

## To the Working Youth!

Rise up against imperialism and war!

The French capitalists are sending their troops into the Ruhr valley under the pretext of forcing Germany to pay the reparations. The German bourgeoisie saw in advance that this was coming, was fully aware that it was playing with the fire of war, for it did not want to bear the burden of reparations itself, and sought to shift it upon the proletariat. And now the workers are once more to loot the bill for the bourgeoisie. The frightful danger of a new war, conjured up by French imperialism and by the mad unchaining of reactionary forces, is at our doors. New and unbearable economic burdens are to be laid on the German working class by the Entente and by the German bourgeoisie, and these burdens are to fall above all on working youth in town and country.

Working youth! Workers, peasants, and soldiers! You are to be the first victims to fall on the battle fields of imperialist war and misery, you are to pay with your blood and your young lives for the aspirations of French imperialism. Defend yourselves to the utmost! Follow the slogans of the Communist International, and take part in the light of the awakening working class with all your youthful vigour and enthusiasm!

You French and Belgian, English, Italian, Czecho-Slovakian, youthful workers and soldiers. Rise against your bourgeoisie! Refuse to act as the executioners of French imperialism, and to murder your brothers. Fraternize with your German class comrades! Fight for the united front of the proletariat, for the overthrow of the imperialist government and for setting up a workers' government!

Young German workers! Fight for the united front of the proletariat, against the bourgeoisie of all countries! Fight to force the propertied classes to pay the reparations! For the workers' government! For the arming of the proletariat! Only by following these slogans will war and increased misery be prevented.

Youthful comrades! We do not want to starve and perish in the interests of capitalism. Wherever the proletarians of all countries unite to fight against their imperialist bourgeoisie, there you must stand in the front ranks.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

## To the Workers and Peasants of South America

Comrades!

The Fourth International Communist Congress, held at Moscow on the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution appeals to all the workers and peasants of South America to prepare themselves for the class struggle and to support the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat.

The Role of the United States of America.

The European War has announced the beginning of Capitalism's last convulsions. The antagonisms of the international bourgeoisie have ended in the most terrible massacre the world has ever known in order to decide which of the imperialist groups shall dominate. The proletariat has been sacrificed by millions on the battle fields for the sake of capitalist imperialism and its attempt to solve the sharp crisis that is leading inevitably to bankruptcy.

The war has not solved that crisis. European Capitalism sees its inner convulsions increasing at the same time as the class struggle becomes more acute. In the treaty of Versailles, there is a new source of conflicts and the proletarian masses are coming more and more to realize that nothing but a revolution can abolish the capitalist antagonisms. The unheard of repressions to which we are subject today, the implacable offensive of the bourgeoisie proves how critical the situation is to the capitalists of the United States.

It is in North America alone that imperialism has been able to strengthen its position since the war, and the United States is today a strong imperialist state. But following the war there have arisen new causes for imperialist disputes. The antagonism between the United States, England and Japan threatens anew the peace of the world. American imperialism is developing, is creating the germs of future conflicts which mean new sacrifices of blood for the proletarian masses. North America bids fair to be the center of the international bourgeois reaction against the proletariat.

The Extent of United States Imperialism.

American Imperialism is trying to extend its domain into all countries of the world. In Asia, in Africa, on the Pacific coast it is looking for new fields of exploitation. And above all, United States Imperialism intends to secure its domination in

Latin America, either under a concealed economic form, or by open political domination. It is looking to South America as a secure market for its goods, now that Europe with its capitalism rotting at its base, can no longer provide that market.

The Monroe Doctrine serves the American capitalists as a means to secure their economic conquests in Latin America. The loans, the new investments of American capital in industrial enterprises, in commercial and banking concerns, the railroad concessions, the shipping ventures, the acquisition of oil wells—all these many forms of American economic expansion show how American capital is trying to make South America the base of its industrial power.

This economic precaution also leads the bourgeoisie of the various countries to interfere in the imperialist struggles of Central America, of Panama, Columbia, Venezuela and Peru. The bourgeoisie of all the American countries prepares its reaction against the proletariat by government opposition, and when the workers of South America protest against the criminal measures of United States capitalism, as in the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, the governing classes stifle these demonstrations of the proletariat in order to show the subordination of their will and interests to those of Northern imperialism. The Pan-American Union of the bourgeoisie is a plain fact as is its function, the maintenance of class privileges and a regime of oppression.

The Duty of the South American Proletariat.

Workers and peasants of South America!

Imperialist capitalism has introduced into your country the same international antagonisms which led the people of Europe into a most bloody war and most formidable reaction. It is time to unite the revolutionary forces of the proletariat just as the capitalists throughout America have united against the working class.

Comrades, the workers and peasants of South America have not yet developed organization sufficiently disciplined and united for action. Your class government avails itself of the help of the formidable power of the United States, to stamp out your efforts, stifle your struggle for emancipation and prevent every revolutionary movement of your oppressed masses.

Workers and peasants! The Communist International summons you. Do not forget that in the United States there are Communists ready to help you in the revolutionary struggle. The common fight of the proletariat of all the American countries against the American capitalists is a vital necessity for the exploited masses. It faces you as the one means to your security. The heroic example of the Russian Revolution fighting desperately against international capitalism will make you comprehend what end awaits you, if you remain indifferent while the ruling class intensifies its capitalist exploitation. The antagonism between high finance and industry is increasing in your countries and the international imperialist struggles threaten to involve you also, in the massacre.

Comrades, face the bourgeois offensive with a united proletariat. Organize, ally your revolutionary actions with the movements of the workers and peasants in America and all countries of the world. Fight against your own bourgeoisie and you will be fighting United States imperialism which represents the highest point of capitalist reaction. Rally round the banner of the Russian Revolution which has laid the foundation for the world revolution of the proletariat.

Like the Russian revolutionaries, prepare yourselves to transform all attempts at war into an open struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Like them, undertake action against imperialism and prepare the dictatorship of the proletariat which will destroy the bourgeois dictatorship in all America. If you remain divided and disorganized, the American bourgeoisie will destroy you, will stamp out your movements and increase capitalist exploitation in nullifying your previous conquests. The fight against your own bourgeoisie will become more and more a struggle against world imperialism and a battle of all the exploited against all the exploiters.

Comrades! Organize! Strengthen your Communist Parties and create parties where they do not already exist. Ally your movement with the movement of all American Communists. Organize the revolutionary proletariat who fight under the red flag and work for the existence of sections of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions in every part of America.

Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!

Long live International Communism!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the revolutionary proletariat of America and the World Revolution!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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## The Situation of Soviet Russia

By L. Kamenev.

(From a speech delivered at the 10th All-Russian Soviet Congress.)

This year we enter upon a fresh creative period of the revolution. In this period the tasks confronting the leaders of the first proletarian state consist in rapidly grasping the distinguishing features of the epoch, and safely and victoriously conducting the masses of workers and peasants through the innumerable difficulties and obstacles.

We must not forget that the severity and acuteness of the civil war was caused by the resistance offered by the bourgeoisie. We know to-day that the army and the resistance of the Russian bourgeoisie were trivial, and that the civil war could have been over in a few months, or even weeks, if the workers and peasants of Russia had been opposed by the Russian bourgeoisie only. The civil war dragged on for years; but this was due to the fact that the international bourgeoisie came to the aid of the Russian. It is only to-day that we can maintain that the first fundamental condition towards really peaceful and creative work has been fulfilled. For a long time there has no longer been heard with us the rattle of the White Guards' machine guns, nor the roar of foreign cannon, and this has almost made us forget that it is but a short time since the cannon of the foreign occupants have been silenced in the Far East. The war was not ended when we defeated Denikin and drove Wrangel into the sea; it is only ended now, by the reconquest of the Far East. It is only now that we can assert that the working masses, from Vladivostok to Baku, from Batum to Petrograd, and from Odessa to Archangel, are united in one state organism under the red Soviet flag.

