

Comrade Hertha Sturm was quite right when she referred in her report to a general weakness in the international proletarian 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 proletarian struggle, especially at the present time, when the fight against the shameful exploitation and increased misery of the proletariat is receiving the greatest impetus from the suffering housewives. But the fact must none the less be recognized that the participation of the proletarian women working in factories, workshops, 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 call for women to enter the proletarian fighting organizations, to 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 union work in factories and workshops, the establishment of closer relations between the communist nuclei 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 made between the centrals of political agitator 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, and into the struggle for communist economics, there was another most interesting report, by comrade Kasparova, on work among the women of the Orient. Here communist agitator work falls on a soil already ploughed by capitalism.

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 succeeded in bringing about that for which written intercourse had proved inadequate—personal relations among the comrades, and insight into the conditions of the various parties which is so absolutely necessary if there is to be mutual comprehension, and if correct judgments on international conditions are to be formed.

With that openness which is only found in the Communist 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 class can neither defend itself successfully, nor effectually combat the bourgeoisie, if broad masses of proletarian women stand on one side, or even form an actual obstacle in the way. On the other hand, only the united working class can emancipate the working women. We communist women join with Klara Zetkin in saying: "We women want to take part in all the work and struggles of the Communist Parties and of the International and it is our ambition to stand in the front rank!"

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 storm. The standing armies alone, which numbered 6 millions of men before the war, have 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 impudently raising its head. The bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth, and is not content to use its weapons against the workers alone, but intends employing them for imperialist war.

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 alluring promises made to you 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 effectual war against war can be carried on.

The III congress of the C.Y.I. has commissioned 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 annulment 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 disarmament 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.I. proposes to you and your leaders to join us in the fight against capital and imperialism. Once already your leaders have prevented the formation of the united front and you tolerated this. To-day we repeat 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 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.

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G. m. b. H., Berlin SW. 48

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 9

23rd Jan. 1923

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

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The All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the Invasion of the Ruhr

(The following statement on the French invasion of the Ruhr was issued on January 15 by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries.)

To the peoples of the whole world!

The army of imperialist France has invaded the Ruhr Basin. Foreign slave drivers have taken possession of the industrial centre of Germany. Once again the German people have received a terrible blow, and Europe is once again menaced by a cruel international butchery. At this critical moment the workers' and peasants' republic of Russia cannot remain silent. Faithful to the incessant struggle against militarism, to the unwavering defence of the right of every people to independence, and to the demand for disarmament, Russia once more raises her voice in indignation, and protests against the crime that the French Government is now committing.

Five years ago the imperialist war, after a duration of four years, was ended by the shameful and absurd Treaty of Versailles. During the war the Allied Governments had proclaimed in all countries, to all peoples, that they were only struggling in the interests of liberty and in the name of the nations' right to freedom. The moment the war was over they suddenly forgot their promises and their "noble" speeches. They met at Versailles and dictated to Germany a treaty of a type unknown to history. This treaty proves beyond all question that the statesmen of the Entente were not thinking of liberty but of tyranny, not of the freedom of the nations but of cruelly enslaving them.

After having violently torn from Germany a number of provinces, after having taken from her all means of defence, the Versailles Treaty also robbed her of almost all her merchant fleet, of a third of her coal industry, and of three-quarters of her iron mines. It laid upon the German people a colossal burden of reparations, that is to say money indemnities, and indemnities in coal and goods, for all the destruction caused by the war in France and Belgium. The Versailles Treaty forged heavy chains for the German people and handed them over to the mercy of the French imperialists. The Versailles Treaty perpetuated the reign of hatred between the peoples of Europe and plunged Europe into economic and political chaos. The Russian Republic of workers and peasants protested energetically at the time against the brutality and madness of the Versailles Treaty, and predicted the terrible consequences affecting not only Europe but the entire world. These

predictions in effect have been completely realized. The years that have passed since the signature of the Versailles Treaty have been years of continual unfriendliness between the peoples, years of a steady growth in armaments, years in which the economic ruin of Europe has continually increased.

The present Government of imperialist France has not even been content with the Treaty of Versailles. In its insatiable desire for conquest it has violated this treaty which was drawn up on its own initiative in order to strangle the German people. Once more the French imperialists have flung the sword into the scales of history; they are proceeding with the military occupation of the most important industrial regions of Germany. By this action the French imperialists have taken upon themselves the heaviest possible responsibility for all the consequences of this revolting and reckless violation of the Treaty.

But imperialist France is not the only country culpable. Her allies, who could have opposed the perpetration of this crime, have not opposed it; some of them even are taking an active part in the invasion of the Ruhr, others hypocritically wash their hands of the matter and limit themselves to verbal protests and vain demonstrations. For these reasons their culpability is equal to that of France. Responsibility for what is happening does not only fall on the Government of Paris; the Governments of London, of Rome, of Brussels, and of Tokio must bear their share of responsibility.

The sovereignty of the German people to independence has been trodden under foot. The economic situation of Germany, already severely strained, has received a new and mortal blow. The working masses of Germany are threatened with horrible poverty and an unheard of oppression; the aggravation of the economic chaos threatens all Europe. The world is once again plunged into the fever that precedes war. Europe has been changed by the Treaty of Versailles into a powder magazine in which sparks are continually dropping.

In these decisive days the Russian Republic of workers and peasants again raises its voice in indignation, protesting against the mad policy of France and of her allies. She again protests with particular vigour against the violation of the German people's

* This has since become an accomplished fact.

right to freedom. Again, and with the greatest possible emphasis, she warns the peoples of the whole world to be on guard against the danger of bloodshed which threatens Europe.

Peoples of Europe! Peace is in mortal danger. The future of peace is in your hands.

Kalinin,

President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Savronov,

Secretary.

POLITICS

Britain — France — Belgium

By J. T. Walton Newbold.

The situation in the capitalist world is developing from crisis to crisis with astounding rapidity and assuming a complexity utterly bewildering in its character.

