musicians who played the official anthems were behind the scenes. The Great Box (once the Czar's box) was an object of peculiar interest, being reserved for the diplomatic and commercial representatives of the various nations already in normal relations with Russia. In the centre, was to be seen, the tall and serious figure of Brockdorff-Rantzau; this man, in his frock coat, seems to belong to the old order. And all these representatives of the different countries — who rose hastily to their feet at the sound of the solemn and heavy notes of the "International", the official anthem of the republic — seemed the embodiment of the whole contrast of our times, the transition from one state of society to another, from one civilization to another, the transition between the revolution which has been victorious and now seeks to consolidate itself, and the reaction which hopes that it is not yet vanquished, and believes itself unconquerable.

Kalinin, the president of the republic, first took his place alone at the long table of the presidium. He received a long and hearty welcome from all present. An exceedingly retiring

man, who still wears the black "Rubarsha" or peasant's shirt. A good-natured smiling face. He delivered a short opening speech. Amongst the delegates was a man with a great beard and long hair, in peasant costume, reminding one of Tolstoi; a slender brown youth from Azerbaijan; an elegantly dressed woman comrade from Petrograd. Then appeared a middle aged woman, with somewhat uncertain steps, gazing around in an embarrassed manner; she wore a large square shawl, as our peasants wear them. She sat down, smiled, and exchanged a few words with her neighbours. The whole had an air of admirable simplicity and naturalness. This I observed, and considered. She must be a factory worker. A few years ago she was nothing; to-day she sits in the presidency, the supreme assembly in a country of over one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants. Exactly opposite her sits Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, representative of the vanquished. He incorporates the past, she the future. I admit I was moved, and we are not easily moved.

Vladivostok's greetings.

After the presidium was seated, Kalinin called upon the delegate from Vladivostok to address the meeting. The final victory over the vassals of the Entente has restored Vladivostok to Russia. The last intruders have been banished from Russian soil by this last victory of the Soviet troops. It is scarcely more than three months since the Red troops ousted Merkuloff's soldiers from this town, which forms the main eastern point of the trans-Siberian railway, and is at the same time a port long coveted by the Japanese.

The Vladivostok delegate who was warmly welcomed by the others, then spoke. What had he to say? He brought the customary greetings. My thoughts wander. How many vain hopes of its opponents has this wonderful republic of the Communists scattered to the winds! Do you remember how Petlura ravaged the South of the country years ago, how Mamutoff's cavalry almost reached the gates of Moscow, and Wrangel pressed forward into the Crimea? There were many who counted the days and hours which the republic still had to live; but what really happened was that all who butted against the wall broke their heads. And there were not a few of them—they came from all parts of the world: French, Poles, Finns, Greeks, Roumanians, Germans, Czechs, Americans, English—all with the object of crushing the only fatherland of the international proletariat. They did not succeed.

The taking of Vladivostok set the seal on the great work of defense and liberation. All invading armies were beaten. The army of defense of the revolution is to-day a hundred, a thousand times better than before. It is the model of a good army, not merely on account of its arms and discipline, but above all on account of its moral and political power. It is the army of "comrades", of fellow citizens, of men armed with two weapons: with steel and with clearness of aim. No army in the world can conquer this one. No flag can wave long in opposition to the red flag, let the diplomatists who want to open the Black Sea to warships strive as they will, conspire as they will; the army of the revolution is unconquerable!

The official speech.

Kameniev ascended the small rostrum to deliver the official speech. A touching scene ensued. A workman in one of the galleries called out: "Comrades, let us send a greeting to comrade Lenin!" The whole audience sprang to their feet and applauded continuously, as if they were calling for the comrade who should have delivered the official speech, who had been expected, but who was still suffering too much from nervous exhaustion to be able to come. The only part of the audience which remained sitting were the diplomatic representatives, who remained unmoved by the enthusiastic greeting sent to the leader of the revolution. The applause changed to singing. The "International" was sung by all present, to slow time, almost like a lamentation.

On this the diplomats also rose from their seats, etiquette demanding it. In the midst of this spontaneous and heartfelt manifestation the representatives of the old bourgeois world made a cold, almost ridiculous impression.

But Lenin has possession of the hearts of all. All look to him.

Kameniev.

Kameniev, the mayor of Moscow, is one of the most conspicuous personalities of the Russian revolution and of the Communist Party, a member of the Executive Committee of the party, diplomatic representative of Soviet Russia, people's commissary, an administrator—a man of theory and practice alike. A typical representative of these wonderful leaders of the revolution, who are adapted for taking up any position, real encyclopedists, present everywhere, bearing prison and banishment with admirable fortitude of soul, and finding—more's the pity!—only too few imitators among the masses.