We are united, but this unity requires exact definition, demands strict state outlines. We now have the possibility of proceeding with this work, and one task of the 10th congress will be to solve the question of the creation of a Soviet Federal State. Our Federation will be an alliance such as the world has not yet seen. Cultural liberty, and the right of withdrawal from the federal state, are assured to every member. Tsarist Russia, which held its millions of people together by means of the knout, by means of prefects and governor generals, was forced to disappear. An alliance is arising over its ruins, an alliance based on equality of rights, on the recognition of the rights of every nation, on the unity of economic interests and of the goals being striven for.

Our second task is to strengthen our position with regard to foreign policy. We need peace. We are willing to adapt

ourselves to the economic life of the whole world. When we look back to the months in which the conferences of Genoa and The Hague took place, we see that real prospects existed of effective agreements being reached at these conferences; and because there were such prospects, we sent our representatives. We were indeed convinced that these conferences really meant business, but when we inquired the price, we found it so high that we were obliged to retire from the bargain. Our will to peace induced us to agree to far-reaching concessions, but international imperialism appears to have hoped for still more. Genoa and The Hague were failures, and failed because our delegates declared: "We cannot concede one step further."

To-day, more than half a year since Genoa and The Hague, we are able to say: "Not only can we not concede one step further, but we are now no longer willing to grant the concessions which we offered before." I believe that not only our friends, but also our enemies, are well aware that we are practical politicians, and when we make this declaration, it is solely because time has been working for us, because our position is becoming more and more secure, while that of our enemies is daily more shaken and insecure.

At the Genoa conference we entered into the Rapallo agreement, which we can set up as a model for future treaties to be made between Soviet Russia and bourgeois countries. This was the first treaty entered into by a bourgeois state laboring under the yoke of the conquerors. We also signed provisional treaties with Czecho-Slovakia, with Sweden, and with Norway, and are waiting patiently until the Parliaments of these countries follow their governments and ratify the treaties. On the other hand, we were obliged to decline the treaty with the Italian government for the reason that we were no longer in the position in which Soviet Russia found it necessary to sign any contract. The time is past when Soviet Russia, surrounded by enemies, was forced to make maximum concessions.

A certain change in the trend of feeling towards Russia may also be observed in America. We do not credit the bourgeois governments with cleverness, and no one will attempt to controvert me when I say that the bourgeois class, as a decaying class, has very little historical foresight; but still we must not deem our enemies so stupid that they can

learn nothing from the fact that a proletarian republic has existed for five years. The American government applied to the Soviet government with the proposition that they send us a commission for the purpose of studying Russian conditions. The proposition was made in a very friendly form, and we therefore replied to it with equal politeness. We replied that we can well comprehend the interest taken by the American bourgeoisie and the American government in our internal affairs, in the position of our market, and in our industry, but that we cannot but assume that they are equally capable of thinking logically, so that our answer is: "We agree that a commission come to us to investigate the conditions obtaining here, but only on condition that it is made possible for the Russian state, the Russian proletariat, and the Russian peasantry, to investigate American conditions through a special commission."

At the present time we see a new phenomenon in America: After the new election a group appeared in Parliament which, although persecuting the communists in their own country, nevertheless demanded the *de jure* recognition of Soviet Russia. I speak of the group around Senators Borah and La Follette. This shows that even in the American bourgeoisie a tendency is arising which at last recognizes the undeniable fact that the Soviet power is not to be overthrown, not even with the best of French or English bayonets.

The bourgeois world cannot manage without Soviet Russia, cannot even manage without a Russia which repudiates its debts. However sad this fact may be for world capital, it has to recognize it. Every day we are enabled to observe facts proving that Western capitalism is gradually beginning to sober down. The conference at Lausanne may serve as an example. As the Turkish peasants were fighting for their independence, as they carried off the victory against the imperialists after a severe struggle, we cannot but welcome the Turkish victory. The international conference, which is to be regarded as a result of this victory of the Turks, at the same time characterizes the general international situation, and shows what we have to expect from the methods employed by the superdiplomats of the "civilized" countries in solving international problems.

The Lausanne conference has become a duel between England and the Federation of Soviet Republics. The Turkish government has been driven into a position forcing it to sign the most humiliating conditions of peace, completely annulling all the victories won by the Turkish people. What is the position of the Russian delegation? We came to Lausanne as friends of Turkey, and we will remain friends of Turkey so long as she will fight against the imperialists. We defend the full sovereignty of Turkey, even when the Turkish government cannot get up sufficient energy to defend the fruits of its national victories against Lord Curzon.

Miliukov wrote an article in Paris in which he was clever enough to demonstrate that the attitude adopted by us in Lausanne is not a Russian attitude, but a Turkish one. All this is of course nonsense. Of course we do not deny the importance of the Black Sea and the Straits for the economic reconstitution of Russia, but we deny that it is possible to solve this question by the occupation of the Dardanelles and Constantinople by England, Russia, or any other country. We recognize that the interests of Russia in the Black Sea and in the Straits could be protected exclusively by an alliance with a sovereign Turkey against the imperialism of England and other imperialist countries. Thus we act in the interests of the Russian workers when we defend the sovereignty of Turkey. We cannot pass over in silence the fact that when Lord Curzon insists on the freedom of the Dardanelles for the warships of all countries, he is extending the area in which the next war will be fought. It is our desire that the Black Sea and its coasts be secured against every possibility of becoming the stage of war. This can only be attained in one way: by throwing open the coasts of the Black Sea to commerce, and by closing the Straits to warships.

The fate of our disarmament proposals is still a recent memory. We know that the question of disarmament is a favorite question with the League of Nations. For more than three years the League has been busy with this question, but during this time the whole world is feverishly arming. In order to put the disarmament question on a proper footing, the Soviet government proposed to its neighbors to hold a special conference in Moscow. We proposed that philosophical and theoretical considerations be set aside, and that actual disarmament be commenced. But what happened? So long as it was a question of moral disarmament, our neighbors were very willing to negotiate with us. But as soon as we passed from the moral to the real, the bourgeois participants in the conference resorted to every means to break up the conference. As we

are demonstrating our actual will to peace before the whole world by reducing the Red Army of the Soviet republic, we must do our utmost to improve the quality of the Red Army.

The report on our foreign policy can be briefly formulated as follows: We began this year actuated by the desire for peace. During the year we have pursued a policy of peace. We enter the new year with the sincerest desire to continue this peace policy, and to carry it through at any price. To this end we not only participate in international conferences, we are not only prepared at any moment to sign any effective agreement securing us peace and normal economic relations, but we are proceeding to reduce—and have already actually reduced—our Red Army. We threaten nobody, but we demand that nobody threatens us.

Before we pass to a description of the internal situation in Russia, I should like to touch upon the very important question of foreign trade. The international bourgeoisie, unable to overthrow the Soviet power by open attacks, has started on a fresh manoeuvre having for its object the transformation of Russia's natural resources into sources of income for foreign capitalists; in other words, this manoeuvre aims at making Russia a colony of western capitalism. The Soviet government has only one weapon at its disposal against this manoeuvre—the monopoly of foreign trade. This monopoly is exposed to countless dangers, but we must exert every endeavor to establish it more firmly, to develop its apparatus up to the maximum of Russia's export capacity. Under no circumstances must we deviate from the principle of the monopoly itself. In this sphere we shall make no concessions. The capitalist world market must reckon with the fact that Soviet Russia's foreign trade remains in the hands of the state.

We are informed by the chief concession committee that in the course of the past year about 500 applications were submitted, dealing with various concessions and with the establishment of mixed companies. Out of these many applications 25 were granted and 250 are still under consideration. The large number of applications, as well as the character of those granted, shows that it is possible for foreign capital to participate in the reconstruction of our industry and trade in the form provided by mixed companies.