The French have, by their occupation of the Ruhr, certainly succeeded in bringing the German people and the German state into something very near to chaos. The mark, oscillating insolently in its course, plunges down from one level to another. Prices rise by leaps and bounds and within the country there is an increasing instability. The whole population, of all classes and of all parties, resents bitterly the occupation of the Ruhr. Different factions have different ways of expressing their discontent and different ways of seeking to make that discontent effective, but one thing is obvious that all feel, with an intense irritability, their powerlessness to check the advance of the plunderers of the Paris Bourse.

The French, on their side, are not finding that they are getting or are likely to get anything more by way of Reparations as a result of their action. Already loaded down with debt, they have decided that they will pay the German industrialists for the coal which they take away to France and even if they assume that they will ultimately recover this sum from the German Government it remains an assumption not likely substantially to improve their credit on the money market. Furthermore they are needing to meet the immediate cost of moving in and maintaining large bodies of troops. They are incurring a heavy expenditure which will have to be met either by borrowing or by taxation, processes which in the present temper of the world will not differ materially in their economic consequences for France.

The French have, if their aim is really or even primarily to alleviate the condition of their national finances, gone to work in a very foolish manner. They have adopted a course of action which can only serve still further to aggravate matters.

But the opinion is growing outside of France that the payment of reparations is not the reason for which the French Government has ordered the advance to Dortmund. The "Daily Chronicle" — the official organ of Lloyd George — has gone so far as to charge the French with seeking to possess themselves of the economic resources of the Ruhr, and has gone on to say that this would result in the same thing that was threatened by the Germans when they advanced into France.

Other English papers are not so direct and not so obviously hostile in the note they sound but all make it evident that they disapprove and distrust.

The official British attitude would appear to be an admixture of alarm at the action of France in jeopardizing the economic and political stability of Germany and of silent satisfaction at the spectacle of the French entangling themselves in a situation from which it will be impossible for them to withdraw with dignity. Probably, the British statesmen take the view that perilous as is the objective at which the French aim, viz: — the bringing together of the richest ore-fields, the finest coking-coal, the best water and railway transport and the biggest metallurgical and machine plants into one economic whole, such a project is fantastical. The British steel and coal masters would view with intense disfavor French effective annexation of Ruhr resources, but they view with almost equal approbation the putting out of business of the German plants at present competing with them.

The British diplomats have always favored the idea of France turning her attention towards the Rhine rather than seeking outlets overseas as in Turkey or the East. On the other hand, the newer economic powers in Britain, more fully understanding the importance of coal and iron in the modern world than do the officials of the Foreign Office are already warning their countrymen that France and Belgium controlling the Ruhr would be as grave a danger to the British as the Germans controlling Belgium, Northern France and Lorraine.

The banking interests in Britain realize how insecure are French finances and, probably, welcome the adoption of a policy

calculated still further to undermine the fundamental stability of the French state.

At the same time, the British financiers and great industrialists generally can view with satisfaction a process which results in an immediate influx of orders for coal and also in a depreciation of the exchange value of the great workshops at present competing with their own establishments. These interests stand to gain by the liquidation of German capitalism and expect to be able to do very well for themselves when it comes to a general scramble for the assets of defaulting Germany.

The British have been to some considerable extent successful in detaching Poland and Czecho-Slovakia from exclusive dependence on France. They have waited their opportunity and have come in with alternative aid of a financial character. The power of France upon the Continent has ever since 1914 been much more apparent than real. She profited by the first enthusiasm of the new national states but, this over, the support of her armies, more especially as Bolshevism became a less pressing danger within and without, became a luxury that they were ill inclined to afford.

France was too evidently aiming at suzerainty and at financial exploitation. Therefore, the new nations preferred to turn towards Britain, traditionally unconcerned with the internal affairs of Europe and interested rather to trade than to enter and to exploit.

Besides, to-day, Germany and Austria have become so patently enfeebled that the Succession States no longer fear them while they do distrust France.

The best brains of British diplomacy understand too well how far France has to travel before she can weld her several elements of economic power into one working system. What they fail to understand is how dangerous to peace with themselves is a state like France whose rulers and whose bankers are conscious to a degree of the nearness of that time when they must meet their innumerable clients, the petty bourgeoisie, with the confession that no longer can they pay them any interest. The danger is that the French banks and big bourgeoisie will precipitate another world war in a desperate endeavor to avoid default.

France, official France, realizes not only the inadequacy of the economic substructure to support her financial and imperial superstructure but she is acutely conscious that it is and has been Britain which is in large measure responsible for aggravating the handicaps nature herself has put upon her.

For once, but for how long who can say, France finds herself in the closest co-operation with Belgium. This union is a union built upon coal strata which underlie the frontier between the two countries, and make of one coalfield one industrial unity which expresses itself to-day in a financial union — the union of money and credit in the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*, the *Banque de l'union Parisienne* and the *Société Générale de Belgique*.

Nature, economic geology, seem to cry aloud for the unification in one political system of the territories under which stretches one great coal seam from the Pas de Calais to the Ruhr, and on which stands one great industrial and commercial whole extending from Calais to Dortmund and Hamm.

That may be so but England willed otherwise. When trade was most important in the life of Belgium and when trade, moreover, centered around Antwerp and Rotterdam, Belgium inclined towards England.

Now that instead of commerce, of the exchange of all manner of commodities coming in and going out to and from Europe through Antwerp, industry, the heavy industry of coal and iron, has assumed priority in the Belgian economy, Belgian politics have tilted away from London and towards Paris.

In a rational political system — undetermined by historic jealousies and diplomatic intrigues — the whole of Northern France, the Scheldt, Treuse and Rhine Valleys would constitute one political as one economic area.

England has prevented this. She has fought Spain, France, and Germany to prevent it. Her rulers will, if necessary, fight France once more to prevent it.

The French Government is at the old game.