Kameniev is a powerful speaker, carrying his audience with him; and on this occasion he delivered a speech worthy of Lenin—only perhaps somewhat different in form. The speech is of tremendous political importance, it expressed the ideas of the government.

The official speech lasted three hours, and was frequently marked with applause, especially in those parts accentuating the capacity of revolutionary Russia to resist every enemy, and with every weapon. It was a political speech of the highest order. It was permeated with tangible strength of will, determination, and power. No deceptive power, not the "power" of an hysteric, who never possessed a definite idea and therefore changes his ideas a hundred times, but the power of men possessing matured and definite ideas, men not obliged to call upon God for they have faith in themselves.

I shall make no resumé of the speech. It suffices to indicate the most important points, those which relate mainly to foreign politics, and which—as expressed by an interpreter—were "directed to the diplomatist's box".

When speaking of the fundamental concessions granted to bourgeois powers, in order to induce these to adopt a policy of international peace and of agreement with Russia, the speaker strongly condemned those who—defeated in their policies of war and blockade—now imagine that they can subjugate the Soviet republic by the wiles and deceptions of commercial and diplomatic policy. With great emphasis he said: "We have made much too many concessions at the various international conferences, especially at Genoa, and these have led to no results. We shall make no fresh concessions, on the contrary, we shall withdraw those already made."

The conference of Lausanne, and the attitude taken by the representatives of the Entente and of Angora, gave the speaker an opportunity of proving that the freedom of the Straits for the war-ships of the western powers would be nothing else than an open door to reaction, an aid to armed attacks on communist Russia. But the Bo'sheviki are not so easily taken by surprise, for they represent the sole real moral and material force, whilst the bourgeois world is in a phase of decay. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that Russia is the only country able to maintain a stable and permanent government. The bourgeoisie is forced—as in Italy—to rebel against its own laws, to murder its own men, as in Germany and Poland. Despite visible uncertainties, and adaptations, the soviet republic was never so strong as it is to-day. We are able to consider the possibility of reducing our Red Army, while at the same time increasing its organic defensive power.

Kameniev then spoke of the domestic and political and economic situation, regarding trade and industry. His report was unanimously adopted without discussion, and with great applause.

The great square empties gradually. The square surrounding the building, and the side streets, are ostentatiously occupied by extensive armed forces, mounted and on foot. No one can approach the building in which the 10th All Russian congress is assembled, if he cannot show the required pass.

Two reflectors illuminate the adjoining streets, and especially the windows and roofs of the adjacent houses. It is cold. The ground is frozen hard. The pedestrians quicken their pace. One of us remarks naively: "They do not seem to feel themselves so very secure, or they would not take such elaborate precautions!"

It is naturally an Italian who says this. In Italy the precautions are always taken afterwards. Those who feel themselves secure boast of their security, even if they risk destroying it by so doing. But here, the revolutionists have learnt to be cautious, even and especially at the moment of greatest security. They are well aware that the enemy never sleeps. They are well aware that he does not hesitate to grasp at any means which appear to him to serve his own interests. Prudence and foresight are more than the right of the revolutionists, they are their sacred duty. The Russian communists carry out this duty with the utmost conscientiousness. I only wish we in Italy had carried it out as conscientiously when the situation demanded prudence and caution from us—instead of being over-confident and thoughtless.

During the night the Red Guard watches over the sleeping city.

A Letter from a Russian Worker

Not by words alone, but also by deeds.

These lines were written by a workman from the Ural. They were read at the IV. All-Russian press congress.

A few days ago I happened to be crossing the railway track at the Yekaterinburg station.

Some workmen were clearing the snow from the track. Among these, on the sixth track, I suddenly observed a man whose face seemed familiar to me. When I looked more closely, I recognized this man as comrade Trotzky.

At first I could not believe my eyes, but then I thought:

Why should comrade Trotzky not help to clean the track? He is the head of the workers' army, and must set the example to the whole army. It is just he who is continually saying that the work of restoring traffic must be aided forward before all, by those who are in office and do the political work,—and it is just he who should be the first to change words into deeds.

When I saw how skillfully comrade Trotzky was handling his wooden shovel, I thought to myself:

There is the real leader of the working people and of the workers' army. He is not only helping the Russia of the workers and peasants by his pen to protect themselves against hunger and cold, but by actual deeds. Our leaders know not only how to command, or to direct, they know how to work shoulder to shoulder with the plain workmen. With such leaders Soviet Russia is unconquerable.

I forgot where I wished to go, and took up a shovel, like comrade Trotzky, to contribute my small share to the great work of fighting on the new front, the front of work.

Ivan Gayev, (Workman).

(From the *Uralsky Rabotchy*. Feb. 28, 1923.)

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Workers' Party of America Its Second Convention.

By C. E. Ruthenberg.

