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The International Relief Action of the World Proletariat, 1922.

By *Willy Münzenberg*.

Due to the resistance of the Social Democracy throughout the capitalist world, the earnest efforts of the Communist International to halt the ever-growing capitalist reaction and the misery of the working masses in every country with a *united proletarian front*, ended in failure. Today, more than ever, the working class is torn into many parties and groups. The inner conflicts have grown more bitter. Particularly in the Central European countries has the venomous anti-Communist campaign on the part of the Social Democratic leaders and press, broken loose.

And yet, in spite of this unfortunate division in the ranks of the proletariat, the last year has brought with it a united action on the part of the workers of the earth,—*the famine relief for the famished workers and peasants of Russia*.

Due to the intensification of the political and economic crises in Central Europe (Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, etc.) and also to the fact that the coming Fourth World Congress of the Communist International has brought with it important and more imminent political and tactical questions on the order of the day, the Communist press is not able to devote as much attention to the famine relief question as it did up to the present. Some comrades may for this reason be led to believe that the relief campaign has come to an end altogether. This is a mistake. *The famine relief campaign is still on*, and as evidence of its strength we may point to the fact that in spite of the temporary abatement of the press-campaign, the successful results achieved in the various countries are almost unaltered. Indeed, the direct money returns to the Berlin headquarters have increased considerably during the past few months.

Firstly, the fact that the first elementary aid for the starving workers and peasants of Russia was furnished by the broad proletarian masses of Central Europe even before they were called upon to do so by any party or trade union organization. In Austria as well as in many factories in Germany, the workers organized collections for the starving Russian brothers on their own initiative.

A second telling feature of this campaign is its magnitude. It is the first time in the history of the international proletarian movement that an action of solidarity reaches beyond one enthusiastic outburst, beyond one collection, and stretches for

months and years. It will soon be one year and a half that the International Workers' Relief has been going on in an undiminished tempo.

There is today no country in Europe which has not contributed its share towards the amelioration of the untold suffering on the part of the 40,000,000 starving Russians.

In every country of the Western hemisphere, famine relief committees were formed.

It is a characteristic fact that from the very beginning, the initiative for the organization and continuation of the famine relief campaign was taken up by the *Foreign Relief Committee*, which was created by the Communist International.

The Second and 2½ Internationals with all their parties, as well as the Amsterdam Trade Union International solemnly announced their support of the famine relief campaign in appeals and manifests.

In the months of July, August and September, some parties belonging to these Internationals showed signs of an effort to fulfill their promises. But after a few weeks, most of them ran short of energy.

The Amsterdam Trade Union International persevered the longest. Only recently, this organization made a clothing shipment to Russia, worth 500,000 Dutch gulden.

But in proportion to their membership, and their boasted political power and influence, the Social Democratic parties gave but little, regardless of the fact that the appeals of the Trade Union International unequivocally pointed out that the question of supporting the Russian Soviet Republic was a matter of vital interest to the workers of all parties and tendencies, in every country, *for the fate of Soviet Russia will determine the fate of the international proletariat*.

The Communist parties and trade unions indisputably lead in famine relief work.

Only a few small, so-called "left-radical" groups considered the relief efforts of the international proletariat as a bit of detrimental philanthropy. These tiny, isolated groups exerted and could exert no pressure upon their respective governments, to furnish effective relief to starving Russia. On the contrary; these confused phraseologists have shrunk into insignificant groups, and have become avowed anti-Russian and anti-Soviet agitators.

Within the various Communist sections too, some pessimistic voices could be heard. Individual comrades feared lest an extensive famine and economic relief campaign injure the usual party work and weaken the political revolutionary struggles of the workers. These comrades apparently forgot that the new economic orientation forced upon Soviet Russian by world-

political forces, and the decisions of the III. World Congress of the Communist International, to create great mass-parties, would also affect the methods of a solidarity-action such as the famine relief-campaign. As soon as it became apparent that the process of the Proletarian Revolution would be a slower and more difficult one than was expected in 1918—1919, consistent conclusions had to be drawn for the political struggle as well as for the relief-action for Soviet Russia.

The Central point of all aid to Soviet Russia on the part of the Western proletariat was, of course, political action, and constant, unyielding pressure upon the various governments for the recognition of and the resumption of trade with Soviet Russia. But with its sad, economic situation Soviet Russia can not (and certainly could not under the weight of the famine catastrophe) wait until the political pressure of the individual parties is great enough to compel the bourgeois governments of the West to help her. On the other hand, every amelioration of her suffering, every gain in economic power, however slight, strengthens Soviet Russia's position against the capitalist robbers of the West, enables her to reject any and all contracts particularly unfavorable to her (the Italian agreement), and to compel foreign capitalist exploiters to yield more (the recent English agreement).

From the very outset, the relief action started by the Communist International displayed the tendency to strengthen Soviet Russia's economic position by aiding in her economic reconstruction, outside of the immediate famine relief furnished to the starving workers and peasants of the Volga region. Sceptics despaired and feared that the several hundred thousand Communists would never be able to furnish practical and effective relief to the famine sufferers; they considered the whole action as a mere agitatorial demonstration on the part of the Communist International.

What a mistake!

The relief action has proved that small parties and organizations can, through capable and well-organized propaganda, get non-Communist circles to aid the famine relief-campaign.

