The Economic Situation of Soviet Russia

By L. Trotsky.

1. The question of the direction taken by the economic development of Soviet Russia must be understood and estimated from two different standpoints: by the class-conscious workers of the whole world, firstly, from the standpoint of interest in the welfare of the first workers' republic in the world, its permanency, its strength, its enhanced well-being, its evolution towards socialism; and secondly, from the point of view of the conscious and unconscious element to be drawn from Russian experience, by the proletariat or other countries for application to constructive activity after seizure of state power.

2. The methods and rapidity of the economic constructive activity of the victorious proletariat are determined by: a) the stage of development which has been reached by the productive forces, not only in the general economy, but in its separate branches, and especially in the relations between industry and agriculture; b) the level of culture and organization of the proletariat as the ruling class; c) the political situation subsequent to the seizure of power by the proletariat (resistance of the fallen bourgeois classes, the attitude of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, the extent of the civil war and its consequences, military interventions from outside, etc.).

The more developed the productive forces of a country, the higher the level of culture and organization of the proletariat, and the weaker the resistance of the fallen classes, the more rapid, regular, and successful can be the transition from capitalism to socialist economics carried out by the victorious proletariat.

A remarkable combination of historical circumstances has willed that Russia is the first country to tread the path of social revolution, and this, although Russia, despite the large concentration of the most important branches of its industry, is economically backward, although its masses of workers and peasants, despite the extraordinarily admirable revolutionary political quality of the proletariat vanguard, are backward in culture and organization.

These contradictions in the economic, social, and political structure of Russia, and the fact that the Soviet republic has been, and remains, surrounded by capitalism during the whole of its existence, have determined the fate of the economic constructive work of the workers' and peasants' government, determine the changes made in this constructive work, and the reasons for adopting the present so-called New Economic Policy.

3. The complete expropriation not only of the larger, but also of the petty bourgeoisie, but also of the petty bourgeoisie in town and country, was a measure necessitated by economic expediency and political necessity alike. The continuing rule of capitalism over the rest of the world, and its effects on the Russian workers' state, have not been observed, and it is evident that the workers' state could not maintain itself, and the Second R. I. U. Congress, By M. Lazansky, 37.

4. The workers' state thus came into possession, immediately on beginning to exercise its power, of the whole of the industrial undertakings, down to the very smallest. The mutual relations of the various branches of industry in another one, had already been thrown completely out of balance and order long before the revolution, by the reconstruction of industry during and for the war. The personnel of the main apparatus of economic administration had either emigrated or was occupied at the White fronts. In so far as certain elements were still present in Russia, these sabotaged where they could.

5. The conquest and maintenance of power by the working class was purchased at the price of a rapid and ruthless destruction of the whole bourgeois apparatus of economic administration, from top to bottom, in every department, and all over the country.

6. These were the conditions under which the so-called "war communism" originated.

The most urgent task of the new regime consisted in securing the food supply for the towns and for the army. The imperialist war had already forced the change from free trade in corn to monopoly. The workers' state, having destroyed all the organizations of trading capital under the pressure of the civil war, was naturally unable to make a beginning by reestablishing free trade in corn. It was obliged to replace the commercial apparatus which it had destroyed by a state apparatus, working on the basis of compulsory collection of the surplus produce of agricultural undertakings.

*) These ideas formed the foundation of the report given by me at the 4th congress of the Comintern, on the question of the economic position of Soviet Russia. E. T.
The distribution of food-stuffs and other articles of consumption, and the rationing of food, are almost completely irrespective of the qualification and pro-

cession of the consumer. This "communism" was rightly named "war communism," and was maintained by military means, but because it served military purposes above all else, it failed to do more than hold back the de-

velopment of economies under the prevailing conditions, but of course kept open the way for the future. The early disbanding of the army was correctly interpreted as a reason for maintaining the working class from dying out altogether. War com-

munism" was put to one side.  

6. In the sphere of industry a roughly centralized apparatus was developed, which served in the immediate aim of getting out of the industrial under-

development of economy. It became necessary to di-

Mage the minimum of necessary to enable the civil war to continue. "Guerrilla" economy, in which large in-

vestment was attained only by utilizing the existing productive forces to an in-

creasing extent.  

