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## The V. Anniversary of the Red Army

(Statements made by well known men of the Soviet government.)

The Red Army enters upon the 6th year of its existence in the proud consciousness that it will continue to defend the frontiers of Soviet Russia, firmly and unflinching, despite any reduction in numbers which it may undergo.

The Red Army emerged as victor from the civil war, at a time when it numbered 5,300,000 men. Scarcely the ninth part of this number now remains. Every fresh reduction signifies for the Red Army an increase of responsibility and duty. The V. Anniversary of the Red Army finds it striving to attain such a point of efficiency that, should the enemies of Soviet Russia force a fresh war upon her, every member of the Red Army would be capable of taking up the position of group leader. The Red Army is seriously and systematically learning the science of victory. I am firmly convinced that no enemy can seize the weapons of the Red Army, that is, the great truth for which it fights and the great reserves behind it.

The political sky of Europe is again overcast with threatening clouds. The whole of Europe is transformed into a powder magazine. The sole abode of peace is the "Federation of Soviet Republics", protected by the glorious Red Army ever ready to follow the call of the revolution.

*S. Kamenev.*

(Commander in chief of the armed forces of the republic.)

I cannot find any special wishes to express on the V. anniversary of the Red Army; its organization and commanding personnel leave nothing to be desired. At most I might express the wish that in the future the technical equipment of our troops may be better.

*M. Kalinin.*

(Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.)

The Red Army is beginning its sixth year, numerically much reduced. Our present army is really no longer an army but merely a group, and even a small group of this army. This necessarily involves certain drawbacks, which can only be remedied by the united efforts of our Soviet and Party apparatus.

*Frunse*

(Commander in chief of the troops of the Ukraine.)

May the Red Army, after 5 years of existence, have no soldiers in its ranks who cannot read nor write; may it be well nourished, well clad, well equipped, brave, and unconquerable.

May it be the object of most tender regard of the workers of the whole world, of the landless peasants; the prop of the oppressed, the terror of the oppressors. May the great ideal of the working class, Communism, be the most precious thing on earth to every soldier of the Red Army, to every Red Commander, to every member of the great Red Army family. May the new Red Army groups be worthy heirs of the heroes of Perekop, the conquerors of Wrangel, Yudenitch, Koltchak, and Denikin, of the innumerable enemies of the people defeated by Soviet Russia. Long live the Red Army!

*N. Bukharin.*

(Member of the presidium of the Comintern.)

As the first 5 years of the history of the Red Army are filled with victories, the Red Army must continue to be the bearer of the glorious traditions of the past years of war. The Red Army has won many victories, not thanks to its technical resources, but solely to the heroism and enthusiasm of its members, who were fully conscious that they were fighting for the great cause of the workers. If the high moral qualities hitherto inherent in our troops were to be supplemented by military training, and by suitable technical equipment, we should have an army unique in the history of the world. It is thus our duty to work, with the utmost revolutionary energy, towards the improved training and provisioning of our army, and not to forget that at any moment a situation may arise forcing us to defend the revolution and the republic by force of arms.

*Rykov.*

(Deputy chairman of the Soviet for Labor and Defence.)

The Red Army originated, and increased in strength, in defending the great gains of the revolution. It is a child of revolution, dominated by the spirit of revolution. The Red Army has pursued the aim of becoming a centre of culture, and herein lies its great merit. The Red Army has succeeded, to a very great extent, in reaching this goal, and the circumstance that the youth of the city and country alike find in the Red Army a training perfectly unique, is one of greatest significance for the republic.

It is much to be desired that the Red Army continue to be a nursery of culture and communism.

*N. Krupskaya.*

(Chairman of the Central Bureau for Political Enlightenment.)

## The Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards to the International Proletariat

The Committee of 23, of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards has issued the following appeal to all the organizations named below, and to the proletariat of France, Belgium, England and Germany: To the Red trade unions of France (Unitarian Federation); the French Trade Union Federation, Paris; the German General Federation of Trade Unions; the National Committee of the German Shop Stewards' Councils; the Union of Hand and Brain Workers, Gelsenkirchen; the Socialist Party of France; the Communist Party of France; the Socialist Party of Belgium; the Communist Party of Belgium; the English Labour Party; the English Independent Labour Party; the Communist Party of England; the United Social Democratic Party of Germany; the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (Ledebour); the Communist Party of Germany; the Committee of Action of the Communist Parties of France and Germany; the Amsterdam Trade Union International; the Red International of Labor Unions, Moscow; the Second Socialist International, London; the Third Communist International, Moscow; the Working Union of Socialist Parties, Vienna.

Comrades!

The military occupation of the Rhine has initiated an economic war, which threatens to undermine Rhenish-Westphalia and to destroy the proletarian masses. The economic life is paralyzed and the railroads are dead.

*Want and misery are the order of the day.* Prices are rising enormously. Every new order issued by the German government forces the workers to fresh acts of sabotage, and drives them nearer to ruin. Every new order of the French military authorities, robs the proletarian masses of their liberty and works further havoc. It may last five years, says Poincaré. A struggle to the death, answer the German nationalists. The French military is being further mobilized and reinforced. In the unoccupied regions, the Fascist bands are continually arming. *A Rhineland Republic*, is Poincaré's slogan; *a Fascist coup*, is the slogan of the German nationalists.

The economic war threatens to develop into a military war, with hand-grenades, poison gas and bombs. The destruction of the Ruhr basin will mean the destruction of Europe and the complete enslavement of the German and French proletarian masses. In the meanwhile, negotiations are going on between the French and German industrial barons, at the expense of the proletariat. The representative of the Left French bloc, *Herriot*, announces his approval of *Hugo Stinnes' program*. Stinnes and Loucheur are aiming at an "understanding". But should this "understanding" come about, and should the program of Hugo Stinnes be adopted, then the working masses will be thrown on the street, production reduced, the incentive to work undermined, the economy ruined; profits however, will increase.

Thus the Rhenish-Westphalian proletariat is threatened by these two dangers, — an imperialist war or a capitalist under-standing, both of which spell misery and ruin for the proletariat.

The peace of Europe is in danger, and its economy threatened by the brutal capitalist offensive on both sides of the Rhine. And in the face of all these dangers, a large section of the proletariats is looking passively on.

*Where are the strong trade unions with their millions of workers? Where is the defensive action against German and*

*French imperialism and militarism, and the French and German capitalist offensives? The disappointed masses are driven into the arms of the National Socialist agents and provocateurs, because they see that large labor organizations refuse to fight. On the 24th of January, immediately after the forcible occupation of Rhenish-Westphalia, a conference of the Miners' Shop Stewards put up demands for the organization of the defensive action against the outrage perpetrated upon the Rhenish-Westphalian proletariat, and for the common defensive action of the German and French proletariat. These demands are as follows:*

1. Fight along the whole line against every nationalist war;
2. Withdrawal of the Allied occupation troops;
3. Overthrow of the Cuno government; formation of a workers' government, which shall immediately conclude a defensive and offensive alliance with Soviet Russia and pursue a policy of proletarian reconstruction, together with the proletariat of the Entente countries.
4. Immediate disarmament of counter-revolutionary bands throughout Germany and the arming of the organized working class.
5. Immediate introduction of the six hour shift for the increase of production in the mines. No infringement of the eight hour day in the remaining industries.
6. Adequate wage increases, the provision of large quantities of cheap food, the immediate payment of a hundred thousand mark bonus to all workers, officials, war invalids and social dependents in the same way as the state employees have received it.
7. The abolition of the 10 % wage tax.
8. The immediate release of all proletarian political prisoners in Germany and France.
9. Full payment for time lost through strikes.