The British Government is at the old game.

We can go back across four hundred years of history and we can see this conflict proceeding, ever and again renewed.

It may be Richelieu, Louis Quatorze, Napoleon Buonaparte or Poincaré. It may be Cromwell, Marlborough, Pitt, Wellington, Grey or Bonar Law. Only the personalities change. Whilst the bourgeoisie of Britain and France prevail in their respective countries, the bloody battle will be again and again re-staged and re-enacted.

The eyes of the world may be upon Britain and France in the East. The eyes of those who know their history watch ever Britain and France on the Rhine and the Scheldt!

British Honour

By Wm. Paul.

A great deal of needless fuss has been created in political circles in Britain, by the report of a special Commission recently appointed by the government to enquire into the scandal regarding the sale of honours. This Commission's report is the usual bourgeois whitewash which is generally applied from time to time, to the democratic institutions of capitalism. One of the members of the Commission was Mr. Arthur Henderson, a distinguished luminary of the Second International and the foremost leader of the British Labor Party. He presented a minority report in which he set forth his viewpoint in opposition to that of the majority of the Commission. But even his minority statement does not differ, in essence, from that presented by the out and out upholders of capitalism.

Capitalism, being based on the production and exchange of commodities, moulds its various social institutions in its own image. Even its conception of honour is regulated by the mercantile standard. Every sane and honest student of modern politics is aware that the bourgeoisie only grants honours to those who serve the propertied interests. In order to cover up the hypocrisy of their method of granting honours the cunning capitalists, now and then confer a distinction upon an artist or a man of letters. But in Britain the traffic in honours reached such a stage of scandal that something had to be done in the matter. Even some of the most reactionary organs of the Press, in denouncing the honours scandal, were able to quote what were considered the market prices for Knighthoods and Peerages.

In democratic Britain the usual method of obtaining an honour is to pay over a sum of money to the secret funds of one of the bourgeois political organizations. These funds are utilized to fight the Communists and Socialists and to demonstrate to the masses that capitalism means social equality. It has been estimated by anti-socialists, like Belloc and Chesterton, that the purchase of a Peerage—which carries with it a seat in the House of Lords—confers legislative power upon the buyer equal to that of almost thirty thousand citizens. Regarding this aspect of the sale of honours, which has a most important influence upon the class struggle, Mr. Arthur Henderson said nothing.

It was of course very difficult for Mr. Arthur Henderson to expose the hypocrisy of the granting of honours under a capitalist state. This gentleman, like many more of his colleagues in the British Labor Party, has himself received an honour from the bourgeoisie. He was made a member of the King's Privy Council and is, therefore, a "Right Honourable Gentleman". Some time ago when Mr. J. H. Thomas—who also is a "Right Honourable Gentleman" and a prominent Amsterdammer—used the legal machinery of Capitalism to force the Communists into the law-courts he declared, under cross-examination, that the Privy Council was one of the few honours in Britain that could not be purchased for money. This is perfectly true. A seat on the Privy Council can only be won by a record of splendid service devoted to the propertied interests. In this connection it may be worth our while to pay attention to one or two facts.

One of the most critical periods in the history of the British capitalist class was between 1914 and 1918; it was also a most critical period for the working class. The safety of British capitalism during those years depended, to a very great extent, upon the attitude taken up by the prominent trade union leaders—particularly in the mining and iron and transport industries. What do we find? That the Labor leaders in the iron industries—Messrs. Arthur Henderson, George Barnes W. Bowerman and John Hodge—were elected to the Privy Council during 1915—1916. During this period the government made desperate efforts to crush the miners. It was just at this time that important miners' leaders, like Messrs. Wm. Bruce, T. Richards and Wm. Adamson, became Privy Councillors. All during the war the Amsterdam leaders of the engineers and miners officially took their stand with the imperialist British Government against their own trade union members. All the great strikes conducted by the miners in South Wales; and by the engineers on the Clyde, at Liverpool, Sheffield, etc., were carried on by unofficial committees and in opposition to the very leaders who became Privy Councillors. When trouble began with the railwaymen in 1917 it was the turn of Mr. J. H. Thomas to be transferred into a "Right Honourable Gentleman". The dates, and the nature of the unions which these Amsterdam leaders controlled in Britain, speak eloquently as to the why and the wherefore they were chosen to receive such important honours from the hands of the most cunning ruling class in the world.

These facts further explain why it was difficult for the Right Honourable Arthur Henderson to denounce the shameless

system of granting honours under capitalism. They also explain why the official leaders, who opposed the struggling masses during the war, are now within His Majesty's Privy Council; and why the unofficial leaders who fought for the workers, and who were imprisoned and deported, are now carrying on the struggle from within the ranks of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

ECONOMICS

A 6% Redeemable Loan in Russia

By J. Schleifer (Moscow).

The means required for wiping out the budget deficit, and for enabling the issue of paper money to be stopped or reduced, cannot be raised solely by taxation and by the incomes of state industrial undertakings. And as the Western European bourgeoisie will only grant us loans on terms which we will not accept, we must turn to the inner resources of the country.

For five years no loan operations have been carried on in Soviet Russia. It was only in the summer of last year that the Soviet government launched a grain loan on 10 million puds of grain. This loan was a brilliant success. Hundreds and thousands of peasants paid their taxes in kind with corn bonds, and many workers are now eating bread which they have received, at the prices obtaining in summer, for their loan subscriptions. These workers and peasants have now learnt by personal experience how thoroughly they can rely on the solvency of the Soviet government.

The Soviet government is equally determined to pay back the redeemable loan of 100 million gold roubles now being issued, at its full value. Security for this is offered by the rapid increase of state revenues, and the obvious recovery of our economics. It is not by accident that the representatives of various foreign banks apply to us with the proposal to float a part of the loan abroad; despite the counter-propaganda of the White Guard press, the success of the grain loan made a great impression abroad.

