The Federation of Soviet Republics

The correspondent of the Inprekor in Moscow interviewed comrade Stalin on the union of the Soviet republics; comrade Stalin expressed the following opinions:

The alliance of the independent socialist Soviet republics into a unified federative state, consummated at the first federative Congress at the end of December 1922, represents a new phase in the development of the movement towards union, already begun in 1918.

During the years of civil war and intervention, as the existence of the Soviet republics was in deadly danger, these republics were obliged to form a military alliance in order to secure their very existence. This phase of military alliance is now, at the end of 1921 and the beginning of 1922, passing into a new phase of development, for the great capitalist powers have lost faith in the power of intervention, and are attempting to re-establish capitalist property in Russia by diplomatic and not by military methods. At Genoa and at the Hague the diplomatic united front of the Soviet republics acted as a counter force to the diplomatic pressure of capitalism. The agreement of the 6 independent Soviet republics, and the Republic of the Far East, formed on this basis after the Genoa conference, must be designated as a creation of this united front. But later on the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic proved insufficient; the necessity was felt for a closer alliance.

Among the factors pressing the Soviet republics to union, one of the most important is the internal economic situation of the republics: the great dearth of resources resulting from the 7 years of war; the insufficient financial means at their disposal for proper utilization and development of the fundamental branches of production. Another factor is the natural division of work historically originating in the economies of the republics, and the uniformity of the traffic network covering the whole federation.

The alliance was further dictated by the position of the Soviet republics with regard to other countries. The danger of attacks on the part of the capitalist powers demands a united army and a united military front,—especially now that the Red Army is reduced to 600,000 men. Besides being liable to military attacks, the Soviet republics are exposed to the danger of economic isolation, of being boycotted by the capitalist great powers. The events that preceded the conference of Lausanne, and those of Genoa and The Hague, show the endeavour of the Entente to isolate the Soviet republics. Unity with regard to foreign relations is thus a necessity.

Finally, the formation of a united federation of socialist Soviet republics is actually dictated by the nature of the Soviet as opposed to that of any bourgeois government, in that it is international in its essence, and brings every pressure upon the working masses of the separate nationalities to unite into one socialist family.

The combination of all these factors has prepared the soil for the alliance.

- The initiative towards the alliance has been taken by the republics themselves. Three or four months ago the republics of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, brought up the question of forming an alliance of republics; the Caucasian republics were joined by the Ukraine and White Russia.
- On December 10, the alliance was decided upon by the Soviet congress of the Caucasian Federation; on December 13, by the Soviet congress of the Ukraine; and after this decision had also been accepted by the last All-Russian Soviet Congress the First Federative Congress of the Soviets was held in Moscow on December 30, and the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics was formed.
POLITICS

Paris - London via Ruhr

By J. T. Walton Newbold.

The situation presented to the British people, both the supporters and the opponents of capitalism, by the threatened occupation of the Ruhr valley is serious in the extreme. The very character of the Ruhr as the hub of the exploited industrial world makes it very difficult for a member of the Communist party of Great Britain to adopt a correct attitude. The German comrades naturally expect that the British worker should oppose with might and main from without, the French. They see it as an act of predatory capitalism, of imperialism, in its most blatant form. The British worker, in so far as he is conscious and intelligently informed concerning the situation, regards it similarly, but he requires to keep clearly in his mind the fact that the offensive of French imperialism reflects most immediately and most severely upon the equally predatory capitalism of Great Britain. In the conference at Essen the difficulty that presented itself to the British delegation was that it feared, in declaring itself strongly against the French position, it might make common cause on the one hand with the French propaganda of the British interests which, rightly, see in the occupation of the Ruhr the death-knell of British supremacy in the heavy industries. To the Germans of all classes and to the French outside of the official financial and military circles, the advance of the French army to Essen and Bochum is only to be directed against Germany. This, however, is not the gravamen of the whole affair. In reality, France, capitalist France, bankrupt but imperialist France, is attacking not so much Germany as, through the occupation of the Ruhr, the age-long antagonist and competitor for world power, Great Britain.

If it were not for the fact that Great Britain is dependent for its corn supply, for its meat, for its coal and for many other products and raw materials either upon the U.S.A. or upon countries in South America from which ships must come along sea-routves easily to be menaced by the submarines and commerce-destroyers of the U.S. navy; were it not for the fact that Britain has been compelled by its creditor the U.S. government to reduce the size of its fleet and that the world commitments of Empire defence are such that the British government cannot afford to give in to any squadrors of fighting aeroplanes, as are at the disposal of Monsieur Poincaré, war between Britain and France would be a matter of years or of months but of days and of hours. With a few additional French advances into the Ruhr coalfield of Germany is infinitely more menacing to Britain's economic and political position than was the advance of Major Marchand toFASTO on 1908. Then, only an outpost of the Empire was threatened, though Egypt and the Soudan were in the balance. But in the case of the Ruhr, a battle of natural resources and of that road to India which is the spinal column of the British Empire, but the Soudan is removed from the Suez Canal. It was 'Honour' and 'Prestige' rather than any material safeguard that was threatened at the time of the Soudan, and the real problem was to checkmate from the effort finally to checkmate a cunning policy by means of which Britain has for centuries made it utterly impossible for France or any of its 'friends' to coordinate the resources of the continent. As to make them financially, industrially and politically stronger than Great Britain.

It has, for centuries, been a first principle of British statescraft to prevent either Holland, Spain, Austria, France or Germany getting control of that region known as Belgium. A study of the map will show whether you examine it as it is drawn, or as it was a century ago, in the year 1814, that this century, that the rich manufacturing and agrarian territory of northern France and of southern Belgium, geographically and geologically one, has been cut across by an artificial line of country demarcated under the Treaty of Vienna 'for the future government of a Belgium in conformity with the interests of British commerce'. Again, at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, when the British merchants had already begun to appreciate the value to industry of coal, British statescraft has taken care to prevent the whole of the coalfield of France, Belgium, or Germany, or even the Ruhr outlets to the Ruhr from the Saar, as to permit the bourgeoisie of Brussels making common cause with that of Paris and attaching Belgium to France. Britain has ever stood for the soil determination of 'poor little Belgium', well knowing that in this case justice right and liberty consorted. A year ago France reached the London Stock Exchange and the Manchester Cotton Market.

Prior to the industrial revolution, France was much more populous and economically and much more powerful than Great Britain, but it was by a policy of encirclement that the money merchants of London and the speculators of Paris undermined the hirdy soldiery of Prussia, Hesse and other German states, as well as the declining naval and military power of Spain, contrived to keep France from gaining and maintaining the territorial and commercial ascendancy given to it by the Treaty of Utrecht and of Louis XIV. Central Europe has entangled France in complications which have made it impossible for her severely to challenge Great Britain's world supremacy. Added to this, France, with a soil empire in Europe, has perhaps a greater apprehension than we in Britain that nearly all her coal-fields lie on the frontier, or far removed from the sea coast, harbours and great rivers. This has meant that, in an age when economic supremacy is built on coal and iron by juxtaposition, France has suffered nothing akin to political eclipse. Hence, in 1870, Bismarck took from France the only part of the Lorraine orefield then being developed, it seemed as if France must sink to the status of a second rate power.

However, in the last decade of the nineteenth century it became commercially profitable to open up the populous rich areas of Lorraine and prospectors began to put forward great expectations of even richer iron fields in Anjou and Normandy, the French metallurgical and banking interests found the idea worth while. They formed the company that as long as Britain and Germany remained economically and comparatively friendly that there was no hope of France securing control of the great resources of tropical Africa or of any other unexploited part of the world. They noted in the very name of the company that was formed that the Germans were commencing to build a navy upon a plan which was alarming to the British governing class. Immediately, they saw and made use of this heaven ordained opportunity to make bad blood between two empires traditionally in alliance or, at any rate, favorably inclined towards each other, and, having gained certain jingoistic newspaper in London. The "Daily Mail" ceased to cry that France must be held in check and that Great Britain must not be pushed into any war. This was followed by a series of speeches from France, for example, the speech of M. Audot, on the French navy. The French Government then began to call for a national effort to meet the situation. The old idea of the French navy being a national enterprise was revived, and every Frenchman was urged to contribute to the national purse. This movement was given great impetus by the publication of a pamphlet by M. Audot, which was widely read and which gave the impression that the French navy was constantly increasing in size and was to be a match for the British navy.
and commenced to shriek against the menace of the German navy. Next, the Unionists, the party of the successful industrial unionism, took its stand. It was the ideal period for the British steel industry against the competition of the German steel industry. Meanwhile there had ascended the throne of Great Britain an ancient rout, notoriously in the pocket of Sir Ernest Cassel and a group of Franco-Belgian monty-enders. Edward VII, just as he and others often do to other people in human history—the present Lord Balfour and sundry other British politicians made an alliance, secret in character, which was the diplomatic reflection of a financial community of interests already existing for some time between coteries of moneybags on both sides of the Channel. Antwerp and London this dirty gang set themselves—just like the equally unscrupulous rascals associated with the Deutsche Bank and the Bleichroder’s antagonists—to corrupt the mercenary politicians both, reactionary and reformist, of this solemnality. As to the mysterious French intrigue and the French capitalists were able to hurl a combination of powers against the blustering might of German and Austrian Kaiserism. The result of the war is well known to everybody. When it came to making the peace, Britain and France alike held their hands up to heaven, swearing eternal allegiance to the divine principle of the self-determination of small nationalities. This new policy of radical republican groupsters was much more to the interest of France than that of Britain. The British capitalists exhibit a singular delight at the disintegration of the Austro-Hungary divided up into a jigsaw puzzle of tiny states drawing their financial and military support from Paris but had to agree to it for, as we English say, “must needs must when the devil drives”. France and Britain have spent four years in reducing a European country to the condition of a rage to peace, and the real reason for all this seeming lunacy has been a struggle, not between two ideas or between two empires, but between two groups of financiers, one of which rose to power in the early 19th century and held the Habsburgs in the hollow of its hand. We are of course in a peace conference of a quarter of a century and has become immensely rich in “promises to pay” since the beginning of the World War. The old group may be summed up in one name—Rothschild. The new group in three names: The Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, the Société Générale de Belgique and the Banque de l’Union Parisienne.