When speaking of the many proposals made by foreign capital, I must not omit to mention the Urquhart concession. The chief reason why this concession was refused was that its extent and power implied the establishment of firm political relations with England. We are fully prepared to keep economics separate from politics; but in the case of this great concession it would not do to forget that England's policy towards us at the same time was hostile. It is not improbable that when the political horizon clears, such conditions may be created as will enable us to reconsider the concrete proposals of this, and perhaps also of other concessions.

We must admit that we have done little in the sphere of concessions and mixed companies, but the reasons for this do not lie with the Soviet government. We know very well that capital can only come to us if it is given the opportunity of getting a return. We are quite willing to let it earn its profits, but we demand that this capital does not pursue political aims, that it is not a speculative capital, but a productive one, and that it takes actual part in the reconstruction of our economic life.

We have retained the fundamental branches of industry in our hands. We have taken up the struggle with private capital, and have 430 trusts in our hands, comprising 4,100 undertakings employing about 1,300,000 workers. If we add the transport workers and the workers of the non-trust state undertakings to these, we have a total of about 3 million workers.

We are thus able to place the following batteries in the field against private capital: complete state ownership of the land, which is cultivated by the peasants; complete state ownership of the railways, 63,000 versts in length, and complete control of all means of transport; the fundamental branches of industry retained by the state, and the whole import and export trade.

What has private capital at its disposal? There are about 4,000 undertakings, employing 70,000 workers, in the hands of private capital. With respect to commerce, private capital has 30 per cent of the total commercial turnover in its hands. To this we must add the not unimportant factor of the non-socialized agricultural surplus.

I need not further describe our activity in the sphere of foreign trade. I need only mention that the exports for 1922 exceeded by six times those of 1921; in this year we exported timber and naphtha for the first time. We exported naphtha to the value of 14 million gold rubles, timber to the value of

16 millions, and various agricultural products, through the cooperative central, to the value of 15 millions. There is no doubt whatever that our policy has here led to good results. But another question arises: How have we met our imports? In the year 1921 our exports only covered 5 per cent of the imports, in the year 1922 this had improved to 25 per cent. That is a comparatively great success. But still it is too little, much too little; exports must be developed to a much greater extent.

How have we managed with transport? If we review the figures relating to the rolling stock, we find the following: in 1913 30,000 trucks were loaded daily, in 1918 7,500, in 1921 9,500, and in 1922 11,500. It may be seen from this that the lowest level of the year 1918 has been followed by a gradual improvement, and that one third of the pre-war traffic has now been attained. The supply of fuel for the railways reached almost 100 per cent during the past year, although here there was not always everything which could be desired. In 1913 wood comprised 19 per cent of the total amount of fuel consumed by the railways, the remaining fuel consisting of naphtha and coal. In 1919 the percentage of wood rose to 88. The explanation of this lies in the complete stagnation of coal mining in the Don basin and of naphtha production in Baku. In 1920 the percentage of wood fell to 64, in 1921 to 50, and in 1922 to 40. Taking all in all, we can say that our means of transport and traffic are gradually improving.

I now pass to our most important sphere, to industry. We have produced very badly and very little. The total production of the whole of our industry has only attained 25 per cent of the pre-war standard. In 1912 industry produced finished goods to the value of 32 roubles per head of the population, in 1922 to the value of 6.50 roubles. But despite this, we are not stagnating, we are moving forwards, though slowly and with few slight relapses. In the years 1920 and 1921 we produced 442 million puds of coal, in 1922 588 millions (a 25 per cent increase); last year we produced 223 million puds of naphtha, in this year 280 millions (20 per cent increase); 90 million puds of peat were produced in pre-war times—today 125 millions; last year we produced 7 million puds of cast iron, in this year 10 million; iron and steel,—last year 10 million puds, this year 20 millions.

These figures are lamentable enough. Their significance must not be over-estimated. But these figures are none the less characteristic. We are still in the midst of the period in which we have been shaken to our foundations, we are just beginning to feel our way, but still we can say: "During this year we have even taken a few steps forward in heavy industry, that is, in that industry which does not work for the market."

The statistics of light industry are much more gratifying. Last year, for instance, 1 million puds of cotton yarn were produced; this year 2,800,000 puds.

All our successes are due to the transition to systematic economics. It is true that the commercial basis often signifies a commercial basis with state support, but we must and are fighting against such things. At the beginning of the New Economic Policy we were confronted with complete chaos in jurisprudence, and consequently in the organizational position of the whole of our economic apparatus. We must endeavor to attain to a clear rendering of accounts in state industry. This would signify a tremendous step forwards in the sphere of production.

Despite the many difficulties, and the chaos still ruling in industrial spheres, we can still maintain that on the whole: Our batteries have not fired badly, but certainty of aim must be increased.

A year ago comrade Lenin stepped forward with the slogan: Learn commerce! What have we been able to attain in our world of commerce? Let us take the market for articles of general and daily consumption for town and country. In 1914 the market had a turnover of about 4,200 million gold roubles; in 1921 this figure had fallen to 600 millions; to-day the market is again undoubtedly recovering, the sum of 1 billion roubles having been reached. Before the war the peasants put goods on the market to the value of about 2 milliards, in this year to the value of 375 millions. (This of course besides the taxes in kind). Before the war industrial undertakings put goods on the market to the value of 2½ billion roubles, in this year only to the value of ½ billion.

Our market is exceedingly limited, and the chief cause of this lies in the unceasing depreciation of the rate of exchange; our market has no credit, for credit has been reduced to 1/100 of pre-war credits. And we have not even done good business in this small and disorganized market. There is no use hiding our shortcomings. A great part of the blame doubtless lies with the lack of circulating mediums. Goods had to be sold under cost price

in order to obtain the means for paying the workers; there was no rendering of accounts, and so forth. Our material sources have been reduced: Who has profited by our faulty trading? We can only reply—the profiteers.

Let us now consider the character of our commerce. 65 per cent of our total commerce represents trade between the state organs themselves. 12 per cent, trade of state organs with the cooperative societies, and 23 per cent trade of state organs with private persons. Why is the trade with the cooperative societies less than that with private persons? This is a great secret. We must discover this secret, and put the cooperative societies in a position enabling them to push the private agents into the background, for the private agents bear the germ of a new bourgeoisie. Above all we must enlarge the market and increase the circulation of goods. Only thus can we increase the productivity of our industry. We must exert every endeavor to place the largest possible amount of agricultural products on the market, and to convert them into money. We shall not be victorious until we have a system of book-keeping showing us plainly what course is taken by the exchange between our state economic organs and the petty bourgeois elements surrounding our undertakings.

We have never made a fetish of law and juridical standards, but as our market develops, organs must be created for the regulation of the market. We must have exact standards. The code of civil law, the regulations relating to civil law-suits, to solicitors, barristers, code of criminal law—all these have been created by the Soviet government in the course of one year.

But to put the market really in order, to render exact calculation at all possible, we must make it our first endeavor to give our market the right rate of exchange which has hitherto been lacking. Our rouble mirrors the whole disorganization and disproportion or our political economy. And at the same time the rouble plays a part in this disorganization. At the last congress the stabilization of the rouble was adduced as one of the tasks of the government, a task confirmed as imperative by the party conference, and actually forming the main task of the whole of the economic activity of the government. Until we have a stable rouble, systematic economics for the country are a delusion.

What are the prospects of stabilization? In January of this year 90 per cent of our revenue was represented by the issue of paper money, but in September only 53 per cent. This is a gigantic step forwards. It shows that we are not proceeding on the path along which the world bourgeoisie is pressing us. No, we have groped our way into the right path, and are going slowly but surely forwards. Our budget for 1921 showed a deficit of 84 per cent. During the first nine months of the year 1922 we reduced this deficit to 60 per cent, during the last quarter to 50 per cent. But we must proceed on the same path, for if we do not further reduce the deficit, we shall never be able to create a new and stabilized rouble.