A little over three years ago the words "Soviet" and "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" appeared for the first time in the program of a political party in this country, when the Communist Party of America was born in Chicago in September, 1919. For three years the ideas for which these words stand have been taboo so far as open expression in the program of a political party is concerned. They came to life in the open again in the program adopted by the second convention of the *Workers Party of America*, held in New York City, beginning December 24th.

While the Chicago convention of 1919 and the New York Convention of 1922 wrote the same ideas into the program adopted, there is a great difference in the movement behind these ideas.

The Communist Party of 1919 came to life on the wave of enthusiasm inspired by the Russian Revolution. It was a spontaneous outburst in this country of the forces generated by the first proletarian revolution. The 1919 convention was satisfied to make its declaration of Communist faith. It did that with fervor and enthusiasm, but the practical application of the Communist principles to the life of the American workers was not dealt with. The movement was too young and too much under the influence of the great events in Europe to consider the necessity of planning the slow, difficult, painful process through which the American workers would be educated to the necessity of acting upon the Communist principles.

The psychological attitude of 1919 was not favorable to such planning. The Proletarian World Revolution had begun. The Workers were on the march. The Revolution would sweep on. In a few years—two, three, perhaps five—the workers of the United States would be marching step by step with the revolutionary workers of Europe. In such an atmosphere it was not likely that the details of the immediate struggles of the workers of this country would receive attention and that plans would be formulated to make these struggles serve Communist ends.

In the three years that have passed since the open Communist convention of 1919, the Communist movement in this country has undergone a transformation. It is no longer a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm. It has not lost its enthusiasm but it has learned during these three years to direct this enthusiasm into the task of creating support for Communist principles among the working masses of this country. While it again publicly announces its faith that the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat are the instruments through which the Proletarian Revolution will achieve its ends in this country as well as elsewhere in the world, it does not expect to convert the workers to a belief in the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat by holding up the example of European experience. It proposes to teach the necessity of Soviets and the Proletarian Dictatorship to the workers through their own experiences in their struggles against the capitalists; and it

campaigns and programs of action are therefore based upon the actualities of the life of the workers in the United States.

That was the distinguishing feature of the Workers Party Convention. It was a convention devoted to the discussion of the problems of the working class as they exist in the United States today. There was no hope nor belief that the American workers would ever night become converted to Communism. The convention made the basic assumption that to make revolutionists of the workers of the country it was necessary to make the present state of mind of these workers the starting point and step by step lead them into revolutionary methods of thinking and into revolutionary action. The concrete plans adopted by the convention reflect this method of approaching the problem.

The convention got down to work without the usual waste of time in "organizing." A half hour after the rap of the gavel which opened the convention, the delegates were seated, officers and committees were elected and the convention had before it the report of the central executive committee giving an accounting of its year's leadership of the Party.

This report showed that during the first four months of actual functioning as a Party. March, April, May and June, there were 8,320 dues paying members. During the next four months there were 12,394 and the December membership was estimated at 20,000. The major actions of the Party during its first year of existence were: a United Front May Day Celebration Campaign, a campaign to promote United Action of organized and unorganized workers against the open shop and unemployment, participation in the November election campaign, a nation wide celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of Soviet Russia, and the campaign for the formation of a Labor Party.

The convention then took up its first question of policy. It is significant of a new orientation of the Communist Movement in this country that this should have been the question of the Labor Party.

The Labor Party policy had been initiated by the Central Executive Committee after last year's convention. In the early months of 1922 the Communist International had developed a tactic of the "United Front". In applying this tactic to the United States the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party declared last May, "the problem of the United Political Front of Labor in the United States is the problem of the formation of a Labor Party" and laid down a program of activity in the unions to develop sentiment for the formation of a Labor Party by the unions. When the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action appeared on the horizon, the Central Executive Committee launched an aggressive campaign to crystallize the sentiment for a Labor Party, so that such a party would be formed at the Cleveland conference.

Through a representative appointed for that purpose (the writer) the Central Executive Committee submitted a report which included an analysis of economic and political changes which are generating the sentiment for a Labor Party and which made possible the organization of such a party and a statement of the tactics it had pursued. The resolution submitted by the Central Executive Committee asked for a vote of approval of its past action and proposed as a means of continuing the campaign the entering "into negotiations to bring about joint action by those elements in the trade unions, farmer organizations and other workers' organizations which favor a Labor Party, for the organization of Labor committees, to consist of delegates from all working class organizations favoring the formation of a Labor Party".

Five hours of discussion followed during which practically every delegate spoke. There was some criticism of the Central Executive Committee for not having acted promptly enough. Some of the Finnish delegates were suspicious about what would happen to the Workers' Party while it devoted its energy to the campaign for the formation of the Labor Party. It was pointed out to these comrades that it was through the campaign for the Labor Party that the Workers' Party would grow stronger; that through this campaign it would become a factor in the life of the American workers and attract to itself the more militant elements among the workers. At the end all doubts had been cleared away and the resolution adopted unanimously.