In issuing this redeemable internal loan, the Soviet government is reckoning upon the broad masses of the population. The bonds are issued in values of 5 and 25 gold roubles. The term of redemption is ten years; pre-war loans had a redemption term of sixty years. The total sum of the proceeds, and the yearly sum of the allotted proceeds, are considerably greater than for the pre-war loans (1,600,000 gold roubles for the present, 1,200,000 for the Czarist loans). The loan has the additional advantage of preserving savings from the depreciation of the paper rouble.

These conditions are so advantageous for the buyers of the loan bonds that all our enemies, to whatever category they may belong, will not be able to bring up any arguments for agitating against the loan.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The National Railroad Amalgamation Conference in the U.S.A.

By Wm. Z. Foster.

The National Railroad Amalgamation Conference, so long looked forward to by militants in all industries, has come and gone. It was a tremendous success. On Dec. 9—10, in Chicago, some 425 delegates, of all trades and callings, including smaller delegations from the four Brotherhoods, from all over the United States and Canada, came together to consider the proposition of amalgamation. They endorsed it 100%, declaring wholeheartedly for one union for the entire railroad industry. Then, organizing a committee of 100, members of which be located in all the principal railroad centers, they prepared to launch a great campaign to bring the many organizations together. It is safe to say that after the historic conference the realization of industrial unionism on the railroads, the dream of militants for a generation, now looms as a prospect of the near future.

Difficulties Overcome.

The conference was held in the midst of great difficulties. Prime among these was the shopmen's strike, which still involves half of the railroads in the United States. The effect of this was

paralyzing. With practically all the unions financially handicapped, it was impossible for them to send delegates.

Another obstacle, though not so serious as the strike situation, was the opposition of certain officials of the International Association of Machinists and of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers who warned their membership to stay away from the conference. Many Brotherhood militants were kept away thereby, but sent assurances of support.

No Craftism: No Dualism.

A remarkable feature of the conference was the overwhelming sentiment for complete amalgamation. The partial amalgamationists, those who advocate the fusing together of two or more closely affiliated trades here and there, got absolutely nowhere. The almost unanimous sentiment was for a thoroughgoing consolidation all along the line. Everyone recognized that the companies have become so militant and powerfully organized that the only way railroad workers can hope to stand against them is by complete solidarity of all trades. Federations and understandings between the various groups will not do. There must be an organic connection between them; they must be so many departments in one all-inclusive union. Conductors, Engineers, Firemen, Trainmen, Switchmen, Trackmen, Clerks, Shopmen, and all the rest united in this opinion. The general conclusion was that craft unionism, particularly since the shopmen's strike, is entirely out of date on the railroads and that only complete industrial unionism will suffice. When the conference voiced this conclusion it was the determined conviction of an overwhelming majority of the great rank and file of nearly all the organizations.

Another remarkable feature of the conference was the absence of dual union sentiment. Had such a meeting been held two years ago the demand for a new organization would have been practically unanimous, particularly from the more radically inclined. But in this conference not one speech was made in favor of secession; in fact, not even a sentence was spoken in favor of quitting the old organizations. Everyone was against such a course as suicidal; the radicals especially condemned it. The conference repudiated it formally by resolution. This bespeaks nothing short of a revolution in the minds of American militants. And the significant part of it is that just now the rank and file, particularly in the shop trades, are discouraged and are tending to quit their unions as individuals or to secede in small bodies in the time-honored disastrous way that has so long cursed our movement. The conference went on record unanimously to check this tendency and to divert the attention of the demoralized rank and file towards amalgamation. This changed attitude by the militants betokens a new day for Labor in this country.

Amalgamation the Chief Issue.

Seeking to avoid division in its ranks and striving to concentrate all possible amalgamation sentiment, the conference rigidly restricted its business to the proposition of fusing the organizations into one body. Few departures were made from this policy. Chief of these was about the shopmen's strike. The shadow of this great struggle hovered over the conference constantly, affecting its deliberations in many ways. The delegates went on record unanimously urging the striking shopmen to stand their ground and pledging all possible financial and other help to them. Another diversion was the adoption of the so-called "Chicago" resolution, calling for the amalgamation of the craft unions in all industries. A further resolution protested the suppression of amalgamation discussion in the official journals and demanded that their columns be opened to this subject.

An amusing and highly significant phase of the conference, which was made up of at least 95% American-born delegates, was the reiteration by many delegates that one of the principal tasks confronting the movement was to interest the foreigners in amalgamation and industrial unionism. In past years radicals have insisted that it was the Americans who were almost hopelessly resistant to such ideas. This conference goes to show that when these ideas are put up to the Americans so they can understand them—in their old organizations rather than in new-fangled ones—they will take to them readily and assume their proper place of leadership in the militant wing of the labor movement.

Railroad Men and Metal Tradesmen.

One of the most intricate problems confronting the conference was the question of what part the metal trades shop mechanics are going to play in the proposed industrial union. At the present time the heads of the metal trade unions are opposing the railroad amalgamation on the pretended grounds that if it takes place it will tear the railroad mechanics away from the contract shop men who are also members of these unions, thus

greatly injuring both. But the conference refuted such contentions by adopting the principle of double affiliation. That is to say, while the railroad shop mechanics shall retain their membership in the purely metal trades unions (because they have an interest as metal workers in maintaining good conditions in the metal industry generally) they shall also be subject to the discipline of the railroad industrial union. Their negotiations with the companies shall be carried on by the general railroad union committee, and in case of a crisis they shall participate directly in general strike votes and in the strikes themselves, without the interference of the outside metal unions. A part of their dues would be sent directly to the railroad union, sufficient to defray their pro-rata share of the latter's expenses. In reality they would be members of both the metal trades and railroad unions. The beginnings of this double affiliation system now exists in the relations between the Railway Employee's Department and the present craft unions. The virtue of the system is that it guarantees the solidarity of the shop mechanics with the railroad workers, as a whole without tearing them away from the outside metal workers.