We have no reason to maintain that we have attained any very great success in our internal economic structure. We must face the truth in cold blood, and admit that we are just beginning to work our way out of the jungle. I do not deny the danger attendant on the new economic policy, but we must separate political from economic dangers. The political danger of the new economic policy is non-existent.

We are convinced that the Russian peasantry will fully support the city proletariat if only the latter recognizes its fundamental duty, and exerts all its energy to provide the peasantry with manufactured goods.

The new economic policy has proved eminently successful. Its aim is the establishment of close relations between workers and peasants. Every attempt of private capital to make a breach in this united front of workers and peasants is doomed to complete failure from the outset. We are confronted with the task of proving that the communists and Soviet organs not only destroy the bourgeois order, but are equally capable of building up a workers' order.

## POLITICS

### Belgian Social Democrats Support Occupation of the Ruhr Valley

By Heinz Neumann (Berlin).

On Wednesday, January 10., the Foreign Committee of the Belgian chamber pronounced its attitude with regard to the invasion of the Ruhr valley. Vandervelde, in the course of his great speech, spoke to the following effect:

"We are unanimously agreed that our claims against Germany are sacred, as are those of France and Italy, and they must be paid—France has given her blood. There is no responsibility so great as that falling upon the German government. Germany's great industries remain a permanent threat against peace."

At the general council of the social democratic party of Belgium, held the following day, a resolution was passed, with only 3 dissenting votes and one withholding, condemning military measures for the purpose of "collecting effectual reparations", and recommending an arbitration award of the League of Nations, but stating in the first paragraph:

"The General Council holds it to be just and necessary that Germany make reparation for the damage she has caused."

The passing of this resolution was preceded by a two days' discussion, in which about the highest point of social treason and rabid chauvinism which has been possible since 1914 was attained.

The well known party leader Louis Pierard declared: "A part of our party notes with regret that the German socialists have done little or nothing to oblige their capitalists to pay the reparations to Belgium and France."

The social democrat Georges Hubin declared: "I am in agreement with the speech of Vandervelde and with the chamber. I regret that the *Vorwärts* has advised the workers of the Ruhr valley to take part in a (half hour's! Ed.) protest strike. The German social democrats, who have done nothing to prevent the proletariat from enriching Stinnes and his like, recommend the general strike as soon as it is a question of working for the reparations. Germany is to blame for the world war. Germany added crime upon crime for four years. Now we demand reparation. We need reparation. Socialism is not merely peace, it is also justice."

The well known socialist leader Louis de Brouckere paid his German brothers of the 2. International the following compliment: "In 1914 the German social democrats did not oppose the German invasion of Belgium. They did not prevent the attack, and the name of Scheidemann is disgraced for all time." (Enthusiastic applause.)

The social democrat Leo Colleaux found Vandervelde's resolution still too weak, "because it throws some blame on France."

"I do not believe in war, we only need to use force to oblige Germany to fulfil her obligations. I am a pacifist, I am an opponent of war, but if it has to come, then I want us to be victorious!"

René Branquart: "If the occupation of the Ruhr valley can really bring us anything, I am ready to endorse this step. When I remember the German atrocities, the deportations, the sufferings of our population, I have not the courage to say that we should not enter the Ruhr for fear of adding to the cares of the Boches." (Prolonged applause.)

Joseph Bologne: "Poincaré is undoubtedly pursuing a policy of adventure, but I have great faith in the healthy common sense of the French people. We are afraid that Germany escapes punishment. I declare that if the policy of force cannot bring us anything to-day, it is because it comes too late. Unfortunately the Germans have learnt nothing from events. We must not forget that the reparations benefit the lesser classes as well."

The famous old social democrat Destrée, until recently a Belgian minister, declared: The whole world recognizes that the reparations are justice (!). Essen has been occupied without the slightest incident. What could Belgium do after France had resolved on the occupation? I am of the opinion that our government acted sensibly in joining France. We must not renounce our advantages. This is the feeling of the people. The policy of force is said to be unfruitful. But Belgium has already received 4.4 milliards of francs from Germany. The occupation has only cost Belgium 700 millions. Our policy has thus been right."

This is the voice of Belgian social democracy in face of the impending danger of war. And these Poincaré socialists form the second strongest party of the 2. International, they form the brother party of German social democracy.

## Essen

By D. H. Wynkoop (Amsterdam).

It is known that recently more than ten trainloads of French troops have left Mainz for the direction of the Ruhr District.

Thus new French occupation is added to the territory occupied by Belgium between Aix-la-Chapelles and Kleve and the English zone which is concentrated at Cologne, an occupation which joins the district from Dusseldorf to Ruhr, already annexed by French Imperialism in 1921.

The French Government, according to the laconic American note, need fear no intervention from the American Government which itself occupies the district about Coblenz. The world can rest assured of that.

It is quite possible then, that *The Manchester Guardian* is right when it comes to this conclusion concerning the latest steps of French continental imperialism: "The French are sowing the seed of war, though they may not ripen for another generation". Or, to express it in other words, more familiar in the politics of today, the question remains localized for the time being.

For, as already indicated, war or revolution may not be the immediate result of the French action in the Ruhr district; France only sends her troops in order to "protect" her civil officials on the Rhine and in the Ruhr. But what will be the result?

Nothing else than the further destruction of life in peace time, millions of workers exploited like coolies and a more dangerous reaction than ever in Germany and Central Europe which can link up with the Fascism already prevailing in Italy, Hungary and Bavaria.

The Essen business, the powerful alliance of Ruhr and Lorraine ore under a French political hegemony, aims at the creation of an unparalleled iron and steel market in Europe for the French Metal Industry, that backbone of the present monstrous French imperialism. In its aims, it has the help of Messrs. Krupp, Stumm, Stinnes and Thyssen. Naturally the question is whether these gentlemen will succeed better with these destructive measures than with any attempt at reconstruction. It is the most natural thing in the world that neither the Second International, nor the Amsterdam Trade Union International occupy themselves with this business, if only in an attempt at a really common line of action. For a protest meeting in Paris with Jouhaux as the speaker and a declaration from Vandervelde that he is convinced that Belgium is blameless, can hardly be called that.

The gentlemen are probably somewhat tired after their strenuous efforts at the Hague Congress, where they revealed what they would think of doing if another war should really come, that is, when it is too late to do anything.

Or, perhaps, they have been too much occupied with preparing for that world-event which appears to be about to come off in May of this year, i.e., the cementing together of the fragments of their Second International, which is engaging them so much in Cologne at present, that they have no eyes for what is happening in the neighbourhood of Cologne, in the Ruhr District.

Or, can the explanation be that Pacifism is so deeply engrained in them that these "workers" delegates do not care a hang if Europe's millions sink to a tragic ruin, so long as it happens under the flag of peace and not through open war.

However that may be, while the Communist International prepares for such action in Essen as the situation on the Rhine and the Danube, in the Near and the Far East demands, the Social Democratic International sticks to its correct declaration that the numerous divisions in the workers' organizations today, endanger the very life of the working class, in view of the present state of world-politics, and that under these circumstances, the most important duty of the proletariat is the building up of a united front in defense against the bourgeoisie. But as regards the possibility of a workers' world-congress convened by the Moscow International—such a thing is not to be thought of. While humanity, anxiously longing for peace and well-being, finds its world-problem in the question of how the proletariat, in its fight to emancipate mankind from the nightmare of capitalism, can learn to use its strongest weapon, the weapon of the first Proletarian State and the first world International in order to realize as soon as possible the mastery of the worker and the socialist economic state, the so-called Socialistes, in the face of war or destruction, continue to declare: "The Bourgeoisie

may rest secure, we will not make use of the only weapon we possess".