The Trade Union Policy.

Next on the agenda came the question of the trade unions. The first convention of the Workers Party will stand as a landmark for the future historian who studies the attitude of the revolutionary movement in this country toward the trade unions. The Workers Party at this convention set its face against dual unionism. It adopted as its program the permeation of the existing trade unions for the purpose of bringing about their amalgamation into industrial unions which are to become militant organizations carrying on the struggle against capitalism.

Here, therefore, it was not a question of adopting a new policy but of finding out what progress had been made in carrying out the policy already adopted.

The report for the Central Executive Committee was submitted by Wm. F. Dunne. The report and the discussion which followed was illuminating of the basic change which has taken place in the Communist movement here. In the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party conventions of 1919 it would have been difficult to gather together a half dozen delegates who knew anything about the trade union movement. The trade unions were an alien subject in these conventions. In the convention of 1922 delegate after delegate rose to tell, not of theories to be applied to the work in the trade unions but of the concrete things which had been done or were being done on the union field.

These reports and the discussion, gave the impression that the Communist movement is no longer an alien thing in the labor movement of this country. Already its roots have penetrated deep into the labor unions. It has still many prejudices to overcome; it has a long and difficult road to travel before it will win the trade unions, but it is on the right road. It has adopted the right policy.

The convention reaffirmed the previous years' policy unanimously and urged those members of the Party who were not members of the unions to join a union at once and thus make possible even greater work in this field.

Protection of the Foreign Born Workers.

The realistic character of the Communist Movement of today was again illustrated in the resolution adopted by the Convention initiating a campaign for the protection of foreign born workers.

The workers in the basic and large scale industries in the United States are so predominantly foreign born that an analysis of American society even before the new developments, recently gave one the impression that in addition to the class division of capitalist society into worker and capitalist there existed in this country the additional division of an American exploiting caste and a caste of exploited and oppressed foreign born workers. Everything points to the fact that the exploiters are planning to make this previously existing division even sharper through all kinds of exception laws directed against the foreign born workers.

These exception laws include proposals for registration, photographing and fingerprinting and forfeiture of naturalization papers and deportation for rebellion against the exploiters.

Ludwig Lore, the reporter on this subject, showed a dark future ahead of the foreign born workers if these exception laws are passed. The convention declared itself for a campaign to protect the foreign born workers against this new aggression. It invited all organizations sympathetic with its purpose to participate in the organization of councils for the protection of foreign born workers. The campaign, in addition to being directed against the exception laws will seek to bring the foreign born workers into the unions and into the political life of this country.

Program and the Communist International.

The program adopted, as has already been pointed out, is a clear statement of the principles of Communism. It has the additional merit of being written in the terms of American life, all its illustrations being drawn from the experiences of the workers of this country. It states in unmistakable terms the sympathy of the Workers Party with the Communist International and its acceptance of the leadership of that body.

Resolutions were adopted pledging the Party to carry on the struggle for the release of all class war prisoners; of sympathy and support for Soviet Russia; endorsing the relief work of the *Friends of Soviet Russia* and the reconstruction work of the *Russian American Industrial Corporation*; defining the relations of the Party with the Young Workers' League and pledging assistance in building up that organization; expressing the need of the language federations within the Party and appreciation of their work; approving the soldiers bonus and denouncing the *American Legion* and *Klu Klux Klan* as counter-revolutionary organizations and urging all ex-service men to join the *World War Veterans*.

One resolution which deserves especial mention is that dealing with emigration to Soviet Russia. The Party declares its opposition to mass emigration to Soviet Russia and urges all revolutionary workers to carry on the struggle against capitalism here. The Party will not permit its members to emigrate and declares that only especially needed experts should go to Russia.

Those who sat through the three days' work of this convention and heard the reports and debates, gained new enthusiasm and new hope for the communist movement in this country.

Throughout the proceedings one felt something young, virile, strong—a young giant becoming conscious of his strength.

The delegates went from the convention with new courage in their hearts. They expressed this in the last act of the convention, a cablegram to the Communist International, the vote being given by the singing of "The Internationale". The cablegram read:

"Second National Convention Workers Party sends greetings to Comintern. Convention reports with joy absence of all factionalism. Convention devoted itself to constructive work of building a powerful revolutionary movement in America. All reports indicate greater influence of Party in actual struggles of workers. We go forward with new strength and enthusiasm. Long live Communism and the International."

E. C. C. I.

To the revolutionary workers and peasants of all countries!