The results achieved by some Communist sections are astonishing. The small *Communist Party of Holland* (a few thousand members only) collected through its Relief Committee 400,000 gulden in cash, and 40,000 gulden worth of clothing,—or 440,000 gulden in all. The still smaller *Belgian Communist Party* collected about 300,000 Belgian francs, and shipped many carloads of clothing, etc.

All in all, about 2 million dollars (or 8 billion German marks), were collected through the Foreign Relief Committee and sent to the famine sufferers in Russia. With this money, 30,000 tons of food, medicaments, tools and machines were bought and shipped to Soviet Russia. *Several hundred thousand people were saved from a hideous and sure death.*

The famine relief action is still on. During the coming winter, 20,000 Russian children will be fed by the Foreign Relief Committee.

Of yet greater importance are the achievements of the Foreign Relief on the field of productive and economic reconstruction.

The Workers' Relief has taken over many estates in Kazan, one estate near Moscow, and a large agricultural enterprise in Perm. Six months have passed and already excellent crops were taken in. Then there are the many fisheries on the lower Volga, smaller industrial plants, a shoe factory in Moscow, and building repairs, street paving, etc. that were taking over. At present there are about 25 to 30 thousand workers employed in the agricultural and industrial enterprises of the International Workers Relief in Russia.

The *International Workers' Relief Loan* at present being launched, is guaranteed by the Russian Soviet Government, by special decree, and is intended to improve and extend the enterprises of the I.W.R. in Russia. No one believed that Soviet Russia could be saved through the famine or economic relief; no one was so naive as really to believe, that the political, revolutionary struggle of the Communist parties would be weakened by the economic relief campaign for Soviet Russia.

The proletarian economic relief for Soviet Russia must supplement the political support of Soviet Russia by the Communist parties, as an effective and practical aid.

The International Worker's Relief for Soviet Russia.

By Spectator.

The sums necessary to carry out the productive economic relief are so large in comparison with the needs for pure famine relief, that ordinary methods of collecting money will prove neither sufficient nor practical. Such large sums as are needed

in this case, follow not feelings of brotherly love or class solidarity, but, as long as the capitalist system exists, they obey the laws of economics. That means, that this money can be raised only if the individual factor of self-preservation is combined with the social motive of the contributor. On the other hand, the productive application of the money creates the condition that the moneys received must bear interest and be repaid. Only from this standpoint can we justify productive economic relief. Every plow sent by the International Workers' Relief to Russia should be able to produce more grain than could have been bought on the world market for the cost of the plow. For these reasons the International Workers' Relief, with the approval of the official representatives of Russia, decided on the 5th of August to issue an *International Workers' Loan* which is to finance the productive enterprises of the Foreign Relief Committee in Russia.

Does this loan constitute a political or an economic action?

Put in this form, the question can not be answered. Today the workers' loan has an usually dialectic appearance; it offers two views for both of which we must be prepared. Varying with the country, the loan campaign can start as an economic action, and later, depending upon the attitude of the particular government or of other workers' parties, evolve into a political action. Or, it may set in directly as a political propaganda action and end as an economic financial action. In either case we must keep in mind the financial end as the determining factor of the loan.

The activity of the International Workers' Relief during the past year and a half has met with positive success. The I.W.R. has learned and proved that in certain favorable regions, productive work may be profitably carried on in Soviet Russia even with limited means. The International Workers' Loan thus acquires an economic character.

The size of the loan was determined by two factors: first, the buying power of the money, in the various countries included in the loan, and secondly, by the actual paying investment opportunities of the I.W.R. The latter factor should not be underestimated. Numerous opportunities to invest money in unprofitable enterprises have been offered to the I.W.R. . . . Much less frequent are the opportunities where the profitableness of the investment is certain or at least probable. This is due not only to the general Russian conditions, but more so to the nature of the enterprises of the I.W.R., which are communal, Socialistic-enterprises.

Such enterprises require a totally different orientation of those employed in them, a different working discipline, and other methods in the relations between higher and lower officials than are usual in capitalistic enterprises. The number of people capable of managing a capitalistic undertaking in Russia, is very large,—as long as the necessary capital is there. But the number of really capable managers and organizers of Socialist enterprises is surprisingly small throughout the world. Exceptions like Robert Owen, capable of combining social idealism with business ability are very rare. The Workers' Relief Committee was aware of the fact that its main task,—production on a Socialist basis—found a greater draw-back in the lack of capable organizers and managers than in the lack of money.

The I.W.R. could have set the first loan at several million dollars. The fact that collections alone netted more than \$1,000,000 in a little over a year justifies the assumption that a loan with interest would yield several times that amount.

The loan is issued in every sort of valuta and can be paid in all currencies. Thus, in countries with a depreciating currency, the small saver has the opportunity of protecting his money against depreciation which he cannot avoid in the banks of his own country. The rate of interest in these countries may be comparatively small (5% for Germany) since the valuta guarantee brings with it a higher rate of exchange. In other countries the rate of interest must correspond to the customary rate in that country. The redemption of the bonds may be demanded after the 1st of January 1933, after six months notice.

