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Peace to the Turkish People, War to European Imperialism!

Working Men and Women!

Events of the *greatest historical importance* are taking place in the *Near East*. The victorious capitalists of the Entente have condemned the Turkish people to death. They have quartered Turkey and surrounded it in a circle of countries which, unable to exist on their own resources, are condemned to become the dogs of the Entente against the Turkish people.

Constantinople, the capital of Turkey, has become a camp of the allied troops. French and English battleships point their guns upon it. Defenseless Turkey is to be delivered for ever into the hands of an armed Entente. But the Turkish people, *fired by the example of the Red Army's fight and victories*, has risen again to arms, though exhausted by a long series of wars, and has been able to hold its ground in three years of war. It has decisively defeated the Greek Army, which was outfitted by England. Except for Constantinople and the shores of the Dardanelles, Asia Minor is again freed from foreign armies. The victory of the Turkish Army is a new proof that the power of tyranny has a limit, that *the chains of slavery wrought in Versailles under the name of "peace treaties" can be broken like glass by a people fighting for its freedom*.

But the defeat of Greece, England's vassal, is not yet the final defeat of the Entente Imperialism. Constantinople and the Dardanelles are still in the hands of the Allies. This means that the Allies retain for themselves the right not only to menace Turkey from its capital, but also to send their warships through the Dardanelles to the Black Sea, against Soviet Russia.

Working Men and Women!

English Imperialism has the audacity, in the name of "*freedom of the seas*" to menace Turkey with a new war should it dare to occupy its own capital and its own shores. Only a few years have passed since the massacre at Gallipoli where so many English and Australian workers have lost their lives that English Imperialism might remain lord over Russia and Turkey. Never-

theless, English Imperialism is again threatening with a new war.

Should England succeed in carrying out her threats, it is not only the blood of Turkish and English soldiers which will be shed, but also the blood of other peoples. In the last few years, France has been helping Turkey in order to weaken England's position in the East, and to obtain greater freedom to exploit the German people by exercising in the East a pressure against England. But when it comes to a decisive action, when Turkey stretches its hands towards the shores of the Dardanelles, then France will stand on the side of England because French Imperialism is afraid to lose England's help in the exploitation of Germany. France may demonstrate against English Imperialism, but will never break with it. Hence the French workers will have to take up arms again for the defence of the Entente's rule.

But the war will not be limited to these countries only. The Entente would draw Roumania and Serbia into the war and force Italy and Greece to its side. Starting from the Balkans, the flames of war would soon spread throughout Europe and transform it again into a huge battlefield. Turkey's submission would only postpone the conflict in the Near East for a time. Turkey cannot exist so long as the Entente holds a knife to its throat, and Russia will never feel secure as long as her grain and coal regions remain within the field of activity of the English Navy!

Workers!

The Turkish Government is not a government of workers and peasants, and in so far as it is composed of the military class and of the intellectuals, it does not correspond to our ideals. There is no doubt then, that as Turkey progresses in its economic development, the Turkish working class will come into conflict with this Government. However, whatever their relation to this government, the Turkish workers have understood that Turkey's war is that of a poor peasant people against enslavement by international capital. And so must the international

proletariat, whatever its relation with the Turkish Government, bend all its efforts, in its own interests, to prevent a new war of Entente capitalism against Turkey, to prevent that the blood of the European proletariat be shed for England's dominion of the world.

Working Men and Women! And especially you, workers of England, France, Italy, Serbia and Roumania!

It is your duty to fight, with all your power every attempt at military action against Turkey. It is your duty to put your whole energy therein to prevent the Entente from forcing Turkey to give up the Straits to the Allies and thereby prepare new wars. The problems which are at present being fought out in the Near East are questions of life and death, not only for those peoples, that live on the Black Sea, but for the whole European proletariat.

Down with Entente Imperialism!
Freedom and Peace to the Turkish People!
Down with new Imperialistic Wars!
Down with diplomatic robbery!
Moscow, September 25th, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

POLITICS

The Fight for the Straits

By Karl Radek.

The Diplomatic Situation.

The diplomatic situation created by the fight over the Straits is a perfect parallel to the diplomatic situation with regard to the reparations question. Only, the rôles of England and France are exchanged. Whilst England plays towards Germany the part of a peace-loving and restraining element, in the Turkish question it is France who takes up this rôle. The French press is now writing as to the stupidity of a military adventure, as to the futility of sabre rattling and of the necessity of deciding the disputed question by means of negotiations and common agreement.

In the one case just as in the other, the peaceful declarations are nothing but a hypocritical cloak for imperialist interests. England who is in need of the German market, and who wished to use Germany as the counterpoise against France appears in the West as the angel of peace at the very same time that, in the East, she plays the part of the Versailles Shylock. In order to set the Mohammedan world against England, to strengthen Turkey as against the position of England in Egypt and India, and by means of the pressure in the East to make English imperialism more compliant towards the robber campaign in Europe, France appears as the angel of peace in the East.

M. Poincaré plays the English rôle with surprising skill. When France made use of the threat of occupying the Ruhr basin in the event of Germany's refusal to carry out the decisions of the Reparations Commission, England declared that she would take no part in any military undertakings against Germany, although she agreed in principle that Germany must fulfill the Versailles Peace. Today France makes a similar declaration. France agrees in principle with the execution of the decisions of the Allied Conference held at Paris in March, but notwithstanding, she withdraws her troops from the Asiatic coast of the Dardanelles, which means that she wishes to throw upon England all responsibility for the possible military collisions in Turkey. In this manner France not only achieves the isolation of England and the strengthening of the Turkish pressure, but she also stirs up against Lloyd George the discontent of those elements in the Conservative Party who regard the maintenance of the Entente as the salient point of English politics.

Of course, this does not mean that the rupture of the Entente has yet occurred. France is only desirous of receiving her price for meddling in Turkish affairs. And her price is increasing. The Berliner Lokalanzeiger is perfectly right when it asserts that in all probability, Germany, who always has to pay the piper in the Anglo-French disputes, will also have to pay this price.