The Committee of 23 of the Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards, appeals to you, Labor Organizations and Labor Parties, in the hour of greatest danger, and calls upon you to convene immediately

*a conference of all the above mentioned organizations*

which shall formulate a series of concrete measures towards the realization of these demands, combatting Poincarism and Fascism, organizing the struggle against the capitalist offensive in France and Germany, and protecting the proletarian masses against the threatening ruin. The great masses behind these organizations represent a force which, in the fight, is capable of solving all questions.

*The defensive struggle must be taken up at once!*

Whoever refuses to join in this defensive struggle is a supporter of the bourgeoisie and will have to shoulder the full responsibility for the final destruction of Central Europe, which will drag the whole world into the economic abyss. This would mean the downfall and the complete enslavement of the German and French proletariat.

We await a prompt answer and rapid action. This is the need of the hour.

The Committee of Twenty Three of the  
Rhenish-Westphalian Shop Stewards.

## POLITICS

### The Balance of the Ruhr Occupation

By Kéro (Paris).

A war of attrition has set in the Ruhr area. Mobilization, state of siege, retention of hostages, and military occupation — is this not war, economic war pending the attack of our artillery and the massacres of workers predicted by Jacques Bainville?

Hold out!

"We shall not mobilize a single soldier nor a single railwayman", M. Poincaré assured us magnificently. But by January 24, 3,750 railwaymen had already been called up by the military authorities, put into sky blue uniforms, and sent off to the Ruhr area—although it may well be asked what they are going to do there, considering that they neither understand the language of the country, nor are familiar with the signalling arrangements or working regulations of the German railways.

Is it really still a question of finding a solution for the reparations question? It is scarcely possible to believe it, for at the present time (precisely as during the whole of the war for "Right") nothing else is spoken of except holding out to the last moment. "It is a question of life and death!" declares the royalist *Action Française*, under the thick-type headline: "Berlin threatens the Ruhr magnates who want to deliver coal to us with a year's imprisonment. Very well, let us threaten them with the gallows, and they will bend to our will!"

Our valiant generals are not letting the heroic deeds of their German colleagues sink into oblivion, but are energetically confiscating private property, expelling inconvenient citizens from the country, and taking German prisoners, or rather making German martyrs, the future heroes of a new 1913.

But all these acts of violence will not collect a single sou for us, will not even place us in a position to pay the miners and workers and to provide them with food. But what does that matter? This is characteristic of war!

And now fresh sanctions are announced. For if any successful pressure is to be put upon Germany, either the Ruhr area must be completely separated from her, or the French must march to Berlin. "And then", so says Lucien Romier in the *Journée Industrielle*, "an intelligent military leader, provided with full powers of authority, would be placed at the head of the occupied territory, until a civil administration has been organized . . . in about a fortnight everything would be in perfect order".

According to this we should have to dismiss all Prussian officials, confiscate the sources of supply of German finance, and create an independent administration in the Ruhr valley, as in the Saar area.

We shall thus—in a fortnight!—learn the value of this magnificent political plan. But meanwhile we must establish the plain fact, viewed from an economic and technical standpoint, that the Ruhr occupation has proved a miserable failure.

What does a military adventure cost?

"The whole reparations questions, writes the *Usine* (The workshop) of January 20, "is here at stake. For if we were to abandon our confiscation of the coal pledges to-day, the Germans would simply refuse to pay anything more in cash or kind, once the pressure of possible new sanctions is removed".

Our heavy industry requires 12,000 tons of German coke per day. Supplies of Westphalian coal and coke have meanwhile come to an almost complete standstill, so that the *Information Financière* of January 20, already raises the cry of alarm: "We must really ask what is to happen if the supplies continue to be interrupted or insufficient for a few days longer. There will be nothing left but to extinguish the blast furnaces and to slow down the rate of production."

Is this not a brilliant military victory, to be booked to the credit of the national bloc? Up to now the Germans have been delivering coal and coke absolutely gratis. The 13,864,000 tons demanded for 1922 were delivered to the extent of 11,710,365 tons. And the French government was able to sell this coal for the round sum of a milliard francs. But since our invasion of the Ruhr, the German government has ceased to pay, the collieries to deliver reparation coal.

In consequence of this, the French iron works have to content themselves with the supplies of expensive English coke, and have to limit their operations considerably. Within three days—from January 22 to 25—thirteen blast furnaces in Lorraine alone had to be extinguished, and to-morrow, other blast furnaces will share the same fate.

To this must be added another unexpected occurrence, which fills the nationalist shouters with holy indignation. The English collieries are being flooded with orders from the French railways and the German cities, gas works, and railways. It is further reported that the occupation of the Ruhr has led to large orders for cast iron being given to England.

And finally, the American dollar and the English pound are rising so rapidly in value that the supplying of France with wheat, cotton and wool, must soon, inevitably lead to an enormous increase of prices.

What will be the end of M. Poincaré's glorious expedition? What will be its consequences, in an industrial area densely populated by four million inhabitants, after a few days of unemployment and starvation?

Our narrow-minded and imbecile chauvinists are delighted at the idea of casting Germany into the abyss, as if "their" own country would not be the first victim of such a catastrophe.

One of these days we shall have to pay dearly, very dearly, for M. Poincaré's attempt at violence and robbery, and it will not be long before we cease to trouble ourselves as to what we are going to do with the Ruhr district, but will confine ourselves to the question of how we are going to get out of the Ruhr with as little damage to ourselves as possible.

### The Plans of Polish Imperialism

By Antonov Ovseyenko (Moscow).

The failure of the disarmament conference in Moscow and the attitude adopted by our neighbors at this conference, shows that they have not the best intentions towards us. Among these countries Poland plays first fiddle. Therefore the aims and strivings of Poland's ruling circles are of special importance for us.

Thanks to a happy accident, we are in possession of a highly interesting document, informing us of the aims of Polish imperialism. This document is a report by Dr. Dombrowski on "Poland in the future war"; the report was intended for a Cracow newspaper, but was confiscated by the authorities.

Dombrowski is well known as a person closely associated with Pilsudski. There is no doubt that his report reflects the view of the Polish president, and is based on data supplied by the Polish army staff. He desired to publish the report in order to prepare public opinion for the — in his opinion inevitable wars with Germany and Russia. But it seems that Dombrowski blabbed out the plans of the Belvedere all too candidly, and the publication of his report was prohibited at the last moment.

As a skilful spokesman of the Belvedere, Dombrowski naturally seeks to obscure the imperialist intentions of the ruling clique of White Poland behind purely strategic considerations.