It is of special interest to note that the expenditure of the loan will be under the supervision and control of the Russian Government. (In the Moscow Central Committee of the I.W.R. the four representatives of the Foreign Relief Committee are supplemented by three government and trade union representatives). Moreover, the Soviet of People's Commissars decided on the 3rd of October to assume the guarantee for interest and repayment. The decree reads as follows:

Decision of the Soviet of People's Commissars, regarding the first International Workers' Loan:

"The Soviet of the People's Commissars hereby decides:

1. The Workers' Loan issued by the industrial and trading corporation, *International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia*, with headquarters in Berlin, in denominations of one American dollar

each, and totalling the sum of one million dollars, bearing interest of 5% and the right to redeem after the 1st of January 1933, is hereby guaranteed.

2. In addition, the payment of interest and redemption of the loan bonds after the said date, is also guaranteed by the property of the industrial and trading corporation, *International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia*, both within and outside of Russia.

Signed for the Soviet of the People's Commissars:

A. U. Rykov, V. Smolianov, M. Glasser, C. Kameniev.

Through this guarantee the first workers' loan assumes the character of an historical economic event. With this loan, a currency actually recognized by the Russian Government appears on the international money market for the first time since the Revolution.

The International Workers' Loan bonds are intended primarily for those circles in sympathy with Soviet Russia, that is,—Trade Unions, Cooperatives, Hospitals, political organizations. In the practical propaganda work only these circles will be directly approached.

Yet, we already see today that a loan guaranteed by the Russian Soviet Government also finds response in petty bourgeois and intellectual circles, where apparently, more confidence is attached to the signature of the *Sovnarkom* (Soviet of People's Commissars) than to those of the great diplomats of the European countries crushed under the burden of debts. This is easily understood in countries like Germany and Austria.

In other countries like the United States, the lively interest and confidence in Soviet Russia, displayed by the petty-bourgeois and the farmer, speaks well for the future of Russia as a great economic power.

The approximate distribution of the \$1,000,000 loan, among the various countries, as based upon the results obtained by the famine relief action up to the present will be as follows:

North America and Canada	\$ 500,000
South America	50,000
England	40,000
France	80,000
Italy	50,000
Czecho-Slovakia	70,000
Sweden	40,000
Norway	30,000
Denmark	30,000
Holland	30,000
Switzerland	30,000
Germany	30,000
Belgium	10,000

The International Workers' Loan will be issued by the *for Soviet Russia*, which was created by the I.W.R. and which has its headquarters in Berlin, *Unter den Linden 11*. The establishment of such a corporation was a practical necessity. The stock of this corporation plays no role as a source of capital, which was intentionally set at 1 million paper marks. The actual working capital is now to be raised through the loan. The shares are in the hands of the national subcommittees of the I.W.R., and the present delegates of the national committees to the international congress.

It is superfluous to say that notwithstanding its form the *Workers' Relief Corporation* has nothing in common with capitalistic profit making. A special decision on this question by the Executive Bureau of the I.W.R. expressly says that the shareholders and committee and council members of the corporation have no claims upon personal benefit or enrichment from the gains of the corporation. The entire profit will go towards enlarging the enterprises of the I.W.R., inasmuch as it is not used to pay interest and redeem the loan bonds. As soon as it was announced that interest will be paid on the I.W.R. loan bonds, many Communists and sympathizers raised objections to this, in view of the fact that in Russia, the famine is still raging and claiming its victims. Hence, every bond bears the request to all Communist and sympathizing bond-holders to waive all interest during the first few years of the loan, for the benefit of the children's homes maintained by the I.W.R.

Another important circumstance is the fact that the bonds can be redeemed only after 10 years. This might hinder many people from investing their savings. For this reason, an agreement was reached between the Soviet Government and the *Guaranty Bank of the East* in Berlin, by which this bank is willing to lend the bond-holder of the International Workers' Loan, a sum not exceeding 80% of the face value of the loan.

The placing of this loan is altogether within the domain of the possible. *Its success is a matter of honor to the International*. Its failure would undoubtedly bring with it political disadvantages. A little effort in every country will assure success.

The issue of the first International Workers' Loan for Soviet Russia marks a new epoch in the development of Socialism. It is true, it is only a transitional epoch; but so is the entire state of equilibrium that at present exists in the world. Historically speaking, this is correct, but we must keep in mind that a transition of so vast a magnitude and of such great world-historical significance will last years, decades.

For this reason, men are needed who comprehend and interpret the problems and tasks of the transition period as those of a living generation.

The International Workers' Loan, which is to be repaid on the 1st January, 1933, is the first of its kind, but it will surely not be the last one.

The Workers' Loan is to be raised on the principle of the united proletarian front. That will, of course, not prevent the enemy from the right and the political infants from the left to take advantage of this loan and use it as a pretext for their attacks. We shall hear enough cries of "Treason to the Revolution!"; we shall hear enough of ridicule and venomous epithets . . .

But high above all this noise and hatred, one hard fact claims priority:—*Revolutionary necessity!*

Loans to Soviet Russia are today an historical necessity. And since the country of the Revolution must have this loan today, and no one is willing to give it except ourselves,—we must, as revolutionary Communists, furnish it. Let not the disproportion between needs and means scare us!

In this historical necessity lies the guarantee for the success of this action.

The Proletarian Reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

By Max Barthel.