7. Had the victory of the Russian proletariat been speedily followed by the victory of the Western European proletariat, this could have been to the advantage of the revolutionary movement and also to the advantage of the capitalist states. However, in view of the fact that the victory of the Russian proletariat had been delayed by a number of years, capitalism was able to prepare its own wars, and the capitalist states were able to transport the war to the Western front.  

11. The methods of war communism, that is, the methods of an economic organization, were replaced by new policies; by war methods; by buying and selling for war, Russian industry was called upon to provide the necessary goods.  

12. It is true that private capital is essential in industry, but this essential role is not fulfilled by a free market; it is performed by a centralized planning system, which is able to function only when the state is in control of the means of production and the means of exchange.  

13. Special emphasis must be laid on the taxation policy of the workers' state, and on the influence of the credit institutions on the economy. This influence is manifested in the distribution of the products of industry, in the distribution of the means of production, and in the distribution of the means of exchange.  

14. The manner of the social democrats, that is the state's influence on the economy, and the close relationship of the actual facts, as a matter of fact, have been strongly emphasized by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto."  

15. The most important political and economic result of the New Economic Policy is the stabilization of the economy, which is achieved by the transition to the "capitalist" market.  

16. The New Economic Policy is a clear triumph for the working class, and to this extent by the appearance of war communism.  

17. The most important political and economic result of the New Economic Policy is the stabilization of the economy, which is achieved by the transition to the "capitalist" market.
The British Government and the League of Nations

By J. T. Walton Newbold

During the first short session of the new parliament recently elected in the United Kingdom, there has occurred almost certainly a distinct tendency to attach increasing importance to the League of Nations. This is not only to be accounted for by reason of the greater numbers of the Labor Party, nearly all of whom are voting for the League, but also by the increasing influence of international affairs. Every party in the House of Commons, with the exception of those parties which are the most vocal in advocating isolation, believe in the League, and many of them have been for years voting for the League, as far as the present voting system permits them to do so.

The British government, which has always been in favor of the League of Nations, has now mobilized its forces to prevent the withdrawal of the United States from the organization. The government is convinced that the League of Nations is the only effective means of preventing another world war.

The League of Nations is a international organization established after World War I to promote international cooperation and peace. It was created by the Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I, and became effective on October 10, 1920. The League of Nations was replaced by the United Nations in 1945. The United States did not join the League of Nations and instead formed the United Nations as a successor organization.

In the R.I.L.U.

The Second Congress of the Profintern

Mosul and the Straits

By R. Levene

On the 30th of March, 1905 in Paris, the Red Trade Union International summed up the achievements of a period of development of the world's working class. This period was marked by the tragic events of the 1905 Revolution in Russia, which included the formation of the Social Democratic Party and the establishment of the Kadets in Russia.

The Second Congress of the Red Trade Union International was held in Paris from March 28 to April 5, 1920. The congress was attended by representatives from 25 countries. The congress adopted a number of resolutions, including a resolution on the question of the Chinese question, which called for the recognition of China's sovereignty and the withdrawal of foreign powers from China.

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In the R.I.L.U.
Yesterday and To-Day
By Gustav Mussellazaz

In France we remember the past. The revolutionists of the world have derived strength from the lessons of that bloody struggle, and the struggle continues, although it behoves the other countries. We had believed that it would be ours to bear the brunt of the fight, but the unrelenting struggle continues, now limping on the outskirts of the old world along the new path pointed out by the Russian Socialists. Meanwhile, the European socialist movement, in all its forms, has been placed under a closer watch.

And now we are in Moscow, somewhat torn from our expected journey, but confident by new methods, but nevertheless we are in Moscow.

From the very first day of its establishment, the R.I.U.I. expressed its determination to place the task of organizing the trade union movement in the hands of the revolutionary international. The organization and activity of the trade union movement is the concern of every socialist, and the R.I.U.I. cannot look on and see the revolutionary trade union movement of its own country become a go-between in the trade union movement of other countries. We must take into consideration the whole trade union movement of our country, while the international movement is merely an European monopoly. Of course, the moment when the trade union movement is developing rapidly in Japan and China, the international movement cannot afford to ignore the fact that forces are always on the rise. In these countries the labor movement as a whole is already placed under the influence of the R.I.U.I. and the Comintern, and the need for even more clarity is being felt.