The predatory Imperialists of England, France and other imperialist countries established their world power at the price of the impoverishment and sufferings of the millions of workers in capitalist countries, by the most ruthless exploitation of labor. But they have still further increased their wealth and power by the enslavement and shameless plunder of the millions of toilers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Nevertheless the imperialist world war and the years that have followed it have revealed the complete incapacity of capitalism to cope with the forces to which it has itself given rise. *The War has been followed by the period of collapse of capitalism.*

The World War has opened the eyes of the millions of colonial proletarians and peasants to the intolerable conditions of their lives. The end of the war was marked by powerful but as yet unorganized revolutionary outbreaks. This elementary force rushing into battle for a better future was headed and organized by the native national bourgeoisie. This native bourgeoisie having grown up and become stronger during the war, refused to remain longer in the clutches of Imperialism and to surrender to the latter the lion's share of the fruits of the exploitation of "their workers and peasants". The battle-cry "National emancipation", issued by the young colonial bourgeoisie was eagerly taken up and put into action by the masses of the toilers of India, Egypt, Turkey and other countries.

The Communist International fights ruthlessly against the capitalist plunderers in all countries.

Could it, Pharisee-like, turn its back on the Nationalist struggle for emancipation conducted by the colonial and semi-colonial countries? No!

The Communist International has openly proclaimed its support of this struggle and has unhesitatingly continued this support to the present day.

The Communist International has followed with special sympathy the heroic struggle of the *Turkish people* against the whole gang of Entente thugs. It has unceasingly concentrated the attention of the advanced proletariat in all countries, and particularly of Soviet Russia, to the revolutionary struggle of the Turkish workers and peasants and has called upon them to support and in every way to co-operate in this struggle. The Entente Imperialists who are accustomed to calculate strength in terms of pounds and dollars, of dreadnoughts and machine guns, are only now beginning to understand the value—which cannot be quoted on the Stock Exchange—of the sympathy of the world revolutionary proletariat. The Communist International, however, fully appreciates the enormous importance of this support without which the attacks of the imperialist pirates would long ago have ended in the doom of little Turkey.

The Angora National Government which has led the revolutionary struggle for emancipation of the Turkish people, should not forget this. *The revolutionary victory of Turkey will be stable and lasting only if it continues to receive the support of the world proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist International.*

What is it that attracts the sympathy of the proletariat towards the struggle of the Angora National Government? *The firm conviction that without the overthrow of the yoke of Imperialism the emancipation of the Turkish workers and peasants is impossible.* In the struggle of the Angora National Government the world proletariat sees the prospects not only of National emancipation, but the complete emancipation of the toilers of Turkey. It is for that reason that the news which has reached the proletarians of all countries of the persecution of revolutionary workers and peasants and their Communist Party in Turkey fills them with alarm.

By this conduct the Angora National Government is taking a dangerous path which will lead to its alienation from the only sincere friends of struggling Turkey—the world revolutionary proletariat and the Communist International.

In Turkey, trade unions are being broken up and labor organizations are persecuted. The Turkish Communist Party has been broken up. Arrested Communists are tried before special tribunals on the charge of high treason, and are menaced with most severe punishment. By persecuting its revolutionary workers and peasants the Turkish Government hopes to secure the sympathy and good will of the Entente pirates.

The Communist International, in the name of the advanced proletarians and peasants of all countries, whose will it represents, urgently warns the Angora Government *not to take the path of Poincaré and Mussolini. We say to it: World Imperialism still exists. Your struggle is far from ended. Without the support of the international proletariat you will not be able to hold your own.*

The Communist International calls upon the revolutionary proletariat of all countries and particularly of England, France, Russia and Switzerland, to address this warning to the representatives of the Angora National Government in their respective countries.

The struggle and the first victory of the Turkish toilers are dear to us. The Communist International with unwavering sympathy is following the further development of this struggle. *The International proletariat will declare ruthless and irreconcilable war against all those who will hamper the consolidation, and the development of the victory of the Turkish workers and peasants.*

Long live the Turkish Communists flung into the Angora prisons!

Long live the struggle for emancipation of the Turkish people against the imperialist oppressors

Long live the victorious struggle of the colonial slaves against their exploiters!

Long live the Communist International, the leader of the struggles for emancipation of the proletarians and the oppressed of all countries!

Moscow, Feb. 12th. 1923.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

FASCISM

The Answer of the Communist Party of Italy to the new Assaults of Mussolini

The only organ of the Italian Communist Party, the *Lavoratore* of Trieste, published on February 9, the following appeal of the Executive Committee of the Italian Communist Party, in answer to the accusations and wholesale persecutions by the Fascist government.

"The numerous imprisonments of our comrades, who have been arrested under the pretext of the discovery of a communist plot against the security of the state, can only be regarded as the expression of the fear of this "strong state", in the face of the activities of those who have been arrested for their "anti-national prejudices".