Realizing the close relationship of the metal trades and railroad unions and the great desirability of amalgamation movements proceeding simultaneously in both, the conference authorized the calling of a special sub-conference of metal trades workers to initiate a general amalgamation movement in their industry. This was held on the evening of the first day of the general conference. It consisted of some thirty delegates from railroad and contract shops all over the country. These delegates elected a provisional committee, entitled the International Committee for Amalgamation in the metal industry, and instructed it to initiate a campaign in the metal industry along lines similar to those that have proved so successful on the railroads. With these twin amalgamation movements at work, attacking the problem from all sides, and both agreeing on the double affiliation principle, it will be impossible for the reactionary leaders of the metal trades to block amalgamation in either industry.

The Campaign Ahead.

The conference changed the name of the amalgamation committee from the "National Committee to Amalgamate the Sixteen Standard Railroad Organizations" to the "International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry". The International Committee of one hundred militants was partly chosen at the conference, some 65 being nominated and elected. The remainder will be selected by the three executive officers from the large numbers of militants who are active in the amalgamation movement, but who could not be present at the national conference.

The conference adopted a general plan of action looking forward to the calling of a general amalgamation convention, at which all railroad unions, or as many as possible of them, shall be combined into one body. Instructions were given the executive officers to push this relentlessly. The plan of this program is of the utmost importance, destined in fact to mark an epoch in American trade unionism.

The Defensive Struggle Begins in Poland

By N. Ulan (Warsaw).

In Poland, as everywhere else, the endeavours of reaction to seize political power have been accompanied during the last few months by attacks of ever increasing violence against the standard of living of the proletariat.

During the last quarter of a year prices have risen by a further 300 per cent. Workers' wages have however only risen by 96 per cent. "Free trade" celebrates its orgies. The propertied classes in Poland enjoy almost perfect freedom from taxation. The Polish government covers its expenses by issuing banknotes to the value of hundreds of milliards, and by indirect taxes. While in England, Germany, and France, the indirect taxes form 20-30 per cent of the total state revenues, in Poland, at the present time, they form 88 per cent of the whole income. The rising prices are caused by the freedom from taxation of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and on the other by the constant increase of prices for articles and services of which the state has the monopoly, as salt, tobacco, saccharine, railway and postal tariffs, etc.; the increased prices are only felt by the proletariat, for up to now the Polish working class has not been powerful enough to obtain a sliding scale of wages based on the index figures. Up to now every penny of wages has had to be fought for. It is true that in Poland there exists a Statistical Commission, which ascertains the percentage of increase in prices every month, from a purely theoretical point of view, but in the

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

From Bologna to Rome; the History of a Split

By P. B.

The complete break up of the united socialist party is reported from Italy. Turati, Treves, d'Arragona, and their followers, after the seizure of power by the Fascisti, split up into open friends or opponents of Fascism. The reformists are not considered as an important political factor in Italy. The bourgeoisie can no longer even utilize them as a fig-leaf to cover their brutality against the working class. The reformists are so scattered, so lacking in influence among the proletariat, that the ruling class finds them incompetent for collaboration. The political collapse of the party of 200,000 members, and of the reformist trade union movement in Italy, are object lessons from the history of the international treachery of the II. International. The proletariat of the whole world should learn from this object lesson.

The II. International attempts, by every possible infamous slander, to cast the blame for the victory of Italian Fascism upon the Communist International. It asserts that the communists split the Italian Socialist Party at Leghorn, and thus rendered the Italian proletariat helpless against the black s... This old slander is served up anew every day by all social democratic agitators and newspaper writers. The lack of international outlook unfortunately has the effect that the communist workers are seldom in a position to confront the Menshevik assertions with historical facts, and to unmask them as lies. The publishers of the Communist International have now brought out a publication on the history of the Italian labor movement, one which should be made accessible to every worker.)

The scope of the work is not adequately described by the title. The author not only relates the history of the Italian socialist party, he gives a brief but correctly defined outline of the history of the class war in Italy from the end of the war until the schism conference of the Italian socialist party at Rome in March 1922. The political failure of reformism in every phase of the struggle is demonstrated in this work by documentary evidence.

The Italian social-democratic party was the first European mass party to join the Communist International. The fact that the majority of Italian workers passed through great vacillations, that some left the Communist International, or even joined the Fascisti, this historically, is the fault of the Maximalists. Documentary proof that this was the case since the party conference in Bologna in October 1919 is given in this work. Under Serrati's leadership, the Maximalists held it to be right to sacrifice uniformity and strictness of political principles for the sake of a united organization. In 1922 Serrati was obliged to admit, at the party conference in Rome, that he had been in error, and that it was impossible to work in common with reformists in one organization. The Italian proletariat had to pay for this tardy recognition of the truth by Serrati and his followers with the heart's blood of its best workers. The policy of the Maximalists has brought about the precise opposite of that which it aimed at. The organizations are completely scattered, not united; the trade unions are dissolved, not revolutionized; the proletariat is divided, not ready to fight.

The Communist Party is now the sole party around which the proletariat may gather with confidence in its fight for existence. The position of the Italian proletariat is not hopeless. Fascism will be forced to dig its own grave. The proletariat will be the sooner able to proceed to the counter-attack when the Maximalists carry out their resolution made at Rome, and return unconditionally to the Communist International. Then it will be possible to gather the whole of the masses in Italy around one flag.

*) The Italian Socialist Party. By Giulia Aquila. Publishers of the Comm. International Carl Hoynt Successor. Hamburg 1922.

course of the last few weeks the labor representatives have been politely excluded from this commission.

The Polish working class, decimated and misled by the P.P.S., which organization helped to throw members of the red trade unions and communist workers into prison by its eager co-operation with the *Okhrana*, has not shown any great inclination to fight during the past months. The agricultural laborers' strike in Posen, throttled by the P.P.S., and brutally suppressed by the Polish authorities, was the last fight of the Polish proletariat. But during the last few weeks the Polish working masses have begun to resume the fight, thanks to the strengthening of communist influence with the masses, and to our beginning to recover from the blows dealt us by the mass arrests of our best comrades.

