

measures to be brought against the communists, and against all the oppositional workers; in the second place the reformist wing is compelled to recognize the right of the opposition to represent thousands of class-conscious organized workers. To this must be added the acute political situation; the fresh attempts at war being made by the imperialist bourgeoisie, especially in the Entente countries, and the ruthless raging of Fascism. All this has forced the honest elements among the reformists to thoroughly review the situation. As a result we have the formation of a left wing within the Amsterdam International, especially accentuated by the attitude of the Transport Workers' International. Whilst in the Berlin local group of the German Metal Workers' Union a great deal of vindictive agitation against the communists has been carried on of late, and efforts have been made to expel hundreds of communists, in Friedrichshafen, a preliminary agreement was arrived at between the International Metal Workers' Union and the delegation of the All Russian Metal Workers' Federation. This agreement deals with the affiliation of the Russian federation to the International Metal Workers' Federation, and contains a clause providing that the resolutions passed by the conference of the Transport Workers (held 6 days later) are to be laid before all metal workers' organizations for discussion. Of course, it is not a question of discussion. Discussions can and ought to be held, but when it is a matter of forming a fighting front against reaction, then we must proceed to deeds.

The international conference of revolutionary metal workers, which was held in Berlin on May 27., decided to propose to the International Metal Workers' Federation, that the latter follow the example of the Transport Workers without delay, and form an International Committee of Action from the representatives of the International Metal Workers' Federation and those revolutionary metal workers' organizations which are in agreement with the RILU.

This proposition was to be discussed at the session of the executive bureau of the Metal Workers' International, which was held in London at the beginning of June. As the organs of the IMWF, issue but scanty reports on this session, we are not informed as to whether the session passed any resolutions on this point. Nevertheless, the cause of the united fighting front is the cause of all metal workers! It is the duty of the revolutionary metal workers of all countries to exert every endeavor to establish the international united front among all metal workers, and to this end they must carry on energetic propaganda in every direction. At the moment when Fascism is more rampant than ever in Italy, France, Germany, Poland, and other countries — at this moment the international working class must not lose an instant, but must set to work to establish and develop its self-defence organizations!

## ECONOMICS

### The Struggle for an Increase in Real Wages

By G. Fink (Berlin).

Whilst for some months, there was no great strike movement to be observed in Germany there have now not only been great successive struggles (Ruhr strike, Upper Silesia, agricultural workers' strike in Upper Silesia and East Prussia and the strike of the metal workers in Berlin), but a large number of smaller struggles have also broken out in every part of the country (seamen, transport workers in Hanover, Berlin wood-workers, etc.) expressive of spontaneous demands for higher wages and bonuses. These demands have generally gone beyond nominal rises in wages and bonuses. The struggle for a real and actual rise in wages has begun.

For years the real wage of the workers has fallen lower and lower, the standard of living has sunk further and further. But never have the great working masses demanded a rise in real wages so extensively as during the course of recent developments. The acute worsening of the position of the German working class during the current year, caused to a great extent by the "stabilization of the mark", has convinced broad masses of workers that the tactics adopted up to now, of fighting for nominal wages which limp slowly after the rises in prices, has got to be changed.

Today one of the most important questions for the working class is, therefore, the problem of how to put a stop to the

depreciation of the real wages. In Germany the state of affairs is such that the paper mark is only valid currency among retail dealers, workers, clerks, officials, and at the Reichsbank. Not only the importers of foreign goods, but also the manufacturers and wholesale dealers, invoice their goods in foreign currencies, or with the aid of an index figure; and though a great part of these accounts are paid in paper marks, it is at the corresponding rate of exchange of gold, dollar, or guilder that the invoice is made out.

It is only the retail dealer who is obliged to price his goods in paper marks; the demand for a price enabling him to repurchase fresh supplies renders him, however, to a certain extent, independent of the risk involved in the depreciation of the mark. The paper mark credits granted by the Reichsbank enable the German capitalists to do excellent business at the expense of the workers, for they pay the credits back again three months later in depreciated marks. Thus the mark risk is thrust entirely upon the shoulders of the workers, clerks and officials.

The workers of every party are agreed that the depreciation of real wages must be put a stop to. The question is how to stop it. One and the same demand has been formulated under varying designations in the resolutions passed in the factories and workshops all over the country: "gold wages", "peace wages", "stable value wages", "payment in gold marks", "payment in dollars", etc. The trade union bureaucrats have tried to utilize this confusion of ideas for their own purposes. They saw that it was no longer possible — as it still was in the autumn — to suppress all discussion on "gold wages", and to restrain the workers from urging their demands. Thus a large section of the press of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany propagated the demand for "gold wages". The workers were in many cases of the opinion that a "gold wage" signified a peace wage, that is, the amount in paper marks, corresponding to about 32 to 46 gold marks. While the workers expected this, the trade union leaders idea of a "gold wage" was merely the maintenance of the present wages.

The demand for the gold wage has now been replaced by that for the so-called "stable value wage", the stability of value to be attained by having the wages adapted, according to a definite system, to the depreciation of the mark and the higher prices. This practically signifies the introduction of index wages. The Christian trade unions propose that the index of the official statistical authorities be taken as a basis for the increased wages. But as this index is calculated incorrectly and much too low, its employment would bring about absolutely no stability of value in the worker's wages, entirely apart from the fact that the worker gives the employer his work in advance, whilst his wages are adapted to the index at a period when the prices have risen further.

It is, however, the most dangerous delusion of all when the workers believe the assertion of the trade union leaders, that the index at least secures the present wage, and releases energy for fighting for a higher real wage. Quite the contrary is the case. The real wages are further depreciated, the depreciation legalized by the index, and a sharp fight for the maintenance of the real wage rendered necessary, but certain to be sabotaged by the trade union bureaucrats by every possible means, especially by the means of pointing out that a tariff agreement has already been concluded.

None of these demands can attain the aim striven for by the workers. The struggle must rather be carried on for a peace real wage, that is, for a wage enabling the workers to buy the same amount of goods as in pre-war times. There can be no doubt but that the slogan of a peace real wage meets the demands of the broad strata of the working class, that it is possible to gather together the overwhelming majority of the workers, clerks, and lower officials in the fight for this. It must, however, be made perfectly clear that the peace real wage does not represent any such recipe as the "index wage", etc., but that the struggle for the peace real wage shakes the foundations of capitalist economics, and cannot be carried through within the boundaries of the capitalist economic system in Germany. The struggle for the workers' government, the struggle for the seizure of real values, and for the control of production, are thus simultaneously transformed into a struggle for the existence of the working class, for the improvement of its position. And though the workers' government will not be able to pay peace real wages tomorrow, still there is no other way of fighting for the real peace wage than by fighting for political power.

English Edition.

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## The Constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

(Formally ratified at the 2. session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Federation on July 6. 1923.)

### Part I.

#### Declaration on the Establishment of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Since the Soviet republics were formed, the states of the world have separated into two hostile camps: the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism.

There, in the capitalist camp, rule national enmities and inequality, colonial slavery, Chauvinism, national hate and pogroms, imperialist cruelty and wars—here, in the socialist camp, reign mutual trust and peace, national liberty and equality, peaceful mutual life and brotherly co-operation among the peoples.

The attempts made for many decades by the capitalist world to settle the nationality question by hindering the free development of the peoples, by means of the system which permits one human being to exploit another, have proved futile. On the contrary: the knot of national conflicts becomes more and more entangled, and threatens the existence of capitalism itself. The bourgeoisie has proved incapable of initiating co-operative work among the peoples.

It has only been possible in the camp of the Soviet republics, only under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship supported by the majority of the population, to nip national hatred in the bud, to create an atmosphere of reciprocal confidence, and to lay the foundation stone for peaceful co-operation among the peoples.

It is solely owing to these conditions that the Soviet republics have been successful in warding off the attacks of the imperialists of the whole world; it is solely due to these conditions that they have been able to bring the civil war to a successful termination to secure their own existence, and to proceed to peaceful economic reconstruction.

But the years of war did not fail to leave some traces behind them. The devastated fields, the silent factories, the shattered productive forces, and the exhausted economic sources—

the inheritance of the war — all these rendered the separate efforts of the individual republics insufficient. The reconstruction of political economy is impossible when each republic exists for itself.

On the other hand, the uncertainty of the international situation, and the danger of fresh attacks, renders the formation of a united front of the Soviet republics against the outer capitalist world an imperative necessity.

And finally, the international character of the Soviet power, rendered international by its class nature, urges the working masses of the Soviet republics in the direction of unity in one socialist family.

All these circumstances imperatively demand the uniting of the Soviet republics into one unitary state, which can guarantee external security and internal economic prosperity, and freedom of national development of the peoples.

The will existing in the peoples of the Soviet republics, who, at their recently held congresses, unanimously passed the resolution on the formation of a federation of Soviet republics, is the best guarantee that this federation is a voluntary alliance of peoples with equal rights, that every republic possesses the unfettered right of withdrawal from the federal state, that admittance to the federation is free to all socialist republics, both to those already existing and to those which come into existence in the future, that the new federal state will be a worthy consummation of the beginnings of mutual life and brotherly co-operation among the peoples, already made in October 1917, that it will be a faithful support in the struggle against world capitalism, and will represent a new and decisive step on the road to the alliance of the workers of all countries in one socialist republic.

### Part II.

#### Treaty.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR.), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR.), the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (WRSSR.), and the Trans-Caucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (SZFSR.) (the Socialist Soviet

Republic of Azerbaijan, the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia) and the Socialist Republic of Armenia, join together in one federal state—the "Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics" (abbreviated according to the Russian initials to SSSR, or Federation SSR. Ed.)

#### I. Competence of the Supreme Governing Bodies of the Union.

1. The competence of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as exercised by its supreme governing bodies shall include:
- Representation of the Union in international relations, the conduct of all diplomatic intercourse, the conclusion of political and other treaties with other States.
  - Modification of the external frontiers of the Union, as also the regulation of questions regarding the alteration of the boundaries between the contracting Republics.
  - Conclusion of treaties for the incorporation of new Republics in the Union.
  - Declaration of war and conclusion of peace.
  - Floating of foreign and internal Union loans, and sanction of foreign and internal loans of the contracting Republics.
  - Ratification of international treaties.
  - Control of foreign trade, and establishment of a system of internal trade.
  - Establishment of the basic principles and of a general plan for the whole national economic system of the Union; delimitation of the branches of industry and of separate industrial undertakings which are of importance to the whole Union; and the conclusion of concession agreements, both relating to the Union as a whole as also in the name of the contracting Republics.
  - Control of transport and posts and telegraphs.
  - Organisation and control of the armed forces of the Union.
  - Adoption of a single State budget for the Union, comprising the budgets of the contracting Republics; determination of the general Union taxes and revenues, as also of deductions therefrom and additions thereto for the budgets of the contracting Republics; authorisation of additional taxes and dues for the budgets of the contracting Republics.
  - Establishment of a single currency and credit system.
  - Establishment of general principles governing the distribution and use of land, and the exploitation of mineral wealth, forests, and waterways throughout the whole territory of the Union.
  - General Union legislation on migration from one Republic to another, and establishment of a colonisation fund.
  - Establishment of basic principles for the composition and procedure of the Courts and the civil and criminal legislation of the Union.
  - Establishment of the fundamental labour laws.
  - Establishment of the general principles of national education.
  - Adoption of a system of weights and measures.
  - Organization of statistics covering the whole Union.
  - Fundamental legislation as to the rights of foreigners to citizenship of the Union.
  - Amnesties throughout the whole territory of the Union.
  - Veto of decisions of Soviet Congresses and of central executive committees of the contracting Republics which infringe the present constitution.
  - Adjudication of disputes arising between contracting Republics.
2. The ratification and amendment of the fundamental provisions of the present constitution is the exclusive prerogative of the Union Congress of Soviets.

#### II. Sovereign Rights of the Contracting Republics, and Union Citizenship.

3. The sovereign rights of the constituent Republics are restricted only to the extent laid down in the present constitution, and only in connection with matters falling within the competence of the Union. Outside these limits each contracting Republic exercises its State authority independently; the Union of Socialist Republics safeguards the sovereign rights of the contracting Republics.
4. Each of the contracting Republics retains its right to leave the Union if it so desires.
5. The contracting Republics shall modify their constitutions as required by the present Union constitution.
6. The territories of the contracting Republics may not be altered without their consent, and the consent of all the Republics forming the Union is necessary for any alteration, limitation, or annulment of paragraph 4.
7. Union citizenship replaces citizenship of the separate republics.

#### III. The Union Congress of Soviets.

8. The supreme authority of the Union is the Union Congress of Soviets, and, in the interval between congresses, the Union Central Executive Committee, consisting of the Union Council and the Council of Nationalities.
9. The Union Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of town Soviets and Soviets of town settlements in the proportion of one delegate for every 25,000 electors, and of representatives of provincial Soviet congresses in the proportion of one delegate for every 125,000 inhabitants.
10. Delegates to the Union Congress of Soviets are elected at the provincial Soviet congresses. In Republics where there are no provincial units, delegates are elected directly at the Soviet congress of the Republic.
11. Ordinary Union Soviet congresses are summoned annually by the Union Central Executive Committee. Extraordinary congresses are summoned by the Union Central Executive Committee on its own initiative, or on the demand of the Union Council, the Council of Nationalities, or two of the Republics.
12. Under exceptional circumstances when the Union Congress of Soviets cannot be called at the proper time, the Union Central Executive Committee is authorised to postpone it.