To defend the arrested, even to demonstrate the feebleness of the charges fabricated against them, would do violence to the serious earnestness with which the Communist Party carries on its fight against the front of the enemy, having all the political forces at its disposal. For the rest, the Prime Minister, who was himself a conspirator when Marxian class consciousness had not yet developed in Italy, realized later that the movement of the communist masses towards the end they are aiming for, depends upon the development of the existing conditions and is not mainly the work of the party itself. *A communist party does not deal in conspiracies.* Conspiracy is a short-sighted policy which can achieve no great social aims, it is not the result of a ripening of the political and economic situation, because these invariably lead to revolution. *The communists are revolutionaries, but not conspirators.*

It would be easy to designate the events of the night of December 28, 1922 as a conspiracy. But the events in France in '89 or the November days of the Russia of 1917 cannot be characterized as conspiracies. We can also exclude the idea, that the Italian Communists were waiting for the publication of a manifesto of the Communist International in their newspaper as a call to insurrection. Revolution is a serious business, a hard and difficult business, which is eagerly awaited by the masses as their salvation. Yet the revolutionary champions and leaders often suffer desertion from the masses themselves and are often betrayed by their trusted comrades. We fling out no high-sounding slogans as do the reactionaries today.

What remains clear and apparent to everybody, is the incriminating manifesto which has served the government as a pretext for its repressive measures against thousands of our comrades. Many people (not from our own ranks) have already raised the question as to what connection exists between the text of this manifesto (which, until its publication by the official Stephano Agency, was unknown in Italy) and the measures taken by the government.

Our party has had the honor of receiving another blow in addition to those it has suffered during the past months. Those who insistently demanded that an end be made of the Communist Party, and who see the end approaching in these official measures, have the answer to their demand in the official declaration of the government and its measures. Before all, it is not only the existence, the program and the tactics of a revolutionary party which has driven the police to such extreme measures, but rather its activities.

An active, revolutionary party is the worst enemy of the bourgeois class. We are proving more and more with the active help of the Mussolini government, that the "prejudices of the Italian Bo'sheviki" permeate the great majority of the workers, employees and soldiers.

The damage which has been caused to our organization by the wholesale arrests of the last few days, can be systematically repaired. Our comrades know from past experiences, that our party cannot be annihilated by any "death blow".

We recommend them now, to remain calm and collected. Long live the Communist International which has inspired the "strong" government and the bourgeoisie with wholesome fear.

The Executive Committee
of the Communist Party of Italy.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Instructions on the collection of dues

(R.I.L.U.) 1. The national central bodies and those organizations belonging to no national central, shall pay 1 per cent of all subscriptions received by the treasurers of the local organizations to the R.I.L.U.

2. The independent organizations affiliated as a whole to the R.I.L.U. shall pay to the International Propaganda Committees a monthly contribution by the purchase of propaganda stamps, uniform for all countries, to be issued to the followers of the R.I.L.U. at a fixed price.

3. The price of the propaganda stamp corresponds to the minimum working wage for half an hour's work in each country concerned. Cheaper propaganda stamps will be issued in accordance with the special decision of the executive bureau.

4. The income derived from the sale of these stamps is divided as follows:

5 per cent of the total sum is to be paid into the treasury of the executive bureau of the R.I.L.U.,

50 per cent is to be employed for the work of the propaganda committee of the branch of industry in question,

45 per cent remains for the requirements of the separate countries.

5. The executive bureau furnishes the organizations concerned with a number of propaganda stamps corresponding to the number of followers of the R.I.L.U.

6. The national centrals and opposition centrals, on receipt of the stamps, shall regularly provide their members with the required number of stamps, and the members shall each month settle with their central.

7. The national centres and the national committees of the minorities shall, every three months, furnish a precise report to the R.I.L.U. as to the sale of stamps stating the number of followers of the R.I.L.U., classifying them according to the separate branches of industry.

8. The executive bureau keeps an account of the income derived from the sale of stamps booked according to the separate branches of industry, for every country.

Organization Department of the R.I.L.U.

APPEALS

The Rhenish Westfalian Shop Stewards to the International Proletariat

The Committee of 23, of the Rhenish-Westfalian Shop Stewards has issued the following appeal to all the organizations named below, and to the proletariat of France, Belgium, England

and Germany: To the Red trade unions of France (Unitarian Federation); the French Trade Union Federation, Paris; the German General Federation of Trade Unions; the National Committee of the German Shop Stewards' Councils; the Union of Hand and Brain Workers, Gelsenkirchen; the Socialist Party of France; the Communist Party of France; the Socialist Party of Belgium; the Communist Party of Belgium; the English Labour Party; the English Independent Labour Party; the Communist Party of England; the United Social Democratic Party of Germany; the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (Ledebour); the Communist Party of Germany; the Committee of Action of the Communist Parties of France and Germany; the Amsterdam Trade Union International; the Red International of Labor Unions, Moscow; the Second Socialist International, London; the Third Communist International, Moscow; the Working Union of Socialist Parties, Vienna. Comrades!