While, today, everyone knows (See the Italian Nitti) that no reparation settlement can be made until the armies of occupation are withdrawn and the absurd indemnity and Versailles policies are cleared up, the intelligent head of the British Labor Party, Ramsay MacDonald asserts that the indemnity should be definitely fixed, and so fixed that Germany can bear the burden.

France possesses the largest peace army that has ever existed, almost a million men, together with enormous modern armaments for land sea, and air fighting; her allies on the continent are armed to the teeth, Roumania has an army twice as large as that of Germany, Poland an army as great as Austria-Hungary's before 1914, and the Slav countries, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia, together, have an armed force greater than that of the United States. And this is not mentioning the world fleets.

The Essen policy may or may not lead directly to war; but the progressive decadence of Europe is leading this part of the world back to the tragic times of the Thirty-Years' War or the South American guerilla warfare of the last century. But still this downfall of a world disturbs the insensible thickheadedness of the Social Democrats not in the least. They parley, they chatter on as ever, with the terrible result that they merely hinder the working masses from the necessary unity in the fight against the Bourgeoisie.

Let the ever-patient and waiting masses learn this lesson from Essen and realize its necessity; throw off the leadership of the "modern" and Social Democratic leaders and make the united front of the fighting proletariat a reality in the trade unions, in international politics and in every other way. Join in the preparation for a common struggle, which has become more necessary than ever before, against Capitalism, for an immediate strike against the ever nearer approaching war.

## The International Policy of the Proletarian State

(A letter from comrade Bukharin.)

Dear comrade Souvarine,

French opportunists have been fastening on some words spoken by me at the congress, in my speech on the program, for the purpose of demonstrating their revolutionary radicalism. The words in question were my declaration that a proletarian government, under certain circumstances, may enter into agreements with bourgeois states, and that such a temporary agreement, in so far as it represents the interests of revolution, and is carried out under the control of the International, is of course to be supported by the International.

The question as to the justifiability of Soviet Russia making an agreement with Turkey against Western imperialism, when this imperialism not only threatens to enslave Turkey as a colony, but also to destroy the Russian revolution, is a question which must and will be thoroughly inquired into. We have no doubt whatever that such an agreement is perfectly permissible and suitable, and are of the opinion that the communists of all countries are bound to support such an agreement, and to explain its significance to the working masses. Should revolution break out in Germany, and Poland should attack Germany from the east, revolutionary Russia would probably be forced to take up arms against Poland. And in this case the revolutionary workers of the whole world would be bound to support the German revolution and the war conducted by Russia against Poland. Should petty-bourgeois Lithuania seize this moment as a suitable opportunity for attacking Poland, a military-political agreement with Lithuania for this purpose would be perfectly permissible.

The Soviet republic offered Menshevik petty-bourgeois Georgia an alliance against Western European imperialism, when the latter was endeavoring to seize power in Caucasia. Was this offer in contradiction to the interests of revolution? It was made for the defence of revolutionary positions.

The social revolution in Europe will still require many years, and its completion many decades. During this time many proletarian states may find themselves in the position of being obliged to make temporary agreements with subjugated or semi-subjugated bourgeois states, with weak and threatened states against strong and threatening ones. Each such agreement must be strictly tested, thoroughly deliberated upon. It is superfluous to say that no agreement is permissible under which workers' states could be employed, directly or indirectly, as tools of im-

perialism, tools for the oppression of other peoples. When an agreement of the nature above mentioned is being tested as to its permissibility, the criterion must be not the apparent interests of a single workers' state, but the world proletarian movement as a whole. The Communist International is the organ of such an international control.

The circumstance that two or three sentences of my speech, which I held in my own name only, and which did not by any means represent a decision of the international congress—have been torn from their context and made the object of noisy protest on the part of open opportunists, and of reformists and nationalists of yesterday and today, only shows too plainly that the aim pursued by these gentlemen is not the defence of revolutionary principles of which they are undoubtedly perfectly ignorant, but a speculation on the nationalist prejudices of a part of the working class.

With communist greetings,

N. Bukharin.

## Against Imperialism and War

Appeal of the Paris Central Committee of Action to the French Proletariat.

To all workers!

Every time that the bourgeoisie prepares a coup de main, it fabricates a conspiracy, and throws the workers' functionaries into prison. Poincaré la Guerre has held true to this tradition.

The alleged fresh conspiracy has only one object: The concealment of the true character of the Ruhr occupation from the eyes of the French workers.

But this occupation of the Ruhr district is a real conspiracy on the part of the magnates of the Iron Works Committee, and direction against the workers in France and Germany. Poincaré la Guerre is their tool.

The reparations are only a pretext.

The occupation of the Ruhr valley will bring the country nothing. Poincaré knows this quite well! He said so himself in the Chamber. He is raising all direct taxes by 20 per cent, because he is well aware that the expedition will not put a penny into the coffers of the French state exchequer.

The Iron Works Committee wants the Ruhr valley. It already possesses the iron ore of Lorraine. On the day that it comes into possession of the Ruhr coal, it will possess the hegemony in the iron market.

The great German capitalists, Stinnes, Thyssen, and the like, are ready to come to an agreement with it. They do not fear the occupation. It is only the workers who have to fear it.

The French and German capitalists will conclude their agreement, and the proletariat of both countries will have to pay the cost.

The metal industry and mining companies will utilize the unfair competition of the German Workers to press the French workers to the wall.

They will renew their attacks against the workers' wages, they will again press forward with their ten per cent reduction of wages, as a preliminary to further wage reductions. Their offensive against the eight hour day will become irresistible.

Workers of France!

If you let things drift, to-morrow you will share the hard fate of the German workers. Their misery will be yours. You will learn, like them, that deprivations sap your strength and devastate your homes, whilst the Stinnes of France and Germany become richer and richer.

The capitalist press, which spreads abroad its lies in millions of copies every morning, hides the truth from you.

The men whom the government has just thrown into prison have committed the crime of denouncing these lies, and of summoning you to fight for your existence. Their further crime consists of having united with the representatives of the revolutionary workers of Germany, England, Belgium, Holland, and Czecho-Slovakia, for the purpose of organizing the fight of self-defence.

The Marquis of Lubersac is permitted to receive the All-German Stinnes. He is permitted to negotiate with him, and the government approves of his proceedings.

But when a French workman arranges to meet a German workman, this is a deadly crime, and the great lying press denounces him as a traitor to his fatherland.

The German communists, who are supposed to have been hatching plots conjointly with our imprisoned comrades, are

the same people who were the first to denounce the crime of German imperialism. It is not they who carry on an anti-French campaign. They pursue the same aim as ourselves: the defence of the threatened working class.

Poincaré maintains that the occupation of the Ruhr valley does not signify war.

But it has already created a most threatening situation. The allies of yesterday have become the antagonists of to-day. From now onwards British imperialism takes up a defensive attitude against the imperialism of the French Iron Works Committee. This does not signify immediate war perhaps, but it signifies that the threat of war again overhangs the world.

Workers and peasants of France!

Our committee of action has been constituted for the purpose of guarding you against these dangers of ruin and war.

It has scarcely commenced its task, but the bourgeoisie is already up in arms.

Strengthen it by your support, respond in masses to its summons. Further committees of action must be formed in all the cities of France. They must spread enlightenment all around them. They must not fear the vengeance of the bourgeoisie.

They must prepare, with perfect self-control and mature deliberation, to follow exactly the slogans which will be issued to them.

The moment is not far off when every individual will have to rise and follow us, in perfect unity and discipline, into the fight which circumstances forces upon us.

Down with imperialism, the generator of war!  
Long live the international solidarity of the workers!

Paris, January 14, 1923.

The Central Committee of Action.

## ECONOMICS

### What becomes of the Reparation Billions?

By A. Ker (Paris).