#### IV. The Union Central Executive Committee.

13. The Central Executive Committee of the Union is composed of the Union Council and the Council of Nationalities.
14. The Union Congress of Soviets elects the Union Council, which consists of 371 members, from delegates of the contracting Republics proportionally to the population of each Republic.
15. The Council of Nationalities is constituted of representatives of the contracting and autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics on the basis of five delegates from each of these, and of representatives of the autonomous regions of the R.S.F.S.R. each of which sends one delegate. The constitution of the Council of Nationalities as a whole must be ratified by the Union Congress of Soviets.
- Note.—The autonomous republics of Adzharia and Abkhazia and the autonomous region of South Osetia shall have one representative each on the Council of Nationalities.
16. The Union Council and Council of Nationalities shall examine all decrees, codes, and regulations submitted to them by the presidium of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the Union, by separate People's Commissaries of the Union, or by the central executive committees of the contracting Republics, also when the question of such decrees, etc., is raised on the initiative of the Union Council or the Council of Nationalities.
17. The Union Central Executive Committee issues codes, decrees, regulations, and orders, and forms a single legislative and executive body for the Union; it further defines the work of the presidium of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the Union.
18. All decrees and decisions concerning general political and economic conditions within the Union, or introducing fundamental alterations in the existing practice of the State departments of the Union, must be submitted to the Union Central Executive Committee for examination and ratification.
19. All decrees, regulations, and orders issued by the Central Executive Committee are compulsory throughout the territory of the Union.
20. The Union Central Executive Committee may suspend or set aside decrees, regulations, and orders of its presidium, the Soviet congresses, and the Central Executive Committees of the contracting Republics as well as of other governing bodies throughout the territory of the Union.
21. Ordinary sessions of the Union Central Executive Committee are summoned by its presidium three times a year. Extraordinary sessions are called by decision of the presidium of the Union Council or of the presidium of the Council of Nationalities, as also on the demand of the Central Executive Committee of any one of the contracting Republics.
22. Draft laws which are submitted to the Union Central Executive Committee only acquire legal force when they have been approved by the Union Council and the Council of Nationalities; they are published in the name of the Union Central Executive Committee.
23. In case the Union Council and the Council of Nationalities fail to agree, the question is to be submitted to a conciliation commission formed by them.
24. Should no agreement be reached by the conciliation commission the question is referred for consideration to a joint session of the Union Council and the Council of Nationalities.

and should no majority of votes of the Union Council or of the Council of Nationalities be secured, the question may be submitted at the request of either body to an ordinary or extraordinary Union Congress of Soviets.

25. The Union Council and Council of Nationalities each elects a presidium of seven of its members to arrange its sessions and conduct the work of the latter.
26. In the intervals between sessions of the Union Central Executive Committee supreme authority is vested in its presidium, formed by the Union Central Executive Committee of twenty-one members, amongst whom are included the whole of the Union Council presidium and the presidium of the Council of Nationalities.
27. The Central Executive Committee elects, in accordance with the number of contracting Republics, four chairmen of the Union Central Executive Committee from members of its presidium.
28. The Union Central Executive Committee is responsible to the Union Congress of Soviets.

#### V. The Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee.

29. In the interval between the sessions of the Union Central Executive Committee, its presidium is vested with supreme legislative, executive, and administrative authority.
30. The presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee supervises the application of the Union constitution and the carrying out by all departmental authorities of all decisions of the Union Congress of Soviets and of the Union Central Executive Committee.
31. The presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee is empowered to suspend or to set aside the decisions of the Council of People's Commissaries and of separate People's Commissariats of the Union, as also of the Central Executive Committees and of the Councils of People's Commissaries of the contracting Republics.
32. The presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee is empowered to suspend the decisions of Soviet Congresses of the contracting republics, but must subsequently submit these decisions for examination and ratification by the Union Central Executive Committee.
33. The presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee issues decrees, regulations, and orders, examines and ratifies draft decrees and resolutions submitted by the Council of People's Commissaries, by separate departments of the Union, or by the central executive committees of the constituent Republics, their presidiums and other governing bodies.
34. The decrees and decisions of the Union Central Executive Committee, its presidium, and the Council of People's Commissaries of the Union are printed in all languages ordinarily used in the Republics (Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Turco-Tartar).
35. The presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee decides all questions regarding the relations between the Union Council of People's Commissaries and the People's Commissariats of the Union on the one hand and the Central Executive Committee of the contracting republics and their presidiums on the other.
36. The presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee is responsible to the latter.

#### VI. The Union Council of People's Commissaries.

37. The Union Council of People's Commissaries is the executive and administrative body of the Union Central Executive Committee, and is formed by the latter as follows:—
- The chairman of the Union Council of People's Commissaries.
- The vice-chairman of the Union Council of People's Commissaries.
- The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.
- The People's Commissary for Military and Naval Affairs.
- The People's Commissary for Foreign Trade.
- The People's Commissary for Transport.
- The People's Commissary for Posts and Telegraphs.
- The People's Commissary for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.
- The People's Commissary for Labour.
- The People's Commissary for Food.
- The People's Commissary for Finance.
- The chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.
38. The Union Council of People's Commissaries issues and regulations, which are compulsory throughout the of the Union, within the limits of the powers conferred by the Union Central Executive Committee and

by the statute whereby it is established.

39. The Union Council of People's Commissaries examines decrees and regulations submitted to it by separate People's Commissariats of the Union or by the central executive committees of the contracting Republics and their presidiums.

40. In all its work the Union Council of People's Commissaries is responsible to the Union Central Executive Committee and its presidium.

41. Regulations and orders made by the Union Council of People's Commissaries may be suspended or rescinded by the Union Central Executive Committee and its presidium.

42. The central executive committees of the contracting Republics and their presidiums may appeal against the decrees and decisions of the Union Council of People's Commissaries to the presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee, but may not, in the meantime, suspend their execution.

#### VII. The Supreme Court of the Union.

43. For the maintenance of revolutionary law throughout the territory of the Union, a supreme court of the Union is attached to the Union Central Executive Committee. The competence of this court includes:—

(a) To give authoritative interpretations on questions of general Union legislation to the supreme courts of the contracting Republics.

(b) On the recommendation of the procurator of the Union supreme court, to examine the regulations, decisions, and sentences of the supreme courts of the contracting Republics, and to appeal against them to the Union Central Executive Committee on the ground that they violate general Union legislation or in so far as they are prejudicial to the interests of the other Republics.

(c) To give decisions, at the request of the Union Central Executive Committee, on the legality of any regulations of the contracting republics, from the point of view of the Union constitution.

(d) To adjudicate in judiciable disputes between the contracting Republics.

(e) To examine accusations against high officials of the Union for crimes of office.

44. The Union Supreme Court functions through

(a) plenary sessions;

(b) civil and criminal divisions;

(c) military and military transport divisions.

45. The plenary session of the Union Supreme Court consists of eleven members, including the chairman and vice-chairman, the four chairmen of the plenary sessions of the supreme courts of the contracting Republics, and one representative of the Union State Political Department. (See paragraph 61.) The chairman, vice-chairman and the other five members are appointed by the presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee.

46. The procurator and assistant procurator of the Union supreme court are appointed by the presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee. The duties of the procurator of the Union supreme court include—to give an opinion on all questions submitted to the Union supreme court, and to sustain such opinion at its sessions, and, in case of disagreement with the decision of the plenary session of the Union supreme court, to appeal against it to the presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee.

47. The right to submit the questions indicated in Paragraph 43 to the plenary session of the Union supreme court may only be exercised by the Union Central Executive Committee, its presidium, the procurator of the Union supreme court, the procurators of the contracting Republics, and the Union State Political Department.

48. Plenary sessions of the Union supreme court constitute special full judicial sessions for the trial of

(a) Criminal and civil cases of exceptional importance in which the safety of two or more of the contracting Republics is involved.

(b) Cases involving the personal liability of members of the Union Central Executive Committee and the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

The Union supreme court may only undertake the trial of such cases on the authority of a special decision of the Union Central Executive Committee or its presidium in each separate case.

#### VIII. The Union People's Commissariats.

49. For the direct control of separate branches of State administration coming within the competence of the Union Council of People's Commissaries, ten People's Commissariats are established, as indicated in Paragraph 37 of the present constitution, to work in accordance with statutory provisions regarding

People's Commissariats laid down by the Union Central Executive Committee.

50. The Union People's Commissariats are divided into (a) Inter-Union People's Commissariats—single commissariats for the whole Union;

(b) Joint People's Commissariats of the Union.

51. The following are Inter-Union People's Commissariats:—

Foreign Affairs, Military and Naval Affairs, Foreign Trade, Transport, Posts and Telegraphs.

52. The following are Joint People's Commissariats:— Supreme Economic Council, Food, Labour, Finance, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

53. The Inter-Union People's Commissariats have their own representatives, who are directly responsible to them, in the contracting Republics.

54. The departments which carry out the work of the Joint People's Commissariats of the Union in the contracting Republics are the corresponding People's Commissariats of these Republics.

55. The Union People's Commissariats are directed by the members of the Council of People's Commissaries—the Union People's Commissaries.

56. Each People's Commissary is assisted by a board, of which he is chairman, and the members of which are appointed by the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

57. The People's Commissaries have authority to take personal decisions on all questions within the competence of the particular Commissariat, but they must apprise their boards of all such decisions. Should the board or any of its members disagree with any decision made by a People's Commissary, they may, without suspending the execution of the decision, appeal against it to the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

58. Orders issued by individual Union People's Commissariats may be annulled by the Union Central Executive Committee and the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

59. Orders issued by Union People's Commissariats may be suspended by the central executive committees of the contracting republics, or their presidiums, if such orders are clearly inconsistent with the Union constitution, Union legislation, or the legislation of the contracting Republic. Such suspension of an order must be immediately notified to the Union Council of People's Commissaries and to the Union People's Commissary concerned.

60. Union People's Commissaries are responsible to the Union Council of People's Commissaries and to the Union Executive Committee and its presidium.

#### IX. The Union State Political Department.

61. In order to unify the revolutionary action of the contracting Republics in their struggle with the political and economic counter-revolution, espionage, and banditism, a joint State political department is established, attached to the Union Council of People's Commissaries; the chairman of this department is a consultative member of the Union Council of People's Commissaries.

62. The Union State political department controls the work of the local branches of the State political department through its representatives in the Councils of People's Commissaries of the contracting Republics; these representatives act in accordance with special and legally ratified regulations.

63. The procurator of the Union supreme court exercises control over the legality of the actions of the Union State Political Department in accordance with a special decree issued by the Union Central Executive Committee.

#### X. The Contracting Republics.

64. The Soviet Congress of the contracting republic is the supreme authority within the territory of each Republic, and, in the intervals between congresses, its Central Executive Committee.

65. The mutual relations between the supreme authorities of the contracting republics and the supreme authorities of the Union are defined in the present constitution.

66. The Central Executive Committees of the contracting republics elect, from among their members, presidiums which are the supreme authorities in the intervals between the sessions of the Central Executive Committees.

67. The Central Executive Committees of the contracting republics set up their own executive bodies, i.e., councils of People's Commissaries, which consist of:—

The chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries.  
Vice-chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries.  
The chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.  
The People's Commissary for Agriculture.

The People's Commissary for Finance.

The People's Commissary for Food.

The People's Commissary for Labour.

The People's Commissary for Home Affairs.

The People's Commissary for Justice.

The People's Commissary for Workers' and Peasants

Inspection.

The People's Commissary for Education.

The People's Commissary for Health.

The People's Commissary for Social Welfare, and

also, either with consultative or voting rights, according to the decision of the central executive committees of the republics—representatives of the Union People's Commissaries for Foreign Affairs, Military and Naval Affairs, Foreign Trade, Transport, and Posts and Telegraphs.

68. The Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariats for Food, Finance, Labour, and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of each contracting Republic, while subordinate to the central executive committees and the Council of People's Commissaries of the contracting Republic, carry out the instructions of the corresponding Union People's Commissariats.

69. The power to amnesty, pardon, and rehabilitate citizens sentenced by the judicial and administrative authorities of the contracting republics, is the prerogative of the Central Executive Committees of these Republics.

#### XI. Arms, Flag, and Capital of the Union.

70. The arms of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics consist of the hammer and sickle emblazoned on the globe, encircled by ears of grain, with the inscription *Proletarians of the World, Unite* in the six languages enumerated in Paragraph 34, and surmounted by a five pointed star.

71. The official flag of the Union is of red or scarlet cloth, bearing the arms of the Union.

72. The capital of the Union is the town of Moscow.

## POLITICS

### The Situation in Germany

By Ernst Meyer (Berlin).

A short time before Ehrhardt marched on Berlin in the spring of 1920, for the purpose of lifting Kapp into the saddle of government, the Minister for National Defence of the day, Noske, prohibited the communist press and communist meetings, justifying this action by the assertion that the communists were striving for the immediate and violent establishment of their dictatorship. Today everyone knows, including Herr Noske, that martial law and prohibitions against the generals of the national defence army and counter-revolutionary associations would probably have prevented the chasing of Ebert's government out of Berlin. But just as Ebert hastened to conclude peace with Kapp's followers in order to be better able to turn against the workers to whom his return to Berlin was solely due, so the government of today, in Prussia and throughout the country, only has eyes for the alleged danger from the left. Yet not a day passes on which the counter-revolutionary organizations not only attack workers and destroy their common property, but also continue, both openly and secretly, to develop their preparations for the overthrow of the "unreliable" government. The government may be of the opinion that it can keep its head above water with the aid of the workers, as in the spring of 1920. But the working class has learnt something from the experiences of the Kapp putsch. It will not fetch the chestnuts out of the fire for the government a second time, to be rewarded by being roasted at the same fire. The working class is aware that all the antagonisms existing between the government and the Fascist organizations are but slight in comparison with the unbridgeable chasm between the proletariat on the one side and the government and the counter-revolutionists on the other. And thus there is a growing determination, among the working strata of Germany's population, to defend themselves and to take drastic steps against the Fascist provocations and preparations. Even good social democratic workers who, after the murder of Rathenau, still believed that the government would drive the counter-revolutionists out of the administration, and would really dissolve the Fascist bans—even these have lost all confidence in the government, and are as convinced as the communists of the necessity of forming proletarian defence units. Never was the idea of proletarian self-defence, and of armed workers' defence organizations, so popular among the whole proletariat, even

among the social democratic and non-party workers, as it is today. The tolerations and patronage of counter-revolutionary traitors and butchers of workmen by certain governmental organs has been so brilliantly illuminated by the flight of Ehrhardt and the trial of princess Hohenlohe, that there is not a single workman blind enough to believe a word of all the talk in the official and semi-official press about the measures being taken by the government against monarchist counter-revolution.

To this we must add that the absolute incapacity of the government even to alleviate the social effects of the Ruhr war and the catastrophic fall of the mark has completely undermined its position. The German government is so weak and shaky both as regards foreign and home politics, that the prospects of its downfall naturally appear extraordinarily favorable to the counter-revolutionary monarchists. With every ten thousand mark rise in the value of the dollar the number of National Socialist adherents grows proportionately, and gathers round the standard upon which are emblazoned, sham slogans of struggle against usurious capital. Every step taken towards the abandonment of passive resistance in the Ruhr area, and every retreat before England's insolent assumptions, which treat Germany benevolently as a colony dependent on England, drive thousands of unenlightened petty and middle bourgeois into the nationalist unions, in the hope of salvation by means of a war of vengeance against France.