The military occupation of the Rhine has initiated an economic war, which threatens to undermine Rhenish-Westphalia and to destroy the proletarian masses. The economic life is paralyzed and the railroads are dead.

Want and misery are the order of the day. Prices are rising enormously. Every new order issued by the German government forces the workers to fresh acts of sabotage, and drives them nearer to ruin. Every new order of the French military authorities, robs the proletarian masses of their liberty and works further havoc. It may last five years, says Poincaré. A struggle to the death, answer the German nationalists. The French military is being further mobilized and reinforced. In the unoccupied regions, the Fascist bands are continually arming. *A Rhineland Republic, is Poincaré's slogan; a Fascist coup, is the slogan of the German nationalists.*

The economic war threatens to develop into a military war, with hard-grenades, poison gas and bombs. The destruction of the Ruhr basin will mean the destruction of Europe and the complete enslavement of the German and French proletarian masses. In the meanwhile, negotiations are going on between the French and German industrial barons, at the expense of the proletariat. The representative of the Left French bloc, *Herriot*, announces his approval of *Hugo Stinnes' program*. Stinnes and Loucheur are aiming at an "understanding". But should this "understanding" come about, and should the program of Hugo Stinnes be adopted, then the working masses will be thrown on the street, production reduced, the incentive to work undermined, the economy ruined; profits however, will increase.

Thus the Rhenish-Westfalian proletariat is threatened by these two dangers, — an *imperialist war* or a *capitalist understanding*, both of which spell misery and ruin for the proletariat.

The peace of Europe is in danger, and its economy threatened by the brutal capitalist offensive on both sides of the Rhine. And in the face of all these dangers, a large section of the proletariats is looking passively on.

Where are the strong trade unions with their millions of workers? Where is the defensive action against German and French imperialism and militarism, and the French and German capitalist offensives? The disappointed masses are driven into the arms of the National Socialist agents and provocateurs, because they see that large labor organizations refuse to fight. On the 24th of January, immediately after the forcible occupation of Rhenish-Westphalia, a conference of the Miners' Shop Stewards put up demands for the organization of the defensive action against the outrage perpetrated upon the Rhenish-Westfalian proletariat, and for the common defensive action of the German and French proletariat. These demands are as follows:

1. Fight along the whole line against every nationalist war;
2. Withdrawal of the Allied occupation troops;
3. Overthrow of the Cuno government; formation of a workers' government, which shall immediately conclude a defensive and offensive alliance with Soviet Russia and pursue a policy of proletarian reconstruction, together with the proletariat of the Entente countries.
4. Immediate disarmament of counter-revolutionary bands throughout Germany and the arming of the organized working class.
5. Immediate introduction of the six hour shift for the increase of production in the mines. No infringement of the eight hour day in the remaining industries.
6. Adequate wage increases, the provision of large quantities of cheap food, the immediate payment of a hundred thousand mark bonus to all workers, officials, war invalids and social dependents in the same way as the state employees have received it.
7. The abolition of the 10% wage tax.
8. The immediate release of all proletarian political prisoners in Germany and France.

9. Full payment for time lost through strikes.

The Committee of 23 of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards, appeals to you, Labor Organizations and Labor Parties, in the hour of greatest danger, and calls upon you to convene immediately

a conference of all the above mentioned organizations which shall formulate a series of concrete measures towards the realization of these demands, combatting Poincarism and Fascism, organizing the struggle against the capitalist offensive in France and Germany, and protecting the proletarian masses against the threatening ruin. The great masses behind these organizations represent a force which, in the fight, is capable of solving all questions.

The defensive struggle must be taken up at once!

Whoever refuses to join in this defensive struggle is a supporter of the bourgeoisie and will have to shoulder the full responsibility for the final destruction of Central Europe, which will drag the whole world into the economic abyss. This would mean the downfall and the complete enslavement of the German and French proletariat.

We await a prompt answer and rapid action. This is the need of the hour.

The Committee of Twenty Three of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards.

The National Committee of the German Shop Stewards' Council to the striking Miners of France

Berlin February 17, 1923.

To our Comrades, the striking Mine Workers of France!

The German proletariat follows with admiration your heroic and courageous struggle against the miserable conditions which the mining capitalists wish to force upon you. The German proletariat is conscious of its task, which is to show its solidarity with its struggling French brothers. It knows, that the defeat of the French proletariat is a defeat for the German workers; on the other hand, your victory is also our victory.

We believe with you, that the hour for international peace has now arrived. We will do everything to justify your confidence in the German working class.