The Military Situation.

The chief question is, whether the Turkish army can venture to take Constantinople and the Straits with prospects of

success. The simple fact that the English Government is dispatching considerable military and naval reinforcements, gives us reason to reply in the affirmative. Hitherto England had no more than 12,000 soldiers at her disposal in the Dardanelles districts. Such a small army is of course incapable of halting the advance of Kemal's forces. The question now is, whether Kemal's troops can cross the Dardanelles? Yes, they can do so. Although the forts on both sides of the Dardanelles have been to a considerable extent demolished, heavy artillery mounted on the rocky Asiatic coast of the Dardanelles could successfully bombard the English warships. The Dardanelles are very narrow; at many points the coasts are not more than 1000 meters apart. To operate warships in such a strait under the fire of the Kemalist artillery is extremely difficult. By dispatching troops to Gallipoli and occupying the Adrianople-Dimotika line, the Kemalists could cut off the Greek army of 40,000 men under the command of Vlachopul in Thracia. This army which has been demoralized by the collapse of the Greeks in Asia Minor would then have to deal not only with the regular troops of Kemal, but also with the Turkish and Bulgarian insurgents. From Thracia which is under Greek occupation, about 200,000 Turks have migrated to Constantinople and environs. The whole of this mass is waiting impatiently for the possibility of returning to its native place. With regard to the Bulgarians, there is no doubt that in spite of the Bulgarian Government's efforts to preserve neutrality, a considerable number of Bulgarians are active in the revolutionary national organizations, not only in Macedonia, but also in Thracia. The Bulgarians desire an approach to the Aegean Sea and the port of Dedeagatch is the objective of the Bulgarians.

Whether the Kemalist army is aiming at the conquest of the Straits is not yet certain, although it is equal to this task. The capture of the Straits would mean continuing the war with England. We do not know whether Kemal is resolved on that. His decision depends not only upon the strength of his military forces, on the economic resources of the country, but also on the question, to what extent Kemal Pasha may depend upon the support of France. It is possible that the Kemalists, while abandoning the attack on the Straits will strike a blow at the weakest spot of English rule, namely, at Mesopotamia where the English forces are very weak and where no dreadnoughts can be concentrated.

What Will England Do?

As to what direction the question of the Straits is to take in the near future, whether it will be solved by military or diplomatic means, it is important to cast a glance at the aims of England.

The English press declares that the Bulgarian and Greek population of Thracia must not be left in the hands of the Turks. They base the conduct of English politics upon national motives. It is very interesting, therefore, to read the article by Arnold Tombey in the Manchester Guardian. This article calls attention to the following characteristic fact: England has held Cyprus for 78 years under her control. When the English obtained Cyprus from Turkey by a secret convention they pledged themselves to return it as soon as Kars and Adargan, occupied by the Russians, should again come into Turkish hands. Kars and Adargan are already in the possession of Turkey. Cyprus, however, is an English colony regardless of its Greek population. And when the English, in their negotiations with the Turks, make reference to the principles of nationality, they can be answered with the English proverb: "Charity begins at home."

In addition to "Freedom of Nationalities" the English press refers to another principle,—that of "Freedom of Navigation". In what way, however, are the Dardanelles better or worse than Gibraltar, Suez, Aden or Singapore? What becomes of the freedom of navigation if England is in a position to shut out every ship except her own from the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea or the passage from India to the Pacific Ocean?

The last English argument is even more interesting, for it takes us from the region of the propagandist myths of English Imperialism to the sphere of the real aims of England. "England will not suffer the entrance to the Black Sea to be closed to her" declared that organ of Lloyd George, The Daily Chronicle.

What is the meaning of this declaration? When the English, in 1914, procured from the Turks the passage of English ships through the Dardanelles, England was at that time in

alliance with Russia who was fighting against Germany. England is no longer allied with Russia and Russia is no longer at war with anybody. The greatest hindrance to the free passage of merchant ships in recent years has been England, who allows to pass or holds up vessels going to Russia, at will. When England ceases doing this, all merchant ships coming from the Aegean Sea to the Black Sea will have a free passage in times of peace. And as regards times of war, we must ask whether England reckons that in the future we, in alliance with her, shall be engaged in fighting against other powers, or whether Turkey could perhaps prevent England from bringing help to Soviet Russia? . . . We stand in closer relations to Turkey than to England, and we see no indications by reason of which England could reckon on being our ally in the near future. At any rate, England gives us no information regarding the existence of such indications. Between politics and love there is the distinction that in politics things are not self-evident, but require precise declaration.

We fear that England is not so much concerned with the possibility of being hindered from rendering help to Soviet Russia against supposed enemies, but rather, as to how she can keep the Straits as a means of exerting pressure against the Turks and against Soviet Russia.

So long as Constantinople is the capital of Turkey, the presence of an English garrison in Gallipoli and the free passage of English war ships through the Dardanelles constitute an immediate threat to Turkey. Owing to the weakness of the Russian fleet it means danger to Russia also. *And the whole struggle of England for the Straits is nothing but a struggle on the part of England for the possibility of an armed pressure of English imperialism upon Turkey and Soviet Russia.*

Soviet Russia and the Dardanelles.

The Russian Government, through a note from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, again called the attention of the English Government to the fact that a war in the Near East could be obviated by an international conference in which the participation of all countries adjoining the Black Sea is indispensably necessary. The English press responded to this note in a very pompous manner. Lord Balfour vouchsafed no reply to Karakhans note. But that does not in the least alter the facts, which are very obstinate things.