The former is the master of Andrew Bonar Law, the latter of Raymond Poincaré. The year 1923 will see some work amongst the small arabs and their interesting second dance furiously around each other. But that belongs more to the story of Central Europe and less to that of the Rhinelands. Yet they are all of a piece. The question of the oil of Mosul, the masy of the Straits at Constantinople (though it has been turned into a question of the absence of the Straits), and the petrol from Baku also as in payment therefor the cotton piece goods of Manchester; the question of Vienna and the railways and river routes of the Danube Valley; the occupation of the Ruhr—not one can scientifically be separated from its companion.

Some people think that Britain and France will arrange a deal and that in return for a free hand at Mosul and co. of the oil, Andrew Bonar Law, a particularly stiff-necked Scotchman and, for a bourgeois, a singularly honest man, will allow Poincaré to have his own way at Esca and Lechum. They forget that Andrew Bonar Law before he was a politician was a business man, and that he was in business as an iron and steel merchant. He understands probably better even than Poincaré a half dozen of the Comité des Forges, their importance to industry, to armaments to statecraft in the capitalist era, of the disposition of the Ruhr, whether to a weak but independent Germany, a strong and arrogant France, an international control commission which would, probably, be under the thumb of the Comité des Forges, that is to say of the United States Steel Corporation.

This is the problem, the whole mighty problem of the Ruhr, the Ruhr with its mighty river, the Rhine, with its efficient canals, with its stupendous steelworks, with its wonderful waterpower, with its vast population. The Ruhr, if its coking coal and its machinery are allied with the mighty iron fields of Lorraine and Normandy and the finely equipped harbours of Antwerp and Rotterdam, will be a producer and a vendor of steel, the basic material of capitalist production; at a price and in a volume, with which British capitalism can in no way hope to compete.

Sooner or later, somehow or other the proud, unblending British bourgeoisie whose flag has braved a thousand years the battle and the breezes, will find a way to the chain with which French imperialism is trying to bind Britain. The issue can, in my opinion, only be—WAR.

What the British workers think at the present time scarcely matters. They are thinking very little at all about the Ruhr. Even if they do, the Trade Unions have been so hammered by the capitalist offensive (which has, however, seemed only to make their leaders more pudding-headed than before) that they could, in the circumstances of the moment, do little to help the German workers. It is for them a question of trying to get a rise in wages and to find out whether French capitalism enters the Ruhr alone or whether it comes accompanied—for the purpose of keeping an eye cocked upon it—by its fellow bandit, the capitalism of Great Britain.

In my constituency of Motherwell in Scotland where, in normal times, rich ore is produced than anywhere else in Britain with the possible exception of Middlesborough, the works considered according to our standard to be relatively efficient, are like toys in comparison with the works at Bochum, Rhinhausen and Essen. For two years some of them have been closed down. For four years there have been from ten to twenty thousand workers unemployed. The population does not exceed 80,000. These men receive in unemployment pay, inadequate to maintain them in decency and productive efficiency 15/- a week each, or 5/- for the wife and 1/- for each child from the Labour Exchange, supplemented, in some cases, by parish relief. This payment is, utterly inadequate, yet greater than the weekly pay of a German steelworker. This means that our employers, some of whom, to my certain knowledge, are financially interested in Krupp, can use and are actually using the starving men and women to beat down to yet lower levels of degradation and misery the men and women.

The British workers, though not the workers in Motherwell, Barrow and certain other centres where the communist movement is intense, because of our influence strong, do not understand the significance of the occupation of the Ruhr. For example, the trade union business in Britain to point this out and to draw the only conclusion possible, that within capitalism only three things are possible—slavery, starvation and then slaughter!

Against the Treaty of Versailles
By A. Ker (Paris)

The program of action of the French Communist Party places the fight against the Versailles treaty in the foreground of its tasks. It lays upon us the duty of strengthening by word of mouth and by aid of the press the feeling of solidarity finding the workers of France to the workers of Germany. At the same time, we must press upon us the duty of fighting with equal energy against French imperialism against this treaty.

At the same time, various duties are expressed as being special tasks of the French revolutionists, though at the same time coming under the general heading of the universal struggle of the proletariat against treaties of robbery and enslavement: the chief of these specialties is the exposure of the parasitical character of the French bourgeoisie, and the lending of effective support to the proletariat of the vanquished and vassal states, and to the colonial states.

Action in the colonies.

The colonial peoples were appealed to by France and England to fight for right and liberty. France has exhausted a great part of the reserves in the Sahara, Senegal, the Soudan, Madagascar, and Indo-China. France made the lost alluring promises to its colonial slaves. The Arabs of Algeria even hoped for civil rights. All these illusions have been cruelly destroyed. The yoke of the motherland has become even heavier and more oppressive than before the war. North Africa in particular is experiencing a reign of terror. There the communists are practically outlawed. Their letters are opened, their press suppressed and they themselves maltreated.

But at the same time the general movement among the colonial peoples has become a great revolutionary force. It has become no source of indescribable embarrassment for England, and is beginning to occupy public opinion in France. When thrown into the uncertain balance created by the Versailles peace treaty, the demand of the oppressed colonial peoples for emancipation may be decisive weight. Therefore the party must support the native proletarians in their national, political and trade union struggles.
Help for the proletarians of Central Europe.

By the peace treaties our bourgeoisie has created for itself a number of powerful levers for the extension of its political and economic power and at the same time for the extension of the bourgeoisie.

This is, besides, supplemented by a number of more or less secret or at least obscure agreements, ensuring the participation of French capital in the great industrial, commercial, and building undertakings of the vassal states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, and Bulgaria. In this manner powerful groups of capitalists, represented by our greatest firms (Creusot, de Wender, Acieries de la marine, Credit Lyonnais, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Union Parisienne), with the aid of the French government, including the foreign office, share in the industries of the nations, the mines, the textile industry, the railways, the ports, and the banks of the states created or enlarged by the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

This financial, industrial, and military protectorate is nothing more or less than a veiled form of foreign domination. In any case the role being played by our bourgeoisie in the countries of Central Europe and the Balkans creates clearly defined tasks for the French communists. The action of our capitalism in these countries shows itself in two forms: in economic penetration, and in the “white terror.” It is the French bourgeoisie which instigates and leads the reaction in Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Austria. And therefore the communists must come to the aid of the proletariat of these countries, which is dominated by France, in order to forestall their agitation in the country, and their efforts in Parliament.

The enormous profits yielded by the exploitation of Central Europe, and the projects for a complete seizure of German economy, clearly show the part played by French capital in these countries. One cannot suppose that Germany’s solvency does not increase in proportion to the requirements of the French budget. It wants to submit Germany’s finances to the strictest control, it wants to stabilize the mark, collect the German taxes, balance the German government’s accounts, and re-establish Germany itself from the inevitable financial ruin. The balance of our state finances, and the hope of restoration of our ruin, are based on the expectation that a foreign power will pay tribute. In France we have not had the courage to tax the bourgeoisie to the degree in which it has been done in Germany. But what does that mean itself from the provocative or deterioration of Germany’s position. Our government wants to force Germany, by economic and military compulsion, to raise money by further developing her foreign trade. But in this way production is ruined more and more, and the result is the same as the collapse of Russia and after us. So the bourgeoisie, so long as it does not have to pay!”

During the war we exposed the lie of national defense: today we have to expose the parasitical role played by French capital. We must take it in the future as a world bourgeoisie, and limit our efforts to criticizing the world bourgeoisie in general terms. Let us now take up the conflict with our own bourgeoisie in particular, for in view of the leading part which it is playing in world reaction, it is the most dangerous enemy of the world proletariat.

The Communist Successes in the Norwegian Municipal and Rural Council Elections

By Alfred Akermann (Christiania).

The municipal and rural district elections took place in Norway in October and December. The Communist Party ran candidates in 58 towns. In all, 506 communists were elected out of 2,120 members of municipal administrative bodies. The nationalities of the candidates, in the same towns, 30,000 and 85,000 votes respectively.

The municipal councils in the same towns, 30,000 and 85,000 votes respectively.

The labor parties have a majority in five municipalities. In five others they have as many seats as the bourgeois bloc, with the result that the council has but open opportunity to vote against the labor parties.

During the next three years the communists will be the strongest party in Bergen, Trondheim, and 13 other towns. This means in reality, right taken the lead in 13 other towns. With regard to the bourgeois circles, this means a purely representative and only in four places, principally where the pro-bourgeois are unpopular, in the remaining municipalities they have a relative majority, the decision lying here with the few democratic politicians of the middle class.

At the municipal elections in 1919 the labor party won 630 seats. On the occasion of the split which took place two years later, a great part of the elected town councillors joined the social democrats, and formed special organizations, for the most part in opposition to the old party organization. After the split a total of 333 followers of the party established 244 social democratic secessionists in 47 municipalities. 501 communists and 233 right socialists have now been elected in these same towns.

A large number of votes cast is of equally great interest. At the parliamentary election last year the social democrats for the first time set up their own candidates. In 44 towns they then received 42,000 votes as compared with 8,000 received by the communists. This time the two parties received at the municipal elections only 13,000 votes, which is the same number as in last year’s. The communists have increased their vote from two-thirds of the total labor vote to three-quarters. In Christiania the party gained 5,000 votes. The increase was from 34,500 to 39,400.

In the other towns the increase was from 44,600 to 45,800. As compared with this, the social-democratic vote in Christiania decreased from 11,500 to 9,300, and in the other towns from 30,300 to 21,000. The capitalist parties have at the same time suffered a serious loss of votes, when comparison is made with the parliamentary election. The absolute gains of the communists are of a greater significance in that the limitations now imposed on municipal suffrage—the right to vote being dependent on over years residence in the municipality—are distinctly unfavourable for the working class. The rural elections displayed the same political character as those in the cities. The country districts comprise almost two thirds of the total population, and represent a very important factor of local administration. As already mentioned, the rural districts in the same towns, 30,000 and 85,000 votes respectively.