The greatest industrial centre of Poland, the traditional *Lodz*, leads the way with its good example. On December 18, a conference was held here of all trade union and workshop delegates. While the conference was sitting, factory meetings were held in all works and factories in *Lodz*, at which speeches were delivered by our comrades, and under our compulsion, by the P.P.S. This conference is the best proof of the strength of our organization in *Lodz*, and this is characteristic of the whole of Poland. The conference passed resolutions calling upon the government to dissolve the reactionary organizations, and to remove all reactionary officials from authoritative positions. The most important part of the resolution is that demanding *real freedom for the proletariat for its press, for right of combination and assembly, and requiring the proclamation of complete amnesty for all workers and all those taking part in the proletarian movement.*

The conference also appealed to all trade unions to form a self-defence guard conjointly with the factory committees, this guard to be held in readiness to fight at any moment. The 4th point of the above resolution is particularly important and is as follows: "*The conference appeals to all labor parties to organize the common fight against the capitalist offensive.*" This point of the resolution marks the victory of the united front idea, which the communist party in Poland propagated for months past.

As a sign of protest, and of readiness to fight against Fascism, the conference resolved to proclaim 2 hours cessation of work, by means of all the factory sirens, at 11 o'clock in the morning of December 19, 1922. During these two hours, meetings were to be held in all shops and works.

This two hours protest strike was a pronounced success. The workers of *Lodz*, as ever, showed that they were to be relied upon. At the first sound of the sirens all work ceased in the factories and in the streets. Not a single undertaking continued to work. The tramways, the electricity and gas works, stopped work for two hours; even vehicular traffic and the business of the shops ceased.

The brilliant success of this action in *Lodz* was a threatening reminder, not only to the Polish bourgeoisie, but also to the P.P.S. The P.P.S. realized the danger at once, and hurriedly convened a central committee meeting for December 21. The object of this sitting was an appeal to the faithless and "undisciplined" organizations to be "ready for action to be proclaimed in case of need by the central committee of the P.P.S. conjointly with the trade union commission". The manifesto issued to the proletariat by this central committee sitting contains the following statement (emphasized in the original by italics):

"Our party demands no vengeance; we are nauseated by the echo of despicable party quarrels which destroy great causes, and prevent the attainment of freedom and independence for the whole nation. We want no bloodshed, no tumult, no ruin of people and state, all of which are threatened by the conspiracy of the Black Hundred."

This manifesto has met with the reception it deserves at the hands of the whole bourgeois press. The leading reactionary paper the *Rzeczpospolita* describes this manifesto as a "minor tone". This paper, like all the others, comments on the obvious dejection of the P.P.S. The whole bourgeoisie feels once more encouraged.

Lodz has always led the way for the proletariat of Poland; the cries of alarm of the P.P.S., and its attempts to retard are the best proof that it feels itself threatened and that the Communist Party will lead the masses into battle despite all persecutions, will force the P.P.S. to fight with it or reveal its true colors, as in the present case, and will break down the apathy of that part of the proletariat hitherto misled by the P.P.S.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Social Insurance in Soviet Russia

By Josef Rabinowitz (Moscow).

The Russian Soviet government has made epoch-making strides on the field of social insurance. It has provided a legal regulation of the rights of the proletariat in every case of incapacity to work, illness, accident, disability, old age, widowhood, orphanage, expectant and nursing motherhood, and of unemployment. The law comprises all wage workers and their relations, without exception. The administration is facilitated by new provincial treasuries established by the Commissariat for Social Welfare, managed by workers delegated by the various parties and technical organizations. The proletariat is instructed on the essentials of insurance by means of meetings, lectures, articles, and studies. Special courses of instruction in the theory and practice of insurance are held for the delegates commissioned with the management of the treasuries.

It was not until 1903 that the Russian government introduced a law regarding the responsibility of employers for accidents occurring at work. This modest beginning was followed in the year 1912 by a law providing for the establishment of factory and cooperative sick clubs. These laws applied however to only a very small part of the whole Russian workers, and there were many loopholes by which the employers could evade the law, so that it cannot be maintained that there was any real social insurance under the Tsarist system.

The October revolution finally brought the question on the road to solution. On December 11, the law on unemployed insurance came into force, on December 22, 1917 the law on insurance in cases of illness, maternity, and death, and in October 1918 the law providing insurance for every form of disability. It is true that at the time neither the political nor the economic situation was favorable to the carrying out of these laws. Civil war raged in the country itself, and the Russian proletariat was shedding its blood on more than one counter-revolutionary front. The first general regulation of social insurance was rendered possible by the introduction of the new economic policy, bringing with it the law of November 15, 1921.

The law comprises three groups of insurance:

- temporary working incapacity,
- permanent working incapacity,
- unemployment.

Leading outlines of the law.

- The law includes all wage workers and their relatives, without exception.
- The costs of insurance are borne by the employer only.
- The administration is in the hands of the insured; the employers take no part whatever.
- The insurance includes every case of incapacity to work or earn—from whatever cause—and lasts from the day of loss of earning capacity until restoration of same or until total disability is acknowledged.
- The insurance includes unemployed benefit.
- The insurance extends to the relatives of dead or missing insured.
- As complementary relief the insured or their relatives receive benefit for confinements, nursing mothers, and in case of death.
- The insurance money paid amounts to the full wages of the insured. In all cases of temporary incapacity to work the insured receives full wages during the whole period of disability. Disabled workers receive the average local monthly wages (under some circumstances one and a half times this amount).
- The insured and his relatives are entitled to free medical treatment, medicines, hospital, sanatorium, and health resort.
- The insurance fees are calculated in accordance with the injurious and dangerous nature of the work.
- Women workers engaged in manual work receive, in case of pregnancy, their full wages 8 weeks before and after confinement; those not engaged in manual work only 6 weeks before and after confinement.
- Every insured woman worker, or wife of insured workman, receives at her confinement a single payment of benefit to the amount of the average local monthly wages, for the purchase of necessary articles for the new-born child.
- Nursing mothers receive benefit amounting to one quarter of the average monthly wages for a period of nine months.
- Funeral benefit is paid to the amount of one half the average monthly wage in the case of the death of members of the family under 12 years of age, and to the amount of a full average month's wages in the case of the death of older members of the family.