The military situation renders it possible to prevent the egress of the English ships from the Sea of Marmora even if they were to succeed in getting into it through the Dardanelles. All solutions of the question, arrived at without Soviet Russia, will be unworkable for the simple reason that they do not take into account the actual relationships of power. The time when the Allies reckoned on solving the question of the Near East at Sèvres, without Russia and without Turkey, is not so far back only two years have elapsed since the Treaty of Sèvres. But since that time *Soviet Russia has finally annihilated white Russia and now speaks not only in the name of the working masses of present day Russia, but also in the name of the coming generations.*

In the meanwhile defeated and *crippled Turkey has proved that she is alive and is capable of action.* Therefore, if Kemal Pasha be compelled for the sake of a breathing space to enter into a solution of the problem of the Straits contrary to the interests of the Turkish people, and whether England will or will not reject a joint solution with Turkey and Russia of those questions which touch the vital interests of both countries, the authority of any such solution will not last longer than that of the decision of Sèvres. *For they would be contrary to the interests of the Russian and Turkish peoples, whose strength will continue to increase in the next few years.* And every such solution will become the starting point of a new war.

The English Government has already said many shrewd words to the French, as to it being easy, at a certain moment, to dictate an unjust peace, but very difficult to enforce it. It would be very desirable if the English Government, instead of rattling the sabre and swearing by the spirits of the victims of English imperialism fallen at Gallipoli, would calmly consider whether it would not be worth while to lay the peace in the near East on a firmer foundation than the one it has stood upon hitherto.

A Letter from Germany to a French Comrade

Germany today: a nation sinking. — What the German proletariat has done for Socialism. — To-morrow: Before the German Revolution. — The revolutionary task.

By R. Albert.

Thirty-five million toilers on the right bank of the Rhine are locking forward with dread to the coming of "winter, slayer of the poor". In less than two months the average cost of living in Germany has *more than tripled*, and the price of articles of prime necessity has been increased five-fold. Beginning with the 1st of October rents will become five times and the price of postal communications three or four times, as high (a foreign letter requiring today a six mark stamp, will cost 20); while rates of transportation, railway and street car, will rise to fantastic proportions. And it is announced that bread will cost four times as much!

These are facts. As for wages, always insufficient, they rise but slowly, lagging way behind the mounting prices. The most favored wage-earners have had their salaries doubled since the catastrophic fall of the mark. Which means, that with respect to the price of food, they are still a good third behind, and with respect to the price of clothing, more than two thirds.

And this will continue. This will add its share to the years of undernourishment, of constant care, of profound misery, which many are enduring. Our comrades Ludwig and A. Friedrich of the *Rote Fahne* have calculated that from the total yearly income of the German working class (Calculations made three months ago), varying from 100 to 120 billions of paper marks, a sum of about 40 billions at least, perhaps as much as 40 %, is deducted for taxes. Comrade Varga has made it known that, according to scientific statistics compiled by bourgeois economists, German workers consume only a half as much bread and meat now as before the war. The productivity of their labor is lowered. And in the streets of Neukölln and Moabit you meet many, many dull young faces, marked with the seal of hunger and tuberculosis.

We see in Germany the "man without a shirt", the worker who tries to hide the absence of linen beneath a wretchedly shabby jacket. We see the bare-footed children; in the workers' quarters the great majority of children, in wind and rain, go to school bare-footed, bare-headed. This winter they will not go to school at all. Hundreds will die of bronchitis . . . We are already familiar with the sight of shell-shocked sufferers of the war, deplorable cripples wearing the dismal ribbon of the Iron Cross, selling matches in the fine streets of Berlin and being molasted by the police. We know well the beggars who infest the entrances of cafés, pitiful, humiliated, scoffed at in this country of order where all the fine houses have enameled plates on their doors bearing this inscription: *No begging, peddling, or music playing allowed.*

There are the shocking, but superficial aspects of a boundless, incurable misery. There are others more tragic, that one learns of only by living in Germany. The innumerable prostitutes at the threshold of every café, in all the dark streets at night, hidden elsewhere, penned in, registered, persecuted with methodic ferocity . . . The corruption of starving petty officials who are ready to sell all imaginable export permits to the cosmopolite speculator for a piece of bread . . . The impoverishment of the entire class of petty bourgeois workers whose prosperity, not so long ago, constituted the pride and force of the Empire . . . Speculation following fast upon the heels of trade, business transformed into gambling in stocks, with credit impossible, with the least article no longer possessing a definite value as regards exchange, but becoming the object of mad overbidding . . . And the big business houses growing visibly poorer week by week.

And the feast of riches in the midst of this social rotteness, lighting up every night the corridors of the restaurants where one dines modestly for 2000 Marks (the wages received by a Berlin workman for more than a week's labor); filling the American bars, the cabarets, all the countless meeting places with *pleasure seekers and courtesans in furred gown!* For just as swarms of black and green flies prosper on carrion, so does a horde of prosperous people swarm upon the corpse of the Ger-

man nation,—shrewd capitalists, swindlers, international spies, from the Marquis of Lubersac and Stinnes to the corner grocer.

Such is Germany, Comrade.

II.

All the misfortune of this decaying capitalist Germany evidently weighs only upon the working class. The others live greedily, east greedily. You can make many chance finds in a shipwreck — provided you are a good ravager.

But the German working class, whose increasing misery wears out their strength and kills their children, is, after the Russian working class, the only one that has done the most and suffered the most, for several years, for the liberation of humanity.

Had it not rebelled in 1919, generously pounding out its blood on all the public squares of the large cities? What black reaction would have ruled today over capitalist Europe? Into what rival national blocs would the world have divided itself in its fraternal hatred?

On the 9th of November, 1918, the German working class overthrew Kaiserism. In January of the following year it attempted courageously to make its Social Democratic Government undertake the socialization of the important industries, that is to say, to make Central Europe resolutely start upon the road to Socialism. The blood of the workers flowed in torrents. *Liebknecht* and *Rosa Luxemburg* fell upon the threshold of a future now receding.

In March, 1919, the second insurrection was crushed by Socialist Noske, in the manner of Gallifet. How much blood, how much blood! In March 1920, however, the German working class broke the back of reaction, at the time of the outbreak of von Kapp and his German troopers. On the next morning, the Socialist Ministers ordered them to be shot upon. In March, 1921, the third insurrection was skillfully provoked so as to drown the workers in blood.