The municipal councils in the same towns, 30,000 and 85,000 votes respectively.

In nine others they possess one half of the total seats. In 25 other districts the combined labor parties have the virtual majority. In one province the party received almost one half of the total votes. Here in 14 cases, the importance of which varies according to circumstances. The communists have gained great influence in the three most important towns of Christiania, Bergen, and Trondheim, and have created a most advantageous situation for the working class, breaking the power hitherto exercised by the bourgeois parties. The creation of a union of municipal and rural councils, administered by the workers, as an instrument for aiding the workers to represent their common interests in the class war.

ECONOMICS

On the Denomination of Paper Money in Soviet Russia

By E. Proeobashensky.

For the second time the Soviet government has struck off a few naughts from the figures of its paper money, that is, it has carried out a denomination. That we may be clear as to the significance of this proceeding, let us first ask the question: What is the difference between a denomination and an actual devaluation of paper money?

Devaluation means a financial measure by which the state transforms the depreciated currency of the country, according to the rate of exchange, into new securities of fixed or gold value. The state actually buys up the old monetary mediums at their market value, paying the owner either in gold, or in paper securities of fixed or gold value. This also implies the undertaking such a devaluation thus declares its bankruptcy, for bourgeois financial law considers the constant issue of fresh paper money for its budget requirements as a form of internal loan. Furthermore, a serious devaluation implies the non-supply of paper money will be made to cover deficits, and assumes as a pre-requisite—conditions in the state itself, favorable to a stable valuation.

Denomination, on the other hand, is purely a measure of convenience. At the first denomination in Soviet Russia last
year, for instance, 100,000 roubles of the old type were rendered equal to one new rouble of the 1922 issue; 4 noughts were thus struck off. At this year's denomination a new rouble becomes equivalent to 100,000 old roubles, or to 100 roubles of the 1922; 2 further naughts are thus struck off. "One rouble" is still used and spoken instead of "one million"; the rouble of 1922 is worth the hundredth part of the new rouble; it is equal to a kopek.

Denomination is thus simply a reduction of the gold nominal; it does not alter the purchasing power in any way, for this, purchasing power is determined by the laws regulating traffic in goods and money in the country. The sole significance of a denomination is a simplification of calculation. The denomination of 1923 has thus struck off 6 noughts at one time from the old money and substituted, the factor of issue outweigh all other factors in the improvement of the currency. (as in Russia to-day). But neither in the one case nor in the other is there any expropriation of a part of money capital as a result of the denomination. Where, then, is nothing more than a very limited resumption of what has already been done. The false idea of a denomination also bears witness to a prejudice of bourgeois financial scence. This science invariably regards state issue of paper money, accompanying sinking monetary standards, not as a particular kind of tax, but as certain form of credit operation at the expense of the money circulation of the country, though in actual fact this is only the case when issues are made in the interests of traffic, and the rate of exchange is fixed, that is, under quite different financial conditions. Another naive conception is based on the expectation that a "covenanted" money which has occupied itself for some time, and, therefore, the money could reimburse the population by raising the rate of exchange to pre-war value. Quite apart from the fact that the values depreciated by the issues do not permit of reimbursement, there is the additional factor of the financial view point to replace precisely those values which have been lost by depreciation in the rate of exchange. Let the German or the French government make an attempt at compensating their citizens for the losses they have suffered since the war through the depreciation of the bank or the credit facilities.

It may be said of the latest Russian denominations that it has passed off quite painlessly. The new rouble has already banished the old "million," or, as it has been colloquially expressed, the "thunder" (lemon); and it will not be long before every one will have forgotten the "thunder" and much more convenient method of counting money. But as soon as conditions permit to undertake a real financial reform, that is, the establishment of a fixed rate of exchange, the question of outworn methods of secondary importance. The actual question is the liquidation of the budget deficit.

The State Bank of Russia

By A. Chvetsov

I. Its difficulties and achievements.

The Soviet State Bank recently celebrated its first anniversary. In October, 1921, the fourth Pan-Russian Executive Session of the Soviets voted for the establishment of the state bank which the new economic situation had made necessary. On the 15th of November following, the State Bank ( Gosbank) began its operations.

The founding of the bank involved almost insurmountable difficulties. Yet, within a year, one sees the appearance of a great national bank, possessing a complete system of branches, and firm in the confidence of the public.

Other equally serious difficulties have been overcome; for instance, establishing a credit. And in applying the ordinary rules of credit under the exceptional circumstances following close on a social revolution, the bank has had no light task. How fix the rate of discount and the interest on credit with a paper constantly depreciating? It was necessary to proceed carefully, step by step, to avoid the losses of one venture by the gains of another, until practical solutions were arrived at. The bank issues notes on a gold basis and under favorable circumstances discounts commercial drafts. It finances nationalized industries, it contributes to the revival of agriculture by the granting of long-term credits and encourages the development of business.

One should mention here, among the bank's commercial operations, its participation in the corn trade. The agricultural revival has not been entirely sufficient for its task, and the bank has implemented it by the purchase of great quantities of cereals.

The Bank has played an important part in the repairing of public buildings both in city and country. In this field private initiative has been largely encouraged and credits freely granted.

Before reviewing the chief results obtained by the State Bank in Russia, it should be remembered that they have had to be attained under the greatest possible difficulties. The bank has had to improvise, to adapt itself to situations both new and unforeseen even by the experts; in short, to achieve revolutionary results in a period of actual transition.

Note: the figures quoted in the following sections are in gold roubles.

II. Loans on Wheat.

The loans on wheat continue to be repaid. A total sum of 10 million gold roubles has been covered as follows:

1. To provincial branches of the Bank , 3,096,659 or 39.7% 
2. Sold at Moscow , 2,013,884 or 20.1% 
3. Sold to State organs (To nationalized industries and to co-operatives) , 1,772,320 or 17.7% 
4. Exchanged against merchandise with nationalized industries , 257,980 or 2.6% 
5. Given to co-operatives and to State organs on basis of long term loans , 1,000,000 or 10.0% 
6. Sums turned over to various commissariats in payment of salary arrears , 990,261 or 9.9% 

10,000,000 or 100% 

Most of the bonds have finally found their way into the hands of the peasant population, which has received them in one way or another, in private industry or administration and are used for the payment of the state's indirect taxes. 80% of the bonds have been exchanged against merchandise or paid in ready money. Thus the object of the loan, which was to furnish the State Bank with resources which permit the restriction of emissions, has been attained.

The loan on wheat has also convinced the peasants, especially in the country to appeal with confidence to the credit facilities of the State.

III. Loans for the purchase of Horses.

The lack of horses is one of the worst drawbacks for agricultural Russia, ruined by imperialist and civil war and by famines. The State Bank has, since August, placed important sums at the disposal of the peasants for the purchase of horses.

These credits are at the disposal of the Commissariat of agriculture and of famine relief. The loan, bearing 5% interest, is to be repaid in two installments by the 1st of December, 1924. Preference in distributing the loan is given to those injured in war and industry and to peasants who have lost their horses either in the service of the state or as a result of a public calamity.

The credit for the Revival of Cattle Raising examined all the horses received, so that the population receives some but healthy animals.

The horses, are bought in Kuban, in the Orenbourg region, in Siberia and in the Ukraine. The arrival of the first shipment of horses from Kazan, about the 20th of October, created a great stir among the peasants.

The establishment of loans for the purchase of horses is proving, in the rural districts, one of the most fortunate activities of the State Bank.
**The Labor Movement**

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the Balkans

By G. Dimitrov.

The trade union movement in the Balkan states (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Greece, and Turkey) is comparatively young. With the trade union organizations within the territory of the one-time Austro-Hungarian state, which was united to Yugoslavia, the trade unions of the other Balkan countries have been formed during the last 20 years.

The trade union movement in the Balkans is developing in the atmosphere of a permanent struggle between labor and capital. The competition and pressure of the capitalist class is helping to create a more powerful and better organized European capitalism that has caused the workers to be exploited with a barbarism which only finds comparables in the backward colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Even before the war, the trade unions were forced to carry on long and difficult struggles for every trifling improvement in working conditions, while in many other European countries certain improvements were gained by means of peaceful negotiations between trade unions and management.

The trade unions of the Balkan states have had to fight for the bare right of existence, have had to defend themselves against many attacks involving great conflicts and sacrifices.

It is thus very well comprehensible that opportunism has not been so successful in the trade union movement of the Balkan countries as is the case in the European movements, and that it has not been able to influence the theory and practice of the trade union movement in the direction of class peace, and of collaboration with the proletariat and bourgeoisie. And there has been even less room for a trade union bureaucracy ready to play flunky to the bourgeoisie.
Defense against the Capitalist Offensive in France
By Bernard Lescache

In 1921 the press, at the behest of a French government which had come more and more dependent on the capitalist class, proclaimed the necessity of a "reduction in prices". Soon after this report appeared prices were actually reduced. If the reports were to be believed, high prices had simply vanished. This was nothing but a legend; there had been no reduction in prices.

The fact is that the metal workers' union, in the persons of its famous leaders—Merrheim, Lébé, and Lévy—formed from participating in the equal representation committees under the pretext of instituting investigations regarding costs of living. These commissions are direct connective organs between capitalism and the working class. Actual links joining capitalism and reformist trade unionism are not able to taste the fruits of this collaboration between the classes. The metal workers' share in the produce of labor was rapidly diminished, cut down in the most shameful way. An index was set up which was destined to further a reduction in wages. The representatives of the trade unionists, at their head, accepted this reduction. Within less than two years—from May 1920 to January 1922—the workers were obliged to submit to three reductions in wages, mainly through the personal fault of their representatives, in order to make the cost of living actually less? The ex., contrary is the case. In fact, the severe winter of 1921 prices showed a tendency to rise. The metal workers, thus robbed of their illusions, and meeting one disappointment after another, demonstrated in considerable energy against the reduction of their wages. Merrheim's star began to decline. At this time—in December 1921—the split in the trade union was brought about through the fault of the Socialists. The Unitarian General Labor Confederation (CGT) was formed. Immediately after coming into existence, the new unitarian metal trade union declared itself general: a number of fighting movements following one another in close succession, and clearly and determinedly directed against reductions of wages of its members.