On December 1, 1921, the total number of the men in the army of occupation stationed in the Rhine country, including those in Düsseldorf, Ruhrort, and Duisburg, amounted to 130,000. To-day the Rhine army, occupying 228 places, amounts to 140,000 men. Of these 95,000 are French. The German regiments stationed in this district in the year 1913, and distributed over 28 garrisons, amounted however to only 70,000 men.

The abuse of requisitions.

It is not only the French, Belgian, English, and American military forces which have to be provided for at the expense of the German people, but also their relations and servants. Has anyone even the slightest idea of the tremendous burden imposed on the Rhenish population by the foreign occupation?

Article VIII of the agreement on the Rhine country binds Germany to put at the disposal of the allies all existing aeroplane stations, shooting grounds, and military plant, formerly employed in the service of the German army. But the allied troops, in flat opposition to the wording of this agreement, have requisitioned a total of 1300 hectares of land for the erection of 24 new aeroplane stations; 11,000 hectares of land for 70 new exercising and shooting grounds for troops, for numerous mansions chateau, and great modern hotels, 23 theatres, 52 cinemas; 56,500 hectares for hunting purposes, and besides this a large number of desirable building sites, hotels, and private houses, which last have been transformed into brothels. The appropriation of houses for purposes of prostitution has only taken place within the zone of French occupation, and has cost the German state the pretty sum of "only" 800 million marks.

The Military Gentlemen make themselves comfortable.

With regard to dwelling rooms, linen, household furnishings, table accessories, and with regard to rebuilding and furnishing of houses, the needs, and especially the caprices, of our elegant officers exceed the dreams of the wildest imagination. The generals, and the officials of the same rank, are entitled to a private dwelling consisting of a whole house, and comprising seven to nine apartments apart from the servants' rooms. Besides this, they are entitled to official apartments, these having to consist of a building containing: a hall, a large stair-

case, one or two ante-rooms, a reception room, a small drawing-room, a large drawing room, a drawing room as ante-chamber to the general's study, a study, a dining-room, etc. etc.

By December 1, 1921, the allied troops had requisitioned at least 9,700 dwellings with a total of 38,600 rooms, and besides this 13,000 single rooms, from the civilian population.

In Mayence the general in command spent 750,000 marks during the year 1920—at that time worth 185,000 francs—for fitting out the castle of the grand dukes of Hessen according to his taste. In the same year no less than 1,572,000 marks were expended on the alteration and furnishing of Waldhausen castle, near Mayence, for a temporary sojourn of the general. A second whim of the same general, in the year 1921, again cost the trifle of 375,000 marks. In short, by December 1, the absorbing passion of the great military leader for decorative art had already cost the German state more than 3 million marks.

His Eminence Le Grand, the head chaplain of the French army of occupation, was somewhat more modest in his requirements; he has been living in one house with his mother, his sister, his niece, and the family of his valet, and, has caused an expense of "only" 330,000 marks.

The same abuses are reported in every direction: from Wiesbaden, from Coblenz, from Bonn, from Neustadt, from Trier, etc. In this last mentioned place, for instance, the wife of a general had the furniture which had been requisitioned for the personal use of her husband, to the value of one hundred thousand francs, packed into a furniture wagon and taken away.

Who loots the Bill?

From the simplest corporal to the general in command, every single soldier in the occupied territory of the Rhine country is making himself as comfortable as possible. In this vanquished country everybody can take just what happens to please him. The German state must provide at its own expense for the wives, relations, and lady friends of the most gallant soldiers of the world.

And why feel any embarrassment about it? Germany pays for everything! But will Germany really pay in the end for the tremendous expenditure for luxuries for the occupation army? According to the French budget, the arming, payment, and provisioning of the Rhenish army of occupation have already cost us 12 milliards of francs. At the same time the requisitions, the supplies in kind, and the special compensations, represent a heavy burden thrown on German finances, and this kind of "costs of collection" are included in the reparation account.

It may be confidently stated, on the basis of the figures given, that considerably more ease and comfort would obtain among the houseless of our devastated districts, if the wives of the generals and colonels would content themselves with somewhat less mahogany furniture, somewhat less pink silk wall hangings and Persian carpets, and if the appetite of the officers did not swallow up the greater part of the indemnities paid by Germany.

### German Heavy Industry and its "Vaterland"

By Paul Frölich (Berlin).

The severe crisis through which Germany is passing at the present time has broken the thin crust overlaying the decay beneath. The rottenness of the system is revealed in broad daylight. One scandal follows another. It is becoming evident to all eyes that the great capitalists are utilizing the economic and political break-down of the state in the most shameful way for their own enrichment, and for seizing upon one fragment of political power after the other.

That fact that Germany has only been able to keep economically afloat for so long a time by continually lowering the workers' wages, by the aid of the depreciation of the currency, is already sufficiently well known, but it has not sufficed to rouse the working class to determined resistance. To express this more clearly by a simile: The great capitalists, the parasitic growths on the economic tree have been enabled to live because the rottenness of the trunk enabled the sucking roots better to reach the vital sap. This consumption of the vital force of the people, of its living working powers, in favor of a comparatively small strata of capitalists, is in a manner a perfectly legal phenomenon.

But now it appears that the same clique of great capitalists is utilizing the terrible situation of state finances, and the political crisis, to an even further extent, for the purpose of scandalous extortions and impositions.

The revenues received by the state from the taxes were recently made known. It turned out that in October, the workers, that is, the recipients of wages and salaries, had paid no less than 72 per cent of the income tax, and even over 80 per cent of all direct and indirect taxes. This was full proof of the incredible extent of the cheating practised by the capitalists with regard to taxation. It must also not be forgotten that of the turnover taxes squeezed out of the mass of consumers about 40 per cent are embezzled, and not paid in to the state exchequer at all. And the turnover tax brings in the largest amount.

At the moment of the occupation of the Ruhr valley, the Coal Syndicate raised the price of coal by about 50 per cent. As a reason for this it was stated that the rise in price was rendered necessary not only by the increased prices of materials and wages, but by the necessity of supplying the collieries with more capital. The capital required for such purposes is generally raised by the issue of new shares, or by utilization of credit, but here it is raised by sums accumulated directly out of the increased want and misery of the consumers. A criminal enrichment of the brutal rulers of German industry! It must be noted that the trade union representatives in the Coal Syndicate also took part in this crime, and that indeed the joint workers' and employers' councils are nothing else than a great profit pump. The state government is also responsible, for it supervises all transactions in coal.

The government—this government of unheard of financial bankruptcy—now admits that since August 1922 it has permitted the mineowners to postpone payment of large sums which the latter had received from the consumers, and which represented coal tax. The government granted some months deferment of payments, yielding a total of over 22 milliards of marks. A social democrat has ascertained the fact that this amount has meanwhile reached a sum of 41 milliards. What this signifies can only be grasped if the development of the German rate of exchange is taken into consideration. When these respites first began, the dollar stood at about 700 marks in Germany. Now it is over 20,000 marks. It may be assumed that the taxes collected by the coal barons, but not delivered up by them, have meanwhile depreciated in value to about 1/20th. If the German currency continues to depreciate at its present catastrophic rate, and if these scandalous deferments of payment continue to be granted, these extra profits will soar into the immeasurable.

The responsibility for this criminal policy falls in the first place on the former Wirth government, in which there were social democrats, and the trade union leader Robert Schmidt was minister for industry; and in the second place on the present Cuno government, which continues to plunder state finances in favor of the great capitalists.

Considering the financial position of the state, and the political consequences of German insolvency, this policy is simply high treason. But there is even worse to come. The great industrial magnates intend to plunder the state, and with it the working class, down to the last farthing. It is perfectly obvious that the great capitalists have largely contributed to the sabotage of the policy of fulfilment of war obligations, and to bringing about the present catastrophe. They are now utilizing the extreme need of the country for the most villainous extortion. Here are the facts:

On January 9th the Paris *Temps* published the statement that leaders of German industry with Stinnes at the head, had applied, through the intermediation of industrial magnates of Luxemburg, to the French government, and declared that they would guarantee the German government a loan of 18 milliards of gold marks on condition that the German railways were pledged to them.