The growing pauperization of the proletariat hinders the money collections for Soviet Russia. Europe itself is suffering from a starvation catastrophe. The signs of an immense crisis are already to be seen, and millions of workers are threatened by death.

It is not that we fail to realize this sad truth that we have determined to continue the campaign for the economic relief of Soviet Russia, but *because* we are alive to the imminent world crisis we are strengthened in our determination to use all our energy for the proletarian reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

Capitalism is as keen in sensing any danger that threatens its existence or its profits, as a bird of prey. Most of the attempts of foreign capitalists to conclude trading agreements with Soviet Russia arise from this prey-instinct. Russia's natural treasures are what they crave. The "reconstruction" of Soviet Russia by the capitalists constitutes a great danger for the world proletariat. The workers of the world are in a position to prevent this, and begin with proletarian reconstruction. Soviet Russia is not the fatherland of the capitalists; it is the fatherland of the international working class.

Motivated by these sentiments German workers have begun with productive economic relief as early as Summer 1921, when the Russian peasants' cry for help disturbed the conscience of the world bourgeoisie. The workers of the *National Automobile Company* of Berlin, have, with the aid of three smaller factories, contributed an auto-truck fully equipped. At their factory meetings they decided to contribute a day's wages, and reached an agreement with the firm, by which the latter sold them an automobile at cost price. This truck is today worth 2,300,000 marks.

This one example of the Berlin workers led workers of other factories to do likewise. The workers of the *Elite Works*, near Chemnitz, sent 14 knitting machines, valued at about 1,000,000 marks, to Russia. These workers knew that with bread and sympathy alone the famine could not be overcome. They knew that the chief task of the proletarian relief action consisted in setting the factories into action again, and in increasing production so as to defeat the famine once and for all. The 14 machines contributed by the workers of Saxony left Stettin with the steamer *National* on the 9th of May 1922. When they arrived in Russia these machines were put to work in Moscow to produce sacks and gloves. But in September they were removed and sent to Tzaritzin to furnish work to the fishers of that district during the winter months.

Six other machines were sent to Perm in order to organize the home industry in that province; 2 others to the Childrens' Home in Samara; 2 to the Childrens' Home in the Crimea; the 13th machine was sent to the Childrens' Home in Tcheboksary. The 14th and last machine was unfortunately damaged in transportation. As soon as it is repaired it will be set to work.

In the struggle against epidemics the workers of the factory *Sanitaria* in Ludwigsburg near Stuttgart contributed 90 epidemic syringes, the money for which they raised by working

overtime. 150 workers (men and women) worked 750 hours overtime. Only three workers refused to participate in this relief work; the foremen and clerks however, contributed their share of work. The firm sold these injectors to the workers at a 20% reduction and itself contributed a set of injectors. The value of this contribution is 20,000 marks.

The workers of the dairy machine factory Roth in Stuttgart contributed 5 milk separators. 90 workers and helpers participated in this relief work. The machines are worth 100,000 marks.

With 700 votes against 20 the workers of the machine factory *Sürth* on the Rhine, decided to contribute through overtime an ice-machine for a Russian hospital. In spite of considerable resistance on the part of the capitalists (who never forget their profits), the workers in all these cases carried out their productive relief work to the last blow of the hammer, and sent delegates to present these gifts to the Russian workers. Of the 700 workers of this factory, 537 participated in this "Sobotnik", contributing 3,417 hours overtime. The value of the machines is 2,500,000 marks. The 15 workers of the firm *Kästner* in Leipzig (among them the owner of the factory), worked 28 hours overtime each, manufacturing medicine chests, which they then exchanged for medical instruments. Their contribution may be valued at 300,000 marks.

Just one more example offered by the workers and clerks of the large newspaper publishing firm *Scherl*, contributed 12,000 marks worth of medicaments and 1,000 marks in cash. They sent these medicaments to the *Putilov Works* in Petrograd.

An interesting psychological feature in this productive relief work is,—the *factory to factory relief*. The above is not an exhaustive list of contributions or contributors. All that is intended by the above examples is to show that the German workers have effectively begun the proletarian reconstruction and productive relief, which they will continue.

What is possible in Germany is and must be possible in other countries.

The extent of the productive relief for Soviet Russia on the part of the German workers is also clearly demonstrated by the two collections which amounted to 18 million marks.

But the workers of other countries have also started the productive relief campaign. The American workers sent a tractor group to Russia, through the *Friends of Soviet Russia*, to raise agricultural production in the province of Perm. News from South Africa tell of the workers' activities in the field of productive relief. In Switzerland, in France, in Italy, and in other countries this question is being discussed and will, we hope, lead to positive results.

The *Subotniks* are intended to aid the Russian workers in reconstructing their proletarian state. A world *Subotnik* of all workers of the world will then follow. The proletarian reconstruction of Soviet Russia is the beginning of the proletarian reconstruction of the world.

Productive relief is in its essence *class struggle*.

Every machine sent to Soviet Russia by the proletariat constitutes a defense against the fortresses of world capitalism.

The Productive Enterprises of the International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia.

By *W. Oehring* (Berlin).

Productive relief grew out of famine relief.

Today already we see that the best results are to be sought for, not in the industrial enterprises but in agriculture. The shortage in raw materials, machines and tools, as well as in trained personnel has to a certain degree been overcome. But what is more difficult to overcome is the general market crisis caused by the enormous impoverishment of the country, and by the absence of buyers for the products of small industry.