The first conflict broke out in the Département du Nord—in Vienne Montan. More than 12,000 workers were expected to submit to a fresh reduction of wages. The workers adopted the good old tactics of trying to undermine the solidarity of the workers. In this they failed however; the 20,000 workers held together, proclaimed a strike, and were victorious.

A few weeks later the foundry workers of Marseilles ceased work for fifteen days, in order to force the management to reduce to them to a ten per cent wage reduction. They were successful in getting the wage reduction lessened to 2 per cent.

Another strike broke out in Lille, and lasted for 13 weeks, 20,000 workers protested against a 10 per cent wage reduction. The employers were obliged to capitulate in this case also.

In the Département du Nord the chain-smiths withstood and took the the employers on their wages by fifteen weeks of determined and united fighting, and were successful in repelling the attack. This was followed by the general war of wages, more than 15 weeks of the severest struggle against a united band of capitalists, the workers were defeated. The movement, which had been general in Havre for a few days, could not be extended further. But they reeded the all-powerful Iron Works Committee, which dictated its will to the government.

At the same time, an equally imposing metal workers' strike in the Seine et Loire district failed for precisely the same reason. In the Département Loire Supérieure, in Vantes, the mere beginning of a defensive movement sufficed to bring the employers to reason, as they feared a general strike extening over the whole country. This result was obtained by the determined unanimity of the 20,000 metal workers, who did not even require to lay down their tools.

This point towards there being no more strikes. The employers generally put up no struggle, even in a pressure of the organizations. But still they are at Havre, in the railwaymen of Bailleul (quarter of Paris) and the 25 workers were obliged to resort to a strike to force their exploiters to abandon their wage reducing plans at least for the present.

What is the situation otherwise?
In the tailoring workshops, and in the works controlled by the Iron Works Committee, wage reductions have been made, with the result that large numbers of workers have left the district altogether. A secret circular issued by the Socialists of Havre regrets this circumstance, and complains, through this organization, against the industrial undertakings of the Département du Nord for taking these workers into their employment.

The workers in the building trade have been considerably affected. Where the former had been organized, but only developed the workers have had to submit to fairly large reductions in wages. In the Paris district, on the other hand, the building workers union has been more active, there has been practically no reduction in wages. In fact, in the year 1921, the miners' wages were reduced in various instalments, from 50 to 8 francs per shift.
It is an actual fact that in one mining undertaking, 260 workmen were dismissed because of the shortage of work, and more than that they could start again if they would give a written pledge to work ten hours a day. This case is not isolated, and it is especially in small undertakings, standing alone, that the employers openly approach the workers for longer working hours. The plans of the Seipel government towards a "sound basis" are obviously drawn up with the intention of exerting the longest possible working hours out of the workers. Even now, the trade unions lend willing aid toward lengthening working hours. In the "Engine Drivers", the organ of this organization, it was explained that the eight hours only applied to the time of actual official duty. Preparatory and subsequent work were not to be reckoned, so that the practical carrying out of this organization shows immediately that that which in the interpretation have actually already been introduced, step by step of course, so that we have no longer to reckon on an eight hour day for engine drivers etc., but with a nine hours day. In private industrial undertakings, 60 to 70 per cent of working time at short time, there is as yet no open effort on the part of the employers to lengthen working hours. At present they are merely endeavouring to increase the army of unemployed, to reduce the wages of the workers employed, and to increase the misery of the unemployed, so that they may utilize these in their main attack against the eight hour day. It is characteristic that despite short-time, despite the hundreds of thousands of unemployed, the leading theme of the bourgeoisie press, and of the capitalist conferences, is the necessity of doing away with the eight hour day.

So far as the reformist trade unions are concerned, the capitalists will find but few obstacles thrown in their way. They have already demonstrated that they are not only willing to tolerate, but are prepared to demand, a nine hours day, or even a ten hours day, and believe that the state of affairs is very different among the working people. To their honor it must be said that they have resisted every attempt at bribery, and have only succumbed to the extreme pressure of trade union bureaucracy. It may thus be confidently expected that, as soon as all undertakings are running again, they will defend themselves against the united attacks. The eight hour day law in Austria was, in actual practice, only an official sanction of an already existing state of affairs. Most categories of workers had already taken this day. And besides, the workers will thus be able, despite the endeavours of the capitalists, and despite a complacent trade union bureaucracy, to maintain the eight hour day and to render all attacks against it abortive.

The Development of the Class Struggle in Cuba

By L. Guerrero.
The real history of the working class movement in Cuba begins with the revolution which gave independence to the island. The movement came swiftly and boldly to proclaim the incorrigible conflict of classes. It won many offensive victories against the new Cuban Bourgeoisie despite its youth, it declared war upon all that was Bourgeoisie and all the things that characterized it. The bourgeoisie, that implacable enemy. It fought with courage and audacity. Though it held no special view regarding the Proletarian state, at least, it fought. It was a movement of bold action, of war to the knife with the enemy, in the face of enormous difficulties. Before the revolution, the imperialists had looked upon her as a possession of only minor importance from the capitalist point of view. She merely served as a place of exile for serious delinquents and for inconvenient preachers of the class struggle. But when the island was peaceful all the year round, it was also the meeting place of prominent bourgeois, out for enjoyment and distraction. But, as far as the Cubans themselves were concerned, they were allowed to die of starvation and misery. Since the entire ruling class was1 foreign, their interests were the same as that of the other Cuban and another. The Spanish bourgeoisie was the undisputed master of Cuba, and all the people, a single class, were at its mercy. Under this rule there existed only exploited Cubans and exploiting bourgeoisie Spaniards. This brutal tyranny of the imperialis Spaniards and the people breathed more freely. But this event by no means liberated all of them who had been exiled under the foreign exploiters. It signalized merely a new phase of history; it plumped the oppressed people into a new epoch, the epoch of the class struggle.

Because of its immense riches and of its geographical situation, Cuba has passed under the guardianship of the United States. The petty bourgeoisie, whose number has increased w.
such enormous rapidity since the revolution, have copied in every detail the government at Washington, their stranger of today. All in all, the situation in which the cunning politicians of the United States, serve largely to a

development of the bourgeois class and the exploitation of human and material resources. The American capitalists had an eye open for the future of Cuba, and perhaps, the possibility of exploitation rested largely upon the form of state and government. So, they have succeeded in establishing their institutions, and have safeguarded them with innumerable political and economic treaties, among others, that of Monroe, which has been taken step by step, and this cord, so long attached to the neck of Cuba, the formal execution began under the hands of the bourgeoisie of the United States.

Earlier, the new Cuban bourgeoisie had embraced the executioner as its \"Liberator\", its \"Messiah\", desired to carry the persecution of the republicans in a capitalistic class. But this dream has been shattered by later events.

By reason of its nearness to a country so developed, Cuba has quickly absorbed productive discipline and has developed industriously with astounding rapidity. The penetration of capitalism has brought with it an almost complete extermination of the small manufacturers and their absorption in the large industries.

This event has hastened the rapid division of the Cuban people into classes, or, rather, the way for the historic struggle. Cuba, at the present moment, is considered to be a country considerably developed from the point of view of production and of the division of classes. There are two ruling classes in the island, the Cuban and the foreign. The latter is evidently the stronger, but the former, from the point of view of the worker, they are equal, they fight side by side against the Cuban Proletariat.

The course of capitalist development has not been wholly peaceful nor without sacrifice. There have been revolutionary explosions from within the bourgeois foundation. The new bourgeoisie, drunk with the success of liberation from the tyrant, embraced its ally, and together, they began to dictate their terms to the working class. But they discovered the truth.

The working class, influenced by the large number of Spanish workers who had come over as exiles or for some other reason, inherited their fighting experience and set up its trade unions against the new bourgeoisie, who suffered defeat after defeat under the attacks of labor democracy. They have carried for astonishment at these attacks. The trade unions have fought the whole country, united more and more in a fighting front.

But the petty bourgeoisie learned its lesson soon enough. Under its leadership, new unions started to flourish rapidly. One
soon saw the adoption of new tactics to protect its position. The new tactics imported from America began to play their effective part in the struggle between the classes for power. The state, the bourgeois government, backed by the American government, signalized the beginning of the undeserved by deportation, by imprisonment, by assassination. The victories gained by the working class have begun more and more difficult to retain, the exploiters have begun to regain their power. For they have discovered the value, of association among classes without treason and without any collaboration. By such means, they have prepared a resistance of iron, while the Cuban working class has begun to struggle in the confusion, without a definite stand, divided in the face of its common enemy. The situation has become tragic for the workers' organizations. After a certain number of bloody strikes for better working conditions, for the carrying out of the eight hour day, discouragement is deepening in the ranks of the working class. The lack of unified effort in the ranks of the working class has been a great hindrance to their success. The movement for the laborers' austerity and clear stand, has plunged the Cuban proletariat into further confusion. Our Cuban comrades, after their first victories over the eight hour day, have seen the petty bourgeoisie reorganize its damaged front and prepare a plan to attack us. The organizations hold the positions with no fortifications. They remain ever divided, each group with its craft organization, without national or international centralization, a prey to the
unity and strength of the capitalist class.

In the midst of World War I, the capitalist class, under two distinct tendencies, Anarchism and Socialism. Naturally, as in the rest of the world, there was a constant struggle between them, since there is no common basis for the principles of Marx and those of Bakunin. Nevertheless, they fought with unusual animosity, strengthened by the facts of being agents of the police, etc. But before the reaction, they were practically equal. Their papers suppressed, their centers closed by the government, they have become victims destined to disappear. Perhaps, this event clears the way for the reorganization of the proletariat front in Cuba under a definite program, and a program united with national and international revolutionary politics.

The anarchists who came from Spain in such numbers since the revolution, with their vague and flighty concept of a practical class war, are today disorganized. Atrocities and the ineradicable conception of liberty, undisciplined, uncentralized, have hastened the rout of the proletarian organizations in the island. Leaning to the right like the politicians of the bourgeois class, they have often betrayed their own anarchism and the entire working class.