Russia and Germany, he considers, are of the opinion that "the creation of the Polish state itself . . . only came about during the temporary weakness of the former two states. Russia and Germany are impatiently waiting for an opportunity to revise the Polish question, and if they do not intend annihilating Poland altogether, at least they intend cutting it up into very small sections.

Many hope, observes Dombrowski, that "Russia, after the overthrow of Bolshevism, will return to an anti-German alliance with France, which would much alter Poland's orientation. Poland's policy does not calculate upon this. Dombrowski in a melancholy strain: "even if we do not admit that experience augurs a long period of evolution for Bolshevism, still we see no prospect among its successors—either from the left or the extreme right—for an alliance with France. As in Russia to-day, so also among the emigrants, the Germanophile outlook predominates . . . France is blamed for all the misery which has fallen upon Russia. Common hate, and common hope of vengeance on the mutual enemy—France—bring Germany and Russia together. This renders a Franco-Polish alliance necessary . . .

This threatening danger, declares Dombrowski, can only be removed by the dissolution of one of the enemy states. As regards Germany, this is not very feasible, but the policy, tending to dissolve Russia into its constituent parts is in line "with the inclinations both of the Entente governments and the United States. The dissolution of Russia into its component parts is of vital interest to Poland, and represents the main object of all rational Polish politics."

With respect to the "defence" of Poland, in the first place the corridor is entirely unsuited to ward off attacks from Germany and to secure the passage to the sea. For this reason Poland must occupy East Prussia. Neither can she be contented with the German-Polish frontier. Poland is entitled to claim the whole of the remainder of Polish Silesia (Polish). The eastern frontier is equally disadvantageous. The Vistula area can only be rendered secure by the occupation of Kovno-Lithuania

and White Russia. In the East, only the Dnyepir or the Bug can offer a fixed boundary. Dombrowski also complains that Poland's present standing army is inadequate; he complains of the lack of a serious war industry, and the lack of a sufficiently developed railway system, especially on the eastern frontier, etc.

Dombrowski, after considering several variants of a future war with Russia and Germany, concludes with the words that Russia "must be attacked, not only with military means, but also with political." Under the latter he indicates the separation of the Ukraine and White Russia from Russia. He regards a joint war of Russia and Germany against Poland as most probable. In this case Poland would be supported by France. The Polish army would then have to decide to neglect the Russian front at first, in order to be able to first strike an energetic blow at the German front. The first task is the occupation of East Prussia and a powerful defense of Silesia.

Dombrowski draws attention to the Polish-Roumanian alliance, but does not expect much from it. From the Baltic states, Poland only demands that they defend themselves against Russia with their own forces. There is no immediate danger threatening Poland on the southern frontier. But Germany might attempt to strike a blow at Poland from behind, through Czechoslovakia. Therefore Poland must win over Hungary, the more so, as Poland, in case of the Danzig corridor being cut off, could be supplied with the necessary war material through Hungary. The winning over of Hungary must run parallel with a Hungarian-Roumanian agreement.

The quotations here given furnish the plainest evidence of the irreconcilable enmity of Poland's ruling class towards us. They enable us to understand the import of the intrigues we encounter with regard to Roumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic states. They enlighten us regarding the brave deeds of Lithuania against Germany. Belvedere has already commenced to execute the plans drawn up, and has begun—if not with the possession of Kovno-Lithuania—at least with a friendly alliance with Kovno-Lithuania, an alliance bought by Poland at Germany's expense, and involving Lithuania's grab of the Memel district.

## ECONOMICS

### Survey of the World Economic Situation in the 4<sup>th</sup> Quarter of 1922

#### VII. German-Austria.

Despite the smallness of the country, the development of economic conditions in German-Austria is of great importance at the present time, for here the credits granted by the great powers have been successful in stopping the depreciation of the currency for the time being. It is an actual fact that in the last 3 months, the Austrian crown has been fairly stable. The index figures of the *Austrian Economist* show the following developments during the last few months:

Beginning of October	20,551
Beginning of November	21,352
Beginning of December	20,537
Beginning of January 1923	19,932

The wholesale prices have developed in a similar manner. The *Austrian Economist* of December 2, 1922 comments as follows on this change in Austrian economics:

"Up to now our political economy has been enjoying a certain state of prosperity, but this has been more a pseudo-prosperity, and state economy has decayed in a catastrophic manner. This apparent prosperity of political economy is over. The growing unemployment, the part time worked in numerous undertakings, show this plainly enough. Our economy has been granted a pause for breath. This is shown by the comparative stability of the crown for nearly three months, and by the temporary rest of the bank-note printing press. The future will show whether this pause for breath, this inactivity of the note press, will be of long duration. This depends on whether the international credits and loans reckoned upon with so much certainty will really be placed at Austria's disposal punctually; it depends further on the contents of the reconstruction program. It will further depend on the nature and duration of the political economic crisis caused by this program of reconstruction, on the means which will be employed to aid the hundreds of civil servants and workers threatened with dismissal in finding new means of livelihood and productive activity — a task not even mentioned in the reconstruction program."

The consequences of the artificial stabilization of the crown may already be plainly traced in Austrian economics. Prices are in general higher than abroad; the working capacity of the workers has greatly diminished. The resultant unemployment is very great; at the present time the number of unemployed is estimated at more than 100,000, a very large number for so small a country. The acceptance of the Geneva pact, which transforms Austria into a colony of the Entente, has been accompanied by a strengthening of the position of the bourgeoisie. This may best be seen in the declaration of the employers that they will no longer keep to the index when fixing wages, and will in no case grant further wage increases even if the index should rise further. This means that the wage reduction's hitherto concealed by the rapid depreciation, is to be replaced by an open campaign against wages. The Austrian social democracy has resigned itself to the changed conditions with but little resistance. This is probably the reason why there has as yet been no conflict between the Austrian bourgeoisie and the working class.

On the other hand it is very much to be questioned if the stabilization of the Austrian crown is permanent. We have every reason to doubt it. In the first place the credits granted by the Entente have not yet been all placed at Austria's disposal. Moreover, the country consumes more than it produces. If this assumption is correct, the stability of the currency will only last till the securities provided by the Entente are used up. As soon as these are consumed, the depreciation of the Austrian crown will begin again.

Special attention should be paid to conditions in Austria, for the impending conditions in Germany may be deduced from them. But here it must be observed that in the first place, much larger sums would be required to stabilize the German mark, and in the second place, Austria is not burdened with reparations payments. But on the other hand, Germany's economics possess, in our opinion, more real vitality than Austria's.

#### Hungary.

Despite the smallness of the country, it is extremely interesting to trace out Hungary's economic development; for here, an actual test is being made as to whether it is possible or not to put the economic household of a country on a sound basis by the complete victory of the White Terror. The question can by no means be answered in the affirmative from the example offered by Hungary. If we select the course of the rate of exchange as a characteristic symptom, we find that the Hungarian crown, the English pound being taken as standard, has sunk to a quarter of its initial value. During the last few months a stabilization has taken place, but this is principally due to an extensive limitation of imports, and probably to direct financial intervention as well.