As to the heavy industries, the International Workers' Relief does not possess the financial means necessary for such enterprises. Hence, the main field of activity for our productive relief work in the future lies in creating export industries capable of producing for the world market. In Russia proper, however, agriculture will constitute the main field of activity.

1. Moscow: The headquarters of the International Workers' Relief in Russia are in Moscow. Outside of its regular famine and children's relief work, the Moscow bureau runs a restaurant in its main building. It also maintains a *House Repairing Squad* consisting of 50 men, a transport division, 5 automobile trucks, a shoe factory and the agricultural estate *Morozovo*. The shoe factory was taken over last March, in a completely dilapidated condition. Within 6 months the shoe factory was put into working order. The necessary machines, tools and raw

materials were mostly, furnished by the German workers' relief section. Work was begun in September.

The *Morozovo* estate is in the hands of the Workers' Relief since the Spring, 1922. Originally there was an agricultural school commune on this estate, which was supported by the I. W. R. on a purely famine relief basis. Although productive relief work was only begun later on, the harvest results this year are very satisfactory.

2. Petrograd: In this city the International Workers' Relief, upon the advice of the Petrograd Economic Council, took over a *building repair unit*. Within 3 months it was transformed into a very active enterprise, with many departments. The Petrograd Workers' Relief also carries on street paving, employing 51 men in this work. Its first undertaking in this kind of work consisted in paving the piers, covering an area of 3000 sq. m. Outside of these it runs a mechanical shop, where drinking cups, cans, pails, tools and instruments of various sorts are being manufactured, and a soap factory which produces 1000 puds of soap monthly. The Petrograd section of the Workers' Relief also runs its own restaurant.

3. Kazan: In this province, the I. W. R. has rented 3 large estates,—*Sakharovsk*, *Kornakhov* and *Izmeri*. When they were taken over these three estates were in a miserable condition. Today however, they are supplied with necessary material and stock. With the 3 tractors and 1 Dieselmotor, almost the whole arable area was sown this year. Already in the first year, a grain surplus of 25,000 puds was achieved. The cattle division provided the children's homes of Kazan with milk.

4. Tcheliabinsk: The I. W. R. has rented the *Pinagevo* estate near Tcheliabinsk for 25 years. This estate has 3000 acres of land and is the largest of the I. W. R. undertakings. The first harvest on the *Pinagevo* enabled the I. W. R. to carry out repairs and general improvements.

5. Tzaritzin: In Tzaritzin, the I. W. R. has reorganized the fisheries. This huge and complicated undertaking also began with pure famine relief, without independent paying means. None the less, this spring's catch netted a surplus of 60,000 puds of fish, which were dried and smoked in Tzaritzin. 50% of this surplus was sent to other famine regions, while the rest was sold. The short activity of the productive relief has restored the Volga fisheries as an important and growing economic factor.

6. Perm: 21 American tractors are busy near the city of Perm in the Urals. These are being run by workers and engineers who came along with them. The local Soviet organs which have complete control of this work have expressed satisfaction at the results obtained in the first year.

7. Miscellaneous Enterprises: Besides the above named enterprises, the I. W. R. runs other undertakings of a productive nature, which however were not planned as profitable, and whose economic future cannot as yet be determined. These arose out of the necessity of feeding starving people who, were so exhausted that they could perform only partial work. 6000 wood-workers were thus restored to productive capacity, so that the I. W. R. today has 150,000 cords of wood ready for transportation. Near Kazon too, the I. W. R. runs a series of small shops where boxes and barrels used in shipping fish, are made.

By no means do, we wish to conceal the difficulties under which the productive relief is laboring.

But a few months of experience has shown that productive work on the basis of proletarian economic relief is possible. In complete harmony with Russian economic authorities, the International Workers' Relief has found the most lucrative field of productive activity to be in the development of the large estates named above, and in the taking over of other like enterprises, which are very numerous in Russia. The proletariat of Western Europe and America will furnish the necessary modern machines and supplies, as well as seed grain, and trained business management.

The Cultural Propaganda of the International Workers' Relief.

By *Arthur Holitscher*.

The important tasks which the International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia will have to fulfill in the near future demand the extension of propaganda for the purpose of attracting broader circles from all classes and callings. We must approach such personalities and organizations which though differing from us politically, yet carry on cultural work which tends in our direction and which can be made serviceable. Sympathizers and institutions performing relief work for the starving in Russia on purely charitable grounds, and who would come over to our side if we succeeded in convincing them that apart from the disastrous drought, the pitiless blockade and the murderous civil war of the counter-revolution were responsible for the economic breakdown and the famine in Russia, that action devoted purely to

famine relief can but have temporary results and do not touch the deeper causes,—while systematic economic relief would rescue and restore industry and agriculture. At our July congress there were already the first signs of agreement and understanding, with the Nansen organization, for instance, with the Quakers and different groups of International Red Cross organizations which approved the economic relief performed by us for Soviet Russia.