But this is the essential question:

This German working class, energetic and ready to fight, whose revolutionary experience is great, whose wounds of the civil war are not yet healed, will it let itself be debased, weakened, exploited at a time of famine and social degeneration, without reacting with all its power?

III.

The certainty exists that the *status quo* in Germany—no less than in Austria (the two problems are one and the same), *can not last!* It is not within the power of any conservative authority to hinder the development of events. We may consider three hypotheses:

The German proletariat, betrayed by the Social Democracy, may remain generally passive, and become diseased by weakening itself through greater and greater undernourishment. At the end of this path one can see only irremediable degeneration, the end of a race. But is it not absurd to say that such will be the end of the most powerful proletariat in Continental Europe?

Or, reaction will break all resistance, crush the revolutionary party, tame the servile Social Democracy, set up a dictatorship of men of prey surrounded by fusileers. And that will mean for several years the triumph of the White Terror in Central Europe, eternalized by counter-attacks, in Italy the victory of the Fascisti, in France the omnipotence of a military caste serving a few financiers.

Or, the revolution.

As reaction in Germany could triumph only by destroying the revolution, we stand, conceding the two most plausible hypotheses, *before the German Revolution.*

And that is, comrade, what you must think about. Tomorrow, perhaps, red flags will float over Cologne; the *Orgesch* of Germany will cooperate with the black troops of the army of occupation on the Rhine, will attempt to crush the uprising of the German Socialist workers. On that day, comrade, what will you do?

Do you know that last February, at the time of the magnificent general strike of the German railwaymen, the commander of the troops of occupation on the right bank of the Rhine intervened to prevent the strike in the occupied regions?

Do you know that in April 1918 it "reestablished order" in Luxemburg?

Do you know that the Reformists of Germany have no better counter-revolutionary argument than the threat of foreign intervention, of invasion and suppression by the French?

Do you know that up to the present, the occupied territory has been treated as conquered territory; that newspapers judged subversive (particularly for acts of neo-Malthusian propaganda) are suppressed, that inhabitants become "suspect" have been expelled; that a reactionary separatist movement is consciously supported by the occupation so that they might, when the day comes, repeat against a Red Germany the blows of the Esthonian, of the Lettish, of the Lithuanian, of the Georgian Whites against Soviet Russia?

Do you know that, comrade? Do those about you know it?

On the day when barricades will be set up in Berlin, what will you do, knowing that the defeat of your German brothers, will perpetuate your slavery, perhaps for another generation? On the day when you will be mobilized, by the common consent of the capitalist masters, either to force a people at the end of its tether to pay, or to crush its revolt, what will you do?

You must prepare yourself for these eventualities. He who knows the Germany of to-day, has the right to tell you that. Upon the struggles that are being prepared, depends the fortune of the entire European working class.

Are you a Communist, a Syndicalist, or a Liberal? I have not enquired about it, for it does not seem to me that in the presence of the practical conclusions, let us say more — of the obligations which this situation imposes, your personal opinions can be of great importance.

On the day of action, whatever be your tendency, it will be necessary for you to support with all your power the German Communists; because they will be, as they have always been, first in the danger. For you to act, you will need a strong organization, immense, flexible, disciplined, clearly conscious of its aims and of its means. That is, to all evidence, the condition of victory. For you cannot hide from yourself the real power of your bourgeois enemy, — formidably organized are they for repression, and disciplined by centuries of lay and religious education completed by frequent applications of the military code.

To build a strong revolutionary organization which tomorrow will enable the French proletariat to save the German revolution, — such is the great and urgent task in which you ought to assist with all your strength, if by your passivity you do not wish to set into play international reaction!

ECONOMICS

Petrels of the German Crisis

By E. Ludwig (Berlin).

Raising of the National Bank discount to 8%, after it had remained at 5% during the War and the Revolution, up to three months ago; growth of the note circulation from about 19.339 billion marks to 285.2 billion marks in the ten days from the 10th to the 20th of September; increase of the discounted treasury bonds by about 23 billions, of trade bills by about 8.18 billion marks in the same time,—such is the list of losses with which the president of the German National Bank, seemingly so successful, returns to Germany from London, where he has been huckstering over the amount of German treasury bonds to be delivered to Belgium. Even those who have made the consolidation of German capitalism the central point of their social-pacifist policy must recognize the symptoms.

Crispien at Gera speaks of the dissolution which is becoming more and more apparent; *Levi* in his *Way* speaks of the sinking productivity in agriculture and industry, of the increasing misery of the working masses,—both of them, in order to make their peace with the Social Democratic Party of Germany, whose coalition policy, so hostile to the workers, is responsible for the past, and for the still greater future misery of the German working class.

The recent catastrophic collapse of the mark, in sharpening the inner contradictions of the valuta situation, brings about a change from superfluity of credit to scarcity of credit, from superabundance of paper money to shortage of paper money, from high intensity of production to cessation of production, from labor shortage to unemployment. Though the German capitalists have up to now been able to keep up the chase for world market prices because the mark fell more rapidly than the prices increased, thus maintaining their competing capacity at the expense of the workers, the mark catastrophe of August has shaken them to their foundation. The doubling and tripling of the value of the dollar, rising as high as 2600 marks in a few days resulted in the shutting out of foreign raw materials. It became the cause of a feverish increase of prices, which surpassed everything which the German proletariat has had to suffer up to now.

The world market prices were at once overtaken by the immeasurably increased prices. Means of production are lacking. The selling prices no longer suffice for the maintenance of production. The competition for credit begins. But all credit, even for days, is becoming a risk in the face of the wild fluctuations of the mark. The banks kept a hold on their purse strings, because they did not want to get back, two or three months later, only a half or a third of the cash paid out by them. Credit is displaced by payment on delivery and by payment in advance. For nobody knows what will happen with the mark between the placing of the order and the delivery of the goods. The worthless mark is replaced by the dollar, pound or franc which are being more and more demanded (even within the country) as means of payment.