Unemployed entitled to benefit are:

a) every assistant worker, day laborer, or employé who has been employed for a total of three years as wage worker—whether in one or several situations; b) every qualified wage worker; d) every woman worker personally responsible for the care of a child under 8 years of age.

Unemployed having claim on benefit have to report themselves at the labor exchange for registration at latest 7 days after leaving work. Men who have served as soldiers in the Red Army are entitled to unemployed pay if they were wage workers before being mobilized, and if they have themselves registered at the labor exchange within three weeks of their demobilization.

Unemployed benefit is granted for 15 successive weeks, but in cases of repeated unemployment cannot be granted for more than a total of 26 weeks in one calendar year. The rates of unemployed benefit are: for qualified workers the half of the local average wage, for other workers the sixth or third.

Provision for those incapacitated for work.

Every wage worker having partially or wholly lost his working capacity as result of an accident, industrial disease, old age, or wounds or illness contracted during military service, is entitled to this benefit. Those incapacitated from earning by old age have to prove that they have worked for a total of 8 years as wage workers.

Disabled persons who have not only totally lost their earning capacities, but are also personally helpless, receive a permanent pension corresponding to the average local wage; (more if required). Invalids incapable of working, but not dependent on the help of other persons, receive a permanent pension amounting to two thirds, and those capable of performing any work receive a pension amounting to the half of the local average wage.

Disabled persons who are only partially incapacitated for work receive the unemployed dole in case of unemployment. Disabled persons provided for in homes are maintained for life. As these invalids have their needs provided for in every way, they do not receive any financial payment.

Provision for Widows and Orphans.

The family of a deceased or missing wage worker, that is, children and brother or sisters up to 16 years of age; the wife if incapable of earning or if having children under 8 years of age under her care; parents, if the deceased or missing worker has provided for them and they have no other child capable of working, receive a pension.

The standard amount of the pension is one third of the average local wage when there is one person in the family unable to work; the half of the average local wage if there are two persons in the family unable to work; two thirds of the average local wage if three or more persons in the family are unable to work.

Members of the family provided for in orphanages, asylums, homes, or other state institutions, have no claim to pension. The pension is granted for life to persons incapable of working.

Some extracts from the regulations.

Persons incapacitated from working, and undergoing medical treatment, cannot be dismissed by their employers for four months after the beginning of their incapacity for work, and are entitled to all the privileges enjoyed by the healthy workers of the same undertaking. Employers offending against the regulations relating to expectant and nursing mothers are punishable by imprisonment up to the term of one year. Nursing mothers are entitled to leave their work for half an hour every three hours. Pregnant women or nursing mothers are not to be employed at night work.

Persons without means, and not liable to any obligatory insurance, are cared for in institutions provided by the Soviet government. In central Russia there are at the present time 3,200 such institutions with about 16,000 beds. At the beginning of 1921 there were already 329 institutions where disabled persons are taught other vocations. The number of these institutions has increased steadily, and continues to increase.

Besides the provision for the relatives of those killed or missing in the war, the state also lends aid to peasants suffering from social or elemental misfortune. The "state organs of mutual compulsory aid for the peasantry", called into existence by the Soviet government in May 1921 (the compulsory character of which originated with the peasants themselves) are perfectly autonomous. The number of committees belonging to these organs had by February 1922 already amounted to 40,000. Among the duties of these committees may be mentioned the restoration of farms, villages, or districts suffering from failure of crops, hail, fire, or other elemental or social misfortune; the distribution of state aid among the needy; the collection of means

of relief by means of self-taxation; the material and legal defense of the rights of the needy; general provision for the relatives of the soldiers of the Red Army, etc.

The beginnings of a really efficient social labor legislation, roughly outlined above, derive their special character from the fact that they originate from a government supported by the workers actually engaged in production. There is no capitalist country which can even approach that which impoverished Russia has created up to now, out of its own resources, for its workers. After the wars at home and abroad, after the blockade, threatened continually with the danger of intervention, and in the midst of the most difficult economic conditions, the Russian proletariat can point with pride to what it has already succeeded in creating.

THE COLONIES

Legal Murder in India

By M. N. Roy.

Out of 228 men put on trial for "rioting and arson" at Chauri Chaura, 172 have been sentenced to death; and six men have practically suffered the same penalty, because they died in jail of maltreatment during the trial, which lasted almost a full year. Even the records of the British government in India cannot produce an instance of imperialist "justice" which surpasses this one in its majestic vindictiveness and brutality.

The incidents that led up to this legalized murder were as follows: In February 1921, the agrarian revolt in the United Provinces where Feudalism reigns supreme, had reached a very acute stage. Ignorant of the social revolutionary character of this discontent of the poor peasantry, the nationalist Non-Cooperators turned towards this spontaneous outburst to utilize it for their political agitation. The result was that the rebellious peasantry readily responded to the call of the nationalist agitators, and took up the slogan of Non-Cooperation. It was just at the time when the Congress and particularly Gandhi, was talking very much about Mass Civil Disobedience, the main slogan of which was to be non-payment of rents and taxes. This electrified the imagination of the exploited peasantry, weighed down generation after generation under exorbitant land rents, and innumerable kinds of feudal dues exacted by the landlords. The vision of the day when they would not have to bear all these burdens inspired the peasantry who, all over the province, rose in revolt to overthrow the British Raj, which to them was Landlord-Raj, and to establish "Swaraj", which they called Gandhi Raj. The entire province was like a volcano and the authorities were extremely alarmed.