It is interesting to note that the prices within the country itself — as compared with other countries with depreciating currencies — have, during the past year risen more than would correspond to the depreciation of the Hungarian crown. Wheat, for instance, has risen to six times its original price in the course of one year. This must of course be partly attributed to last year's bad crops. The export of flour, which amounted to 12,000 carloads in the second half of 1921, has fallen to 5000 this year.

Hungarian industry can report a generally favorable state of the market, based on the exceedingly low real wage of the worker. A large number of Czechoslovakian undertakings, especially from the north Hungarian districts separated from Hungary, have removed to Hungary. Foreign capital penetrates the country more and more. The great French firm *Schneider*, has commenced to build the Budapest mercantile harbor, conjointly with the Hungarian government. The German *Stinnes* concern recently invested extensive capital in Hungarian iron works and machine factories. It is also interesting to note that the Hungarian petroleum refiners, who at present cannot obtain any crude oil from Roumania, purchased 400 tanks of crude oil from Russia. The arrival of this consignment was greeted joyfully by the Hungarian capitalist press, as the Hungarian petroleum refining plant is at present working at only 1/6 of its capacity. The Hungarian capitalists are now endeavoring to do business with Russia on a larger scale. Although the industrial conditions appear fairly good, Hungary's trade balance is quite adverse. In 1922 the liabilities amounted to no less than 53 milliard crowns. As Hungary possesses practically no foreign capital, this adverse trade balance actually signifies a passive paying balance. To this must be added the interest and profit on the capital invested in Hungary, and the interest on the old debts to France, England, Belgium, etc., which at the present rate of exchange, and after deduction of the counter-claims, amount to 147 milliards. To this must again be added large debts to Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. Moreover, the repa-

rations question is not yet settled; Hungary, unlike Austro-Germany, can scarcely be said to be freed from all reparation claims, especially if we take into consideration the unfavorable political relations of Hungary to the Little Entente.

The deficits in the state finances are covered by the issue of paper money. Between September and December, the notes in circulation increased from 55 to 74 milliard.

Taking all in all, we may say that the reactionary regime has by no means succeeded in developing the economics of the country in any higher degree than is the case in the neighbouring democratic countries.

### The Balkan states.

There is little change to be observed in the economic situation of the Balkan countries during the past half year. The economic situation in these countries is mainly determined by the crops. Last year these were generally good. But that no economic equilibrium has been attained here either, is proved by the general depreciation of the currency. We shall not discuss the conditions in the separate countries in detail, as this would extend our report too much.

### Poland.

Here we may observe the continuation of the great contradiction in Poland's economic life: improvement of production, but deterioration of the state finances and depreciation of the currency.

In our last report we gave all details regarding the harvest and the extensive export possibilities:

"The following statements are given by the chairman of the Union of Agricultural Organizations and by the main import and export office: After the requirements of the country itself had been met, it was possible, during the past year, to export about 100,000 carloads of corn, about half as much barley and oats, and large quantities of pulses and oil-seed; besides this, 250,000 carloads of potatoes. To this must be added about 1½ to 2 million hectolitres of potato spirit, 300,000 tons of starch and 20,000 carloads of hops. The crops of various field and garden vegetables were so excellent that it was possible to export large quantities. The mushroom export has assumed such large dimensions that the state will earn several million marks from this alone. The export of 1 million pigs and as many geese is also being counted on. Export licences have already been granted for 250,000 geese. The export in eggs is however to be limited, and will probably not be permitted to exceed 60 carloads at most in November."

(*Industrial and Commercial Periodical* Nov. 8.)

Business also appears to have been satisfactory in industry during the past months. In the textile industry 90% of the pre-war production has been attained. The Russian market being lost, the goods are mostly sold to Roumania and the Balkans.

On the other hand, the state finances are in a hopeless condition, and consequently the rate of exchange as well, as may be seen from the following figures:

	Notes in circulation	Advances to the govt in milliard of marks	Rate of exchange of £
20. June	256	225	20,000
20. Sept.	418	314	40,000
20. Nov.	729	582	70,000
12. Jan. 1923	—	—	95,000

In the course of five months the paper money in circulation has increased by 500 milliard, and the Polish mark is still below the German.

The cause of this contradiction between the economic and financial development of the country is difficult to explain; it is probable that it arises, as in Germany, from the complete freedom from taxation enjoyed by the owning classes; on the other hand the huge state and military apparatus appears to have swallowed up the fruits of the increased production. But these are mere assumptions which should be tested by data unfortunately not at our disposal.

### Czecho-Slovakia.

The economic crisis in Czecho-Slovakia continues; indeed, it seems as if it has become more acute during the last three months. It is not possible to ascertain the exact number of unemployed. Social democratic sources estimate it at about 1 million. The number of unemployed receiving benefit is much smaller, as the authorities employ every possible means to deprive the unemployed of the dole. The production of coal continues far below normal. The production of iron and steel is only about 20% of the actual producing capacity of the country.

Industrial undertakings continue to emigrate. A great section of the textile industry has removed recently from Prosnitz to Poland, a part of the Reichenberg yarn industry to Saxony.

The great weaving factory Rosenberg (18,000 spindles), and the yarn factory in Pressburg (9000 spindles) are negotiating with Hungary with respect to moving the factories. The glass industry continues to emigrate to Saxony. The great Slovakian iron works are also preparing to emigrate to Hungary. A part of the workers emigrate with the plant, but the greater part remain at home, without the least hope of finding work there. Under these circumstances it is probable that emigration to America will assume great dimensions before long, should emigration be in any way facilitated. In Czecho-Slovakia the cost of production of manufactured articles is so much higher than in the neighbouring countries that in many cases the Czech manufacturers pass on the orders abroad. Textile and leather factories for instance, have had their orders filled in Hungarian factories.

The smaller undertakings go bankrupt one after the other in this severe crisis. The number of bankruptcies and insolvencies rose from 40 in January to 182 in October. A large number of undertakings are only able to keep their heads above water by affiliating themselves to some large concern, or by being absorbed by some large bank. Concentration thus advances rapidly. But even the large banking houses are not able to overcome the crisis; a great sensation was caused by the collapse of the Moravian-Silesian Bank, with an uncovered deficit of 100 million Czech crowns.

As was to be foreseen, the Czech crown could not maintain its high rate of exchange. The crown has actually fallen. The prices quoted for an English £ were:

Beginning of 1922	26 August 1922	3. January 1923
277	117	150

It turns out that the high rate of exchange of the Czech crown was brought about to a great extent by speculative purchases. After the mark collapsed, Central European speculation cast itself upon the Czech crown. The Czech government encouraged this speculation by spreading the report that the Czech crown was to be stabilized at 20 Swiss centimes. The demand for Czech crowns was further increased by the circumstance that in Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Roumania, much business was done on the basis of the Czech crown, the currencies of these countries being subject to still greater fluctuations. This gave rise to the remarkable phenomenon that the Czech crown possessed a higher value abroad than buying power at home. The *Federal Reserve Bulletin* published an interesting table in December 1922, showing that the retail trade index was about 20% higher than the dollar parity of the Czecho-Slovakian crown.

Another example of high prices in Czecho-Slovakia is offered by the railway freight charges. According to the *Economist*, the comparative freight rates, for the same weight over the same distance, are as follows:

Cz.-Slov.	Germ.	France	Yugosl.	Belg.
205	92	76	60	57 Czech. crowns.