But the despised paper money, which we contemptuously threw into the corner takes vengeance. Yesterday no merchant who took himself seriously wanted to know anything about it; today everybody is calling for it. There is no more credit because the mark note has become worthless; there are no more mark notes because there is no more credit. The depreciation of the mark, the rapidly following waves of high prices, the increases in wages which follow only haltingly, and above all, the payments in cash which replaced credit, have increased the demand for circulating money to such an extent, that the printing press cannot cope with the shortage. The national printing press has thrown more than two billions into circulation daily. But money is lacking. Krupp and Thyssen and many other enterprises in the iron and steel industry are compelled to issue emergency money; they have to buy back paper marks with the dearly bought dollar and sterling notes, because the National Bank cannot deliver sufficient notes to pay the wages.

Lack of credit, scarcity of cash, emergency money and increased discounts marked the course of the economic crisis in the United States in 1907. Scarcity of national credits,—23 billions discounted treasury notes of private capitalists, 8 billions new discounted commercial bonds, 31 billions in ten days, scarcity of cash in spite of the issue of 19 billion marks in new notes, Krupp money and its counterpart—8 percent bank discount,—all these are symptoms of the crisis in Germany.

But the money crisis of 1907 was the "normal" reaction after a normal prosperity in the periodical change in the market. The money crisis of today is the collapse of the apparent prosperous conditions in a decaying capitalism. The crisis of 1907 fell upon a relatively well paid proletariat capable of resistance. The crisis of today hits an exhausted working class whose increasing hunger is a necessary condition to the sham prosperity. Already the factories of the textile, leather and provision industries which have no capital resources are beginning to reduce business and to come to a standstill as a consequence of the scarcity of credit. The september statistics of the *National Labor Gazette* indicate for the first time for months an increasing number of unemployed. The autumn of starvation is followed by the winter of unemployment.

The Government is resting upon its Belgian laurels. The few petty bourgeois preventive measures against "luxuries"—forbidding of imports and the raising of customs—are unworkable. It believes the chief danger to have been dispelled because the dollar has for 14 days remained at about 1400 marks. But the transitory stability of the dollar only accelerates and deepens the crisis because it completely puts an end to German competition in the world market in all spheres of production.

The Social Democrats united at Nuremberg in order to further conceal behind fine phrases the policy of passivity so favorable to the bourgeoisie. The trade union leaders openly beg from the Government and secretly trust in Stinnes—the man with the large money bags and with great opportunities of providing employment. But what Stinnes needs for the purpose of reaping his Lubersac profits, is a proletariat scourged with hunger, menaced with the spectre of unemployment and incapable of resistance, workers delivered to him, tied hand and foot by the trade union bureaucracy according to the policy of economic cooperation with the bourgeoisie. Crises, wholesale unemployment and overwork are the field in which the wheat of Mr. Stinnes flourishes.

But it seems as if this time, the workers of Germany are rising to their defense. The movement of the workshop councils arising from the increasing prices is growing daily, in spite of unlimited hatred against the Communists, in spite of the bitter resistance of the Social Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats. The control of prices, the control of production have become the actual demands of ever-increasing masses of workers. But the defense of the German proletariat cannot be effective unless the French proletariat comes to its aid; unless it fights against the French exploiters and their political agent Poincaré. Just as the French workers must now proceed together with the German proletariat against their united Stinnes—Lubersac, so must the German workers hasten to the assistance of the French miners if the French iron and steel capitalists in the near future take up the brutal offensive of wage reductions against them. The German crisis and the understanding between the French and German captains of industry facilitate that offensive. It will collapse, however, if the proletarians on both sides of the Rhine keep together in the struggle.

United they are strong enough to throw the burden of reconstruction, and the consequence of the crisis upon their exploiters.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Letter of Comrade Lenin to the 5th All-Russian Trade Union Congress

This letter from Comrade Lenin has been published in various papers in brief form. We print here the letter in full. (The Ed.)

Dear Comrades!

For the first time after my long illness I have the opportunity of addressing a congress if only in writing. Allow me therefore, to restrict myself to expressing my warmest greetings and to saying a few words upon the situation and upon the tasks of our industries in our republic.

We are in a very difficult situation, because we have no means for the replacement of stock, of machines, tools, buildings, etc., although this branch of industry, the so-called *heavy industry* forms the foundation of Socialism. In the capitalist state this stock is usually set up by means of credit. No credit will be granted to us until we again restore the "property of the capitalists and of the land owner, and that we cannot and shall not do. There only remains to us the exceedingly difficult and long way: to gradually accumulate savings, to increase the taxes in order to be able to replace the destroyed railways, machines, buildings, etc. Up to now we are the only state in which the working peasants are building up Socialism under the leadership of the workers and energetically reject the leadership of the capitalists, who under the cloak of all sorts of fine phrases over "democracy", "freedom", etc., in reality only consolidate the private property of the capitalists and landlords, and secure the rule of a few rich who share the whole globe among themselves and who fight one another for the booty, for the oppression of hundreds of millions and for the subjugation of all the weaker and backward peoples.

So long as we remain alone, the task of reconstructing our national economy presses extremely hard upon our shoulders. The greatest exertion of the energy of all peasants and all workers is necessary, and the improvement of our state apparatus which is still very poor, is necessary in order to better the condition of the workers and to rebuild, if only quite slowly,

our economic household, destroyed through the imperialist and through the civil wars.

May every intelligent peasant and worker who despairs on account of the hard conditions of life, or on account of the extreme slowness in the development of our state, recollect the recent past,—the regime of the capitalist and the land owner. Such a recollection will bring back to him his desire to work. To increase and to better the work with all energy and from all sides,—therein lies the only salvation of the workers' and peasants' power.

With proletarian greetings,
W. Ulianov (Lenin).