In this situation there is only one party, the Communist Party, really capable of finding a way out. The Communist Party of Germany demands first, the complete disarmament of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, in order to stamp out every germ of an attempt to overthrow the republican form of state and re-establish the monarchist. The Communist Party therefore calls upon all working people to form proletarian units. It is only political cowards like the social democratic leader, who can try and persuade themselves and others that to omit this necessary measure of self-defence on the part of the working class would serve to weaken the Fascisti. The Communist Party of Germany demands at the same time, that energetic measures be taken against the imperialist plans of the Entente, for it is only the most imbecile of pacifists who can hope that Germany is going to be saved by English imperialism, or by its offshoot, the predatory League of Nations. The Communist Party of Germany finally demands a thorough reformation of the system of taxation, finance, and production; for all the jugglery in support of the mark, and for the reduction of prices, has only served to increase the opportunities for the usurious exploitation of the broad masses.

This same social democracy, which designates all energetic defence against Fascism as a deliberate unchaining of civil war, simultaneously plays the part of a "radical" labor party, and makes the social agitation of the communists among the petty bourgeoisie and the misled followers of Fascism a pretext to reproach them with striving for an alliance with Hitler and Ludendorff. The social democrats will neither combat the armed enemies of the workers, nor will they endeavor to convert these enemies into friends or sympathizers by means of an energetic policy in the interest of all sections of workers, including those of the petty bourgeoisie.

Hence the lack of comprehension of the Anti-Fascist Day among the social democrats. Their press is stupid or mendacious enough to welcome the prohibition of the demonstration on July 29, alleging that it puts an end to the communist call of "Up with the Dictatorship". And yet this press is perfectly aware that at the present moment the communists are not expecting the immediate realization of the dictatorship, least of all from July 29, but that the Communist Party of Germany demands the formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Government in co-operation with the social democrats. The Fascisti and the government are naturally anxious to prevent the communists from showing their strength in the streets, from thus alarming the Fascisti and at the same time drawing the attention of the broad masses of the working people to the dangers of Fascism. The Communist Party is no set of conspirators intent on overthrowing the government by a *coup* on the lines of the Kapp putsch. The Communist Party of Germany limits itself consciously to the execution of demands put forward or understood by the whole working class. The Anti-Fascist Day on July 29 was intended from the beginning to be a day upon which the forces of the proletariat were to be gathered together, as a day for the enlistment of proletarian forces in the united front against Fascism. These intentions, proclaimed and adhered to from the day of the first appeal, resulted naturally in the attitude adopted by the Communist Party to the prohibition of the street demonstrations on July 29. Nothing could agitate better for the German Party than this prohibition on the part of the government. This same government which has hitherto tolerated, almost without

exception, the armed demonstrations of the Fascist associations, now forbids the peaceful and unarmed street demonstrations of the workers. Nothing can throw a better light on the partisanship of the government, concerning which the communists have always maintained that it acts in collusion with the Fascisti, though it may repudiate them publicly. The government maintains that it must act impartially towards left and right. But as a matter of fact, this general prohibition of street demonstrations was issued just at the moment when the workers were going to demonstrate, whilst the Fascisti have been permitted to demonstrate for months without hindrance. And this partiality on the part of the government is in favor of a well-armed, but small body of conspirators, who threaten the government itself, a government which aids them against the working class, that is, against the great masses. Nor can there be any other explanation of the fact that social democratic ministers in Prussia have anticipated the Bavarian Cabinet with their prohibition, and by reason of this, have placed the social democratic workers of Frnkfort on the same level as "Steel Helm" provocateurs.

The street demonstrations on July 29 were only to have been held in a certain number of cities in Germany. The general prohibition now prevents the entire working class throughout the country from taking part in any demonstrations of an economic or political character whatever. It is not only the communists who suffer, but all workers, including the social democrats. It is impossible for a government to demonstrate more clearly, that a blow dealt at the communists strikes the whole working class.

If the communists had really had the intention, as asserted by the government and the social democrats, of beginning armed civil war on July 29, then nothing would have prevented them from carrying out this intention. But the communists, only desirous of testing and strengthening their powers, have no idea of venturing into battle at a moment chosen by their enemies. Even the open attempt of the government and the Fascisti to provoke an armed struggle on July 29 will not have the desired effect. The communist workers learnt a lesson from the events of March 1921 which they have not yet forgotten. At that time it was the Security Police of Severing and Hörsing which marched to defeat the workers in the factories; and yet there is today full agreement in the Communist Party that the form and manner of the defence were defective. This time it was the Communist Party itself which, from the very beginning, thought only of peaceful demonstrations. It would no doubt delight the Fascisti, in uniform and in plain clothes, if the Communist Party would let itself be drawn into street fighting by the prohibition. No, the Communist Party states openly that it declines to be thus provoked, and that, after it has enlightened the working people upon the support lent to the Fascisti by the government and upon the dangers of Fascism itself, it will proceed to extend this work of enlightenment by means of demonstration meetings and street agitation. The Communist Party will examine the situation in each separate locality, and, according to the respective strengths of its own and the enemy forces in each case, will organize these demonstrations, up to the prohibited street demonstration, as efficiently as possible, but without exposing itself to the reproach of carelessly risking the lives of its own followers and of sympathizing workers.

It may be that revolutionary impatience will here and there deem this decision to be an unnecessary retreat, and it is certain that Fascist provocateurs within and without the governmental authorities will deliberately attempt to suggest such arguments, in order to weaken the Communist Party. But the Communist Party knows that it will gain the confidence of the whole working class if it openly declares what it intended and what it is doing. The Communist Party is a mass party whose tactics are fundamentally different from the plot and putsch strategy pursued by small counter-revolutionary secret associations. It needs no military tricks and manoeuvres. It leads the movement of the masses, and the real interests of the masses decide its action on every occasion. The social democrats have also reason to be discontented that all their talk of communist conspiracies is once more exposed as a base calumny. The result of the attitude taken by the Communist Party will in reality be increased confidence in the clear and responsible leadership of our Party. The strengthening of communist influence among the whole working population, as shown by the last municipal council and metal workers' elections, will make fresh progress as a result of July 29. The Party will work more keenly than before for the formation of proletarian hundreds. It will counter the Fascist provocation oftener and more energetically than hitherto, and will prepare for the last inevitable conflict even more carefully than before by intensive propaganda among the adherents of Fascism.

## The Revolt of the Proletariat in Poland

By W. Lada (Berlin).

Once again the proletariat is giving the world's rulers a painful surprise. The wages struggles in Poland have, according to a telegram received by the *Vossische Zeitung*, assumed a form which "calls for serious attention". The textile workers' strike has extended from Lodz over the whole of Poland; the factories have closed down at Bielystok, Biala-Bielsk, Zyrardov, Sochacezew, and Kalisz. The strike has developed a distinctly political character. There have been bloody collisions with the police. In Lodz and Czenstochau there have been killed and many wounded. According to information received from the official Polish telegraph agency, whose mendacity is proverbial, these bloody struggles were occasioned by the demonstrators, who threw stones at the police. This same report, as also the telegram of the *Vossische Zeitung*, asserts that the police were fired upon from the upper stories of the buildings, and that stones were thrown. The *Vossische Zeitung* even speaks of hand grenades! A general strike is said to have been proclaimed in Lodz. In Warsaw 14,000 metal workers are on strike. It may be seen that the government and the bourgeoisie are taking the movement very seriously, for a cabinet meeting was immediately convened to discuss the situation, and the big industrialists with their families fled from Lodz.

The fact that the movement has assumed such dimensions and such a character throws a bright light on the whole situation in Poland, and the situation in the whole capitalist world, for Poland belongs to the "victorious states", and its rulers have long been accustomed to make eloquent speeches on the successful "reconstruction" and the "brilliant prospects for the future". But lo and behold; suddenly the volcano of proletarian insurrection comes into eruption, and begins throwing up molten lava! And the lords of the situation take sudden alarm; they call upon the mounted police to come and help them, with guns and hand grenades, against their "fellow countrymen"! The inner enemy must be constantly watched and kept on the curb, otherwise all the magnificent prospects may vanish into thin air!

The fundamental causes of the movement are twofold. In the first place there are purely economic causes, and in the second place, those of a political character. The Polish textile industry, which urgently needs foreign markets for its normal activity, but has, since the war, lost these in Russia and the Far East, has been suffering since the end of the autumn of 1922 from the lack of markets. The crisis was particularly acute in spring, and was much aggravated by the general shortage of currency. A slight revival was observable during recent months, but there are no prospects of permanent improvement. The industrialists have resorted to the first means to hand, i. e., pressure on the workers. They refuse to raise wages, as previously agreed upon, in proportion to the increased cost of living, they will not grant their wage slaves their legal holidays and are provoking the workers in every possible manner.

Similar conditions have also prevailed for some weeks in the metal industry. The crisis under which Polish industry has been suffering for some months can be traced to the hopeless finances of the country. The attempt at salvation tried by the minister of finance Grabsky, who has since been thrown overboard, only had the effect of aggravating the situation: on June 18. the government found itself obliged to close the exchange for some time, a few months of "stabilization" ending in such a state of affairs on the exchange (dollar up to 180,000 marks!) that no other course remained. Since then, an energetic governmental action in support of the mark has raised it once more to 105,000 to 115,000 marks per dollar, but prices continue to rise uninterruptedly, and real wages to fall.

Further political reasons must be added to this. The present government, the Witos-Glombinsky ministry, is in reality a *disguised Fascist government*. Not only is it prepared to adopt the sharpest measures against the revolutionary proletariat, not only does it meditate introducing capital punishment for the communists, but it is waging war on the reformists of the P.P.S., the Pilsudsky set, the bourgeois liberals. Under these circumstances, the social traitors from the P.P.S., who attempted under the Sikorsky government to divert the working class from the class struggle by every possible means, because they regarded this as "their" government (they were under Pilsudsky's commands, in order to retain his influence in the army and administration), became angry, and no longer disdained to call upon the working class to defend its rights. Thus their deputies recently took part in the organization of a partial railwaymen's strike in Galicia; they acted similarly with respect to the Galician agricultural laborers; and a short time ago the Warsaw trade union council, whose reformist majority is entirely under the influence of the P.P.S.,

resolved to start a comprehensive campaign and action for a general rise in wages, in which the general strike, as moved by the communists, was also held in view as a possibility. At the same time, the P.P.S. deputies supported the campaign by their motions in the Sejm for the fixing of wages in a new (theoretical) currency, the Zloty (1 zloty = 1 gold franc). Everything which the P.P.S. had found just and excusable under the Sikorsky government now furnished ample material for agitation. The fact that the P.P.S., actuated by narrow party considerations, no longer put forth such great endeavors to hinder and crush class warfare, naturally contributed greatly to the rise of indignation against the government among the working masses, who in any case were not greatly in favor of the Fascist parties — the national and Christian democrats.

It is worthy of remark that, according to the report of the *Vossische Zeitung*, the strike is completely or substantially under communist leadership; the leadership has been torn from the hands of the trade unions, and "inflammatory communist speeches" have been held in Lodz and Czenstochau. This proves once more that the communists, despite all obstacles laid in their path by the rulers, are still able to seize the leadership of the working masses, as soon as these masses are set in motion, and are borne along the current of the class war.

Another instructive fact is that as recently as 10 days ago, the feeling among the working masses was judged by a meeting convened by the Warsaw trade union council to be little favorable to the movement. But now we receive reports from Warsaw that it was resolved, at the last session of the central council of the trade unions, to make arrangements for a general strike. As already mentioned, one part of the metal workers has already gone on strike. This gives the lie to the continually repeated assertions made by the reformists, that it is impossible to undertake any fight against reaction, because the working masses are "asleep".

Another point must be emphasized here. There is every reason to suspect that the government has by the aid of its agent provocateurs endeavored to impart to the movement such a character as will furnish a pretext for having recourse to armed forces in the course of the struggle, in order to be able to follow this up by an era of sharpest repressions against the labor movement as a whole, and against the communists in particular. It is a fact that the two leading bourgeois newspapers of Warsaw, *Gazeta Warszawska* (national democratic) and *Rzeczpospolita* (Christian conservative agrarian), reported about a week ago that the communists were alleged to be displaying great activity. Naturally this activity was associated with the intrigues practised by the "Jews" and "Germans". The *Piast*, the organ of the peasants' party (party of the prime minister Witos), issued "warnings" against the comprehensive "seditious" activity going on in the open country. And even now the *Gazeta Warszawska* writes about a "general strike attack against Poland", being carried on in two directions: Berlin proceeding against Poland through the agency of Jewish speculators, whilst its socialists and communists seek to undermine the foundations of the Polish state in a social direction". The difficult position into which the Witos-Glombinsky government has been brought by the financial and economic crisis renders a "communist putsch" necessary to it, precisely like the Cuno-Braun government, to enable it to drown the movement in blood, and thus to more easily present themselves to bourgeois society in the rôle of saviours of this society, and to assume full dictatorial powers. The Fascisti are the same in every country!

## Examination of Witnesses in the Belgian Communist Trial

The Brussels trial develops more and more into a complete defeat for the reactionary Theunis government. The counsel for the defence have been successful in showing up in the right light the espionage methods pursued by Belgian bourgeois democracy. The defence had called up as witnesses a number of socialist leaders, who were obliged to admit before the court that, in program and principle, the socialists are striving for the same ends as the communists. The only difference is that the socialist leaders never think of converting their words and theories into deeds. But in this trial the whole case is based on the fact that, in the opinion of the indictment, mere membership of the Communist Party and avowal of communist principles signify in themselves, high treason against the Belgian state.

Up to the present the total number of witnesses subpoenaed is 102. During the proceedings of July 17, a large number of police spies appeared in court, these being persons whose work had been to systematically visit the communist meetings and to report on the utterances of the communist speakers. One of these

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The National Labor Secretariat of Holland and the R.I.L.U.

By Bouwman (Amsterdam).

For more than two years there has been strife in the N.A.S. (National Labor Secretariat) on the subject of the trade union international to which it should affiliate. We shall not repeat the whole story again, but will only recall the main outlines to our readers.

The founding of the Red International of Labor Unions, undertaken in Moscow in the summer of 1921, was regarded by us in Holland as the first successful attempt to establish a revolutionary trade union international, an attempt which every one who is sincere in his wish for a revolutionary trade union movement is bound to support. In our opinion the syndicalist conference held in Berlin at the end of 1920 tended in the same direction. This conference expressly agreed on a future meeting in Moscow, for the purpose of defending the syndicalist idea there, but at the same time for the purpose of assisting in the formation of the R.I.L.U. The German syndicalists, however, did not go to Moscow; they were determined on a schism in the international trade union movement. After many tedious attempts, they finally succeeded, with the help of some representatives of trade union organizations, in sticking together a few splinters of these organizations, and forming a syndicalist international.

The German syndicalists also found adherents in the N.A.S. At the congress held in the year 1922 these refrained, for strategic reasons, from expressing themselves as supporters of a syndicalist international. But after the Berlin syndicalist congress they were compelled to show their colors, so that in the year 1923 the plebiscite had to decide on the affiliation of the N.A.S. to Berlin or Moscow.