The high rate of exchange of the crown has been very detrimental to the competitive capacity of Czecho-Slovakian products, especially in the neighbouring countries with depreciated currencies, the natural markets of Czecho-Slovakia.

In order to render the country capable of competition in the markets of the world, it is imperatively necessary to reduce the costs of production. This can be done and is being done at the present time, automatically, by the falling value of the crown during the last three months. On the other hand the Czecho-Slovakian bank of issue has thrown great quantities of foreign securities on the market, — as may be seen by a perusal of the note bank returns — to the value of about 330 million Czech crowns, in order to retard the falling rate of exchange.

The Czech bourgeoisie is also attempting to lower costs of production by reducing wages. It has succeeded in this to a certain extent during the last quarter of 1922. But this method is bound to fail, not only on account of the resistance offered by the workers, but because the buying power of the crown is small in the country itself, and the prices of the necessities of life show no tendency of falling. The whole development confirms the words of our last report, six months ago:

"A single small industrial state — when surrounded by states whose economics are in a state of decay and whose currencies are constantly depreciating — cannot possibly maintain a sound economic situation."

As a matter of fact, the present economic crisis in Czecho-Slovakia is much more acute than the crises in the United States or in England.

### The neutral European countries.

The economic position of these countries has also improved somewhat during the last three months, but all these countries are suffering from a high rate of exchange, which hinders their

commercial relations with countries of depreciated currencies. For this reason the unemployment is relatively very great in these countries.

### Switzerland.

The economic crisis is still on in Switzerland, although a certain improvement may be observed. The number of unemployed, which reached its maximum in March 1922 — 100,000 fully unemployed — fell to 50,000 by October. 400 million francs are said to have been expended on unemployed benefit since 1918. With regard to the position of the working class, this is said to be satisfactory. According to the "Manchester Guardian", Reconstitution, 10 11, the present wages are 92% higher than those of 1912, while the cost of living has only increased 72%.

The vote on the capital levy is of international significance. In September 1921 the socialist party introduced a motion, supported by 90,000 signatures, for the introduction of a capital levy to the value of 8—60%. The referendum on this question was long retarded, and did not take place until December 3, 1922. It ended with a complete victory for the capitalists. The introduction of a capital levy was rejected by 730,000 votes against 110,000. This result is the more interesting in that, according to statistical data, only 6% of the population would have been subject to the capital levy. It is further interesting to note that owing to the threatened capital levy, much capital left Switzerland to be invested abroad. As a result of this, the rate of exchange of the Swiss franc fell considerably in the autumn, and showed a loss in relation to the dollar. At the present time the Swiss franc is still lower than the Swedish crown or Dutch florin.

### Holland.

The economic crisis in Holland has scarcely undergone any change during the last quarter of 1922. There is still much unemployment. At the end of September there were 72,000 fully out of work. The position of Dutch industry is rendered particularly difficult by German competition. For this reason there is a strong tendency to introduce protective duties. This policy has been successful in some cases, especially in that of the cigar industry. The unhappy position of the shipping trade plays an important part in Dutch economic.

On the other hand, the foreign trade balance of Holland developed very favorably during the first 9 months of last year, and the deficit has been well covered by the revenues obtained from the Dutch colonies and the investments abroad. As a result of this we see that Holland's currency is stable, at the present time only a fraction below dollar parity.

### Sweden.

The improvement in Sweden's economic situation, which began in 1922, continued during the last quarter of the year. Despite this, the crisis cannot be said to be over. The state of the match industry is satisfactory, a very important point for Sweden, as  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the world's production of matches falls to Sweden, and a further fifth is under the control of the Swedish match manufacturers. The economic condition of the wood, paper, and textile industries is normal; the same is to be said for iron ores. But in the machine building trade, and in the whole iron and steel industry, things are still very unfavorable. The improvement of the economic condition is best shown by the decrease of unemployment:

The number of unemployed, in thousands, is as follows:

End of January 1922	163
" " June 1922	49
" " September 1922	35

Since then, however, the number of unemployed has again increased. Among the organized workers, there were 15.3% unemployed as compared with 27.1% a year ago. The majority of unemployed belong to the iron and machine industry. The machine building trade suffers most, especially from the lessened possibilities of selling to Russia since the rejection of the Swedish-Russian agreement by the Swedish parliament. The number of locomotives ordered by Russia was reduced from 1000 to 500.

It is an interesting phenomenon that the Swedish crown has risen above dollar parity during the last few weeks.

In Stockholm the gold parity of the dollar is 3.73 crowns. During recent weeks it has frequently occurred that the official quotation for New York was only 3.72, even 3.71, at the Stockholm exchange, so that the crown was above par. This tendency is causing much disquietude among Swedish business people, and not without reason. For the severe economic crisis into which Sweden has been plunged by the deflation of its currency, has just recently been somewhat alleviated by the appearance of American as an angel of salvation, there being a great American demand for certain Swedish products, especially wood, cellulose, and paper.

The high value of the Swedish crown naturally greatly hinders the export of Swedish goods. The association of Swedish banks has therefore demanded that action be taken against the further rise in the rate of exchange. The government has intervened in the security market and bought up large amounts of dollars. This is further shown by the fact that the amount of paper money in circulation has increased between the December 9, and 23, from 522 to 547 million crowns.

The position of the Swedish working class has altered but little of recent months. The Swedish capitalists complain of high wages. According to a comparative table drawn up by them, a London worker has to work 1,415 hours to earn the sum which a Stockholm workman earns in 1,131 hours. In spite of this, there have been no great labor conflicts; the wage agreements, which expired on September 30, were automatically renewed for another year, as neither employers nor employed gave notice of withdrawal from the agreements. The eight hour day law was extended for a further three years.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The Trade Union Movement in Holland

By Reesma (Amsterdam).

The economic situation in Holland continues to be bad. Unemployment is increasing, while the funds of the reformist and Christian unions will soon no longer be able to pay further unemployment benefit. A conference held by these unions at the end of December came to the conclusion that if the government does not raise its contributions, the trade unions will be forced to transfer the whole task of caring for the unemployed onto the government. The number of unemployed throughout the country at present amounts to about 150,000. According to the statements of the Amsterdam labor bureau, unemployment varies from 2.4 per cent among the bakers, to 14.3—15.3 per cent among the transport workers, carpenters, building workers, and metal workers.

The revolutionary unemployment committees are, on their part, extremely active in the unemployed question. On December 26, these committees held a joint conference with the syndicalist trade unions at The Hague. 1,200 unemployed came from Amsterdam, and 1000 men marched from Rotterdam. A demonstration took place, participated in by about 12,000 workers. On January 12, there will be another conference of the unemployed committees, and it is hoped that this will be successful in centralizing the whole movement.

The capitalist offensive continues, under the stated economic conditions. All conflicts end with the victory of capital. Victory is rendered the more easy for the latter through the reformist and Christian unions refusing to have anything to do with a united front with the revolutionary labor organizations.