Nor has the little group of socialists contributed more to bring about the destruction of the Anarchists. Strengthened with revolutionary Marxism. With a position almost indistinguishable, without a definite stand for the proletarian state, for revolutionary tactics among economic organizations, or for the daily struggle of the masses, they fought confusedly, without so much as attempting to create a definite objective for the proletariat. True, they have had their victims like the anarchists, and they have contributed something to the trouble between the classes, but the working class of Cuba cannot pardon either the Anarchists or the Socialists for their confused action, to the disorganization of the labor movement. Still it is not too late to redeem these old mistakes, and for that, no moment had been more opportune than the present. The Russian revolution has cleared the road for the emancipation of the proletariat. Cuba cannot fail to take advantage of this opportunity to renew the old struggle, to take a genuinely revolutionary stand which will amaze the entire world by its boldness. For the working class of Cuba has understood well enough, the historical significance of the Russian revolution and knows how to appreciate the sacrifices of Red Russia.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Struggle of the Soviet Republic Against the Counter-Revolution

By Ashmarin

(The occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Tcheka.)

The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for combating counter-revolution and profiteering (the Tcheka) was founded on the 20th of December, 1917, in Petrograd. During the first period of its activity, the technical apparatus of the commission was exceedingly limited; it was composed of a collegium of 10 and of 120 employees. The development of the struggle with counter-revolution has gradually enlarged the commission to gradually enlarge its apparatus, until it became a mighty organization extending over the whole country. We shall try to trace in broad outline what the Tcheka has brought to light from out of the subterranean darkness of counter-revolutionary conspiracy, and to give a slight idea of its extraordinary operations.

The Soviet Republic inherited many mighty bourgeois organizations from the Kerensky government; these had gradually deserted Kerensky, and being disappointed with the revolution, lounged to return to the past. The Russian bourgeoisie, and the liberal democratic classes closely related to it, gathered together in Moscow in July 1917, after the Cadea had withdrawn from the Coalition Government. This organization, a non-socialist element in the country from this centre. In the middle of October the National Political Council was formed, which worked towards the restoration of the monarchy, and opened up connection with the counter-revolutionists. Kolchak and Denikin and their followers were its leaders.

The Trade and Industrial Committee united the big bourgeoisie of Moscow, which had no faith in the provisional government, and greatly feared the threatened proletarian revolution. The activity of the Committee in the period 1918-19 shows the hidden side of the struggle of the big bourgeoisie against the Soviet power. The representatives of the Committee frequently visited the German embassy in Moscow, at the same time keeping up relations with the Allies. The agents of the Committee were people who previously lived solely on the hope of the overthrow of the Soviet power, made active preparations for reconquering the nationalized factories should counter-revolution be victorious, and financed the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organizations.
We now pass to the organizations which were founded after the November Revolution.

The Right Centre was founded in March, 1919, by the representatives of the National Council, the Cadets, and other counter-revolutionary organizations. Its main object was the resurrection of the Eastern Front against the enemy, and for this reason it was concerned in the Entente, and was supported by the S.R.'s. In the autumn of 1918, the Right Centre collapsed, as most of its leading functionaries went south.

The story and the role of the League of Rebirth is briefly as follows. Rebirth was made sufficiently clear by the trial of the Right Social Revolutionaries. The August of Rebirth occupied a common platform with the monarchists and Cadets, acknowledged Koltchak's power, and kept up relations with the Entente and with the White Guard generals in the South.

The National Committee was founded in May-June, 1918. It gathered together the representatives of all anti-socialist parties. It was headed by Tchenkin, who was also the leading figure in the League of Rebirth. The Centre maintained relations with the White Guard General Alekseyev, with the representatives of the Entente, and united in a bloc with the Association of Socialist Parties maintaining the Idea of the State and the League of Rebirth. Its agents endeavoured to disorganize the army, its Petrograd organizations performed the work of spies for Vudenin.

In 1918 the Tchenkin discovered a great counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the Association for the Defence of Fatherland and Liberty, headed by Saviakov. The members of this organization, one-time officers, enlisted in the Entente armies without mentioning their former profession. The organization was to instigate the officers on the common ground of patriotism and of hate against the Soviet power. The risings in Moscow and Kazan were prevented by the Tchenkin, but the centre of the association fled, and set to work energetically to prepare the organization of the Red Army, the blowing up of bridges, etc. Lockhart, Lavergne (French agent), and Pool (American agent), were exchanged for the Bolsheviks retained in the concentration camps of England and France. Their agents had however to answer for the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, in the famous "Lockhart trial!"

The Trench Centre, which was composed of monarchists, Cadets, Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and other groups, stood for the establishment of a new governmental system with absolutist activity in the cause of overthrowing the Soviet power; it is solely due to the watchfulness of the Tchenkin that this most dangerous organization was rendered harmless in good time.

The first collapse of the Association was accomplished by the first of the well-known "Fathersland and Liberty" risings, which occurred after the famous Yaroslavl rising, when the White Guards were successful in seizing power. After the rising in Yaroslavl had been suppressed, and under other attempts at mutiny had been prevented, the association ceased to exist, but came to life again in 1920. This organization was finally crushed by the Tchenkin in 1921.

We make only brief mention of the provocations of the central committee of the Left Social Revolutionaries, which inspired the murder of the German ambassador Mirbach, and other crimes committed in Petrograd. Without wishing to draw attention to the fact that at the moment of the rising, half of the collegium of the Tchenkin was composed of left social revolutionaries; the deputy chairman and the majority of the troops were also from the ranks of the Social Revolutionaries. This is the sole explanation of their activity. Our rapid and energetic action was successful in arresting the fraction of the Left Social Revolutionaries at the Soviet congress, and to put an end to these futile attempts.

We remember the murderous act perpetrated against the Moscow committee of our party in Leonov St., many of whose party comrades were killed and wounded. The Tchenkin speedily discovered the culprits, and arrested all the "sabotage anarchists" concerned in the affair. This action was of immense importance for the agitation with the White Guards of the Ukraine and of the Don district.

In Petrograd the Tchenkin had no light task. Here the conspiracies of one-time officers were frustrated, and in November 1919 a conspiracy organized by an English spy was discovered. In the summer of 1921, the Tchenkin discovered a huge conspiracy which seriously threatened the republic. The Tchenkin crushed the great military-terrorist organization which was connected with the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s. The Tchenkin played an important role in the unceasing struggle with the right social revolutionaries. The activity of the right S.R.'s was revealed in its true light before the proletariat of Russia and of the whole world at the public S.R. trial held in Moscow during the summer of 1921. It was shown that the energy of the Tchenkin that the Russian peasantry has been finally freed from the banditism which was endangering our agriculture, and which formed a great support of the White Guards. At the present time banditism has almost completely ceased.

After the organizational forces of the counter-revolution had been scattered, after internal and external enemies had been ruthlessly crushed, the Tchenkin ceased to play a great role, and we would like to pass on to the economy of work.

The Tchenkin, now dissolved, was replaced by an organism adapted to peaceful conditions, the State Political Administration (G.P.U.).

The new economic policy, which represents a medium for the economic revival of a country exhausted by imperial and civil war, leaves a loophole through which ideology antagonistic to Soviet Russia is endeavouring to make its way. Unwary fight against the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship, against the traitors on the economic field, and against the social struggles of the workers, must be discovered and stopped—these are the future tasks of the G.P.U.

This work was carried on by the G.P.U., during the year 1922, with an energy by no means inferior to that shown by the heroic Extraordinary Commission.

Salary Increases

Some valuable information. — The real wage of the Russian worker more than halved in that by comparison with German wages.

By V. Soisky (Moscow).

There is no doubt that the material condition of the worker throughout the world has grown worse since the end of the war. This is noticeable in varying proportions, both in victorious and in defeated countries. The closing of foreign markets to many countries with high valuta—the United States, England, Italy, Czechoslovakia—have caused serious unemployment. Wages in these countries have been constantly decreased in the hope of decreasing the cost of production. In the countries with low valuta, real wages have decreased daily owing to the rapid increase in the cost of living, an increase much more rapid than the increase in wages.

We saw the same phenomena until recently in Soviet Russia, in consequence of the civil war and the blockade which ruined production. It was obvious that better material conditions for the Russian workers, and especially an increase in real wages, were dependent upon the general restoration of production. But here the crisis has already been passed, and the condition of the worker closely follows the improved economic conditions; we need only cite certain figures to show how rapidly and in what proportions the real wages of the Russian workers are increasing.

To render our figures more correct, we have reckoned the wages of the Russian worker in gold roubles. Thus, in January 1922, a textile worker earned on the average 4.50 roubles per month, a mechanic 5.30 roubles, a Skinner 3 roubles. In September 1922, we find these wages more than doubled, the weaver earns 9.60, the metal workers 13.32, the Skinner about 12 roubles.

And the raising of wages continues. What are they at this moment in December? Here is a table suggestive of what is being accomplished. It shows that real wages are well on the way upward. If we compare the wages obtained for the same products, the wages obtained in 1921 are reckoned as 100 and present wages calculated in relation to this standard.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1922</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metal industry</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical industries</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>131.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which gives us, in Moscow, a general average of 60%. It is noticeable that in certain industries, such as Tobacco, wages are higher than under the old regime. And further, it is to be remembered that the cost of living in Russia is still high. For instance, certain privileges from the State, free municipal service, wood at cheap rates, provisions at cost price.

We are certainly justified in concluding from this that the real wages of the Russian worker are rapidly approaching their pre-war standard.
When they have reached the pre-war standard, there is no reason for supposing that they will stop there. Soviet Russia is the only country in the world where the least improvement in the economic condition is bound to translate itself almost immediately into an improvement in the condition of the workers. To prove the truth of this statement, one has only to consider for a moment the wages in Germany. And here the contrast is astounding. Before the war, a qualified German worker earned on an average 30 marks a week. On the first of December, he was earning between 5,400 and 5,860 marks. In 1914 his salary was not far from 50 marks a week. With his 3,800 marks he can today buy 7 or 8 pounds. If one takes sugar instead of meat as the measure of comparison the result is even more overwhelming; since reckoned in this commodity the German worker receives only 10 to 15 per cent of his real pre-war wages! The power of buying a commodity in Germany is therefore at their worst, i.e., in Germany and in Austria. But a study of real wages in Italy, or even in Switzerland or among the English miners, leaves little room for rejoicing.