This sympathetic outlook will remain a mere attitude unless energetic and unceasing propaganda of the idea of economic relief succeeds in achieving definite and effective cooperation. The main issue need not be political propaganda for the class struggle. It is above all now a question of clearing up evident misunderstandings which prevent a common action with otherwise good and well intentioned personalities, and which in the course of time may bring about an agreement over the political aims of Soviet Russia. Experience has shown that there are a great number of important personalities desirous of working with us and only waiting for the opportunity of taking part in our activity. Persons, who, only because this opportunity is not offered to them in the field of their own professional activity, remain in apparent antagonism to us and to our aims.

In the last few years the spiritual blockade has kept pace with the economic blockade. Naturally in Russia, shut off and isolated, there does not exist that profound and artificially nourished mistrust of the Western world (which we unfortunately find in Western countries towards the East), but rather a fervent longing and desire to know, to learn and to absorb all that has been achieved in foreign lands in all spheres of human knowledge, of science, of art and technique.

However, the little that does reach the western countries through observations and reports on the great spiritual revolution in Russia, awakens the most passionate sympathy in those personalities of whom I spoke, and with it also the desire to utilize the new achievements of the Russian revolution and adopt them to the institutions of their own country.

Our organization has created in the Foreign Relief Committee an organ out of heterogeneous elements. It attempts to embrace sections which are outside of the proletariat but which will cooperate for the reconstruction of Russia in the spirit of our programme. The circle must be extended and include intellectuals from all those professions capable of contributing to the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

Thus we think of enlisting engineers, chemists, electrical experts, and leaders of industry into our work by means of having men engaged in these particular professions in Russia expound to these circles the whole complex of Russian peculiarities and needs. Men of science, from the expert fields of technique, statistics, administration, economics etc. in all countries will be brought into contact with Russians pursuing the same activities, who will elucidate the problems of the transition period. Pedagogues must be interested in the new form of the Russian School, of the workers' school, of the educational work outside of the schools, and the proletarian university. (An attempt has already been made in this respect by the Ukraine People's Commissariat for Education, which invited school reformers to a congress.) In this respect the western countries can learn something from Russia, where the many-millioned exploited masses who previously were unable to obtain the most primitive form of education, have, through the revolution, had the way to culture opened to them. Those engaged in the public welfare in Russia, doctors, hygienists are keenly interested in all the researches and discoveries made in the medical sciences in the West. An important work would be accomplished if groups of European doctors were drawn into the work of restoring the suffering Russian people. A start in this field has been made by the American *Friends of Soviet Russia*. Erecting equipping, and maintaining hospitals, workers' convalescent homes, childrens' colonies etc. in Russia would be the practical outcome.

A special task consists in bringing prominent Russian scholars into contact with those of western countries. The latest epoch-making discoveries in so many fields of human knowledge have up to recently only been known in Russia by mere hearsay. On the other hand, there still exists today in Germany, which has always been the most receptive and most willing organ for the knowledge and achievements of science in all countries, profound ignorance of all that the last few years have brought to light in Russia.

By means of lecture tours of Russian scholars through Western countries, and vice versa, and also by the systematic exchange of scientific publications this evil will be remedied. In connection therewith an organization will be created which will not only alleviate the needs of science but also those of the men of science.

All this can be combined with the activity of the International Workers' Relief in whose Foreign Committee we find intellectuals qualified to set up connections with Russia upon a more international basis. The same applies to art and literature. It is possible by art exhibitions (such as the present one in Berlin,

which exhibits the Russian art of the last few years) to combine famine relief work with artists' relief. In the same way it is possible, by exhibiting the products of Russian home industry and peasant art, to awaken the active interest of broad circles, and by means of sales to increase the funds of the Workers' Relief. This work will influence the sympathetic press, and there are already the first signs of a desire for united action in artistic and literary circles which have only now received authentic information of what has been accomplished in Russia in the field of art during the hard years of the Revolution and the Civil War, in spite of the famine and blockades.

Important and popular propaganda can effectively be carried on through the film screen. Through the film, the great, pulsating public life, in its unending varieties will be portrayed in vivid form and thus help to nail the lies that have for years pervaded the bourgeois press of all countries. Through the film the work of the Workers' Relief Committee in its manifold fields of activity can be carried to the widest circles.

This is only a provisional sketch of an extremely far-reaching programme. The work of cultural propaganda by the International Workers' Relief must at once be organized in all countries connected with us through national organizations. The strengthening of such connections will create the necessary broad basis for our work. Not only the cultural achievements of Soviet Russia, but the whole present situation demands such a beginning. The undermined condition of Western civilization is favorable to such an undertaking. The intellectuals of the West, view with despair the downfall of their civilization. They cannot prevent this downfall. Many of them recognize the cause to be the rottenness of the political and economic foundation which can no longer support the social structure. Our task is to work with all the means at our disposal, so that the great work of culture that Russia has begun to shape, finds a secure basis upon which it can be successfully carried out to an end.

Consignment List of the Foreign Committee of the International Workers' Relief

1921.