The book printers' strike provides an object lesson in the tactics of the reformist trade union leaders. From January, 1, and 15, respectively, the book printers are faced by a 6 per cent wage cut, and by a 43 hour week instead of the 45 hour week hitherto obtaining. No decision has yet been reached as to whether a strike is to be proclaimed on this account or not. All that we can ascertain at present is that a large number of the book printers' leaders are prepared to put up with these working conditions, despite their excellent workers' organization.

And now to other industries. The seamen's strike ended in December with the defeat of the workers. The shipping companies have announced fresh wage reductions and longer working hours for the dock laborers. The reformist, Christian, and neutral Transport workers' Unions have rejected the united front proposed to them by the revolutionary Federation of the Transport Workers' Union, and are negotiating with the employers. In the textile industry the lock-out in the eastern district (Twente) ended with the victory of the employers; all the labor organizations in this industry of whatever political tendency, are very weak. In the Limburg coal district, the reformist and the Catholic unions demanded an 8 per cent rise in wages. The demand was refused by the employers on January 8. There is little prospect of the miners fighting for their demand, for out of 26,000, only about 6,000 are organized. In the clothing industry the employers are planning to impose fresh wage reductions and other deviations from the wage agreement. It is still uncertain whether a fight will ensue, although the workers' organization is fairly strong. The way the leaders deal with the organizations may be seen from the fact, that the Amsterdam section of the syndicalist textile federation

was expelled from the main committee for refusing to depose its communist committee!

On the whole, we can observe the same course of events in Holland as in other countries: capital is carrying on a successful offensive against the working class, and its victory is rendered easy by the reformist trade union bureaucracy, which either capitulates to capitalism or weakens the forces of the workers by splits.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The All-Russian Congress of the Soviet Republic

By G. M. Serrati.

We print the following article, although it reached us somewhat too late, because it gives a graphic picture of the character and significance of the congress.

Ed.

Moscow, December 1922.

On the eve of our Christmas the tenth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets, the great general meeting of the Communist Republic was opened.

What the All-Russian Congress of the Soviets is, is or should be at least, well known to everyone. As a matter of fact the Soviet institutions have, for five years, been a leading object of propaganda, of study, of criticism, of love, and hate, in every country of the world. The Bolshevik revolution, a thousand times proclaimed dead by the janissaries of reaction, has occupied the interest of the general public, and continues to occupy it, to the widest extent. The unforeseen phases which the revolution passes through, — difficult phases, which have up to now been successfully overcome by the undeniable skill and determination of the leaders — supply to all sections of society, material for discussion, for hopes, and fears. Beyond doubt: on Russia's fate depends the fate of the whole world. On the success of this powerful and gigantic experiment depends, at least for a certain time, the result of the struggle between the two principles: individualism or communism.

#### Two thousand delegates.

The number of delegates attending this meeting, and coming from all provinces of the gigantic country amounted to two thousand. The peoples of the snows of Siberia were represented, and those of the sands, of the Caucasus, the peoples of the Pamir Plateau (whither the news of the revolution did not arrive until some months after its outbreak) and those of the banks of the Volga; the people whose horse is the reindeer, and the people whose horse is the camel. Representatives were there from the enchanting shores of the Black and Azov Seas, where the orange trees blossom, and the orchards yield as delicious and scented fruit as our Mediterranean shores; the men of the Don valley mines and the Altai Mountains were represented, the men who dig for coal, for iron, for gold, for platinum and diamonds; the men who hunt the seal in the Polar sea, and the men who lasso the gazelle in Turkestan. It may well be said that two worlds were represented, two civilizations, which the revolution will fuse into one proletarian world unit with one mighty movement, creating a power transcending all theories.

Among the delegates was to be found the old conspirator, who had languished in the Petro-Polovsk fortress, who had trodden the path of Calvary in Siberia, who had taken part in the most passionate and intense revolutionary conferences in Paris, and had visited Berlin's scientific circles; we could find industrial workers who had worked in the factories of Petrograd and Twer, who had emigrated to America and absorbed internationalism in the gigantic factories of Baldwin, Armour, and Pullmann; there were peasants who at one time scarcely ventured to even raise their eyes, until the revolution transformed them into free citizens of the Communist republic. We could find men and women, old and young, dark and fair, of Mongolian and completely Caucasian types. Their costumes were so multifarious that they defy description. But beneath the varying apparel all the delegates were inspired with one single and united thought. This great miracle has been brought about by the revolution.

#### In the one-time Imperial Theatre.

This plenary session of the Soviets was held in the Great Theatre, the one time imperial theatre, a mighty building. The vast and beautifully decorated hall, once the rendezvous of the most aristocratic and wealthiest of Moscow's bourgeoisie, once the scene of the most luxurious entertainments, is to-day devoted to meetings convened by the people. The inaugural sessions of

the most important congresses including that of the All Russian Soviet Congress, are held in this hall.

It must be observed that this variegated throng appeared to feel quite at home in these aristocratic surroundings. There was no feeling of strangeness. The two thousand delegates occupied the pit. On the stage, behind the table of the presidium, were seated the All Russian Central Committee, comprising three hundred members. The boxes were occupied by guests, members of the Communist Party, delegates from the factories, peasants and Red Army delegates, all provided with special passes issued with the utmost precaution. The press, fairly well represented, occupied the orchestre stalls while the musicians who played the official anthems were behind the scenes. The Great Box (once the Czar's box) was an object of peculiar interest, being reserved for the diplomatic and commercial representatives of the various nations already in normal relations with Russia. In the centre, was to be seen, the tall and serious figure of Brockdorff-Rantzau; this man, in his frock coat, seems to belong to the old order. And all these representatives of the different countries — who rose hastily to their feet at the sound of the solemn and heavy notes of the "International", the official anthem of the republic — seemed the embodiment of the whole contrast of our times, the transition from one state of society to another, from one civilization to another, the transition between the revolution which has been victorious and now seeks to consolidate itself, and the reaction which hopes that it is not yet vanquished, and believes itself unconquerable.

\*

Kalinin, the president of the republic, first took his place alone at the long table of the presidium. He received a long and hearty welcome from all present. An exceedingly retiring man, who still wears the black "Rubarska" or peasant's shirt. A good-natured smiling face. He delivered a short opening speech. Amongst the delegates was a man with a great beard and long hair, in peasant costume, reminding one of Tolstoy; a slender brown youth from Azerbaijan; an elegantly dressed woman comrade from Petrograd. Then appeared a middle aged woman, with somewhat uncertain steps, gazing around in an embarrassed manner; she wore a large square shawl, as our peasants wear them. She sat down, smiled, and exchanged a few words with her neighbours. The whole had an air of admirable simplicity and naturalness. This I observed, and considered. She must be a factory worker. A few years ago she was nothing; to-day she sits in the presidency, the supreme assembly in a country of over one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants. Exactly opposite her sits Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, representative of the vanquished. He incorporates the past, she the future. I admit I was moved, and we are not easily moved.

#### Vladivostok's greetings.

After the presidium was seated, Kalinin called upon the delegate from Vladivostok to address the meeting. The final victory over the vassals of the Entente has restored Vladivostok to Russia. The last intruders have been banished from Russian soil by this last victory of the Soviet troops. It is scarcely more than three months since the Red troops ousted Merkuloff's soldiers from this town, which forms the main eastern point of the trans-Siberian railway, and is at the same time a port long coveted by the Japanese.