These observations lead us to the conclusion that wages keep decreasing in most of the capitalist countries, even in Russia, in spite of the formidable difficulties of economic recon
ere: they are increasing.

FASCISM

The Reign of Terror in Italy

By Umberto Terraccini

All the Italian newspapers, Fascist, pro-Fascist, neutral, and anti-Fascist, publish long reports on the frightful carnage in Turin; there is no comment, the horrible drama of bloody and cowardly barbarity has everywhere called forth confusion and disgust. The bare chronicle of events suffices, all comment is superfluous. The killing of the workers is so monstrous that it is impossible to imagine that conditions which were here are still more tolerable... (continues).

Within a few days Mr. Mussolini will again cross the frontier in order to hold diplomatic consultation with a colleague of the countries of the Entente, and the halo conferred on him through shedding the workers' blood will shine more brilliantly than before. We also will abstain from comment. We also will abstain from comment. We also will abstain from comment. We also will abstain from comment...

... The killing of the tramway worker Matteo Chiarello was a most dramatic episode. He was sitting at supper with his wife and child, when a knuck was heard at the door. He got up, opened the door, and asked, "Who are you looking for?" "The tramway worker Matteo Chiarello." "I am he," the reply, and at the same time a murderous blow fell on the head of the woman. Wife and child sprang up and called for help, but they were staggered and fell; a bullet had gone through an artery...

... The shoemaker Mario Probo, now lying severely wounded in hospital, met a troop of Fascists, who placed him on a lorry and drove him away from Poleto. Here two shots were fired at him, and he was thrown into the water. The scene had been observed by some citizens, who, after the Fascists had gone away, pulled him out of the water and took him to the hospital...

... Karl Berruti was conducted outside of the town in a motor car by 4 or 5 Fascists, and then set down in order to run. A number of shots put an end to his life...

... The tramway assistant Luigi Barolo met a Fascist patrol. He was asked, "Are you Barolo?" "Yes, the reply, and at the same time a murderous blow fell on the head of the man...

... In Borgo St. Donato, two Fascists fired at a man, apparently a workman, lying with his head in a pool of blood; the breath rattle in his throat. He was taken to the hospital where it found that he was fractured. The man's name is Chiemmio. He is well known as a Fascist. The Fascist had seized him and a friend of his in the afternoon and had afterwards released the friend; some witnesses maintain that the Fascist dragged Chiemmo through the town the whole evening...

... Shortly after midnight, a manufacturer who was going along the Corso noticed a man lying in the street and groaning. He had a large shot wound in the forehead; his face was covered with blood. The man was discovered to be Pietro Ferrero, secretary to the Turin metal workers' section; he was very well known, having always had to carry out the negotiations with the authorities and manufacturers during trade union conflicts...

... During an expedition a Fascist patrol entered the tavern of a certain Leone Mazza. All that is known is that, the neighbours heard a tremendous noise, and several shots. When the smoke cleared up, a body appeared shortly afterwards, they found Mazzola dead in his bed. A large stab wound had made him in the body, a shot from a revolver had hit him in the temple. It is assumed that the Fascists had found the sign of the hammer and sickle when searching the house...

... About 6 a.m., the Fascists set fire to the Labor Headquarters, which they had occupied in the morning. The sigh for the fire was given by a loud explosion, a shell with a fuse having been placed for the purpose at the highest point of the building, the tower. From here the flames spread with the greatest rapidity. The flames darted from all the windows, spreading with enormous speed, being fed by benzine purposely poured on the floors...

This incendiary act had been carefully prepared in every detail. One of the Fascists, with whom we have conversed, has told us this himself: it was intended to completely destroy the whole building. And the fire did actually reach the intermediate story and the ground floor premises within a very short time. From time to time the detonations of percussion caps were heard, interspersed with the shrill cries of the Fascists that the violent explosions of bombs and mines intended to spread the fire were rapidly immobile.

The half open door presently fell a prey to the flames; a dark figure had poured in an inflammable liquid causing it to take fire.

The Fascists formed a complete chain of troops around the building. The unmoving figures in their black shirts contrasted strangely to the purple background of flames. When the fire was at its height, the Fascist song "Gironezza" was sung, accompanied by the music of a band. A large roll of paper was brought on. The Labor Chamber, which served to kindle bonfires here and there.

Numerous Fascists and small groups of soldiers of the royal guard (police troops) remained near the burning building. Some of the police constables also put in an appearance, but these were prevented from joining in the destruction of the Fascists to have the building completely ruined. This determination was confirmed by the fact that when the fire brigade received news of the fire, and hastened to the spot to extinguish the front of the Fascists forbade the fire brigade to even approach the burning building...

... The dead bodies of two men, apparently workmen, were found in a ravine near the Barriera di Caiole. Near one of them a piece of paper was found with the inscription: "You have killed us, killed us...

The frightful list of dead is not concluded; every day brings fresh names of unfortunate victims, new details of tragedy. The Fascists are absolutely determined to break the last resistance of the workers...

... Of the evening of the day of horror, in the midst of the raging terror, the following communiqué was placarded by the military command of the Turin Fascists:

The citizens are herewith called upon to raise the national flag, draped with crape, as a sign of mourning for the death of the young Fascist Dresida!

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

What is Being Done

By Edgar, T. Whitehead

(Member of Berlin-Central Committee of the Workers International Russian Relief)

After the four terrible years of the World War, the years of civil war with the attacks of the armies subsidized by Capitalist Governments, the sufferings from the blockade, and the horrors of the unexamined Volga Famine, the First Workers Republic has at last won through to a period of comparative peace and tranquility.

The Needs of Soviet Russia Today.

There are two main tasks that face the First Workers Republic. These are the development of production, both in the agricultural and industrial fields, and the care for that legacy of the famine, the many many thousands of orphan children. Both fields of activity demand the most careful organization known as the Workers' International Russian Relief.

The Needs of the Children.

The bare statistics covering orphan children in Russia are such as must cause the most hardened supporters of the system...
of privilege and exploitation to feel remorse at the results of their
evil deeds to the First Workers Republic in blood.

To-day no fewer than 2,150,000 young children are orphaned
in Russia and entirely dependent upon State support or private
charity. It is a task of W. Comrades, the Soviet Government, gla-
yly, that the existence of these children is at stake.

At present these little orphans are being cared for as follows:
Through the establishments of the Russian Trade Unions and the
Red Army, 550,000 children are being looked after. The Soviet
Government is also providing some of these children with
education, the American Relief, the Quakers, and others,
are caring for 1,350,000 children. The organization of the remain-
ing 270,000 waifs from the famine is also being undertaken by
the Soviets.

This situation was brought to the Workers Relief at their
International Conference held in July last, and a decision was
then made to take over the responsibility for 20,000 of these little
people. This figure may seem small, but even then it
means the raising of £20,000 immediately to establish the neces-
sary homes, and a further £80,000 monthly for maintenance
of these homes. It is estimated that these homes will cost the
Government from the pennies and sixpences of Workers, ground
down exploitation and harrassed by unemployment in all countries.

So far some 14,000 children situated in 34 different homes
in different parts of Russia have been taken over, and soon we
hope, as the movement gathers momentum, to have the full quota
of children united. In particular the Dutch, French, and
German, have their own homes, supervised by women workers
of these countries, where not only the rationing, but the education
and care of these children is fully looked after in every way. The
Centre for the Workers' Relief is in Tchelabinsk. We hope soon to
be able to announce the foundation of a “Keir Hardie” home, on which the
efforts of workers of Britain could be focussed.

Productive Help for Russia.

This second field of help for Russia is neither so simple
nor so straightforward as the Relief Work for the Orphans.

A start was made in the famine days, when it was found
that there was a serious shortage of tools and implements of
tools and implements were made in several Russian factories.

But a much deeper and more systematic Productive Relief
soon developed. This grew naturally from the experiences of the
Workers Relief in the famine area, which showed that not only
was it a case of rationing the starving, but much more of building
up a trade so as to provide for the requirements of the
future famines. The management of several large estates was
taken over, and it was found by experience that the combination
of western technique when harnessed to the labor power of the
peasant workers, rapidly produced most gratifying improvements.

The inspection of both these estates in Kasa and they compared
favorably with the cultivation and good management of English
country estates.

A great advantage of this form of productive help for Russia
lies in the fact that each tractor and a certain amount of agricultural machinery, excellent
results may quickly be reached.

A much more serious problem was the question of help in
rebuilding the industrial undertakings, where not only is consider-
it women do not take their place in it. The women who are expen- died in the factories and workshops, who receive smaller wages than the men for the same work, or who work for untold hours in the household for r payment whatever; these women who to-day still form for the most part a compact reactionary mass, may to-morrow be the comrades in arms of the revolutionarv, class-conscious, fighting women, if the communists succeed in winning their confidence.

These women are easily won over, for the capitalist offen- sive is sowing misery and death in their ranks. The abolition of the family wage system would be a mighty gain for the proletarian women. It signifies that they will now have to work day and night to fulfill their duties as worker, housewife, and mother. The women are the first sufferers when the regulations relating to workwomen, protection of motherhood, and social security are changed. Action against the family wage and starvation signifies immediate danger to life for the women and their children: they are the easiest victims to tuberculosis. The objective conditions are thus riven for winning over the women for the comnunists.