The All-Russian Trade Union Congress to the Workers of All Countries

The Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress, at the beginning of its labors, sends its fraternal greetings to the international proletariat which is offering resistance to the organized attack of the capitalists. Capital had recovered from its first shock and tries everywhere to lower the standard of existence of the working masses in order to prolong the existence of the capitalist system. "*Deprive the working class of all their conquests!*"—that is the slogan throughout the capitalist world. The eight hour day is abolished, wages are reduced, the most elementary rights of the trade unions are threatened.

The working class is faced with a decision either to shrink back and to sink lower and lower, or to offer resistance to the insolent exploiters. During the last two years the offensive of capitalism has progressed successfully, because the working class is not sufficiently united and has not understood how to form the united front to check the enemy.

The Russian proletariat is in another situation. In Russia capital exists only to the extent that the organized working class permits it.

We have often appealed to our class comrades in the other countries calling upon them to form a united fighting front. Up to now our efforts have been fruitless, owing to the activities of a section of the workers' leaders who wished to establish the united front with the bourgeoisie. The insolent offensive of capital is the result of their tactics.

To all the victims of this offensive, to all proletarians suffering from exploitation, to all those who create riches for others, to all the oppressed and disinherited, to all comrades who fight against capitalist slavery, the Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress sends its fraternal greetings and best wishes for the fight.

The Fifth Congress hopes that the experiences of the last years have also convinced those who up to now believed in the solution of the labor question by means of cooperation with the bourgeoisie, that *there is no way out for the workers, save, the Social Revolution.*

History has just presented the question: Social Revolution or reaction for many decades. We are sure the day is not distant when the revolutionary proletarians of Europe and America will free themselves of the capitalist yoke which oppresses them, in order to build up, together with the Russian proletariat, a free Communist Society.

*Greetings to the oppressed of all countries!
Long live the Social Revolution!*

The Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress.

The French Trade Unions in July-August 1922

By Maurice Chambelland (Paris).

When the results of the trade union congress at St. Etienne became known, the French revolutionary syndicalists drew a breath of relief. The dangers to which the men of the "Pact" Anarchism (by "pact" is meant the secret agreement between Verdier, Beonhard and the other plotters who aimed at supremacy in the trade unions) had exposed our United General Trade Union Federation (C. G. T. U.), were finally overcome. A new policy had been decided upon and capable comrades instructed with the practical work. Now there could no longer be any doubt that labor's confidence to our young organization would grow apace.

Two months have passed since. We must not forget, however, that the new administration of the C. G. T. U. could only

take up its duties one month after the St. Etienne Congress, on or about August 1st, and that until then, trade union activities could only be very meagre, being under the administration of the old bureau, restricted to settling current matters.

Immediately after taking up its duties, the new Executive Committee of the C. G. T. U. thought it its duty to define its attitude. In accordance with the opinion repeatedly advanced by the majority of the rank and file, it appealed to all active comrades to cease all futile discussions and polemics and to centre all their energy on the execution of the vital tasks of the trade unions.

The newly elected Executive furthermore, addressed an appeal to all organized workers and to all organizations affiliated to the C. G. T. U., to launch immediately an energetic and extensive propaganda for the coordination of labor's forces and the defensive struggle against all reactionary and repressive measures of the employers and their government.

One of the foremost tasks of the French trade unions is the campaign against the tax on wages. The isolated action the revolutionary trade unions have carried on against this tax for the last two years, advocating refusal to pay it, is well-known. The new E. C. has declared that it will take over the national leadership of this action, and now no trade union meeting passes without the workers being appealed to to resist this tax to the utmost and even to use the strike weapon against it.

A second campaign was launched against the attempts to repeal the eight hour day. This campaign, however, has so far lacked the necessary volume and the essential impetus. Owing to the fact that the greatest part of the energies both of the E. C. and of the Bureau of the C. G. T. U. was during the past months absorbed by the great amount of internal reorganization work and by a number of local strikes.

Speaking of the eight hour day, we must point to the attitude of the mine corporations in Northern France which have clearly voiced their determination to deprive the miners from the Northern districts of the eight hour day. In an article of the *Vie Ouvrière* of August 25th, the whole position in this respect is stated clearly. The negotiations reported therein have been broken off as was to be expected. The minutes of these negotiations show that the coal barons planned an attack for the middle of October. It appears, however, that this attack will not be directed at the working hours (because such course would appear to be too dangerous) but at the wages. As the miners' union in this district is still controlled by reformists, we cannot yet predict whether and how the miners will meet this offensive. One thing is certain, however, the C. G. T. U. and the Miners' Federation affiliated with it, will, irrespective of the principal conflicts of opinion with the reformists, support with all means at their disposal the workers' defensive.

From the foregoing it becomes obvious that another important task of the trade unions consists in defending the present standard of living. Not only the eight hour day, but also the wages of the workers are in danger, and have even in some localities already been reduced owing to the absence of any resistance on the part of a militant trade union. The struggles which took place on this issue last year, both in the North and West, and which ended in a defeat of labor, have not yet been forgotten. Today we witness a number of new struggles as that in Le Havre, which are carried on as isolated actions either for the retention or for an increase of the present wages. The C. G. T. U. is lending its support to all organizations participating in this struggle.

The most notable among the strikes which French labor has lately been compelled to call, are those of *Le Havre*, *Vienne* and *Audicourt*. We must, furthermore, mention the success of the Lille metal workers shortly prior to the St. Etienne trade union congress, which was attained thanks to the establishment of the united front of the trade unions. This struggle and its result should provide the antagonists of the tactics advocated by the R. I. L. U. with some food for thought.

The coordination of propaganda and action is one of the outstanding features of the activities of the new bureau of the C. G. T. U. I fully believe that this work will soon be crowned by practical results in spite of the sabotage of the two great industrial unions, of the building workers and the metal workers, which are still controlled by savage antagonists of our cause and of the Red International of Labor Unions.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Production After a Year of the New Economic Policy

The balance sheet of 1921. — The reorganization of production. — The concessions. — An example: the coal mines.

By V. Milioutin (Moscow).