Moscow received the most votes, 7302 against the 6489 cast for Berlin. This victory on the part of the followers of the R.I.L.U. is of the more importance because in the course of the last two years the leading positions of power were in the hands of Berlin, enabling a great influence to be exercised on the members. Thus, for instance, the editorship of *De Arbeid* was in the hands of a defender of the syndicalist international, who utilized his position more than was permissible. To this must be added that the members took part in the plebiscite to an unusual extent 14,447 out of approximately 22,000 members took part in the voting, a percentage never before attained even in the best days of the N.A.S.

In the transport federation the trend of feeling was most favorable to the R.I.L.U.: 2376 voted for Moscow and 536 for Berlin. It goes without saying that the federation demanded the execution of the result of the plebiscite, that is, that the N.A.S. affiliate to the R.I.L.U. We were of the opinion that we should not fear the threats of the Berlin party, to split the N.A.S. in case of affiliation with Moscow, and to form a new syndicalist N.A.S. We calculated that the members of the N.A.S. would possess more feeling of responsibility than some of the trade union leaders.

Matters were, however, somewhat different in the federation of municipal and state workers. Here 1125 votes were cast for Moscow and 764 for Berlin. Among these latter voters there appear to be some groups fanatically adherent to Berlin, and from these it may be expected that they support the attempt at a schism. The committee of the federation of municipal and state workers was therefore of the opinion that the point of utmost importance was the maintenance of unity, and it submitted the following resolution to the congress of this federation on the 8. and 9. June in Amsterdam:

"The Dutch Federal Union (Union of municipal and state workers) has duly noted the proposal for a compromise on the question of the international connections of the N.A.S. (Moscow-Berlin), suggested by the committee of this union.

The congress has further noted the fact that the execution of the decision of the plebiscite would result in a split. The congress resolves that, should the affiliation of the N.A.S. be carried out by this organization the congress will separate from the N.A.S.; it further resolves to send this resolution to all federations and unions affiliated to the N.A.S. be carried out by this organization, the congress will to pass on to the agenda."

This resolution was accepted by the congress with a large majority. Thus, to avoid a split in our ranks, we are obliged to forego affiliation to the R.I.L.U.!

police spies was asked by the defence under what legal powers he undertook the task of watching over public meetings. The attorney for the crown aided him in this embarrassing position by explaining that this supervision was undertaken on the authority of an enactment of 1814. The Belgian bourgeoisie is therefore not ashamed to persecute the revolutionary labor movement with the aid of enactments dating back earlier than the present Belgian state itself, which was founded in 1830. In 1814 Napoleon was still reigning over Belgium.

During the proceedings on July 18., the well-known social democratic leader De Brouckere was on the witness stand. The defender Jaspas asked him if it were true that the socialist party of Belgium is a republican party.

De Brouckere: The republic is the first point of our program. Counsel for the defence: The members of your party therefore espouse republican principles?

De Brouckere: Of course!

Counsel: The members of the party are therefore agreed on the necessity of altering the form of government?

Witness: Certainly; (The programmatic republican ideology of the socialist leaders does not, however, prevent them from accepting ministerial posts under His Majesty the King of Belgium.)

De Brouckere replied to the questions of the defence concerning the organization of the socialist party. Counsel for the defence established the fact that the Communist Party is based on precisely the same principles. Thereupon one of the counsel for the defence asked witness: Do you remember that before the war socialists were also accused of having incited to disobedience against the laws?

De Brouckere: Yes, here in this very hall socialists were sentenced. You see one of them before you. (Laughter.) The defence questioned further as to the opinion of the witness regarding the charge of conspiracy brought against the communists.

De Brouckere: When I heard that a party consisting of 400 members had been accused of organizing a conspiracy for the overthrow of the government, I found this exceedingly strange, like everyone else.

In reply to a further question, De Brouckere admitted that before the war, German social democracy exercised an overwhelming influence in the International. It was said at that time on the West of the Rhine, that the International was under German rule.

Another witness, Solau, president of the Belgian trade union commission, admitted that it was unanimously resolved, at the congresses held by the Amsterdam International in Rome and at the Hague, to enter on a general strike in the event of a fresh war. Several witnesses gave evidence concerning the Belgian miners' strike, the instigation of which formed one of the leading points of the indictment against the Communists. The socialist deputy Delattre, secretary of the miners' union declared that the strike originated over the wages question. It had not been a political movement, and foreign money played no part in it.

Mertens, the vice-president of the Amsterdam International and Secretary of the Belgian trade union federation, also admitted that the congress at Rome had summoned the workers of all countries to avert the danger of war by means of a general strike. Several leaders of the socialist youth organizations declared that the antimilitarism of the communist youth does not differ essentially from that of the socialist youth.

Marteaux, socialist municipal councillor at Brussels, declared himself to be personally against acts of violence, but he approved of the employment of force on the part of the working class in self-defence against force employed by the bourgeoisie.

A few characteristic details from the examination of the witnesses remain to be mentioned. The accused are charged with having jointly conspired against the Belgian state. It appears, however, that some of the accused first became acquainted with one another in prison. When one of the counsel for the defence established this fact, the president called him to order, telling him to let such jokes alone.

Counsel for the defence Rolin: This whole trial is a joke.

The president asked the accused Linkenheld if he were of German descent.

Linkenheld: My father was a Frenchman.

President: But . . .

Linkenheld: My father was a native of Lorraine, and therefore a Frenchman. Had we not four years of war for the purpose of restoring Alsace Lorraine to France? I myself have stood five times before a court martial, and was imprisoned in Germany for two years and seven months because I would not wear a German uniform.

The conditions obtaining in the N.A.S. leave much to be desired at present. The inner struggles of recent years, and the irresolute attitude of the N.A.S. committee, have not enhanced the power of the revolutionary trade union movement in our country. It is high time for a change to take place. It is urgently necessary that in the near future the N.A.S. should set to work thoughtfully but energetically, under new and, as far as possible, united leadership, and, above all, that its improved leadership and action be expressed in *De Arbeid*.

The adherents of Moscow have left no stone unturned to preserve unity in the N.A.S. Their decision coincided with the declaration made by the executive bureau of the R.I.L.U., which represented the viewpoint that the unity of the N.A.S. must be placed before formal affiliation to the R.I.L.U. The followers of the R.I.L.U. have even gone as far as to accept a compromise proposal made at a meeting of the committees of the federations, according to which the committee is commissioned to abstain from executing the result of the plebiscite, and to make immediate attempts to induce the two trade union internationals to unite. Prior to the congress to be held in the year 1925, no attempts are to be made to bring about affiliation with either of the trade union internationals.

This proposal was accepted at the meeting held by the general committee of the N.A.S. with 9 votes against 7 adherents of Berlin. The Berlin adherents have set themselves the task of splitting the N.A.S., for the purpose of founding a syndicalist central, which could then affiliate itself to the Berlin International. But these Lansink gentlemen go even further; they abuse their functions as employees to the end of actually calling into existence a new syndicalist trade union central hostile to the N.A.S. The syndicalists are thus already attempting to break off splinters from the 22,000 members composing the N.A.S. Naturally, no future lies before the Dutch Syndicalist Craft Union (N.S.V.), the first number of whose organ, the *Syndicalist* has already appeared. The most important federations affiliated to the N.A.S. (transport and building workers, municipal and state workers, wood workers), as also various smaller federations (employees, miners, agricultural laborers), will remain true to the N.A.S., even though the Berlin party should succeed in splitting off small local organizations wholly or partly from the above-named federations. The only federations affiliated to the N.A.S. in which Berlin had the majority were the textile workers (1000 members), cigar and tobacco workers (3000), and factory workers (1200). But even in these federations a considerable number would remain faithful to the N.A.S.

The extent of the section which will split from the N.A.S. as a result of the formation of the N.S.V., cannot yet be estimated. But one thing is already certain, that it will be a very inconsiderable and incoherent group which Lansink Jr. will gather around him, a group which will not possess the slightest significance in the struggle against the employers. On the other hand, the revolutionary labor movement is further split and weakened by the formation of the N.S.V., so that Lansink is actually playing into the hands of the enemy.

## The Labor Struggles in Yugoslavia

By P. Pavlovic.

The district of Trifail in the province of Slovenia is the largest coal district in Yugoslavia, employing about 11,000 workers in Trifail and its environs. There exist here three trade union organizations: 1. The Miners' Association (*Zveza rudarskih delavcev ZRD*). After the passing of the anti-communist law the workers belonging to this union were prohibited from any political party organizing work. 2. The Miners' Union (*Unija Rudarjev UR*), workers adhering to the social patriotic or centrist organizations. 3. An almost insignificant organization of Christian socialists. The first of these organizations has 6,000 members, whilst the other two comprise less than a quarter of this number.

On June 7, the ZRD, addressed an appeal to all miners, to prepare for the struggle; besides reinforcing the striking funds, every miner in work had to provide himself with provisions for two months, as the strike was likely to last for this length of time.

Within the last few days, the ZRD, submitted to the management of the Trifail Mining Co (a joint stock company with Austrian, Slovene, and French capital) its new conditions.

The demands were formulated as follows: A basic wage for workmen belonging to the first category, of 176 Yugoslavian crowns per working day, with the addition of 50 crowns for the wife and 40 crowns for each child; a supplemental payment for the purchase of clothes and shoes: for the workman 30 crowns

per day, for the wife 12 crowns, for each child 10, this being paid quarterly. The wage demands were based on the following monthly requirements in the way of food and indispensable articles: 6 kilograms of white flour, 9 kgs of bread flour, 3 kgs of maize flour, 2 kgs of sugar, 2 kgs of fat, 1 kg of beans, 8 kgs of meat, 1 kg of barley, 2 kgs of salt, 30 kgs of potatoes, ½ kg of coffee, 1 kg of rice, 7 litres of milk, 5 dgr of pepper, 20 eggs, ½ kg of chicory, 1 litre of oil, 2 litres of vinegar, ½ kg of garlic, 6 boxes of matches, 1 litre of petroleum, 1½ kgs of soap.

The reply of the employers to these demands is not yet known, but a long strike is calculated upon.

The Trifail Mining Co. held its annual general meeting in Vienna in June of this year. At this meeting the payment of a dividend of 50% (as compared with 15% last year) to the shareholders was decided upon, as well as the increase of the share capital from 15 to 50 millions.

The majority of the new shares are taken over by the "Slavenska Banka", which includes on its board of directors Kristan, Government Minister and member of the Socialist Party. The prosperity of the undertaking may also be seen from the fact that the shares, the nominal value of which is 250 Yugoslavian crowns, are quoted on the Exchange at 4,400 crowns.

The working agreement concluded in April of this year, when the miners succeeded in gaining increases in wages of 7.9, and 12 crowns, solely as a result of a wages movement carried on by the ZRD, expired on June 30. The ZRD, then called upon the other two organizations to join forces for joint action towards obtaining new working conditions. The social patriotic centrist organization UR, has, however, refused to sign the demands made, and has declared that it will not take part in any action in which the organization of the Christian socialists also participates.

After receiving this reply from the UR, the ZRD, addressed an appeal to the members of the UR, exposing the wrongfulness of the attitude taken by the UR, and calling upon the members to declare themselves solid with the forthcoming action, even against the will of their traitorous leaders. There is every prospect of this appeal having the desired effect.

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After the brutally suppressed 15 days' general strike of the railwaymen in 1920, which was participated in by 60,000 railwaymen, and which had to be broken off with only partial success when the anti-communist law was issued, the organization of the transport workers fell to pieces. After the regulations had been issued regarding the dissolution of the United Trade Unions, but before the above named law came into force, the centrists, social patriots, and bourgeoisie split up even the Union of Transport Workers and Traffic Workers into several provincial unions, and these again into several craft unions, by which process they retained even less than 20% of the former membership.

The frightful and intolerable working conditions imposed upon the railwaymen drive them to enter into a wages movement, regardless of the fact that such a movement is prohibited; that only one fourth of the workers are organized, and that the movement is disunited. After the centrist social patriotic leaders recognized that their passivity leads to loss of members, they resorted to other tactics.

The leaders of the centrist railwaymen's organization, responding to a summons from a committee of action, formed a working union for the preparation of joint action along with the postal officials, teachers, professors, and some other categories of civil servants. This alliance was also joined by the *Railwaymen's Union*, an independent trade union organization, aiming at irreconcilable class war.

In addition to the central committee, provincial committees of action and local committees of action have also been set up. It was decided, on the initiative of the railwaymen's union, that all railwaymen should join in a demonstrative one-hour test strike on May 5. This resolution was wrecked at the last moment by the sabotage of the Union of Yugoslavian Railwaymen, a centrist organization in Croatia, and the Union of National Railwaymen of Serbia, a nationalist organization in Serbia.

Despite this, the provincial committee of action for Slovenia directed an appeal on June 7, to all interested in this action, in order to collect contributions for the strike funds.

The VEJ, (centrists) sent delegates at the beginning of June of this year to the minister for traffic, and assured him that the VEJ was not taking part in this general preparatory action of its own will but for fear of losing its members; it would however endeavor to make sure that this action did not assume forms undesirable to the leaders.

On May 20, and 21, the VEJ, held its congress in Zagreb. The reporter stated that although the centrists succeeded in defeating the communists, still a great number of railwaymen are not organized at all, and have no intention whatever of joining

the VEJ. The functionaries of the VEJ, address these railwaymen in the meetings with such declarations as: "if you will not enter our organization, the police will soon force you to do so!" The majority of the delegates at the congress expressed the opinion that class warfare tactics should not be employed. The congress further agreed that in the future, even severer measures should be taken against the communist "epidemic", and against the RILU.

The congress was naturally accorded full approval by the bourgeois press, and the type of "action" announced by these "leaders" received its due meed of praise and patronage.

The VEJ, has adopted an equally treacherous attitude in international questions. The resolutions passed by the Berlin International Conference of Transport Workers, held on May 23, and 24., were not even published.

The independent Railwaymen's Union in view of the forthcoming action has had to depend on such conscienceless and unreliable "allies" as the centrists; to this must be added the additional disadvantage that the central committee of action contained high ministerial officials, who took part in the decisions, and sabotaged the acceptance of any concrete resolutions at the June conference of all the committees of action. Under these circumstances, the Railwaymen's Union came to an agreement with the provincial committee of action for Slovenia to organize a separate action for this province. This resolution was passed at the session held on June 18, of this year, and at the same time mistrust in the central committee of action was also expressed.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The Financial Policy of Soviet Russia

Extract from the report given by Comrade Sokolnikov  
(People's Commissary for Finance)  
at the session of the All Russian Central Executive Committee  
held on July 3, 1923.