It is obvious that Poincaré sought to obtain the pledges by force. He occupied the Ruhr Valley. After this it was reported from Paris that Poincaré had declared to French journalists that the French government had reasons for assuming that the German government would presently recognize its former errors. The industrial leaders of the Ruhr Valley would appeal to the chancellor, and would doubtless succeed in breaking down the resistance of the government.

It is now known that Stinnes and his companions of the French and German governments made the following proposal: that the great industrial capitalists grant a loan of 20 milliards gold marks, which means, one milliard gold marks interest yearly. In return for this the German government was to hand them over the railways. It is said that both governments considered this to be a suitable basis for negotiations. The great industrial

capitalists, who with the effective aid of the Social Democrats, so shamefully sabotaged the compulsory loan, will simply pay these gold milliards out of the sums won by their taxation swindles. The railways cost them nothing, and give them a complete grasp of the whole economic life. The whole state has become a mere schedule. The whole population of 60 million souls has become one army of slaves to this handful of industrial barons.

What was Panama in comparison with such corruption? Among the political parties supporting the government—from the nationalist right to the social democrats—there is never any knowing where stupidity ends and crime begins. The whole of German politics has become a putrefying corpse. The German bourgeoisie, which is full of patriotic phrases at the moment, is only living—in so far as it is still dragging on its wretched existence at all—by means of open high treason. The sentence against it must be carried out.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The I. W. W. Convention

By Charles Ashleigh.

The Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, meeting in Chicago, has expressed its abhorrence of the Communists, its doubts as to whether the Soviet Republic is really a workers' Republic, its concern for the accused Social Revolutionaries, and its strict abstention from affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions or the infantile Berlin Syndicalist International.

Their official organ, *Industrial Solidarity*, in its report of the convention, states that "whatever the metropolitan newspapers may have said about the I.W.W. being hand-in-glove with Lenin and Trotsky, little love for the Communists, either in Russia or in America, is being displayed by delegates at the present convention." After this, we may expect the capitalist press of America to treat the I.W.W. with the same "fairness" with which it treats Samuel Gompers or the "Socialists".

A member of the former Executive Board told the Convention how the Communists had "gained control" of the Eastern organ of the I.W.W., and that this paper, for some time, published "undiluted Communist propaganda". When he reported this to the Executive Board, the Board immediately suspended publication of the paper. The Board also found it necessary to remove the editors of the Italian and Hungarian official organs of the I.W.W. because they were Communists.

The Convention having applauded this cleansing process, it proceeded to a discussion of international affiliation. Both the Red International of Labor Unions and the Berlin Syndicalist International were discussed. It was decided that affiliation with the R.I.L.U. was impossible because of their disagreement with the program of the Communists. The Communist tactic of mass action, said they, was fallacious because "it seeks to take in everybody regardless of the class in which he moves." These naive fellow workers of ours evidently believe that the Communists are rallying the millionaires of the world to fight on the barricades, side by side with the workers. Or is it that they object to the inclusion of the peasants and poor farmers in the Communist revolutionary program? If so, how do they intend feeding their revolution, after they have secured it in America, through resolutely folding their arms until their food supply has run out? Do they really believe this, or is it merely the theoretical excuse of the I.W.W. leaders, who desire to maintain their membership in ignorance of the real nature of the Communist program and of the Red International of Labor Unions? For, it seems that I can remember parleys and rapprochements between the I.W.W. and the Non-Partisan poor farmers of North Dakota; and even rumors of tacit support accorded to friendly candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party in the state of Washington. But this last cannot be true, for that would be "political action" and "political action" is one of the main reasons why they cannot have anything to do with the Communists, as the report goes on to state,—the election of I.W.W. sheriffs at Butte notwithstanding. It is all right to share a platform with members of the Socialist Party, but we cannot work with the Communists because they are political actionists. Alas! Alas!

And the Convention also said it could not join the Berlin-Syndicalist International. The reason for this was, according to their official journal, that "at their preliminary conference in Berlin, a few months ago, the Syndicalists went on record approving the use of sabotage and violence as weapons when deemed necessary in industrial strife. Both of these weapons are dis-

countenanced by the I.W.W., which officially declared against them more than four years ago, on the grounds that force invariably defeats itself." No one blames the I.W.W., a legal organization, for not advocating force or sabotage—especially in the face of the great persecutions to which its members have been subjected. But surely these were not the sole reasons for not joining the Berlin International? Was not the main reason that the leaders had here a glimmering of sense—a feeling that the Berlin International was not an International at all, but merely a thing which existed on paper and in the minds of a few isolated and muddle headed idealists, and that it probably would not last a year? Let us at least credit them with this.

And so the I.W.W. decided to remain without any international affiliation, but to open correspondence with both these Internationals, in order to exchange information. Later, it was said, the I.W.W. would aid in the formation of a "true" International which would really be the right one.

Reports were made of progress in organization of the marine transport workers and the coal miners. It was stated that the members of the United Mine Workers were joining the I.W.W. as a result of their recent unsuccessful strike. Here we see an apt illustration of the disastrous policy of dualism, which has for years paralyzed the American labor movement. An interesting example of the utter illogicalness of the orthodox I.W.W. leaders may be observed in this convention. Some time ago, the leaders of the United Mine Workers introduced a clause forbidding any of their members to hold an I.W.W. card. The report states that many of the members of the United Mine Workers, however, do hold these cards, and "it is considered likely that, at the next constitutional convention of the miners' organization, there will be action to abolish the prohibitive clause". And this, from the leaders of an organization which has always attacked the policy of working within the trade unions! This, from those I.W.W. spokesmen who have always derided the possibility of ever accomplishing anything against the reactionary machine of the older unions! If it is impossible to alter the old unions, and make them into better ones, through working within them, how on earth can they expect to abolish a clause in the constitution of the Mine Workers, by these means? And, if they can succeed in this, in the face of the opposition of the reactionaries, then they can succeed in anything else. They have here themselves given the lie to their own teachings and it is to be hoped their membership will perceive it, and learn the lesson.

The I.W.W. has doubled its membership in the past year, it was reported, and is now over 50,000. How pitiful is this acknowledgement of wasted energy, suffering and heroism! In 1905, when the I.W.W. was founded, it had 50,000 members. After 17 years of dual unionism, they are still feeding their Utopianism on "encouraging reports" on the growth of the membership. If all the splendid efforts, the enthusiasm and unexampled courage of the membership had been devoted to the struggle of the workers within the great unions, what a movement we should have in America, after these 17 years!

At it is, the I.W.W. has manifested, by its latest Convention, the complete bankruptcy of its theoretical leaders and of dual unionism in general. Also, it does not show the old I.W.W. spirit—the remarkable spirit of proletarian valor, which once distinguished it. The membership is sound; it contains still all the elements of the old fine fighting force. But there are new and different leaders—or old leaders grown older and atrophied—and it is to this rank and file, this sound and courageous membership, that we should appeal. Let them ascertain for themselves what the Red International of Labor Unions stands for. Let them forget old prejudice, and read for themselves of the splendid work of the Trade Union Educational League in America. Let them apply the lessons of the past to their present condition, coldly, scientifically, realistically.

If they do this, we feel sure the members of the I.W.W. will demand of their leaders that they join hands with the great forward movement of American labor, rather than seek to pry this or that petty section from the body of the trade unions which are now suffering the full force of the capitalist "open shop" offensive. They will manifest their intention of working harmoniously with all those forces in America making for one great united revolutionary labor movement; and they will then see that the only International which really is building up a world-wide industrial revolutionary army of the workers is the Red International of Labor Unions.