The most important question is to ascertain what methods have proved most efficient in influencing thc mentality of proletarian women? What are the results of experience? That special methods must be required to reach this backward section of the proletariat is clear to everyone who is not willfully blind. But at this point we again draw a distinction between general laws and specifically the fact, that particular methods must be employed for inducing women to take their place in the proletarian fighting front. Comrade Zetkin made this perfectly clear in her emphatic and unequivocal speech: We must not forget that the majority of women are without special political or organiz- ation. The exceptional position accorded to the female sex in human society has been the means of imparting a special psycholo- 


Comrade Hertha Storm was quite right when she referred in her report to a general weakness in the work of the Communist movement. The women organized in the Communist Parties are, for the most part, housewives. Only a comparatively small number of women going out to earn, working in factories, etc., are organized in the Communist parties. There is no doubt that the proletarian housewife is a valuable ally in the class struggle, especially at the present time, when the fight against shameful exploitation and increased misery of the proletariat is receiving the greatest impetus from the suffering housewives. But the fact must be recognized that the participation of the proletarian women working in factories, etc., will be of more decisive significance, both as regards the great economic struggles for the improvement of conditions of living, and as regards the fight for political power. The times are ripe for it—in fact they are bound to be ripe in the near future. We must not enter the Party. This weakness of the Party has a fatal effect on the trade union movement. The communists in the trade unions have done very little up to now towards uniting and organizing the working women. This neglect must be made good. The efficiency of trade unions in factories and workshops, the establishment of closer relations between the communist nucleus and the leadership of the Party—these are the factors upon which the bringing about of closer connections depend, and these closer connections must be the direct channels of political agit- ative work among the women and the working women organized in the communist nuclei.

Besides the report from Russia, which showed the steady systematic manner in which women are entering into the communist sphere of thought, there was a report from the U.S. on the women's movement. There, too, there was another most interesting report, by comrade Kasparova, on work among the women of the Orient. Here communist agitative work falls on a soil already ploughed by capitalists.

During the congress there was a special meeting held by the women delegates from all countries, participated in by a number of male party comrades. This conference resulted in many stimulating ideas and practical suggestions for work among women being brought forward and emphasized in bringing about that for which written intercourse had proved inadequate—per- sonal relations among the comrades, and insight into the condi- tions of the various parties which is so absolutely necessary if there is to be mutual comprehension, and for correct judgments on international conditions to be formed.

With that openness which is only found in the Comunilist International, both the congress and the conference of women delegates discussed all the faults and deficiencies of the various parties and their work.

The resolutions passed by the congress will help to render the parties strong, united internally, and prepared for battle; when they are carried out in all seriousness, they will, at the same time, give a forward impetus to the proletarian women's movement. The working women must be shown that they are not merely workers, but workers fighting for their rights, and that they are not merely workers, but workers fighting for their rights,

Women in the German Shop Slewars Movement

By Bertha Braunthal (Berlin).

Now that the workers have fully recognized the necessity of establishing a united front, they have of recent months scught more and more to give tangible expression to this rec-ognition. The movement following the murder of the minister Rathenau, at the beginning of July, and having for its object the combating of reaction, called the committees of the factories and workshops, by which attempt is being made to attack the counter-revolutionary nationalist murder organizations.

This movement greatly increased its activity and advanced towards the end of the summer of 1921 to the summing-up of the disastrous depression of the mark. The workers, and above all the working women, saw their households deprived more and more rapidly of even the barest necessities of life, saw the amount of their little pittance exhausted a few days after its receipt. The women were seized with utter desperation of their starving children, weak and ill-nourished, subject to the attacks of disease, and at the realization that it was utterly impossible for them to feed and clothe their little ones. Hither- more women had been accustomed to confine their e and sorrows
within the silence of their four walls, but now despair drove them into the streets, into the market places, to protest with other equally desperate women against the wrong being done them; against the usurers and profiteers. This was the first, and principal step forward from among these desperate women, and explained to them the cause of their misery, and that they and the whole of the working class must fight in self-defense.

In July, shortly after the murder of Rathenau, a spontaneous demonstration of women took place in the market place at Mannheim; they marched before the town hall, and laid before the mayor their demands for the establishment of a living wage, and for the appointment of a control committee.

As prices rose beyond all control, the price for the cheaper bread allowed by the weekly bread card rose from 45 marks at the beginning of September to 308 marks at the beginning of December, and the price for milk from 76 marks to 192 marks per month. The movement against high prices, which had been pro-organised amongst the housewives, and drove them in masses to our meetings and demonstrations. During recent months there have been public meetings for housewives held in all the important cities of the country; these were preceded by a distribution of leaflets, and brought us many sympathisers and members. These meetings proved that a real fighting spirit existed among the women. In Aachen (Rhineland) 120 women joined our party in one week. In Düsseldorf, Bremen, Königsberg, Leipzig, Danzig, and other cities, our women organized control committees. In all the provinces of the German Republic, in the Independent Socialist and Socialist Parties to join forces with them. These appeals have however been in vain, for the leaders of these two parties were invariably so alarmed at the idea of fighting alongside of communists, that they either distorted the inquiry, or made use of the pretext that they did not think the right moment for action had arrived. And this at a time when even the bourgeois class — as exemplified for instance by the Association of Physicians in Saxony — was appealing to workmen for the pecuniary advantage to be gained from the struggle, trying to awaken its conscience and rouse it to help, in view of the desperate physical condition of the proletarian population, particularly of the children.

The movement has developed with particular strength and energy in central Germany. Here is the centre of the home industries, and here the manufacture of toys, lace, and woollen goods is carried on in the homes of the workers, forcing not only all the women, but all the children, even those of the tenderest age, to toil in the bread-winner’s cap. In the Rhineland, the indignation of the women, and their determination to resort to self-defense, reached a very high point. The women of Gotha, before all, set the example for the whole country. For this reason we take the development of the movement in the housewives of Gotha as a sample. At the beginning of October a gigantic meeting for women was held. A women’s commission was elected, and commissioned to enter into negotiations with the town council for the purpose of obtaining a number of cards for the distribution of cheatless bread and coals for the working population, feeding of school children, etc. The meeting closed with a request to the shop stewards and confidential representatives of the workers of Gotha to form a common control committee. The representatives of the women were present. At the beginning of November a large meeting of working women mounted the platform. Despite the heart-breaking descriptions given by our comrades as to the misery in the families of the workers, of the unemployed, and of the recipients of small pensions, who were being forced to sell their children, and in order to save off the utmost hunger of their children, all the demands of the women’s meeting were rejected.

A few days later a second spontaneous demonstration of the housewives, this time in the town hall hall, demanding the distribution of bread cards for cheaper bread for the families of workers. Although the town hall was surrounded by the police, the women forced an entrance, and succeeded in obtaining bread cards for the whole of the demonstrators, in accordance with the demands of the women. But this is all that the women have been able to attain up to now. But they have not allowed themselves to be discouraged. They have attempted to spread the housewives’ movement beyond their own town, and have sent representatives to all the most important towns of Thuringia for the purpose of organizing women’s control committees. In order to carry out this task it has been necessary to organize speakers’ evenings, in order to.t in the members of the women’s high prices committee to work effectively.

After every fresh action in Parliament, public meetings were held, pleading again to continue the fight for the demands already formulated, and to mobilize still more forces for this fight. Thus it was decided, on the last meeting of the women’s demonstration on November 25, to make all possible preparations for a housewives’ conference for Thuringia, to the end that the struggle being carried on by the housewives may be unified and extended.

The movement has made practically the same progress in the other important industrial centres of the Rhineland and Saxony, where housewives’ control committees have been formed and are working in the same manner. The committees themselves are formed of communist and non-party women in protest to the character of the housewives’ movement for women, which has hitherto been active in the movement are Christian women under the influence of the Centre Party.

The housewives’ control committees have regarded themselves from the very beginning solely as forming part of the housewives’ movement of the workers, and have carried out all work in consultation with the latter. The housewives’ representatives also take part in the meetings and consultations of the control committees of the shop stewards; they were present at the Provincial Shop Steward Congresses in Saxony, Thuringia, and the Rhineland, and participated in the General Shop Steward Congress. At these all preliminary conferences provincial housewives’ were also elected to the provincial committees of the shop stewards.

The General Shop Steward Congress was also participated in by the representatives of the housewives from all important districts, and their demands were brought forward, especially those regarding combating the misery among children, in which they were further supported by a demonstration of the proletarian women of Berlin. If the resolutions and the program of the General Shop Steward Congress are to be carried out, if all the measures which it proposes against usury, profiteering, housing difficulties, and the capitalist offensive are to be really effective, it is absolutely necessary that the proletarian housewives participate actively in the work. The fact that these women are appealed to by the congress to gather together in the control committees, and to undertake the special tasks of controlling the markets and retail prices. A representative of the housewives was also elected to the General Committee of the Shop Stewards, her duty consisting in forming housewives’ control committees, combining them into provincial and national housewives’ conferences, and organizing and training the masses of housewives for the struggle towards the common goal.

The movement of the proletarian housewives and their organizations in the control committees, is the beginning of the mobilization of the masses of women still outside of our ranks, for the class war, and their enrolment in the front of the revolutionary proletariat for self-defense against further oppression and misery. The fact that these women are mobilized will be more effective in the near future in helping forward the proletariat in the coming decisive battles between the bourgeoisie and the working class.

**APPEALS**

To the Working Youth of the World!

Soldiers and sailors!

**New imperial wars threaten the world.**

The war in the Near East, the conflicts of the imperialist powers at the different conferences, the constant threats of the French bourgeoisie with the occupation of the Ruhr valley,* the enslavement of Austria, the refusal of the border states to accept Russia’s proposals of disarmament—all this shows the atmosphere to be charged with tension, and the war cloud, which numbered 6 millions of men before the war, has today increased to 11 millions. The capitalist states are arming for fresh wars!

The bourgeois preparations for a new war are closely connected with the advances being made by reaction in all countries. In many states the White Terror rules. In Italy it has come into power. In England and in Poland reaction is again implacably raising its head. The bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth, and it is not content to use its weapons against the workers alone, but intends employing them for imperialist war.

*) This has since become an accomplished fact.
Comrades, Young Proletarians!

All this shows with frightful distinctness that the capitalist states are working unremittingly in preparation for a new war!

The first victims of war have always been, and always will be, from the ranks of working youth. They serve as cannon fodder and have to bear the most terrible sufferings and privations.

The youthful workers must therefore be the first to declare determined war against all new wars.

Working youth!