#### On the road to health.

The two main questions of our financial policy, the limitation of the issue of banknotes, and the financing of industry, are closely bound up with one another.

In order to grasp the connection between the two, we must divide our information budget for the year 1922/23 into two parts. One part, the regular budget, represents the whole of our current revenues and expenditure. The second part, the extraordinary budget, would contain our extraordinary expenditure for the reconstruction of our economy. The proportions would then be such, in a budget totalling about 1400 million gold roubles, that 1050 millions would be required for the regular expenditure (state apparatus, state defence, cultural needs, etc.), whilst 350 millions of gold roubles would represent the extraordinary budget, the sums required to cover the deficit in the transport service and industry, and for aiding agriculture.

If we were to divide our revenues in a similar manner, we should arrive at the following result: Our revenues from taxes in cash and in kind amount to about 1050 gold roubles from state undertakings and credit operations. The amount of our deficit not covered by credit operations amounts to about 350 million gold roubles; this can only be covered by the issue of banknotes. Thus the 350 million gold roubles, estimated in the extraordinary budget for extraordinary expenditure, would have to be set against the extraordinary revenues of approximately the same value.

It will be seen from these figures that during the current year our state has been operating on a more or less firm financial foundation with regard to its normal expenditure.

This has, of course, only been possible by the severest restriction of all state expenditure, and the general level of our state existence is still exceedingly low. But, our state has a fairly secure position at this level, which could not have been maintained a year ago, when our state economy was being operated on a still more modest scale.

This comparison of ordinary and extraordinary expenditure logically points out our task: in what manner can we wipe out the deficit in our industry and transport, and in what manner can we find taxes and means of revenue enabling us to cover this decreasing deficit by normal taxation and income, not by the inadmissible means of issuing fresh banknotes of depreciating value.

#### Financial economy and industry.

During the current year, transport, industry, and agriculture have been subsidised at the expense of the state by a total amount of about 350 million gold roubles, of which indu-

stry alone has received about 140 to 150 million gold roubles for replacing its fixed capital and supplementing its circulating capital. State orders have also contributed to improving the situation of industry. The deficit is very great in the transport service. This year it exceeds 140 million gold roubles. But of this a great part is employed in paying for consignments ordered by state industry. If we take all the factors into consideration, we may say that our state is no longer living at the expense of its industry. New life flows from the state reserves to industry and transport, rendering their restoration and revival possible.

At one time state industry and state finance were not separated at all. Everything which belonged to industry was equally at the disposal of the state, and everything belonging to the state belonged equally to industry. The result of this system was that, as industry was still in possession of old reserves, and could use up its fixed and circulating capital, and as, on the other hand, the state had but scanty cash reserves in its treasury, the state existed on the fixed and circulating capital of industry.

All this lasted until the beginning of the year 1922. At the beginning of 1922 it was decided to pass from the so-called fixed budget (which was accepted at the end of 1921 and was only three months in force) to the provisional budget, on the principle that everything supplied by industry to the state was to be paid for by the latter. State power and state industry were juridically separated. It was, however, not possible to carry this measure through completely everywhere. But, by the end of the summer, thanks to the improvement in the Soviet finances, due to the development of the taxation apparatus and to the success of the bread loan, this defect was, to a great extent, remedied.

In the autumn of 1922 our taxation revenues and the establishment of a sound economic basis began to assume definite shape, and we were successful in accomplishing the transition to the system of paying the real cost prices.

It is, in any case, an abnormal phenomenon for industry and transport to be nourished at the expense of the budget, that is, by means of resort to the revenues of taxation, paid in the main by the peasantry. There is no doubt whatever but that we must aid industry and transport by state subsidies, if they are to make the progress which it is necessary that they should make. And this we shall have to do not only for the current year, but for several years to come. We must make it clear to the masses of the peasantry that such a policy is not only in the interest of industry, but at the same time in the interest of our economy as a whole, as no real improvement in the agricultural situation is possible without a revival in industry and transport.

It is probable that the amounts to be expended by the state for replacing fixed and circulating capital in industrial undertakings will be less next year than this. It is possible that next year we shall not yet be able to reduce the very considerable subsidy allotted to the Don basin. But with regard to naphtha production we may confidently reckon upon not being again obliged, next year, to expend 30 millions, as this year it was necessary to supply supplementary capital.

The metallurgical industry, which received 35 million gold roubles in the current year, will not need any very extensive financial aid next year; it will probably suffice if we confine ourselves to orders.

The prospects for next year, thus viewed, are more or less optimistic. The current year (1922/23) represents an exceptional year in respect to the great sacrifices which the state has been obliged to make for the support of industry.

With respect to electrification, we must draw up the program of technical revolution for Russia, and must also carry out this program; but at the same time we have to realize that the execution of the program is only possible to a certain extent.

#### State credits to industry.

A year ago industrial credits did not yet play any extensive part. The situation was changed by the decree imparting to the state bank the right of issuing banknotes. In order to give an idea of the extent of the credit operations of the state bank, I may mention that between May 1, and the middle of June trade and industry received credits from the state bank to the value of about 60 million gold marks. If the granting of credits continues at this rate, it would signify half a milliard gold roubles for a single year.

We see that the debt owed by industry to the state bank amounts to something less than 100 million gold roubles. At the same time, industry owes something more than 10 million gold roubles to the other bank, the industrial bank. These figures are in themselves, of course, very insignificant in comparison with pre-war figures. But in comparison with the figures of a few months ago, or of a year ago, they signify a great step forward in the direction of facilitating loan operations for industry.

When the question of the establishment of a special industrial bank was raised about a year ago, the financial commissariat took up an attitude unfavorable to this proposition, maintaining that so long as industry was working with a deficit, it is incapable of itself raising the means for supplying its own credits. On the other hand, until the banknote operations of the state bank have developed to a point enabling it to take over the functions of a central bank for the banks, no firm basis exists upon which to establish a special bank. At that time we pointed out that as soon as the banknote operations of the state bank had developed to this point, then the problem of creating an industrial bank would become urgent.

We may now assert that this point has already been reached. The banknote operations have become exceedingly extensive, so that the granting of credits to industry has to be carried out, to a certain extent, through a special industrial bank. This involves a fresh task, the fulfilment of which we are not attempting this year, but which will doubtless confront us next year. Last year we succeeded in raising capital for the state bank at the cost of heavy sacrifices, and now we are faced with the task of aiding the industrial bank to increase its capital. This task will be partially accomplished next year.

Thus, thanks to the improvement of our financial position and of the measures granting credits, relations have been established between Soviet state and Soviet industry which approach more and more to normal healthy relations.

#### The limitation of the right to issue banknotes.

I regard the limitation of the right to issue banknotes as imperatively necessary. The Council of People's Commissaries resolved to limit the right of issue possessed by the Financial Commissariat to 30 million gold roubles monthly, according to the rate of exchange obtaining on the 1st of each month, and commissioned us to make further suggestions regarding the limitation of this right. We propose that from August 1. onwards the issue of banknotes be limited to 15 million gold roubles monthly. I have no doubt whatever but that the whole of the bourgeoisies abroad will be of the opinion that this is beyond our powers; that we are not in a position to alter the financial circumstances in which we have been living of recent years, that is, existence at the price of issuing banknotes, constant depreciation of our currency, rising prices, etc. If this were the case, it would signify that we can only exist for a few years more, that we have proved incapable of building up our Soviet state. It might be said that there are other states where the currency depreciates in value, but which go on existing nevertheless.

Yes, they go on existing. But how? Let us take Germany, for instance. Last year the German mark depreciated much more rapidly than our rouble. On July 1. of last year the dollar cost M. 400, now it costs M. 150,000. The depreciation is about 400 fold, whilst our money has depreciated 25 times, at most, during the same time. We can manage without limiting the issue of paper money, if we care to proceed on German lines. Germany has lost her political and financial independence, and her existence as a state is a mere shadow. In Poland the currency also depreciates in value, but Poland also is an independent state in appearance only. Austria's rate of exchange is also worse than ours. Austria is becoming transformed into a country ruled by the agents of the Entente.

#### Our prospects.

In my opinion, we require another year, at most one and a half years, to emerge from the shaky financial position in which we are at present. Naturally, we shall not attain the ideal stabilized currency within this period — this will not be possible until our economic conditions, our real prices, have been stabilized — but, in any case, a year will suffice to place us in a financial position incomparably better than that of this year, to say nothing of last year.

What means must we adopt for the attainment of economic health?

In the first place we must put our budget in order. The sole budget which can serve as a basis for our financial policy is one determining revenue and expenditure. For the current year the budget totals about 1400 million gold roubles, and this is more than last year, when our budget amounted to 1100 million gold roubles. We hope to be able to fix the amount of next year's budget at 1650 millions.

Up to January there was scarcely any money tax in Russia. Since January a fresh tax has appeared almost every month. This gives the impression, especially to the peasantry, that these taxes will never come to an end. We can, however, categorically declare that this period has come to an end, that the system of taxation as now existing is a fixed one, and that not a single fresh tax will be introduced during the whole of the forthcoming economic year 1923/24.

The question of the restoration of our monetary standard is bound up with that of the limitation of the right to issue paper money.

The most important measure taken was that we granted the state bank the right to issue banknotes, the so-called Tschersonetz. By this we accepted the system of the so-called parallel rates of exchange. This parallel system is to be maintained in Russia for a time. Our banknote issue is to be internationally recognized. This is possible when the banknote possesses a fixed value in comparison with the issue money. Thus the task of our exchange policy consists in maintaining the gold value, the gold parity of the banknotes as compared with foreign currencies. Actual practice has shown that the task of maintaining the parity of the Tschersonetz as compared to the English pound, or to the dollar, has so far been fulfilled, and that today we have, as at the beginning of operations in January, a convergence of parity between the Tschersonetz and the pound sterling, actually somewhat in favor of the Tschersonetz.

We recommend to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee that the proposal to limit from August, of this year, the right to issue paper money, to 15 million gold roubles, be accepted, with the reservation that in future still further limitations are to be imposed.

## The Museum of the Revolution in Petrograd

By Victor Serge (Petrograd).

The museums of the revolution, such as are to be found in several large Russian cities, are quite without their like in the "democratic" countries. In these countries the chief task of the museums is to please the eyes of the propertied classes by artistic and scientific collections. There is but little in these museums to remind us of the social crimes of the rich. They contain nothing for the instruction of the poor. Nothing that might prepare the minds of the people for the social revolution. Even the relics of such a great revolution as the French revolution of 1789-93 are merely accorded a modest corner in the bourgeois museum, between the glorious reminders of the time of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon's government. In the French museums the revolution constitutes a piece of old lumber in the lumber room.

In Russia, on the other hand, the revolution is felt to be a decisive period in the life of the people, the pre-requisite of a future worthy of humanity. The revolution is studied, loved and followed with passionate zeal to its first beginnings. The victorious uprising of the people has given the revolution its rightful place in life and history. The fact that revolutions, the midwives of new ruling classes, have hitherto been disregarded and forgotten, is due to the fact that the victorious classes, having drawn their advantages from the revolution, have endeavored to conceal the origin of their victory. The Russians have broken with this tradition. The Russians want to continue the work of revolution, and it is for this reason that they attach so much importance to the history of the revolution.

As we go through the numerous rooms thrown open to the public in the Petrograd Museum of Revolution, we get an idea of the store set by Russia on its revolutionary memories. The rooms of this museum are on the ground floor of the Winter Palace; these rooms were formerly occupied by the governesses of the royal children.

The first beginnings of the revolution are here shown by innumerable documents and memorials dating back a hundred years. All this evidence calls to mind the sufferings and death of the best sons of Russia. Here we find the origin and the justification for everything, the Red Terror of 1918 included. Here is to be seen a sheet of paper from the year 1823, yellow with age. The decree of a Czar on the sale of peasant slaves. A whip has been appropriately hung above this document, such a long whip as was used at that time for the chastisement of the enslaved peasants.

There is also a small copper bell which could tell a long story. In 1848 this bell punctuated the philosophical discussions held in the house of one Petrashevsky, an inhabitant of Petrograd. Dostojevsky was one of the members of this circle. Petrashevsky and some of his friends were condemned to death for discussing the first beginnings of European socialism; they underwent a dreadful pretence of execution, and were then sent to Siberia. Dostojevsky was sentenced to 10 years hard labor for the same offence. The good old times of holy Russia under the paternal Czars!

From the year 1825 these paternal Czars were the objects of the hate of their subjects. In December of this year, a military conspiracy, the work of aristocratic officers, attempted to force the Czar Nicolas I. to grant a constitution. The conspirators

were freemasons, and a document of their order, bearing their names, is to be found in the museum.

An endless array of portraits shows the victims of Czarist prisons, penal establishments, and exile. These pictures symbolize 80 years of ceaseless revolutionary struggle. And here we also see a collection of minerals and insects made by our old comrade Morozov in the garden of the Schlüsselburg prison, where he had to spend 20 years. Today Morozov is the leader of a scientific institution in Petrograd. A large painting by Repi occupies the whole of one side of one of the rooms. It depicts the execution of the seven authors of the assassination of March 1., 1886. These were the seven revolutionists who killed Alexander II.

We would need hours to study all the age-yellow photographs of the Siberian exiles. In one group photograph we see Trotzky as a young man.

A primitive secret printing press, confiscated by the police in 1880, reminds us of the long and weary path traversed before the *Pravda* and the *Izvestya* came into existence. Several apartments are devoted to the history of the Czarist secret police. Detailed tables and records show the results of police investigations with reference to an individual comrade, a group, and a whole party. As soon as the police had got to know enough, it struck its blow, and "liquidated" the group concerned. It liquidated many a group in the course of the long years, but it could not prevent itself from being liquidated in the end. Here, in gold frames, hang the portraits of those ministers for internal affairs who untriflingly "liquidated" the revolution: Pleve, Stolypin, and Sipjagin. These three all fell victims to the vengeance of the revolutionists.

In the Petrograd Museum there is also a room in commemoration of the French revolution and the Commune. Here the relics are not numerous, but very valuable. Here we see a standard from the year 1793, bearing an interesting variation of the Jacobin watchword: "Liberty, equality, discipline, fraternity".

The revolutionists of 1793, precisely like the revolutionists of 1918, recognized the value of discipline, and inscribed this word on their banner.

The section of the museum devoted to the October revolution seemed to me somewhat poor. It would have been easy to render this an exceedingly extensive collection. The portraits of Lenin also leave much to be desired. It seems as if no artist has as yet been able to paint a really good portrait of Lenin. The painters have been lacking in simplicity in relation to the simplest man in the world.