The Vladivostok delegate who was warmly welcomed by the others, then spoke. What had he to say? He brought the customary greetings. My thoughts wander. How many vain hopes of its opponents has this wonderful republic of the Communists scattered to the winds! Do you remember how Petlura ravaged the South of the country years ago, how Mamutoff's cavalry almost reached the gates of Moscow, and Wrangel pressed forward into the Crimea? There were many who counted the days and hours which the republic still had to live; but what really happened was that all who butted against the wall broke their heads. And there were not a few of them—they came from all parts of the world: French, Poles, Finns, Greeks, Roumanians, Germans, Czechs, Americans, English—all with the object of crushing the only fatherland of the international proletariat. They did not succeed.

The taking of Vladivostok set the seal on the great work of defense and liberation. All invading armies were beaten. The army of defense of the revolution is to-day a hundred, a thousand times better than before. It is the model of a good army, not merely on account of its arms and discipline, but above all on account of its moral and political power. It is the army of "comrades", of fellow citizens, of men armed with two weapons: with steel and with clearness of aim. No army in the world can conquer this one. No flag can wave long in opposition to the red flag, let the diplomatists who want to open the Black Sea to warships strive as they will, conspire as they will; the army of the revolution is unconquerable!

### The official speech.

Kameniev ascended the small rostrum to deliver the official speech. A touching scene ensued. A workman in one of the galleries called out: "Comrades, let us send a greeting to comrade Lenin!" The whole audience sprang to their feet and applauded continuously, as if they were calling for the comrade who should have delivered the official speech, who had been expected, but who was still suffering too much from nervous exhaustion to be able to come. The only part of the audience which remained sitting were the diplomatic representatives, who remained unmoved by the enthusiastic greeting sent to the leader of the revolution. The applause changed to singing. The "Internationale" was sung by all present, to slow time, almost like a lamentation.

On this the diplomats also rose from their seats, etiquette demanding it. In the midst of this spontaneous and heartfelt manifestation the representatives of the old bourgeois world made a cold, almost ridiculous impression.

But Lenin has possession of the hearts of all. All look to him.

### Kameniev.

Kameniev, the mayor of Moscow, is one of the most conspicuous personalities of the Russian revolution and of the Communist Party, a member of the Executive Committee of the party, diplomatic representative of Soviet Russia, people's commissary, an administrator—a man of theory and practice alike. A typical representative of these wonderful leaders of the revolution, who are adapted for taking up any position, real encyclopedists, present everywhere, bearing prison and banishment with admirable fortitude of soul, and finding—more's the pity!—only too few imitators among the masses.

Kameniev is a powerful speaker, carrying his audience with him; and on this occasion he delivered a speech worthy of Lenin—only perhaps somewhat different in form. The speech is of tremendous political importance, it expressed the ideas of the government.

The official speech lasted three hours, and was frequently marked with applause, especially in those parts accentuating the capacity of revolutionary Russia to resist every enemy, and with every weapon. It was a political speech of the highest order. It was permeated with tangible strength of will, determination, and power. No deceptive power, not the "power" of an hysterical, who never possessed a definite idea and therefore changes his ideas a hundred times, but the power of men possessing matured and definite ideas, men not obliged to call upon God, for they have faith in themselves.

I shall make no resumé of the speech. It suffices to indicate the most important points, those which relate mainly to foreign politics, and which—as expressed by an interpreter—were "directed to the diplomatist's box".

When speaking of the fundamental concessions granted to bourgeois powers, in order to induce these to adopt a policy of international peace and of agreement with Russia, the speaker strongly condemned those who—defeated in their policies of war and blockade—now imagine that they can subjugate the Soviet republic by the wiles and deceptions of commercial and diplomatic policy. With great emphasis he said: "We have made much too many concessions at the various international conferences, especially at Genoa, and these have led to no results. We shall make no fresh concessions, on the contrary, we shall withdraw those already made."

The conference of Lausanne, and the attitude taken there by the representatives of the Entente and of Angora, gave the speaker an opportunity of proving that the freedom of the Straits for the war-ships of the western powers would be nothing else than an open door to reaction, an aid to armed attacks on communist Russia. But the Bolsheviks are not so easily taken by surprise, for they represent the sole real moral and material force, whilst the bourgeois world is in a phase of decay. This is amply demonstrated by the fact that Russia is the only country able to maintain a stable and permanent government. The bourgeoisie is forced—as in Italy—to rebel against its own laws, to murder its own men, as in Germany and Poland. Despite inevitable uncertainties, and adaptations, the soviet republic was never so strong as it is to-day. We are able to consider the possibility of reducing our Red Army, while at the same time increasing its organic defensive power.

Kameniev then spoke of the domestic and political and economic situation, regarding trade and industry. His report was unanimously accepted, without discussion, and with great applause.

The Great Theatre empties gradually. The square surrounding the building, and the side streets, are ostentatiously occupied by extensive armed forces, mounted and on foot. No one can approach the building in which the 10th All Russian congress is assembled, if he cannot show the required pass.

Two reflectors illuminate the adjoining streets, and especially the windows and roofs of the adjacent houses. It is cold. The ground is frozen hard. The pedestrians quicken their pace. One of us remarks naively: "They do not seem to feel themselves so very secure, or they would not take such elaborate precautions!"

It is naturally an Italian who says this. In Italy the precautions are always taken afterwards. Those who feel themselves secure boast of their security, even if they risk destroying it by so doing. But here, the revolutionists have learnt to be cautious, even and especially at the moment of greatest security. They are well aware that the enemy never sleeps. They are well aware that he does not hesitate to grasp at any means which appear to him to serve his own interests. Prudence and foresight are more than the right of the revolutionists, they are their sacred duty. The Russian communists carry out this duty with the utmost conscientiousness. I only we in Italy had carried it out as conscientiously when the situation demanded prudence and caution from us—instead of being over-confident and thoughtless... . . . During the night the Red Guard watches over the sleeping city . . .

## A Letter from a Russian Worker

Not by words alone, but also by deeds.

These lines were written by a workman from the Ural. They were read at the IV. All-Russian press congress.

A few days ago I happened to be crossing the railway track at the Yekaterinburg station.

Some workmen were clearing the snow from the track. Among these, on the sixth track, I suddenly observed a man whose face seemed familiar to me. When I looked more closely, I recognized this man as comrade Trotzky.

At first I could not believe my eyes, but then I thought:

Why should comrade Trotzky not help to clean the track? He is the head of the workers' army, and must set the example to the whole army. It is just he who is continually saying that the work of restoring traffic must be aided forward before all, by those who are in office and do the political work,—and it is just he who should be the first to change words into deeds. . .

When I saw how skillfully comrade Trotzky was handling his wooden shovel, I thought to myself:

There is the real leader of the working people and of the workers' army. He is not only helping the Russia of the workers and peasants by his pen to protect themselves against hunger and cold, but by actual deeds. Our leaders know not only how to command, or to direct, they know how to work shoulder to shoulder with the plain workmen. With such leaders Soviet Russia is unconquerable. . .