The year 1921 was marked by a revolutionary turn in our political economy. At the time of our change in position, of the return of free trading, of competition, and the refounding of our mechanism of production, it was impossible to predict to what degree our hopes of an improvement in production would be justified.

Now we are enlightened. We possess, in figures, the first results of the new economic policy in industry. The statistics published by the Supreme Council of National Economy unfortunately include only the first 10 months of 1921. They concern 35 branches of industry.

When we question ourselves upon the results of the year 1921, we need answer to the four following questions: 1. How has production been reorganized? 2. Where does it stand in point of development and intensification? 3. Is there in the large establishments a stock of raw material, of fuel, of food for the workers? 4. How is the distribution of the income of national industry effected in the presence of competition?

The documents published by the S.C. of N.E. answer the first two questions and partly the third. As to the problem set by the last, they are silent.

The central mechanism of our production has been reconstructed. "Instead of the 52 industrial centres such as existed at the end of 1920", declares Comrade Bogdanov, "we have actually 16 directorships of branches of industry which, on the one hand, each in its own branch of production, direct large enterprises through the medium of the organizations of the entire locals, and on the other, direct the provincial Councils of Economy".

The organization of production has been concentrated. All the non-paying enterprises have been closed. Trust combinations have been set up. Industrial enterprises which are of no particular importance to the state have been let out as concessions. Much has been done with these ideas in view. According to the latest information, there existed at the beginning of this year 60 trusts, comprising 989 enterprises, and employing 501,543 workers.

2,780 enterprises have their activities managed by the Proletarian State. They employ 736,613 workers. Of these, 919 (with 566,475 employees) are controlled by the central organs of the state; 1,851 others, employing 170,138 wage-earners, are administered by the local economic organizations.

During the first 10 months of 1921, 3,860 industrial establishments and 1000 mines (making a total of 4,860), were granted as concessions. According to statistics presented by the S.C. of N.E. to the Eleventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (April, 1922) the number of concessions has increased up to this time to about 8,000. The concessionaires are principally private individuals (57%), a fifth of whom are the old owners who had been expropriated. The Cooperatives take 38% of the concessions; the rest (5%) returns to the administration of the State. More than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the concessions have been leased for short terms (45% up to 2 years, 38.4% from 2 to 5 years). In most cases they consist of small enterprises employing on an average 7 workers.

Such is, actually, the framework of our production.

Replying now to the second question, we may say that production has generally risen. But the precarious situation of our finances and our food supply makes this improvement unstable.

As for our balance sheet, we will take it from the report of the S.C. of N.E.: "At the beginning of 1921 there were visible signs of an industrial revival. The famine and the subsequent economic crisis thwarted it. In the last three months of the year these signs reappeared, but this time in connection with the new phase in our political economy. Some important results have been obtained in Central Russia, where the metal works and the mines have been revived. The new Chemical Trust permits us to hope for a restoration of the chemical industry. In the central industrial section textile production suffers from a lack of fuel, but a fruitful season of work in the turf-pits opens better prospects".

By way of example, let us cite the coal industry. In six months of 1921 the total production of coal rose to 251 million poods (1 pood = 16 kilograms) as against the 208 of the corresponding six months of 1920. July, August, September

(1921), however, were crucial months on account of poverty; their production was only 70.1 million poods in contrast to the 114 of the corresponding quarter in the preceding year. But in the course of the three months following production rose to 135. If we designate by 100 the average production of the first nine months of 1921, the production of October should be designated by 140, that of November by 170, that of December by 206.

In the Donetz basin the productivity of the miner, reckoned on a daily basis, has increased as follows: June 2.7; July 5.7; August 15.6; September 18. In the district of Moscow important technical improvements have been realized. Almost everywhere steam engines replace the horses that had been used in the mining of the coal. The process of electrification has also begun.

The food situation remains none the less precarious. It is that which prevents us from counting on a regular and continuous improvement.

Recent Labor Legislation in Soviet Russia

By J. Larin.

III.

As has already been mentioned, the new Penal Code decided upon in the summer session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, which accords judicial rights to the trade unions came into force on July 1st. This law invests the trade unions with the right to appoint representatives in every case where the interests of one of their members is affected. No special permission is required, and the trade union can appoint for this purpose either one of its members or persons from outside of its ranks; it can at its own discretion prefer a summons either against private persons or against any authority whatsoever. If the case falls within the penal laws, a representative of the trade union may (if he so desires) replace the public prosecutor. This means that in Russia the trade union can, not only prefer both civil and penal indictments, but can also assume the prosecution of the case.

The trade unions are furthermore granted the right to appear either in the role of prosecutor or of councillor in every case where the interests of one of its members are at stake. The trade unions are not restricted by any juridical stipulations in their choice of representatives. In no other country, are the privileges of the trade unions so extensive or interpreted in so democratic a manner.

All labor inspectors are accorded the rights of examining magistrates. According to a decree issued lately, the labor inspectors who represent the state, are to be elected by the trade unions and these elections endorsed by the Commissariat of Labor. This means that all government labor inspectors are trade union officials appointed to this position by their respective trade union. These inspectors are under the law granted the right to examine cases where labor laws have been infringed upon.

The summer session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee finally decided upon the establishment of special labor courts which will guarantee the enforcement of all labor legislation. The Soviet Government was entrusted with the elaboration of this law and has already carried out its instructions. The labor courts, both the local and the central bodies, will consist of three members each. The central labor court has as its members a representative each, of the Commissariat of Labor, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Soviet Government. All other courts are organized along the same lines. As all the leading functionaries, both of the central and the local organs of the Commissariat of Labor are selected from the list of candidates proposed by the trade unions, it stands to reason that the labor courts will not only enjoy a special authority but will also be composed of a labor majority.

The judicial rights of the trade unions as evolved in the course of one year of the new economic policy in Russia are as follows:

1. The trade unions may issue a summons in every penal and civil case and may, furthermore, act on behalf of their members either as counsel or as prosecutor.

2. The preliminary examination of cases falling under labor legislation are to be carried out by labor inspectors appointed by the trade unions.