1. By steamer *Egil*, on August 21st, from Stockholm to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 885 kilograms (green rye, flour, dry bread, salt, coffee, cocoa), 288 tins of condensed milk, 25 cases (Macaroni, fat, and various provisions), 21 sacks (potatoes, rye, wheat, turnips, cabbages, peas, beans), a ton of sprats and 300 crowns worth of medicaments.
2. By steamer *Marjus*, on October 15th, from Philadelphia to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 148 tons (wheat and rye flour, cocoa, milk, chocolate).
3. By steamer *Miranda*, on October 15th, from Stockholm to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 364 tons of flour, 1 ton of herrings, clothing, 62 cases, machines: 1 motor tractor, 230 separators, 20 sewing machines.
4. By steamer *Siegfried*, on October 15th, from Stettin to Reval, cargo of provisions: (12 tons of groceries and meat), 59 cases of gifts, articles of clothing: 18 cases, 1 bale, 7 packets, utensils for kitchens in the famine district. Outfits for locksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers; medicaments, chemical articles, medicines, instruments.
5. By steamer *Elsazier*, on October 27th, from New York to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 596.5 tons (flour, milk, lard, meat, bacon, beans etc.), medicaments, 8 cases, 5½ tons of clothing.
6. By steamer *Böckland*, on November 1st, from Christiania to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 186.5 tons (flour, sugar, rice, soda, cinnamon, etc.).
7. By the steamer *Venus*, on November 3rd, from Hamburg to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 133.3 tons (meat, rice, salt, beans, ham, milk, cocoa).
8. By the steamer *Fritjof*, on November 17th, from Stockholm to Petrograd a cargo of provisions: 65 tons.
9. By the steamer *Delphinus*, on November 17th, from Christiania to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 12 tons of codliver oil, 25 barrels of herrings, 500 cases of milk, 21 cases of clothing.
10. By the steamer *Eastport*, on November 20th, from New York to Riga, a cargo of provisions: 243 tons of lard, 2,450 cases of milk, 65 cases of raw ribs of meat, 85 cases of smoked fish, 540 sacks of beans, 3200 sacks semolina.
11. By the steamer *Ebro*, on November 22nd, from Copenhagen to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 400 cases of milk each containing 48 tins.
12. By the steamer *Frida Horn*, on November 24th, from Stettin to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 572 tons (Flour, rice, beans, salt) a carload of gifts, a carload of