The Petrograd Museum of Revolution is also lacking up to now in a good foreign department representing the history of the Communist International. And yet Russia is the only country in which the revolutionists of the whole world, and of every party tendency, may hope to have their documents carefully preserved. Things insignificant in themselves, letters, newspapers, posters, etc., such as are more often thrown away, may serve as important witnesses of the social revolution. Thus, for instance, it would be appropriate to collect some documents on the origin of the CGTU., membership cards, newspapers, letters, photographs of meetings, etc. One of the founders of the Spanish trade union federation, Salvador Segui, was murdered this year in Barcelona. Would it not be fitting to collect some relics in memory of this man?

The curators of the Museum of Revolution in Petrograd are anxious that their institution be known and aided abroad. The bureau of the Petrograd Museum of Revolution is managed by comrade Zinoviev. All letters and parcels are to be sent to the address: Revolution Museum, Winter Palace, Petrograd.

## FASCISM

### Italy after the Acceptance of Mussolini's Electoral Reform

We have received the following report from Italy: The Electoral Reform Bill brought in by the Fascist government has been passed in the chamber by 235 votes against 139 and 77 abstentions. The votes for rejection were cast by the communists, the socialists, and some few democrats. The Catholic National Party abstained from voting, with the exception of one deputy who voted against the bill, and 9 who voted for it. Party discipline is thus inadequate to maintain unity within the parliamentary fraction of the Catholic National Party. The unity of this party suffered greatly during the last parliamentary struggles, and the seeds of schism have been sown in the party.

The struggle raging round Mussolini's electoral reform was very severe. The debate covered the whole field of Fascist governmental policy. Consequently, the government demanded that a vote of confidence be passed in its favor before the cham-

ber took the division on the electoral reform itself. The Fascist government exerted every effort to emerge victorious from this struggle. The chamber was threatened with immediate dissolution should the government be defeated. At the same time the acts of violence committed by the Fascist shock troops in the country continually increased. The soldiers of the regular army were replaced by Fascist national militia in the Parliament guard. Alarming rumours of a general Fascist mobilization arose all over the country. And during the days when the debate was at its highest point in Parliament, Fascist hundreds paraded the streets of the capital with machine guns. All this was calculated to generate an atmosphere of panic which substantially influenced the results of the parliamentary discussion. This applies particularly to the Catholic National Party, which altered its attitude at the last moment when confronted by the danger that a civil war would break out which would be specially damaging to it. The Catholic national party had originally resolved to vote against the passing of the act, but finally decided to content itself with abstention, and thus the government secured a majority, if but a scanty one.

Mussolini on the one hand worked with the methods of threats and intimidation, and on the other hand he soothed the opposition offered by democrats and liberals by means of assurances of his respect for law and Parliament, despite all that was going on outside of Parliament, all over the country. Mussolini, in his speech delivered before the decisive division, attempted to make it plain to the opposition that it lay in their own interest to place no difficulties in the way of the Fascist government. He even went so far as to invite the social-democratic leaders of the trade union federation to co-operate.

This is the manner in which the new electoral law was passed. It signifies the abolition of the proportional system hitherto obtaining; the whole country is taken as one uniform electoral district. That list of candidates which receives the proportional majority of votes in the whole country—it must however receive at least 25% of the votes cast—will have the majority in the chamber, that is, 356 seats out of 524. The remainder of the seats will be distributed among the parties of the minority on the proportional system. It makes no difference whether the parties of the minority, taken together, have gained the majority of all the votes cast or not. Under this law, it is possible that a party backed by a quarter of the electors receives a two thirds majority in the chamber, whilst three quarters of the total number of voters have a representation comprising one third of the deputies. Despite this, it is asserted that Parliament embodies the will of the people.

As a matter of fact the new suffrage law is only intended to lend an appearance of legality to the dictatorship of the Fascist party. This dictatorship cannot be based on the concurrence of the great masses of the people. Therefore Fascism is determined to destroy even that slight influence which the masses of the people are able to exercise under the ordinary democratic system. The Fascist government today signifies the dictatorship of a definite group of the bourgeoisie, of big industry, and large land-owners. And this ruling class is of the opinion that it cannot retain the reins of government if the ordinary democratic system of general suffrage is in vogue.

The ruling bourgeoisie can only maintain its position by an iron dictatorship. And in order to combine this dictatorship with the formal rule of constitution and law, Italian Fascism has hit upon reform of the suffrage. Fascism does not want to present itself as a dictatorial government. This was frequently expressed in Mussolini's speeches. Particularly in his last speech, in which he emphasized that earlier, Fascism had been forced to work illegally, but that now, as the governing party, it desired to carry on activity within the limit of legality. But this so called return to legality does not by any means signify any change in that reactionary anti-proletarian policy of the bourgeoisie which at present forms the essence of Fascism.

### The Failure of the Fascist Trade Unions in Rome

At the beginning of July, a conference was held in Rome by the national council of the Fascist trade unions. On this occasion the inner weakness of the Fascist trade union again became apparent, despite the pompous phraseology. The president of the Fascist unions, Sossioni, a one-time revolutionary syndicalist, informed the conference that the Fascist trade unions embrace 1½ million members, but that unfortunately, these members pay no subscription! The central of the Fascist trade unions would be content with an annual subscription of 1 lira, but not even this sum is paid. Thus the treasury of the Fascist trade unions is empty. In the same way the Fascist trade union periodical is causing a steadily growing deficit.

The reports received from Italy are, in other respects, equally unfavorable for the Fascist trade unions. In Oneglia the Fascisti have tried in vain to win over the metal workers. Out of 650 workers called upon to attend a meeting convened by the Fascisti, a total of five put in an appearance. Equally futile were the attempts made by the Fascisti in Lavagna, to induce the 200 working men and 400 working women employed by a textile undertaking to join the Fascist union. The last factory council elections in Padua also resulted in the defeat of the Fascisti.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE

### Twelve Hours a Day in American Industry

By I. Amter.

Sixty-nine thousand men working for the United States Steel Corporation work twelve hours a day! More than 30,000 of them work twelve hours a day, seven a week! Of the 500,000 workers employed in the steel industry of the United States, less than 25 per cent are allowed to work less than 60 hours a week. More than 50 per cent of the blast furnace men, the bessemer mill, open hearth mill, blooming mill, rail and bar mill men, work twelve hours a day. These are the men who do the hard, dangerous work in steel mills, for whom the United States Steel Corporation declares it cannot reduce the hours of work, since it would mean the introduction of the eight hour shift and the employment of an additional 60,000 men. There is a labor shortage, the U.S. Steel Corporation alleges, and the workers demand the twelve-hour day.

#### What are the facts?

In 1919, 300,000 steel workers went out on strike, demanding collective bargaining, an eight-hour day and a six-day week. The strike was lost, although the men put up a splendid fight. The American Federation of Labor gave no support to organizing the men, and the government openly assisted the employers by sending Federal troops into the steel fields to intimidate and coerce them.

In 1920, Judge Gary, chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, appointed a committee of presidents of the companies subsidiary to the U.S. Steel Corporation, to "study the question" of the eight hour day. The committee made no report, but it was distinctly understood that it was opposed to changing to the eight-hour, three-shift system.

The demand for an eight-hour day in the steel industry, has been growing loud: President Harding, recognizing the necessity of appeasing the workers, recommended the adoption of the eight-hour day in the steel industry. Gary once more appointed a committee, which reported on May 25 rejecting the eight-hour day.

Gary contends that the introduction of the three-shift system would mean an increase in operating cost of 15%, that the men do not wish shorter hours, that there is not sufficient labor to supply three shifts a day, and that the harm wrought to workers on twelve-hour shifts is exaggerated.

Engineering Societies, the Interchurch World Movement (an organization of liberal churches), a conference of clergymen of all creeds, and even the presidents of other steel corporations—such as the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co.—have urged Gary to change his mind, but he is adamant. Gary must have his pound of flesh for the privilege he gives his 215,000 slaves to work for him and pile up huge profits.

The United States Steel Corporation is the second biggest corporation in the country—in the land of billion-dollar corporations. The U.S. Steel Corporation was organized in 1901 with stock of \$1,000,000,000—real and water. From 1912—1921, its net profits amounted to \$1,097,000,000. From 1913—1919, its undivided surplus amounted to \$2,240,000,000. On December 31, 1922, it had a property account of \$1,631,000,000. In the first six months of this year, the profits have mounted up to close on \$85,000,000.

The Corporation owns 3,759 miles of railroads and 61,300 freight cars. The owners of steel stock are prominent among the 25 men in the United States who control 82 per cent of the railroads of the U.S., or 211,000 miles of railway. U.S. Steel owns 111 overseas and Great Lakes steamers and, through J. P. Morgan, has a controlling interest in American and British shipping companies. U.S. Steel owns 75 per cent of the country's bituminous coal fields, besides millions of acres of other classes of coal, and 20,000 coke-ovens.

But this does not show the whole power of the United States Steel Corporation. The directors of this gigantic concern are the men who, by interlocking directorates, control the railway

repair shops and the cement and other basic materials of American industry.

Financially it has built up a tremendous power. In 1914, its undivided surplus amounted to \$135,000,000; in 1919 it had increased to \$493,000,000. This surplus would have paid over again the wage and salary budget of 1918, which amounted to \$452,000,000. Furthermore, by manipulations, by charging hundreds of millions to operating expenses, repairs and upkeep (in 1919, the company carried \$200,000,000 on its books for "depletion, depreciation and replacement of funds"), the corporation is able further to increase its surplus and dividends.

The Fordney-McCumber Tariff made a further donation to the Steel Trust, which asserts its inability to pay higher wages. By imposing a duty on heavy steel products, pig iron and other structural steel etc., the government presented to the Trust the major portion of \$251,000,000, which will be doubled to the consumers. In other words, the public will pay a toll of more than \$500,000,000 to the Steel Corporation. There are 21 finished steel products on which the government likewise imposed a duty, this meaning protection to the amount of more than \$500,000,000.

This is the huge power with almost unlimited wealth that is keeping 215,000 workers on a low level of subsistence in the United States and forcing 69,000 to work 12 hours a day.

#### What is the condition of these workers?

While the steel industries of most countries of Europe, Canada, South Africa, Japan and India are run on a three-shift basis, of eight hours each, the U.S. Steel Corporation declares that it cannot afford to adopt the three-shift system, since it would entail an increased wage budget of 15 per cent.

In 1919, when an investigation of the Steel Strike was being conducted, Gary asserted that the Steel Corporation was "reducing these hours from year to year". Facts, however, disclose that his statement was the sheerest bluff. In 1910, blast furnace men worked 78.7 hours a week, open hearth men 75.3 hours. In 1919, they worked 82.1 and 76.4 hours respectively. The Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement, after investigating the strike of 1919, stated that "in the past decade the United States Steel Corporation has increased the percentage of its employees subject to the 12 hour day".

The wages paid in the steel industry are among the lowest in the country. Ditch diggers are paid in the United States 41 cents an hour. The average wage for "common labor" is 55 cents an hour. In order to keep its men, the Steel Trust was compelled to raise the wages a few months ago from 36 cents to 40 cents an hour. The average weekly wage in the iron and steel industry in April was \$272.61. This wage is insufficient for maintaining a family of five in the United States.

#### What do we find in the living conditions of these steel workers?

Working 12 hours a day, and allowing an hour or more for going to and from work, time for eating etc., the workers spend their time working and sleeping, with no time for their families. As one worker who left the mill remarked: "his little daughter had died within the last few months; he said he had never known the child because he was at work whenever she was awake, or else she was asleep during the day time. He was determined that he would know the other children".

Housing is a disgrace. The families are large, many of the foreign-born workers, who are the majority in the steel industry, having families of ten or over. One of the reasons, that the foreign-born predominate in the industry, or, as Gary complains, the reason he cannot get Americans to do the work is that the Americans refuse to live under the conditions in the steel towns and accept the pitiful wages offered.

The families are forced, in many cases, to live in two room cottages, with no facilities whatever. Beds are in constant service. They are occupied by three shifts of eight hours each. Frequently four, five or more persons sleep in one room. When a family is forced to take boarders, in order to make ends meet, the so-called "home" is turned into a lodging house, which is a hell in which to bring up children.

#### What is the effect on the children?

In the steel towns, the mortality of children under 5 years of age ranges from 39 to 67 per cent. The average in the census registration cities of the United States, is 27 per cent. In such residential places as East Orange, New Jersey, a suburb of New York City, where the bankers and rich merchants live, the mortality is only 17.1 per cent; in Brookline, Massachusetts, only 10 per cent. The infant mortality is appalling: 255.7 among families of unskilled workers with low wages, as contrasted with 134.7 for the whole community. In Gary, the "model" town of the Steel Trust, the mothers of 279 infants—

68 per cent of those investigated during the period—did not cease work within two weeks of confinement. The mothers of 256 infants continued gainful work up to the very day or hour of confinement. In the lowest income group, 41 per cent of the mothers had to seek employment, in order to supplement the wages of the chief bread earner.

The death rate for the registration area was 14.1 per 1,000. In the steel district it amounted to 16.9 to 23.9 to 23.2 per 1,000. And even these figures are not accurate, since the mortality returns are not kept exactly; hence they may be considered too low.

That the bread earners who work 12 hours a day have neither energy nor time for education and recreation is obvious. Hence "Americanization" Committees achieve very poor results in the steel districts. Schools are provided, courses arranged, yet the workers cannot attend. Foreigners are even kept from taking out their naturalization papers owing to their inability to spend time or money. Thus our loudest howlers for "Americanization" defeat their own plans by their greed.

#### What are the conditions in the steel mills?

American capitalism is not sparing of the lives of American workers. In the decade 1910—1919, according to statistics of the U.S. Bureau of Labor, the steel workers suffered the following fatalities: Killed 3,255, permanently disabled 9,549; temporarily disabled 412,837. In other words, 425,686 workers were disabled, crippled and killed in ten years. Although the law requires safety devices in factories, they are not instituted. What with the strain and the long hours, workers are not safe in an American steel mill. Insisting upon exploiting them to the bone, Gary refuses to employ men above 40 years of age.

What truth is there in Gary's contentions that he cannot introduce the eight hour shift—even though later he was forced to accept the idea "in principle"?

Gary contends that there is a shortage of labor, and demands that the bars to immigration be lowered. What are the facts? In April, 1923, there were 104.47 persons registered for every 100 jobs open for common labor. In May, 1923, New York State industrial statistics showed that employment was only 15 per cent above that of one year ago. One thousand men were required for work on the Steamer Leviathan, for which 20,000 men applied. 2,000 men and women stood in line, some of them the whole night, in answer to a notice that a few laborers and charwomen were needed.

In 1921, when there were 8,000,000 unemployed, Gary raised the same contention. And yet in 1920, the Steel Trust employed 200,000 men, while in 1921, it had only 133,000 on its payroll.