3. Judgment is pronounced by a court with a majority of either direct or indirect representatives of the trade unions.

The best guarantee for strict enforcement of the labor laws, is the passing on of the protection of this legislation to those most interested in it, i. e., to the masses of workers organized in the trade unions. Every private person, every administrator of government workshops or offices, must know that the workers under his supervision can hold him responsible through their organization and pass judgment upon him, whenever he violates one of the paragraphs of the labor code. The new economic policy enabled the administrators of government enterprises to carry out on a commercial basis, and legalize, private enterprise in Russian industry. At the same time it invested the labor organizations with adequate guarantees for preventing those in charge of offices and factories to infringe upon the rights of their employees.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

The Conference of the International Workers' Relief Committee

By *Ketty Guttman*.

On August 30th and 31st the provincial representatives of the I.W.R.C. met in conference at their own house in Moscow. It was the first conference of that organization whose most effective work really dates from the beginning of this year.

When news of the famine reached the workers of the world, they not only did what they could at the moment, they also started to organize their relief so as to get at the root of the evil, they did, in short, that which must be the essence and the purpose of the proletarian revolution,—build up the new Socialist system of production.

We shall let the reports speak for themselves:

Petrograd which from the very beginning, was not cast for an independent role in famine relief activities, has immediately become a centre of organization. The Petrograd branch got into touch with the Economic Council and took over the administration of a building repair shop with six departments. Within a few months its repairing squads had put some 17 houses into good order and had paved the piers. Apart from this, large quantities of various commodities were manufactured in a number of shops under the administration of the I.W.R.C. of Petrograd.

Ural. Here the I.W.R.C., apart from supplying the Workers Famine Relief Committee, contributed 35,000 poods of foodstuffs to the Russian Relief Organization. A number of childrens' homes and feeding centres were also furnished. The tractor squad of 20 tractors (a gift from the American workers) has been assigned to this territory where 10,000 *desiatins* of good soil were placed at its disposal.

Kazan. Here, in the centre of the famine districts, lumber concessions were procured from the Tchuwash Republic. The I.W.R.C. organized the mohe workers in the district of Chistapol, who under such an able supervision manufactured hatchets, harnesses, bags, barrels and 150 waggons. In Kazan the organization has 3 great farms with a total of 800 *desiatins* arable land and 900 *desiatins* pasture, with 3 tractors and one Diesel motor. The Committee, furthermore, felled and prepared for transport 100,000 trees. The costs of administration were covered from the proceeds of the timber sales.

Tcheliabinsk. While the productive relief here is still slight, it contributed its share in the struggle against the famine. Lately an artisan's school has been established and the farm of the I.W.R.C. with 3000 *desiatins* has been taken over, with the result that 320 *desiatins* have been sown this fall.

Orenburg. Here activities set in only very recently. In July last there were still 483,000 starving in this district. In April 1922 production rations were issued. Furthermore, two childrens' homes were established which are doing productive work by growing vegetables. 20,000 poods of foodstuffs have been distributed.

Tzaritzin is important because of its fishing industry. Here, too, the committee could only start work last spring, dispatching nets, salt, etc. from its own shops and mines to the Volga. At the instance and on the account of the I.W.R.C. 60,000 poods of

fish were caught this spring. The workers are almost exclusively being supported by the committee. Packing material (barrels, etc.) are furnished by the committee from its shops in other provinces.

The headquarters in Moscow were established in November 1921. The central authorities had no distributing apparatus suitable for the International Workers' Relief which had to create its own apparatus, establishing a transport department, a receiving department, a central warehouse, etc. The Moscow Committee established shops and equipped squads for building repairs which are now to be taken over by a trust. The shoe factory in Moscow is a gift from Swiss and German workers. The headquarters have furthermore established a cooperative for supplying their functionaries with commodities; it also opened an ambulatorium where five physicians are active and the expenses of which are being covered by the fees.

Having heard these reports, the conference received the report on the Berlin International Congress of Famine Relief. The resolutions on the feeding of children passed there were approved and the details of the technical execution referred to a commission which is to issue the necessary instructions. The decision of the Berlin Congress to keep only such enterprises which are paying for themselves, is being carried out wherever possible. Efforts in this direction are being continued.

The prospects for the further activity of the I.W.R.C. in Russia are favorable indeed. As to the feeding of the 20,000 children, the respective bodies have been approached already. Very many problems, which the I.W.R.C. would not be able to solve alone, will thus be solved, as for example, to furnish teachers for the childrens' homes to be established by the I.W.R.C.

Although the first steps taken by the International Workers' Relief Committee were laborious, indeed, there can be no doubt, that the seeds sown by the international solidarity of the workers will yield a bountiful harvest in time to come.

THE WHITE TERROR

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany

Comrades!

The Foreign Delegation of the Social Revolutionary Party has addressed an enquiry to the Executive Committee of the Comintern concerning the alleged suicide of citizen Timofeyev, convicted at the S.R. Trial. You know that this story of the suicide or attempted suicide of Timofeyev is one of the usual lies invented by the people who have been living on nothing but lies for the last few years.

At the same time we have received absolutely confirmed information regarding the terrible state of our Comrade *Max Holtz* in a German prison.

In order to save from a slow death this true champion of the Proletarian Revolution, *Max Holtz*, who is being tortured in a bourgeois-menshevik German prison, the Presidium of the Comintern empowers you,—

Publicly to Propose to the German Social Democracy to exchange Max Holtz for Citizen Timofeyev.

The "United" Social Democracy of the Second and 2½ Internationals have of course sufficient influence with the German Coalition Government to secure this. On our part we are certain that the Soviet Government will agree to the exchange.

Moscow, September 21, 1922.

Zinoviev.

NOTICES

The following insertion is to be made in the agenda of the IV. Congress of the Comintern, which appeared in No. 82 of the Inprecorr:

12. Report of the Foreign Famine Relief Committee, and further steps towards the economic reconstruction of Russia. By *Münzenberg*.