Millions of your elder brothers, of all nations and races, were slaughtered during the last war in the interests of the bourgeoisie. The young men and women during the war have all been broken, and all that the working-class has gained from the last war is blackest misery, alike whether the workers belong to the vanquished or the "victorious" capitalist countries.

A peace conference was recently held at The Hague, but led to no practical result. No real and practical measures against war were resolved upon. The working youth can wait no longer. It must begin with the propaganda needed to arouse the working class of the whole world! It is only in this way that really effective war against war can be carried on.

The communist sections of the C.C.R. has compromised the E.C. to propose to the two social democratic youth internationals, despite all differences of opinion, to form a united front for the fight against imperialism and reaction, and to participate in an international propaganda week against war, to take place from March 11-18, 1923.

Youthful working men and women; soldiers and sailors!

The working class is not defenceless. United in determined fighting ranks, it can frustrate all the designs of capitalism, can offer an iron resistance against which every attack is shattered.

Join us in the fight against a new imperialist war! Every means is to be used to combat it. Revolutionary general strike and revolution in case of war. For the annulling of the peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, etc., treaties which signify the enslavement of innumerable millions of workers, and are bound to be the cause of fresh wars.

For the prevention of armaments!

For revolutionary propaganda in the army, and for the formation of revolutionary nuclei among the troops, especially among the colonial and semi-colonial troops.

Against the disastrous theory and practice of defence of the capitalist fatherland.

Against the false pacifism of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Against international reaction, against Fascism.

For the complete disarming of reactionary organizations and of the bourgeoisie, for the arming of the proletariat!

Young Social Democratic Workers!

It is the second time that the C.Y.L. proposes to you and your leaders to join in a joint attack on Fascism. Once already your leaders have prevented the formation of the united front and you trenched this. To-day we :peat our proposal to join the youthful workers of the whole world, to form a united fighting-front against impending new imperialist wars and against reaction. What answer will you give to your class comrades and fellow sufferers?

Working youth!

The first propaganda week against war must be a mighty demonstration of the working class against fresh slaughter, against the imperialist world bourgeoisie already stained with the blood of millions.

Respond to our call:

Down with imperialist war!

Down with imperialist reaction!

Long live the united front of the working youth against war!

Long live the victory of the working class!

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

The Moscow Soviet to the Workers of All Countries

The Moscow Soviet newly elected by the Red Army, soldiers, and hand and brain workers of Moscow, sends its greetings to the workers of all countries. In the year 1922 proletarian Moscow gathers, firm and unshaken, around its tried and trusted leader: The Russian Communist Party. After five years of experience the working class of Moscow is convinced that, whether in conflict or in organization, the shortest way to victory is the way of the Communist International and its Russian section. After suffering the torments of starvation, cold, war, blockade, and devastation, the workers of Moscow are beginning to feel the approach of better times, of an improvement in their material position.

We hope to see greater cultural and economic successes during the next few years. The bourgeoisie of the countries of Europe and America, on the other hand, are exposed to the constant attacks of the ruling bourgeoisie. All the fighting elements already won by the proletariat are threatened with annihilation. The forces of international Fascism force not only the Communist Parties into illegal, but places even the broadest masses outside of the law. The proletariat is confronted with the untold misery of possible war. We urge that the bourgeoisie is made to feel the mighty arm of the proletariat at its back. The cause of the proletariat can only be saved by the united front of the proletariat, by determined armed struggles against capital, and by complete renunciation of open and concealed opportunism.

The Moscow Soviet appeals to you, in the name of the hundreds of thousands of working voters, to tread this path, the sole path to salvation and victory, the path of international proletarian revolution.

Appeal of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party

In accordance with the resolutions of the IV Congress of the Communist International, the Central committee appeals urgently to the distinctive front for the purpose of achieving the resolutions relating to Free-Masonry and to the League for Human Rights are carried out with the utmost strictness.

The Central Committee reminds the members that before the 1st of January 1923 all members of the Communist Party are bound to give the two above named organizations, and to inform the sections to which they belong of their having done so.

Those members of the party who refuse to submit to the resolutions of the IV. World Congress will be expelled from the community organization.

The Central Committee will not insult communists by assuming that they will have any difficulty in choosing between the party of proletarian revolution, to which they have belonged for two years, and political organizations utilized by a part of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of distracting the workers from the class war.

The communists must devote themselves entirely and unreservedly to their party, to its conflicts and discipline; they must place themselves at the service of the working class which is fighting against every reaction in fascism and, in the name of the IV. Congress, containing representatives of the bourgeoisie.

It is the duty of the district organizers to keep the Central Committee posted as to the measures adopted in the interests of carrying out the resolutions of the International.

Appeal of the Committee of Action of the CGTU, and the CPF

The joint appeal of the committee of action of the French Unitarian Central Federation of Labor (C.G.T.U) and the French Communist Party marks the commencement of the common action now to be expected from the French and German proletarians against the slave treaty of Versailles.

In this appeal the sharpest protest is raised against the French military forces which have contributed to bring about the defeat of the heroically fighting workers of Ludwigsafen. The eight hour day all over Germany is to-day threatened in consequence of this defeat, and it will be threatened in France to-morrow. The occupation of the Ruhr district is a crime, not only against the German proletariat, but against the French. The duty of the committee of action against the war is to face the Interallied Conference of Paris with the threat of a Franco-German general strike, by means of extensive and comprehensive agitation. This living threat is to be kept continually hanging over the heads of the enemy.

This important appeal of the French revolutionary trade unions and the French communist party closes with the fighting slogans:

Down with the capitalist offensive!

Down with the occupation of the Ruhr district!

Long live the German-French proletariat!

Long live international solidarity!

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei O. m. b. H., Berlin SW. 48
Open Letter
To the London and Vienna Internationals and the Amsterdam Trade Union International

On the 13th of this month the Executive of the Communist International had addressed the question to you, as to what you intend to do in order to carry out the decision of the Hague Conference regarding the organization of a general strike in case of a war. The Executive of the Communist International has empowered the undersigned, together with Marcel Cachin, to enter into negotiations with you on the question of a common fight against the danger of war. Owing to the persecutions to which the Communist Party of France is subjected because of its struggle against the occupation of the Ruhr, and owing to his impending arrest, Comrade Marcel Cachin is unable to participate in these negotiations. The undersigned are awaiting your reply to form a joint Committee of Action with you, capable of taking up the struggle against the threatening war.

At the Hague, the Russian Trade Union delegation proposed that an international protest strike be called for the 2nd of January. This would have demonstrated to the international proletariat the determination of the proletariat to wage war against the danger of fresh wars. At the Hague, the Russian trade union delegation predicted that January would surely see the occupation of the Ruhr. Our warnings at the Hague fell on deaf ears. Those present at the conference were satisfied with platonic protests, in the belief that bourgeois diplomacy would find some way out. But as we have seen these last four years, capitalist diplomacy has completely failed to create the simplest conditions for the peaceful development of the world. The occupation of the Ruhr threatens the world with new and unprecedented wholesale slaughter.

The French plan aims not only at compelling the German capitalists to pay over money, but also to force them to admit French interests to the exploitation of these properties and thereby to add great numbers of cheap workers to the low paid labor army already at the disposal of Entente Imperialism. But this plan was based on the assumption that the French occupation authorities would be able to supervise the Ruhr Valley, to keep industry going and, by distributing or retaining the coal, to force the German industry into submission. But with the removal of the German Coal Syndicate from Essen to Hamburg, the French plan suffered shipwreck. The French occupation authorities are helpless, and find it impossible to keep the Ruhr industry alive. Every succeeding day makes it more difficult for them to pay out the miners’ wages. For this reason it is almost certain that they will reach out beyond the boundaries of the Ruhr Valley in order to tighten their pressure upon the German people. Already we hear of war preparations in Poland. France will set her vassals against Germany. But apart from all this every moment is liable to bring about a conflict between the French troops and the Ruhr population, in which case the nationalistic spirit in Germany may reach its explosive point. Should it happen that the French military elements take advantage of Poland’s difficulties in order to drive him on towards the Rhine-secession policy, — the policy of dismembering Germany, — it may also well be that the chauvinistic elements in Germany will precipitate a war, in order to profit by the nationalistic craze for the purpose of seizing power by means of a counter-revolution.

Already the governments on either bank of the Rhine do not know what the morrow may bring. On the 31st of January the situation will become more acute, for on that day Germany will not be in a position to pay the sums demanded of her. The possibility then arises that the separate action of the French government may turn into a general inter-Allied action. In that case the German people may be faced with the only alternative: Complete subjugation and enslavement, — or War.

The Hague conference has decided that the proletariat should fight the danger of war with all means at its disposal, and that in case of imminent danger a general strike would be called.

The danger of war is here. Only the blind can fail to see it. It is not only a question of war between France and Germany alone. Such a war would set the whole East and South East of Europe ablaze. The capture of Memel by Lithuania and the events on the Roumanian-Hungarian frontier demonstrate clearly the acuteness of the present situation, in which all forces tend to render every central European conflict, the starting point for a fresh European catastrophe.

We doubt not but that the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, as well as those of the Vienna and London Internationals see the situation in the same light as we do. We therefore call upon you to lend reality to the solemn declarations which you have made at the Hague only a month ago, and to take the preparatory measures for the undelayed organization of the mass strike. We call upon you to meet us without delay, in order to decide upon the necessary steps to be taken.

The parties of the Communist International and the working masses behind the Red Labor Union International will do their duty, as our French comrades have sufficiently demonstrated.

We propose the 31st of January as the day when the international protest mass-strike is to begin.

The duration of the strike must be decided upon by the joint conference of the three political and the two trade union Internationals. We propose that this conference be held on the 21st of January in Berlin. Should you prefer another place, we have no objection whatever. We only ask you to act immediately, so that the undersigned may have ample opportunity to obtain the necessary visas.

Berlin, January 16, 1923.

For the Communist International
Clara Zetkin, Walton Newbold, Karl Rudak.

For the Red International of Labor Unions
Heckert.

P.S. The other delegates, Comrades Dudilieul, Hais and Watkins, could not be reached until now.

Printed by Friedrichsstadt-Druckerei O. m. b. H., Berlin SW. 48