The steel concerns having an eight-hour day experience no trouble in getting labor. On the contrary, the president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. states that it was the abundance of labor that made it possible for the Company to adopt the eight-hour shift. America always has a "normal" unemployment of 1,500,000 persons. What Gary wants is cheap labor—labor that will do the hardest kind of work under the most adverse conditions and at a shameful wage. He cannot get the American worker to accept such work, and therefore looks to cheap foreign labor to take his place.

Gary has employed Hindu workers to take the place of Americans. As soon as they have had enough of the grind, he has substituted Negro workers. The Southern States are flooded with agents, combing the country for labor for the steel districts. As soon, however, as the Negroes get accustomed to the conditions and realize that they have not been brought to an Eldorado, they refuse to continue at the work. Recently Gary smuggled over the border 5,000 Mexicans, whose turn it will be next to rebel at the vile, harsh conditions.

Gary further maintains that the U.S. Steel Corporation cannot afford to adopt the three-shift system, owing to the expense. The steel industry is working 93% capacity. Production of pig iron is at the rate of 50,000,000 tons a year, which is the record. The price of steel is 32% above last year, while labor costs only 10% more than a year ago.

In June, 1922, Gary stated that the U.S. Steel Corporation could produce at \$2 per ton less than its competitors. This shows how ridiculous it was to put a duty on steel products, since it amounts to a gift to the steel producers. Gary, however, declares, that to put in three shifts would raise the cost of steel 15%. To put an end to the twelve-hour day in the U.S. Steel Corporation would cost \$36,000,000 at the average rate of wage and salary paid by the Steel Trust. Last year, the U.S. Steel Corporation earned \$101,529,310 . . . Hence Gary's refusal is sheerest nonsense.

It would not, however, raise the cost of steel 15%. This is an excuse for Gary to raise the price of steel. The president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. states that, since changing to the eight-hour day, "almost without exception our labor cost per

ton is lower than in the earlier periods". Dr. Howe, of the Federated American Engineering Societies, says: "If labor was changed to the eight-hour shift and paid as much per day as it is now getting for 12 hours work, the total manufacturing cost of the product in the steel industry would be increased only from 3 to 15 per cent. As a matter of actual experience, it is known that some plants have changed from the 12-hour to the 8-hour shift and reduced their labor costs".

It is clear, therefore, that there will be no reduction in hours in the U.S. Steel Corporation if it depends on the good will of the directors of the Corporation and its subsidiary companies. These men are the bitterest "open-shoppers" and even refused to furnish structural steel to firms employing organized labor. They are, at the same time, strong advocates of religion as "simple, sane business sense". "It pays a nation or an individual to follow a Christian course", Gary observed in his report on the 12-hour day.

Harding was extremely interested in the abolition of the 12-hour day, since the strikes of last summer and the setbacks in the recent elections have estranged a large part of American labor from support of the Republican Party. Harding tried to persuade Gary to accept the 8-hour day. He has failed. Now it is up to organized labor.

In 1919, an attempt was made to organize the steel workers. The campaign was led by Wm. Z. Foster, but the American Federation of Labor sabotaged, and the campaign failed. "The Trade Union Educational League" has announced its intention of "Organizing the unorganized". The recent conference of the Progressive Miners Committee in Pittsburgh pledged itself to back up the movement.

Spurred on by fear that the radicals will organize the steel workers and get control of them, Gompers has announced that the A. F. of L. will undertake to organize them. This is merely an attempt to keep the steel workers from being organized at all, or being properly organized. For Gompers will not risk a fight with Gary, the U.S. Steel Corporation and the U.S. Government. It is a cardinal interest of the capitalists of the United States and of the U.S. Government to keep the steel workers unorganized. The miners are daily becoming more radical—despite setbacks here and there. The railroad workers received a sound lesson last summer. If the steel workers are organized and are lined up with the other two categories of workers—and conditions in the U.S., with an approaching decline in prosperity, will force them to a united front—a violent struggle will begin in the United States. This struggle will be the most powerful threat that the capitalist interests and the government have ever received.

The twelve-hour day, the hell of slavery in the steel mills in "free, democratic" America must go. They will go not at the behest of Gary, but of the workers.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### The Women of the C.I. to the Revolutionary Women Students of China

The Oriental Section of the International Women's Secretariat of the Comintern have addressed the following Appeal to the Revolutionary Women Students of China:

Women students of China, Comrades!

In this moment of severest struggle, when military commanders are again endeavoring, at the behest of foreign rulers, to annihilate the revolutionary Chinese students, and to crush the spirit of protest and battle out of your hearts with bloody repressions, we are with you in spirit, and send you our message of warmest encouragement and support.

From day to day the International Women's Secretariat of the Third (Communist) International follows every step of the war of emancipation of the Chinese people and the Chinese women.

For 12 years civil war has ravaged China, for the reason that a set of military commanders bought by foreign robbers are attempting to seize power.

Your villages have been burnt and pillaged innumerable times by the soldiers of the warring armies.

The peasants are ruined and starving. They are selling their daughters. They are forced to take to the cities, where the fate of a beggar, a coolie, or a rickshaw man, awaits the men, and the capitalist factory and prostitution the women.

England, France, Japan, and America have formed a union of blood-suckers for the plundering of defenceless China.

They support with their money the civil war, the militarists commanding the armies.

The factories and workshops are the grave of many thousands of Chinese working men and women, who perish from hunger, exhaustion, and disease.

They have transformed this richest of countries into a prison of the famished, its millions of inhabitant into beggars and slaves.

Above the portals of their magnificent palaces, in the country which belongs to you, they write "Dogs and Chinese not admitted".

The blows of their sticks rain mercilessly on the backs of the weary rickshaw men.

In their eyes the Chinese are not human beings at all. The Chinese servant girl in a European family has every reason to envy her mistress' lap-dog.

And yet we look on at the growth of the revolutionary movement in oppressed China with joy and hope. And it is you who are leaders of this movement, Chinese men and women students, working together with the enlightened working people of your country.

We have heard your determined words on Shan Dun, we heard your voice calling upon the working masses to boycott Washington and Versailles, to arise and fight against insatiable foreign imperialism, and for a free and independent China.

We observed your energetic participation in the latest demonstrations of the Chinese railwaymen, shot down by a traitorous general to please the English imperialists and others.

The hate with which you are persecuted by the militarists and foreigners, the regulations issued for the suppression of agitation among the students, the shooting of your comrades, the removal of your best loved professors, the agitation carried on against you in the English press—all this proves you to be a pillar of revolution, to be a real danger to all reactionaries and foreign oppressors. We are fully conscious that the students of China are an important factor in the national revolutionary and labor movements of China.

But the unorganized and unenlightened mass of working women may be led astray by the enemy, and may stand aside from the battle with the oppressors at the decisive moment.

Thus there is a great task incumbent on the women students of China—that of drawing the broad masses of working women into an organized struggle against foreign capital.

You already possess experience in this work, gained through the patriotic women's unions.

But there are still thousands of unorganized women workers, sunk in ignorance, crushed to the earth by work and poverty.

These must be indissolubly bound to the struggle of the Chinese proletariat. It must be made plain to them that the interests of the working men and women, and of the revolutionary students, are identical at the present time; that the sole hope of emancipation for the toiling women of China, degraded to the level of slaves, is the victory of the toilers over the foreign rulers.

The experience won during the great Russian revolution, the joint struggle of the Russian peasant and working women with all the toiling masses of Russia, against capitalist intervention, bears the best witness to the truth of the fact that women only become free and equal under a people's government, and it is only under such a government that women's rights are more than paper.

You revolutionary students, the flower of the women of China, are confronted by the immense and important task of leading the Chinese working women into battle for their own emancipation, along the path of national independence.

Stand for your rights. The women toilers of the whole world are with you.

*Long live the struggle for emancipation among the people of China!*

*Long live the Chinese working women—champions in the fight for an independent China!*

*Long live the revolutionary Chinese women students—the Friends of the Working Women!*

The Oriental Section of the International Women's Secretariat of the Third (Communist) International.

## The Women's Labor Movement in Japan

By W. Kasparova.

Great activity prevails among the women belonging to the Communist Party of Japan. The International Women's Conference was duly held on March 8. For this purpose a special committee of three was appointed, consisting of the party members Kikue Yamakawa, Magara-Salaj, Taij-Takasu, and fifteen candi-

tates, who were entrusted with the task of organizing the International Women's Week from March 1. to March 8. These comrades resolved to convene public meetings in five large cities: in Tokio, Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, and Nagoja, and forwarded instructions to the party committees in these towns with respect to the organization of the meetings. It was further resolved to make use of the publishing department of the party to translate and publish, on the occasion of the International Women's Conference, the following leaflets and appeals: "Rosa Luxemburg", "Klara Zetkin" and "The International Women's Conference".

The first public meeting was convened for March 1. in Tokio, in the building of the Christian Youth Union. 10 women comrades were to have given addresses at this meeting. An audience of over 1000 gathered, the proportion of the sexes being six men to four women. As a rule, meetings in which women speak are very noisy, but in this case the audience listened with the most rapt attention. But when Comrade Chatsu-Fanane rose to open the meeting, the members of the Kokussuika (Japanese Fascisti) became exceedingly noisy all over the hall. Upon this the police officer present ordered the meeting to be closed. He further declared that, should the speakers attempt to go to other towns (Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, and Nagoja), for the purpose of delivering speeches at similar meetings, they would be arrested at the first place they visited. In this manner they were robbed of the possibility of carrying out the program arranged, but in every town the comrades had received instructions to distribute the appeals and leaflets in the event of the meetings being stopped.

The women's department of the party was organized only recently. Several students attending the medical college for women are among the candidates for the party. These intend, after leaving college, to seek positions enabling them to come in close contact with working women, and thus to study the life of these women at its source, and organize and enlighten them in the spirit of communism.

Women's organizations of a political character in Japan are as follows: Schinsin-Fudschin Kiokaij (New Women's Association), and the women's section of the Party of the Kakuschin Club, which has organized a special section under the name of the League for Women's Suffrage. In February this association took part in a magnificent demonstration in favor of the suffrage, and arranged a public meeting under the same slogan. But the influence of this organization extends only to the petty bourgeoisie, and is limited to the demand for women's suffrage. Both the above-named organizations do not count more than 100 members each. The attitude to be taken by the women's section of the Party to this movement is not yet definitely settled.

Women are not yet organized in separate trade unions. The Japanese trade unions do not exclude women from their ranks, but help them. Last year the waitresses in Osaka, about 50 in number, formed a waitresses' union with the aid of the Juikai, but this has been dissolved again. At the beginning of March of this year 500 women weavers, employed in a weaving mill at Osaka, declared a strike. The section of the Juikai at Osaka supported this strike by all available means; it transferred the girls from the quarters belonging to the employer, where they lived, to other dwellings, in order to deprive the employer of the possibility of influencing them. The strike lasted for 10 days, during which time the Juikai called various public meetings. The strike, however, ended in defeat, and the girls were forced to resume work.

## ECONOMICS

### The Economic Situation in France according to the Balances of the Great Firms

By A. Ker (Paris).

The economic revival in France during the past year, shown by the increase of production and commerce, is further borne out by the balances of the great industrial undertakings, whose profits have also considerably increased. According to the annual reports, in 1922 the situation in the mining industry was very good, in the textile industry good, and in the metal industry better than in 1921, but still far removed from normal conditions. Improvement was to be observed in the ship-building and chemical industries. In considering these results, it must, however, not be forgotten that during this business year of 1922, the Ruhr occupation prevented a further improvement in the economic situation, and on the contrary, has even been detrimental to the metal industry.

The returns yielded by the most important coal undertakings are as follows: The Aniche mines yielded a clear profit of 15,257 francs in 1922 as compared with 13,201 in 1921. The dividends rose from 25 to 40 francs. The Lens mines yielded 14 millions profit in 1922 as compared with 7 millions in the previous year. At the Courrieres mines, the profits rose from 5 to 11 million francs. The Anzin company produced 2,285,000 tons of coal at a profit of 22,234,000 francs, almost 10 francs per ton.

Among the metal undertakings, the firm of Chatillon-Commentry shows a profit of 6,870,550 francs as compared with 5,970,000 francs in 1921. The locomotive firm Batignolles-Chatillon earned in 1922 a profit of 6,126,449 francs as compared with 956,832 francs last year. In the electric industry the firm of Thomson-Houston was able to distribute dividends to the amount of 20 million francs last year. The firm of Jeumont paid out 11 million francs in dividends.

The majority of the large works in Lorraine worked at a loss in 1921. The year 1922 brought a general improvement, although it was not every undertaking that reached a point of profit earning. The Knutange company, during 1922, worked at a loss of 5 millions as compared with a loss of 30 millions in 1921. The Rombas company had a loss of 4 million francs in 1922 as compared with 27 millions in 1921. The Forges et Acieries d'Hangondange, whose deficit was 26 millions in 1921, succeeded in reducing this deficit to half a million in 1922.

The sudden cessation of German coke supplies in consequence of the occupation of the Ruhr area, as well as the unexpectedly long duration of the passive resistance, have plunged the Lothringian metal industry into a severe crisis. The business report of the Romas Co. contains the following remarks on this point: "The company's works are separated from the coal pits which their former German owners possessed in Westphalia. The stipulations of the Versailles peace treaty have prevented the company from regulating the question of German coke supply on business lines. The company is therefore dependent on the pressure which the French government employs in forcing Germany to carry out the terms of the treaty with regard to the delivery of fuel. We need not deceive ourselves as to the fact that the situation is extremely awkward and that a solution which would render the delivery of fuel less dependent on political events would offer the company much better prospects for the future."

When the share-holders of the Lothringian works are faced with the disastrous reports for the year 1923, they will perceive what it means when the attempt is made to solve economic difficulties by means of sabre blows.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### Help Reconstruction in Russia!

To all National Committees of the International Worker's Relief!

To the Workers of all Countries!

To all Friends of Soviet Russia!

The famine in Russia is over. The All-Russian Central Committee for Combatting the Results of the Famine is dissolved. More and more Russia is being consolidated. As visible signs of the recovery, heavy cargoes of the old and the new Russian crop are being forwarded to impoverished Central Europe. Everybody is interested in the economic reconstruction of Russia. All capitalist countries are sending their representatives to the All-Russian Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow. There are indisputable signs of capitalist resignation to the existence of the Workers' Republic.

The International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia already united in the years of famine and the first attempts at economic relief all proletarian and productive powers in the fight against famine and for Russia's reconstruction. The I. W. R. established a number of prosperous and productive undertakings, such as the agricultural estates near Kasan, the shoe factory in Moscow, the large fishery undertaking near Astrachan and the agricultural estate in the Urals held in common with the Russian Trade Unions.