To the united struggle of the German and French proletariat against the German and French exploiting class!

Down with Cuno-Stinnes and Poincaré-Loucheur!

Down with the Franco-German Mining Trust!

United fight against hunger!

United fight of the German and French proletariat for the reconstruction of a world ravaged by predatory imperialism!

Long live the unity of the German and French proletariat!

The National Committee of the German Shop Stewards' Council.

I. A. Grothe.

Against the Threat of War!

On the 1 August 1914, Poincaré had posters put up with the inscription "mobilization does not mean war".

And the very next day war was declared.

In 1923 the same man, at the behest of the Iron Works Committee and of imperialist reaction, ordered the occupation of the Ruhr area, and at the same time, declared that 8,000 men would suffice to carry out this police operation.

But the was obliged to admit to disquieted American diplomacy, through his ambassador in Washington, that 60,000 men have penetrated into the occupied territory.

According to his words, there is to be no excessive extension of the occupation.

"Neither a reservist nor a railwayman will be mobilized!"

So ran the declaration he had spread by his press a short while ago.

And to-day there are already thousands of railwaymen and post office officials on the reserve list, who have received military orders calling them up to immediate army service.

This signifies individual mobilization of small groups, carried out quite secretly, so that public opinion may not be disquieted. But by to-morrow the situation will have become worse. We are in a position to state that M. Maginot is quietly preparing the mobilization of several classes of reservists.

The troops under the control of the military governor of Paris have received the alarm and are prepared for war.

A criminal coup is being prepared in the darkness. Workers, be warned!

The imperialisms combatting one another are fighting more madly and savagely every day. To save their own interests,

the Anglo-American, the French and the German capitalists are prepared to evoke a fresh storm, to plunge the world once more into a bloody massacre of the peoples.

Once again we are threatened with the immediate danger of war.

In Germany, chauvinism has been hounded on to such a pitch of excitement that it may at any moment emit the spark which will explode the heaped up powder. The German people is once more seized with the frenzy of Pan-German nationalism, and the instinct of revenge awakens on all sides.

In France the over-excited nationalist bands are driving the country to a terrible fate.

The occupation of the Ruhr is an open provocation.

The Ruhr valley and the occupied territory in the Rhine country must be evacuated without delay!

The unity between the workers and soldiers of both countries, the international unity of all workers, realized in class fraternity, must save the threatened peace of the world.

There must be no distinction made between the exploitation by the French or German industrial kings, no distinction between Krupp and Schneider, nor between Stinnes and Loucheur, nor between their agents Cuno and Poincaré.

These wretched speculators want to seal their agreements and consolidate their positions with the blood of the workers.

Let us confront war, which signifies enslavement and poverty, by preparing for the revolution which will emancipate the proletariat of all countries!

This is the slogan issued by the Committee of Action which, from the very first, has been determinedly combatting the Ruhr occupation, and the concealed proceedings of the reactionaries and adventurers holding governmental power.

Poincaré's mad policy will spread confusion and disorganization into the Ruhr industry. Instead of furthering industrial development, instead of depriving the Franco-German profiteers of their gains and utilizing these for the reparations, this policy will dry up the source of wealth which proceeds from peaceful work.

Our campaign of agitation, denouncing this scandal to the world, has already borne fruit.

Public opinion, hitherto misguided, is reconsidering the matter on every side, and proclaiming its desire to prevent the perpetration of this crime. It refuses to be drawn again into a catastrophe, to again face the dangers of war.

If the workers have again to shed their blood, then they will only shed it for the sacred cause of their own emancipation. For them there is but one slogan:

Peace or revolution!

Either that peace which can only be attained by an understanding among the masses of the people themselves, or the revolution which frees them from those guilty of the war.

Workers of France!

Proclamations alone are not fighting. Events will soon force you to take up the defence.

To-morrow you will be called upon to defend your fatherland, your native country, and then you will once more march forward and die for the captains of industry who, having hitherto lived on your sweat, now demand your skins.

Either that, or you will, in full consciousness of the part you play, and of your organized power, regard the actual calling up of several classes of reservists—the actual starting point of imminent war danger—as the signal for a general strike, and will act accordingly.

The Central Committee of Action against Reaction.

CGTU. (General Unitarian Labor Confederation)

Communist Party of France.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

International School-Week for the Russian Children

In accordance with the decisions of the IV World Congress of the 3. International and the Executive Session of the International Workers' Relief, held in January of this year, an *International School Week* will be held in the middle of April. During this week there will be conducted, in common with pacifist-humanitarian groups of the bourgeoisie, a great campaign for the children being brought up in the Homes of the International Workers' Relief, and by means of wide-spread collections, money, school and educational materials and clothing will be obtained for these children. The communist women, youth and children's groups will take a prominent part in this activity.

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