The Second Congress of the R.I.U.I. met in a Paris in June, in all its parts, to discuss the problems of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The task of the revolutionary propaganda committees was to unite the revolutionary trade unions, and to strive to create a united international in each branch of production. A number of the revolutionary organizations were already working to form a trade union and craft international, the congress was given a plan.

The Second Congress again emphasized the necessity of forming a trade union and craft international. Russia, if it desired to become a member of the socialist camp, must organize a trade union movement, and to do so, it must organize international trade union movement, but to enter the Comintern, and to do so, it must organize all the trade unions in Russia, for the emancipation of the working class.

The union movement in the colonial and quasi-colonial countries. We must take into consideration the whole movement in order to organize the international. The union movement in the colonial and quasi-colonial countries is of utmost importance, and the international movement must be placed on the same lines as before the Congress. The union movement in the colonial and quasi-colonial countries depends on the success of the unions.

In Moscow, we are in a country where the revolutionary trade unions are already organizing, and we are under the influence of the Comintern, and the need for even more clarity is being felt.

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The International Conference in Essen

The demonstrations announced to take place against the occupation of the Ruhr valley, at which French, English, and Belgian workers were expected to speak, have been prohibited in Düsseldorf and Münch-Gladbach by the French occupation authorities.

Great demonstrations in Grebenkichen and Düsseldorf

Essen, January 7, 1923.

Today, Sunday evening, gigantic demonstrations were held in Grebenkichen and Düsseldorf. These demonstrations were participated in by workers of all proletarian parties and tendencies. Speeches were made by French, Belgian, English, Italian, Czech, German, and Danish communists and trade union leaders. These speeches were received with enthusiastic enthusiasm at Düsseldorf.

The whole atmosphere was one of readiness to fight. The demonstration of the session of the international conference was continued.

Kreiksh (Czech-Slovakia) pointed out that the Czech-Slovakia Democracy do not want to take part in any revision of the Versailles treaty. They are the most faithful supporters of the Peace and Reconstruction program. At the same time Czech-Slovakia is shamed to its foundations by a severe economic depression. It is still a problem at the Ruhr district and depends on the occupation, but for the moment we must only consider the likelihood that the French will maintain their position. We must also consider the likelihood that the French will maintain their position. But the workers of the Ruhr district are in a position to threaten wage payments in France, as the best way of forcing them to end their occupation.

Thalheimer enforces the energetic attitude adopted by the French workers. They may be assured that we will not give in to them. The present internal situation makes it imperative for the German proletariat to take the foreign political situation of a German-Soviet, German-Soviet, Russian, and Turkey able to defy the Entente. The workers are prepared to fight against the occupation of the Ruhr valley with the strongest possible action against the occupation of the Ruhr valley.

Kreiksh (France) reports that the position of French industry in the Ruhr valley is by no means so good as that of the Ruhr workers and the local government. The Ruhr valley is the staple export area of the French nation and it is a main source of supply for the French army. The workers of the Ruhr valley have already made an agreement with the employers to continue the fight against the occupation of the Ruhr valley.

Prohibition of the international demonstrations against the occupation of the Ruhr district

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THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN ESSEN

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The International Conference in Essen

(Essen, January 6, 1923.)

Today there was a meeting here of the representatives of the Communist Parties of France (among others, Cachin, and the Communist Party of Italy (C.L.U.T.) England (among others the newly elected member of Parliament, Newbold), Belgium, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Netherlands, and France. Representatives of the Red International of Labor Unions and of the Communist Youth International were also present.

The conference represents a remarkable meeting of political leaders and workers of the workers of the workers of the world. The conference is a proof of the unification of the workers of the world in the struggle against imperialism and for the establishment of a workers' state.

The agenda was as follows:

1. Fight against the Versailles peace after the failure of the Paris conference.
2. Organizational questions.
3. The new situation in the Ruhr valley.

The conference has adopted a resolution on the occupation of the Ruhr valley. The resolution states that the occupation of the Ruhr valley is a violation of the Versailles Treaty and that the workers of the world must fight against it.

The conference has also adopted a resolution on the situation in the Ruhr valley. The resolution states that the workers of the world must support the workers of the Ruhr valley in their struggle against the occupation.