The I. W. R. collected thousands of helpless orphan children in its "Children's Homes", where these are fed and trained. The I. W. R. began the great work of reconstruction at a time when the whole capitalist world condemned Soviet Russia and fought against it with arms in hand.

The "World Conference for Economic Aid and Reconstruction in Russia" convened by the I. W. R., in Berlin, took place on the 17th of June. National and International representatives of proletarian, intellectual and philanthropic bodies and

organizations combined to provide an impressive demonstration for Soviet Russia's reconstruction. The Conference resolved on increased efforts on behalf of the collective work of the Russian Relief, and appointed a Commission to ensure the maintenance of communication between the separate international organizations disposed to co-operation in productive economic relief.

The results obtained by the I. W. R. up to date prove the possibility of productive and successful work in Russia. We are appealing to all Committees of the International Workers' Relief, to all workers of all countries and to all friends of Soviet Russia to assist in the practical reconstruction of Russia begun by the international proletariat. Only a free and strong Russia can save the proletariat and the large masses of petty bourgeois from their present economic distress.

All men who join in the large work of the collective reconstruction of Russia, are laying the foundations upon which to build a new world.

July 25, 1923.

Clara Zetkin, Kaethe Kollwitz, Arthur Holitscher, Ernst Toller, George Gross, Prof. Eitzbacher, Edwin Hoernle, Maximilian Harden, G. G. L. Alexander, Theodor Liebknecht, Prof. Oesterreich, Willi Muenzenberg, Max Barthel (Germany); Anatole France, Henri Barbusse, Madeleine Marx, M. Cachin, Rose Blanchet (France); Bernard Shaw, Edgar Whitehead, MacLaine (England); Z. Hoeglund, Mayor Lindhagen, Frederic Stroom, Ture Nerman (Sweden); Sieverisen (Norway); Martin Andersen-Nexoe (Denmark); Henriette Roland-Holst, Edo Fimmen, I. W. Kruyt, Bronnert (Holland); Prof. Forel, Fritz Platten (Schweiz); Prof. Graziadei, N. Bombacci, Fr. Misiano (Italy); Smeral, Kreibich (Czecho-Slovakia); Upton Sinclair, Davis (America).

## BOOK REVIEWS

### John Pepper: "For a Labor Party"\*)

By A. Thalheimer (Berlin).

Comrade John Pepper has recently published, through the Workers' Party of America, a booklet which is intended to prepare the ground for the formation of a labor party in America which will embrace all the elements of the labor movement which stand for an independent proletarian class party, and which shall also rope in the proletarian and semi-proletarian farmer elements. The booklet has already run into a second edition, the first edition having been published in October of last year in anticipation of the Cleveland Conference on the 11th of December 1922, on the agenda of which there also stood the question of the formation of a labor party. The present edition was issued in view of the new conference of the 3rd of July last.

This booklet by Comrade Pepper, while serving the immediate purpose of facilitating the formation of a labor party as mentioned above, at the same time provides a very clear and thorough analysis of the relationships of the classes in America, which is of very great interest to the European working class. America is a country where the capitalist system stands on the most solid basis and still, apparently, possesses unlimited possibilities. In the course of the World Revolution, America will certainly form the strongest bulwark of counter-revolution. Finally, America is the country which is on the way to becoming the strongest imperialist power, and which already, in spite of her official policy of non-intervention in European affairs, by her net over all lands and seas. For the foregoing reasons, of the utmost importance that the working class acquire exact knowledge of the class relationships and of the tendencies in the development of the classes in this capitalist Colossus. Such a knowledge reveals to us that this Colossus by no means consists of one compact mass, as is generally assumed in the West, but that already, elements of social disintegration are to be seen. Americans like to prate of gigantic figures and huge standards generally. As a matter of fact, things in America are on a far vaster scale and proceed at a much quicker rate than we are accustomed to in our narrow and Balkanized Europe, and we should be committing a great error were we to estimate the pace and the extent of social movements and developments in America by the diminutive European standards. This is not only account of the extent of the country, but is due before all to her relative freedom from those traditions which check and hamper the broad masses in Europe. America is a young nation with a working class which is still in the early stage of development.

\*) John Pepper: "For a Labor Party". Recent Revolutionary Changes in American Politics. Published by Workers' Party of America. 799 New York City.

The writer examines in the first place the question as to how it is that, hitherto, all "Third Parties" which have arisen in addition to the two old parties — the democratic and the republican party — after a short time, during which they grew into more or less great mass parties, have, in one way or another, only disappeared. Comrade Pepper gives a short, but nevertheless a most striking analysis of these parties, which serves to fully explain why this is bound to be the case. Viewed outwardly, we see that all these Third Parties have arisen in a period of economic depression, have reached their culminating point during the recurrence of the economic crisis, only to disintegrate with the return of a period of prosperity. This is the historical law which has hitherto governed these third parties.

The first of this series of third parties was the Greenback party (Greenback is a popular name for the dollar note), so called because it fought for a reform of the currency which should bring about a reduction of the farmers' debts. The party united the petty bourgeoisie and farmers, while later on workers joined it. The party was formed during the economic crisis of 1873, which, as is known, extended to 1880. The party gained about 82,000 votes in 1876, and in 1878 one million votes; but the prosperity which set in in 1880 destroyed it. In 1884 it could only command 175,000 votes.

There followed the "Knights of Labor". This party appeared in 1880 as a sect of no importance, but in 1884, a year of economic panic, it rose to more than 60,000 members, reaching its culmination in 1886 with more than 700,000 members and about 6,000 local groups. The period of prosperity, beginning in 1887, led to the decline of the party, which in 1889 had only 220,000 members.

Thirdly, there appeared the People's Party. It traces its birth to the economic depression arising in 1890, reaching its highest strength in the year 1894 when it received more than one million and a half votes. The period of prosperity following destroyed its independence, and it joined the democratic party as its left wing. In the year 1900, when "prosperity was in full swing", this party had disappeared entirely, even as the left wing of the Democratic Party.

The Progressive Party dates back to the crisis of 1907-1908. In 1909, the "National Progressive Republican League" was founded. A similar movement manifested itself in the democratic party as the "Democratic Federation". In 1912 an independent "Progressive Party" was founded, which immediately grew to a great mass-party. It received 4 millions votes from farmers, lower middle class, and workers, while at the same time the Socialist Party gained nearly a million votes. In 1916, during the great prosperity engendered by the war, the progressive party again disappeared.

The writer reveals quite correctly the causes of this phenomenon. All these parties were essentially petty bourgeois parties. Hence their vacillating and ambiguous character, their rapid rise in the periods of crisis, and equally rapid absorption by the great capitalist parties in the period of prosperity. The enormously rapid rate in the development and downfall of these parties seems to depend not only on their petty bourgeois character in general, but on the specifically American character of the petty bourgeoisie, i. e., the tremendous class fluctuations within the American petty bourgeoisie. The American petty bourgeoisie, the principal masses of which are small and middling farmers, are changing at an immensely rapid rate in their personal composition, owing to emigration, changing from farming to industry, from industry to farming, through rising into the large bourgeois class or sinking down to the proletariat or down to the slum proletariat etc. Special causes for the rapid decay of these petty bourgeois parties are, beside the looseness of organization, the want of a fixed economic organizational basis, and the utopian, confused and contradictory character of their programs. Hence with all these parties the time arrived when they were taken in tow by the capitalist leaders ruling both the old parties. Either their leaders were bought, or their programs were annexed.

The author has shown by this analysis that the mistrust of the American workers in the existence of Third Parties is quite justified in regard to the former petty bourgeois parties. He shows, however, that all the causes which were responsible for the rapid disorganization of the petty bourgeois parties, would not apply to a workers' party, to a party relying upon the working class and including the small tenant farmers and the wage farmers and in which the working class has the lead. The writer considers that the trade-unions should be the organizational foundation of this party. He declares the present moment — transition from the period of crisis to that of prosperity, to be especially favourable for the formation of a workers' party.

The writer then proceeds to the pre-requisites for the formation of a workers' party in the foregoing sense. Two underlying facts are to be noticed which are highly important for the further development of the class struggle in America.

The first is the development of a centralized governmental power, an extensive state-bureaucracy. America has been up to now, and remains even so today for Karl Kautsky, the example of a democracy without bureaucracy and with a far-reaching local autonomy. Kautsky has been dozing during the development of America in the last few years. The non-bureaucratic, decentralized American democracy is already a thing of the past. It was, before all, the world war which swept away this old idyllic democracy and created the modern, centralized state, administered in a bureaucratic manner and protected by militarism. The great war brought about an enormous extension of the presidential power, a centralized governmental control of the whole industrial life (ship building, manufacture of munitions, coal, raw products of all kinds), the centralized governmental administration of railways and telegraphs, enforced labor in the war industries, the espionage act, the censor, a gigantic army and an equally gigantic bureaucracy.

The figures relating to the number of government employees are especially interesting. In 1884, the state bureaucracy had only 13,780 officials, but 278,000 in 1912, 440,000 in 1916 and 918,000 in 1918. At the end of the war, bureaucracy was again reduced to about 600,000 members, but its nature remained; the bureaucratic centralization has remained; the railroads have been given back to their private owners, but state control has been retained. At present we have the interference of the centralized Government as arbitrator in workers' quarrels and as fighter for the interests of the employers in strikes.

The formation of a centralized state power in opposition to the working class is one of the conditions for the formation of a centralized proletarian class party. A second fact is the levelling down of the American working class. The differences between skilled and unskilled, between American and immigrant workers are being obliterated. Of special importance in America up till now was the difference between the native American workers and the immigrant European workers, which often coincided with the difference between skilled and unskilled workers. The war has enabled the great masses, especially the unskilled immigrant workers employed in the metal industry, to approximate their standard of life to that of the old workers' aristocracy. There is no longer any question of these masses going into agriculture. The land is already occupied. These masses, coming for the greater part from the East and South of Europe, descendants of peasants, half-peasants or petty bourgeoisie, are crowded together in enormous factories, transplanted into completely new conditions, and form the soil of the revolutionary development in America.

Further, the writer points out that under the pressure of capitalist concentration on the one hand, and of the social pressure of the working class and petty bourgeoisie on the other, the old capitalist parties are decaying and the soil is being prepared for the formation of parties according to the altered social structure, i. e., a conservative reactionary capitalist party, including the reactionary elements of the democratic and republican party, a petty bourgeois radical party and finally a labor party. The writer considers that the conference of the 3rd of July will provide half a million of members at the very start. If this should be the case, it would betoken an immense progress, the beginning of independent action within the American working class. The American development is of special interest to the European workers. With the rapidly increasing capitalist concentration, with the growth of American forms of capitalism in Western Europe, there develops at the same time the American form of the class struggle: before all in the economic field as recent strike movements have already shown.

We recommend this excellent booklet to the thorough study of all comrades.

#### Correction

In number 49 of the *Inprecorr.*, containing reports of the Session of the Enlarged Executive, Comrade Johnson (Canada) on page 498 lines 8 and 9 is reported as saying: "Although the membership of the Trade Union Educational League was over 2,000,000..." This should read: "Although the influence of the Trade Union Educational League extended to about 2,000,000 workers..."

#### Change of Address

In consequence of having taken over another function, Comrade F. Dahlem has relinquished his work in connection with the *Inprecorr.* All communications, orders, remittances, etc., therefore, should be sent to the following address: Wilhelm Bartz, *Inprecorr.*, Berlin SW. 48, Friedrichstr. 225 III.

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## Two Lines of English Policy

By *Non-Diplomat*.

The speech delivered by the English Prime Minister, Baldwin, at Glasgow, throws a bright light on the vacillation of English foreign policy, not only in relation to Soviet Russia, but in relation to the whole of Europe. In this speech Baldwin stated that Soviet Russia offers a gigantic market which is alone capable of assuring the prospects of German export, and of thus rendering it possible for Germany to pay the reparations. The political line of this speech is directly opposed to Lord Curzon's political line. We assume that the English ministers do not think out their speeches to their logical conclusion. They think empirically, and act from case to case; and yet, although they are lacking in political consistency, and possess no properly thought out program, still their political steps have an inner meaning, which it is imperative to consider if we are to find our way through the maze of English politics.

What is the real import of Curzon's policy? Let us first establish a few facts which will enable us to judge this policy correctly. The most important of these facts are as follows: 1. Lord Curzon sabotaged every attempt made by Lloyd George to come to a final understanding with Russia, and to restore normal relations; 2. Lord Curzon renounced Lloyd George's hostile policy to Turkey, came to an agreement with Turkey, and is endeavoring to draw Turkey in the wake of English politics, at the expense of Russian interests, as in the case of the Dardanelles; 3. Lord Curzon refuses to discuss Near Eastern and Central Asiatic questions with Soviet Russia, and tries to deal with Russia in the East as a non-existent power; 4. Lord Curzon made an attempt to force a rupture with Soviet Russia, to have been followed by the organization of interventionist forces against the workers' republic; 5. at the same time, Lord Curzon has been striving for agreement with France, for the attainment of which aim he has abandoned Germany to France's mercies.

What do these facts signify? These facts represent Lord Curzon's attempt to return to the policy of Beaconsfield, the

policy of weakening Russia and isolating her from Turkey. The variation introduced by Curzon into Beaconsfield's policy consists of the circumstance that this eastern combination is associated with the abandonment of the reconstruction of Central Europe. For in seeking to prevent the economic reconstruction of Russia, he condemns Germany, which is cut off from all economic access to the West and is therefore dependent for the restoration of its economic powers on participation in the development of the Russian economy, to ruin. Curzon thus alters Beaconsfield's policy because he sees no possibility of resisting French imperialism, this being more powerful than English imperialism at the present moment from the military standpoint. Curzon flees from Europe, and stakes all on the development of the English colonies, above all of India, and in the conquest of Mesopotamia with its oil springs. While pursuing such a policy as this, he naturally regards Soviet Russia as the principal enemy, since she aspires to strengthen the position of the Eastern peoples.

Wherein lies the difference between Curzon and Baldwin?

Let us once more consider the facts. Baldwin, having got into power, is opposing Curzon's design of a rupture with Russia. He proceeds to assume the initiative in the Ruhr question and attempts to interfere in the Franco-German quarrel, in order to prevent the final dismemberment of Germany and her subjection to French imperialism. He is, of course, not strong enough to break with France. But he hopes, by his interference, to succeed in saving Germany from dismemberment, and in rendering her subject to English as well as French imperialism. He wants Germany to recover and to pay reparations. But, thanks to the protectionist policy of America and France, and thanks to the strengthening of this policy in England (in practice, not in theory), Germany is cut off from the Western markets; the English capitalists fear Germany's appearance in the these markets (Lloyd George recently admitted openly that German competition in the West would put English industry in a difficult