Thousands of villagers joined the Congress Volunteer Corps, and in addition to the campaign of attack against the properties of the landlords, took active part in the picketing of the sale of foreign articles and liquor in the market places. Everywhere they came into conflict with the police forces. On February 2, the volunteer pickets were fired upon by the armed police in a market, owned by a landlord notorious for his loyalty to the government and tyranny over the tenants. Two days later the Volunteer Corps, swelled to almost 3,000 strong by peasants from the adjoining villages, decided to renew their activities in the same bazaar. On their way they had to pass by the Police Station at Chauri Chaura, at which point they were attacked by the police. After some exchange of brick bats, the police opened fire on the crowd, which grew furious and attacked the police station, set fire to it and 21 policemen were killed in the affray. Naturally the casualties on the other side must have been much greater, in view of the fact that while every one in the Police Station used firearms, the volunteers had scarcely any. The government has always been very careful in putting the number of the killed and wounded among the volunteers as low as possible. But it is not hard to imagine the result of firing Volleys on a crowd of over three thousand unarmed peasants. A correspondent of the loyalist press wrote: "the police must have fired on the mob in earnest, but whether it was before the rush or after it I cannot say".

From Chauri Chaura, the revolt spread in all directions; but the forces of law and order were mercilessly brought to bear upon the situation, and what would otherwise have been a peaceful demonstration of the exploited masses ended in a blood-bath. Armed Police and military forces were used freely to "protect life and property" and scores of lives of the expropriated peasantry were sacrificed. In a few days, a government communiqué declared the "situation well in hand" all the centres of disturbance being "under military control".

Thus was drowned in blood the voice of the exploited peasantry, driven to premature action by government provocation, and the ignorance of the nationalist agitators. Hundreds of arrests were made; 228 of the prisoners were finally sent up for trial. They were charged with "murder, arson and being members of an unlawful assembly". After a trial which lasted 8 months,

bourgeois justice has pronounced its verdict: 172 will be "hanged by the neck until dead".

The facts speak for themselves. No comments are necessary. This justice surpasses in brutality the doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". 172 lives must be taken to pay for 22. But bourgeois justice conveniently forgets about scores of poor peasantry that fell before the rifles of the police and military. Who is going to avenge these soldiers of freedom? Not bourgeois justice, but their own class when victorious. The reason for such brutal ferocity is that in Chauri Chaura, and the incidents that preceded and followed it, the growth of a force threatening the rights of the landlords, was to be noticed. British Imperialism has proved how ably it will defend the property of those loyal to it. 172 lives will be sacrificed on the altar of Landlordism in league with Imperialism. A lesson for the Nationalists.

APPEALS

To all workers, peasants, and soldiers!

Comrades!

French capital is preparing to commit a new atrocious crime. It is sending its troops over the frontiers for the purpose of plundering Germany. Humanity trembles anew at the threat of a new war in the immediate future and at the prospect of further unheard of sacrifices, increased starvation, annihilation of the proletariat, destruction, ruin, and death. Those who were victorious in the world massacre, and who are so fond of boasting of their civilization and justice, now tear the mask of hypocrisy from their own faces, and reveal themselves in their true colors as robbers. The proletariat of Germany is to be crushed by Entente capitalism. The bourgeoisie uses every means to secure its victory; in France it throws the proletarian fighters into chains, in Italy it murders and ravages them, in England it casts them into prison, in Czecho-Slovakia it arranges pogroms. The whole of Central Europe is abandoned to ruin if the criminal policy of the financial kings cannot be stopped.

Workers of France! Soldiers of the French army! It is now your duty to exert your utmost endeavors to prevent Poincaré's army from lighting a new conflagration which will reduce Europe to a heap of ruins. You must not allow the Paris bankers to crush your German fellow workers beneath the heels of the gendarmes.

Your enemy is in your own country. Your proletarian honor must not be defiled by the executioners of the working class. You must not permit yourselves to be degraded into despicable tools for Poincaré. You will not lend yourselves to plundering the German people. Carry the living word of living truth to the masses! Frustrate capital by strikes and demonstrations!

Workers of Germany! What awaits you! An ocean of sufferings, twofold oppression, starvation, and degeneration. The bourgeoisie does not even secure for you your daily bread. It enters into business relations with its French colleagues, at your expense, at the expense of the working class. It will not depart from this path in the future. You must unite to form one mighty proletarian front to fight for a workers' government! Utilize this workers' government for organizing the defensive fight against foreign robbers! Stretch out your hands to your French brothers, who are ready to fight side by side with you against the criminal French bourgeoisie! Bear the slogan of unity with Soviet Russia to the masses! Only by these means can we frustrate the enemy.

Workers of all countries! Working people of the rural districts! You are all threatened with the danger of being drawn into fresh massacres in the interests of capital. Confront your governments with your determined will to self-defence, your will to fight against capital, to fight for your workers' power, for the European federation of socialist republics. The bourgeoisie is ready to inaugurate another blood bath over the division of the booty, to murder fresh millions of workers, to tear them to pieces, to make cripples of them. Then unfold the mighty banner of general war of all exploited against the exploiters, the financial kings, the diplomats! Tear the mask of hypocrisy from the faces of those leaders who seek to quiet you, to reconcile you with the bourgeoisie! Organize mass actions, mass attacks against the bourgeois governments!

Down with the new imperialist war!

Long live the Workers' and Peasants' government!

Long live the federation of socialist governments!

Long live the proletarian revolution!

Moscow, Jan. 13, 1923.

Executive of the Communist International.

Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions.

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.

You!hful 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 movement 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.

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G. m. b. H., Berlin SW. 48

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 3 No. 10

25th Jan. 1923

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III
for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

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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 knot, 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