I forgot where I wished to go, and took up a shovel, like comrade Trotzky, to contribute my small share to the great work of fighting on the new front, the front of work.

Ivan Gayev, (Workman).

(From the *Uralsky Rabotchy*. Feb. 28, 1923.)

## IN THE R. I. L. U.

### Instructions on the collection of dues

(R.I.L.U.) 1. The national central bodies and those organizations belonging to no national central, shall pay 1 per cent of all subscriptions received by the treasurers of the local organizations to the R.I.L.U.

2. The independent organizations affiliated as a whole to the R.I.L.U. shall pay to the International Propaganda Committees a monthly contribution by the purchase of propaganda stamps, uniform for all countries, to be issued to the followers of the R.I.L.U. at a fixed price.

3. The price of the propaganda stamp corresponds to the minimum working wage for half an hour's work in each country concerned. Cheaper propaganda stamps will be issued in accordance with the special decision of the executive bureau.

4. The income derived from the sale of these stamps is divided as follows:

5 per cent of the total sum is to be paid into the treasury of the executive bureau of the R.I.L.U.,

50 per cent is to be employed for the work of the propaganda committee, of the branch of industry in question,

45 per cent remains for the requirements of the separate countries.



5. The executive bureau furnishes the organizations concerned with a number of propaganda stamps corresponding to the number of followers of the R.I.L.U.

6. The national centrals and opposition centrals, on receipt of the stamps, shall regularly provide their members with the required number of stamps, and the members shall each month settle with their central.

7. The national centres and the national committees of the minorities shall, every three months, furnish a precise report to the R.I.L.U. as to the sale of stamps stating the number of followers of the R.I.L.U., classifying them according to the separate branches of industry.

8. The executive bureau keeps an account of the income derived from the sale of stamps booked according to the separate branches of industry, for every country.

Organization Department of the R.I.L.U.

## APPEALS

### The National Committee of the German Shop Stewards' Council to the striking Miners of France

Berlin February 17. 1923.

To our Comrades, the striking Mine Workers of France!

The German proletariat follows with admiration your heroic and courageous struggle against the miserable conditions which the mining capitalists wish to force upon you. The German proletariat is conscious of its task, which is to show its solidarity with its struggling French brothers. It knows, that the defeat of the French proletariat is a defeat for the German workers; on the other hand, your victory is also our victory.

We believe with you, that the hour for international action has now arrived. We will do everything to justify your confidence in the German working class.

To the united struggle of the German and French proletariat against the German and French exploiting class!  
Down with Cuno-Stinnes and Poincaré-Loucheur!  
Down with the Franco-German Mining Trust!  
United fight against hunger!

United fight of the German and French proletariat for the reconstruction of a world ravaged by predatory imperialism!  
Long live the unity of the German and French proletariat!

The National Committee of the German Shop Stewards' Council.

*I. A. Grothe.*

### Against the Threat of War!

On the 1. August 1914, Poincaré had posters put up with the inscription "mobilization does not mean war".

And the very next day war was declared.

In 1923 the same man, at the behest of the Iron Works Committee and of imperialist reaction, ordered the occupation of the Ruhr area, and at the same time, declared that 8,000 men would suffice to carry out this police operation.

But he was obliged to admit to disquieted American diplomacy, through his ambassador in Washington, that 60,000 men have penetrated into the occupied territory.

According to his words, there is to be no excessive extension of the occupation.

"Neither a reservist nor a railwayman will be mobilized!" So ran the declaration he had spread by his press a short while ago.

And to-day there are already thousands of railwaymen and post office officials on the reserve list, who have received military orders calling them up to immediate army service.

This signifies individual mobilization of small groups, carried out quite secretly, so that public opinion may not be disquieted. But by to-morrow the situation will have become worse. We are in a position to state that M. Maginot is quietly preparing the mobilization of several classes of reservists.

The troops under the control of the military governor of Paris have received the alarm and are prepared for war.

A criminal coup is being prepared in the darkness. Workers, be warned!

The imperialisms combatting one another are fighting more madly and savagely every day. To save their own interests, the Anglo-American, the French and the German capitalists are

prepared to evoke a fresh storm, to plunge the world once more into a bloody massacre of the peoples.

Once again we are threatened with the immediate danger of war.

In Germany, chauvinism has been hounded on to such a pitch of excitement that it may at any moment emit the spark which will explode the heaped up powder. The German people is once more seized with the frenzy of Pan-German nationalism, and the instinct of revenge awakens on all sides.

In France the over-excited nationalist bands are driving the country to a terrible fate.

The occupation of the Ruhr is an open provocation.

The Ruhr valley and the occupied territory in the Rhine country must be evacuated without delay!

The unity between the workers and soldiers of both countries, the international unity of all workers, realized in class fraternity, must save the threatened peace of the world.

There must be no distinction made between the exploitation by the French or German industrial kings, no distinction between Krupp and Schneider, nor between Stinnes and Loucheur, nor between their agents Cuno and Poincaré.

These wretched speculators want to seal their agreements and consolidate their positions with the blood of the workers.

Let us confront war, which signifies enslavement and poverty, by preparing for the revolution which will emancipate the proletariat of all countries!

This is the slogan issued by the Committee of Action which, from the very first, has been determinedly combatting the Ruhr occupation, and the concealed proceedings of the reactionaries and adventurers holding governmental power.

Poincaré's mad policy will spread confusion and disorganization into the Ruhr industry. Instead of furthering industrial development, instead of depriving the Franco-German profiteers of their gains and utilizing these for the reparations, this policy will dry up the source of wealth which proceeds from peaceful work.

Our campaign of agitation, denouncing this scandal to the world, has already borne fruit.

Public opinion, hitherto misguided, is reconsidering the matter on every side, and proclaiming its desire to prevent the perpetration of this crime. It refuses to be drawn again into a catastrophe, to again face the dangers of war.

If the workers have again to shed their blood, then they will only shed it for the sacred cause of their own emancipation. For them there is but one slogan:

Peace or revolution!

Either that peace which can only be attained by an understanding among the masses of the people themselves, or the revolution which frees them from those guilty of the war.

Workers of France!

Proclamations alone are not fighting. Events will soon force you to take up the defence.

To-morrow you will be called upon to defend your fatherland, your native country, and then you will once more march forward and die for the captains of industry who, having hitherto lived on your sweat, now demand your skins.

Either that, or you will, in full consciousness of the part you play, and of your organized power, regard the actual calling up of several classes of reservists—the actual starting point of imminent war danger—as the signal for a general strike, and will act accordingly.

The Central Committee of Action against Reaction.

CGTU. (General Unitarian Labor Confederation)  
Communist Party of France.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### International School-Week for the Russian Children

In accordance with the decisions of the IV World Congress of the 3. International and the Executive Session of the International Workers' Relief, held in January of this year, an *International School Week* will be held in the middle of April. During this week there will be conducted, in common with pacifist-humanitarian groups of the bourgeoisie, a great campaign for the children being brought up in the Homes of the International Workers' Relief, and by means of wide-spread collections, money, school and educational materials and clothing will be obtained for these children. The communist women, youth and children's groups will take a prominent part in this activity.