Let us hope they will see this. If they do not; if they forget all their glorious revolutionary traditions, and meekly

follow their present vacillating leaders—blind leaders without a program—then there is still some advice to offer them: they forgot the Yellow Amsterdam International. It is safe and sound and characterless. However, it is just a little too radical for Compers. It may be just right for them.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### Who rules Russia?

By G. Neradov (Moscow).

Full information is provided on this very important question by the material compiled by the Russian People's Commissariat for international Affairs on the members of the Executive Committees in the governments and districts, during the year 1922.

Of the members of the Executive Committees of the governments in 1922, 99.4 per cent were men and 0.6 per cent women. The professions of the members were as follows: 40.8 per cent hand workers, 11.8 per cent peasants, 4.1 per cent technicians with medium and high school education, 2.5 per cent physicians, 11.3 per cent of the legal profession, 9.9 per cent teachers, 21.7 per cent clerks, etc., 1.6 per cent soliders, 0.3 per cent free professions, 2.5 per cent students, 3.5 per cent other vocations; 89.1 per cent belonged to the Communist Party and 10.9 per cent were non-partisan. The members of the district executives are divided as follows: men 99.1 per cent, women 0.9 per cent, workers 30.6 per cent, peasants 26.4 per cent, technicians 1.3 per cent, physicians 0.6 per cent, legal profession 0.1 per cent, teachers 6.5 per cent, clerks, etc., 25.9 per cent soliders 2.4 per cent, free professions 0.7 per cent, students 3.3 per cent, other vocations 2.2 per cent. Communists 81.7 per cent, other parties 0.1 per cent, non-partisan 18.2 per cent. The executives of the cities were composed of the following proportions: men 95.1 per cent, women 4.9 per cent, workers 53.7 per cent, peasants 7.3 per cent, physicians 4.9 per cent, clerks, etc., 19.5 per cent, students 12.2 per cent, other vocations 2.4 per cent, communists 61.0 per cent, non-partisan 39.0 per cent.

Thus for the whole of Russia, in the executives of the governments, of the capital cities of the governments, of the districts, of the cities, and of the main towns of the districts, we find the following proportions represented: men 99.0 per cent, women 1.0 per cent.—Workers 33.0 per cent, peasants 24.0 per cent, technicians 1.6 per cent, physicians 1.0 per cent, legal profession 0.3 per cent, teachers 6.8 per cent, clerks, etc., 25.0 per cent, soliders 2.1 per cent, free professions 0.5 per cent, students 3.3 per cent, other vocations 2.4 per cent.—Communists 82.5 per cent, non-party 17.5 per cent.

In the above statistics the proportion of the vocations is of great importance. The largest percentage falls to the manual workers, the second largest to the employe's; then follow the peasants, and then comparatively insignificant numbers of representatives of other professions, chiefly teachers and students. It is much to be regretted, considering how important economic questions are at the present time, that the technicians should be so poorly represented among the members of our executives. There is however no doubt but that after our schools have trained large groups of red specialists, these figures will undergo a favorable alteration. At present it seems as if the workers and peasants prefer to manage without specialists in their representative organs, rather than elect bourgeois specialists whom they do not trust.

As regards the education of the members of the executives, the proportions are as follows: 6.7 per cent with high school education, 16.5 per cent with medium, 66.6 per cent elementary school, 7.9 per cent self-taught, and 0.3 per cent with very slight education.

These statistics show the Soviet republic to be very poor in educated administrators. But this is not our fault. The ruling classes gave the people no education, and it was extremely difficult to make this good during the years of civil war. These figures only go to show that in Russia the Soviet democracy rules. This democracy is still uneducated to-day, but the process of appropriating cultural advantages has begun, and is continuing rapidly. Our high schools, our workers' educational institutions, are filled to-day with representatives of the city proletariat and the peasantry. A few years more, and the reigning Soviet democracy will have the cultural level it falls short of today.

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## The Communist International Against War

By Walter Stoecker (Berlin).

An extremely critical situation has arisen in Central Europe, with unexpected rapidity. French imperialism has laid its hand upon the Ruhr coal. The German government offers resistance, and a state of war has been practically, if not formally, created between France and Germany. This conflict has been brought about by the lust for power of French imperialism, which is anxious to secure the Ruhr district in addition to the many other positions which it now occupies on the European continent, so that it may be enabled to take its place incontestably as the leading power in Europe, not only from a military standpoint, but from an economic one, and that it may above all the enabled to confront England with the possession of the largest coal district of Europe.

The short-sighted and disastrous policy pursued by the German Cuno government was exceedingly favorable to these designs. German heavy industry has systematically driven the finances of Germany ever further on the downward path, has plunged the state into insolvency and bankruptcy, and has at the same time shamelessly seized the opportunity of increasing its own wealth, of accumulating enormous profits. Thus the situation became more and more acute. Poincaré had Essen occupied. The German Cuno government, after several times vainly offering Poincaré the co-operation of German and French industry, has now broken off relations with France, stopped all payment of reparations to her and Belgium, withdrawn the coal syndicate from Essen, and adopted a number of other measures signifying a state of passive resistance against France.

This policy is of course grist to the mills of French militarism. Naturally the whole of the Ruhr district will now be occupied, and not alone this, but recourse will probably be had to other severe reprisals, and to the further occupation of Germany. Above all, the militarists will take the Ruhr coal, will cut off the Ruhr district from the rest of Germany, and thus enormously accelerate her economic collapse. Renewed depreciation of monetary values, immeasurable rises in prices, and unemployment, will weigh upon the German working class even more heavily than before. This disastrous policy of the Cuno government is plunging the German working class into the abyss.

Signs of impending tempest may be seen in other directions. Lithuania has seized upon a part of the Memel district, and Poland too is only waiting for a favorable opportunity. Nationalism is becoming a serious danger in Germany. No one knows how long England will remain an inactive spectator of France's tremendous extensions of power. In this grave and

critical moment the Executive of the Communist International appeals for a determined offensive fight against the danger of war. A telegram from Moscow commissions the French and German Communist Parties, and the red trade unions of France, immediately to approach the 2. Socialist Internationals and the Amsterdam trade union international for the immediate organization of a united proletarian front against the danger of war.

It is well known that the leaders of the reformist international held a conference at The Hague only a few weeks ago, a so-called peace conference, at which they resolved to reply to any danger of war by the proclamation of a general strike of the working class. The hour has come for these leaders to keep their word, if they think of taking their own resolutions seriously. The whole proletariat of Europe should rise like one man against the act of imperialist militarist violence committed by the French bourgeoisie in the Ruhr district, against the disastrous policy of the German capitalist Cuno government, against the tremendous dangers involved by this conflict, and should also protest by determined mass actions, to the utmost extent of its powers. The Communist International by no means makes the proposition of taking up the defensive fight conjointly with the Second International out of any great faith which it feels in the leaders of that body, but for the sake of the great masses of proletarians behind these leaders, and for the sake of showing these masses their task as a proletarian class in the present situation, that they may if possible be won for the proletarian defensive fight.

The proletariat of France, Belgium, England, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Germany, should gather together in this hour for a great united fraternal struggle against French imperialism and German capitalism, against the frightful danger of a fresh war in Central Europe. And the parties of the 2. International and of the Amsterdam trade unions, possess the power to do this, if they only would. But instead of this what do we see? The French socialists confine themselves to a few protest meetings, and decline to join the the communists and revolutionary trade unions in an earnest proletarian struggle; the Belgian labor party even limits its action to a paper resolution of its national council, although Belgian soldiers are amongst those invading the Ruhr district. We hear nothing of really determined struggles, or of any pressure exercised by the great English Labor Party. The Italian social democrats are accomplices of Mussolini. We prefer to make no mention whatever of the Czech and Polish socialists and reformists. This is the appearance presented by the international solidarity of the second "international". The