- soup tables, 57 cases of gifts, 2 sacks of salt, 17 sacks of flour, 1 case of preserves, clothing: 98 cases, 3 bales. 10 cases, of tools, 8 cases of clothing and 1 package of medicaments.
13. By the steamer *Alfred*, on November 26th, from Stockholm to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 23 tons of flour.
 14. By the steamer *Nalle*, on November 26th, from Stockholm to Petrograd, 200 tons of provisions.
 15. By the sailing vessel *Hortense*, on November 29th, from Marseilles, a cargo of provisions: 10,000 tons rice; articles of clothing: 200 tons. This ship sank in the Mediterranean.
 16. By the sailing vessel *Gasconier*, on November 30th, from New York to Riga, a cargo of automobiles: 15 cases (motor trucks, motor ambulances, and passenger cars).
 17. With this consignment there went a train with 15 cars of provisions from Czecho-Slovakia via Hamburg to Petrograd.
 18. On December 15th, a carload of provisions and clothing went from Noorboten (Finland) to Petrograd.
 19. On October 15th, a train with 30 carloads of corn (300 tons) went from Sofia to Odessa.
 20. By the steamer *Skulda*, on December 21st, from Christiania to Libau, a cargo of provisions: 166 cases (biscuits jam, fish) 2 bundles of dried cod, 9 cases soap, 37 cases clothes.
 21. By the steamer *Eastern Coast*, a cargo of provisions: 10,712 sacks (semolina, oatmeal, beans, flour; 4,421 cases milk, bacon, 1,041 bags of cocoa.
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22. By the steamer *Terje*, on January 2nd, from Christiania to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 18 tons (flour, peas, lentils, codliver oil), 52 cases of groceries.
 23. By the steamer *Christian*, on January 5th, from Stettin to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 177 tons (sugar, dried pears, cocoa, bacon), 3 cases, 2 sacks rye, 160 cases, provisions and articles of clothing. Articles of clothing 148 cases.
 24. By the steamer *Gasconier*, on January 25th, from New York to Riga, a cargo of clothing: 22 tons.
 25. By the steamer *Eastern Coast*, on January 28th, from New York to Reval, a cargo of provisions and clothing to the value of \$40,000.
 26. By the steamer *Eastern Star*, on February 1st, from New York to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 9 cases; 5 cases clothing.
 27. By the steamer *Aetna* on February 3rd, from Christiania to Windau, a cargo of provisions: 250 tons of fish, 9 sacks of flour, 1 case of biscuits, 90 sacks clothing, 6 cases socks, 104 boxes, miscellaneous: 7 tons.
 28. By the steamer *Elsazier*, on February 16th, from New York to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 2,700 cases of condensed milk, 5,176 sacks of semolina, 12 bales provisions and clothing.
 29. By the steamer *Egil* on February 18th, from Sweden to Windau, a cargo of provisions: 10,000 sacks of flour.
 30. By the steamer *Tiber*, in February, from Copenhagen to Windau, a cargo of clothings: 9 cases.
 31. In February, from Sweden to Helsingfors, 2 carloads of provisions.
 32. By the steamer *Amilcare Cipriano*, on February 22nd, bipriano from Genoa to Odessa, a cargo of provisions to the value of 300,000 lire.
 33. In March, from Norrbotten to Petrograd, 15 tons of flour.
 34. By the steamer *Rockaway Park*, on March 8th, a cargo of provisions.
 35. By the steamer *Corvus*, on March 14th, from Sweden to Riga, a cargo of provisions: 250,000 cans of milk.
 36. On March 15th, from the Communist Party of Sweden, a consignment of provisions: 26 tons, 30 cases, 53 tons of herrings, 71 sacks of corn, 106 cases clothing.
 37. By the steamer *Cygnus*, on March 15th, from London to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 867 bags of corn, 821 bags of flour, 5 bags of beans. Clothing: 5 packets (from Johannesburg).
 38. By the steamer *Aetna*, on March 17th, from Christiania to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions.
 39. By the steamer *Inger Benedikte*, from Bergen to Petrograd, a cargo of 600 tons of herrings.
 40. In April there was despatched a carload with 14 tons of provisions (herrings, milk); also a quantity of clothing.
 41. By the steamer *Jupiter*, on April 6th, from Christiania to Riga, a transport.
 42. By the steamer *Wustyard*, on April 8th, from New York to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 12 sacks of corn, 4 cases of preserves, 63 bales clothing, one case medicaments.
 43. By the steamer *Myers*, on April 10th, from Copenhagen to Reval, a cargo of clothing: 15 cases.
 44. By the steamer *National*, on May 15th, from Stettin to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions, household utensils, machines, clothing, medicaments. Total weight 748.2 tons.
 45. By the steamer *Latvia*, on May 8th, from New York to Petrograd: provisions and clothing.
 46. By the steamer *Polonia*, on May 17th, from New York to Petrograd, a cargo of complete agricultural outfits for the use of the Workers' Relief in Perm (20 tractors, one small tractor, 60 ploughs, 2 motor trucks, 44 agricultural machines, 5 benzine tank wagons, 1 machine repairing outfit, 12,000 feet of educational films.
 47. By the steamer *Ahore*, on May 17th, from Copenhagen to Riga, a cargo of clothing: 10 cases, 2 bales.
 48. By the steamer *Kentukian*, on May 19th, from San Francisco to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 8 cases meat, articles of clothing, 25 bundles clothing, 1 bale of shoes.
 48. By the steamer *Emma Haubus*, on May 17th, from Stettin to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 900 tons (semolina flour, sugar, cocoa) a farming outfit; one tractor, one motor truck, tools and clothing.
 50. By the steamer *Mimosotan*, on May 20th, from New York to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions and 93 bundle of clothing.
 51. By the steamer *Tomsk*, at the end of May, from Antwerp to Reval, a cargo of provisions: 230 tons tools, medicines, clothing and linen.
 52. By the steamer *Belvedere*, on May 30th, from New York to Petrograd a cargo of provisions: 1016 sacks of flour 44 cases of preserves, clothing: 134 bales, medicaments 2 cases.
 53. On May 31st from Czecho-Slovakia to the Ukraine 8 waggons of flour.
 54. By the steamer *Dollart* on June 13th, from Hamburg to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions: 300 tons of flour.
 55. By the steamer *Burgermeister Hagan* there went the cargo of the steamer "Olma" which at the end of May went from Amsterdam to Stettin conveying the consignment of the 3rd French relief train (Metz—Stettin) 140 tons of clothing, as well as tools and machines.
 56. By the steamer *Moerdijk* on June 13th, from Canada to Petrograd, a cargo of clothing, soap and preserves.
 57. By the steamer *Corvus* on June 24th, from England to Petrograd, a cargo of tools
 58. By the steamer *Solwige*, on June 26th, from Stockholm to Petrograd, a cargo (2 waggons for Moscow, one waggon for Perm)
 59. By the steamer *Rockaway Park*, on June 27th, from New York to Petrograd, a cargo of clothing, corn, preserves, tools: 5 tons.
 60. By the steamer *Turandot* on July 21st, from Marseilles to Odessa, a cargo of flour and medicaments, about 2000 tons.
 61. By the steamer *Swoboda*, in July, from New York to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions.
 62. By the steamer *Oberburgermeister Hagen*, on August 6th, from Stettin to Petrograd, a cargo of motor ploughs, flour, leather, tools, clothing: about 1000 tons.
 63. By the steamer *Eastern Star*, on August 3rd, from New York to Petrograd, a cargo of Rye seed, thrashing machines, tractors, Clothing, provisions: about 1500 tons.
 64. By the steamer *Seine*, on August 29th, from Antwerp to Reval, a cargo of Provisions, tools, clothings, and corn. About 75 tons, of which 55 tons were flour.
 65. By the steamer *Undine*, in August, from Hamburg to Petrograd. a cargo of clothing, provisions, medicaments, soap. 50,000 kilograms.
 66. By the steamer *Decret*, in August, from Hamburg to Petrograd, a cargo of chemicals. 50,000 kilograms.
 67. By the steamer *Hogland* on August 31st, from Hamburg to Petrograd, a cargo of chemicals and 16,000 tins of milk. 25,000 kilograms.
 68. By the steamer *Schlesian*, on September 2nd from Stettin to Petrograd, a cargo of chemicals: 10,000 kilograms.
 69. By the steamer *Trude Bremer*, on September 10th, from Hamburg to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions, clothing, shoes, chemicals, soap, 12,000 kilograms.
 70. By the steamer *Oberburgermeister Hagen*, on September 15th, from Stettin to Petrograd, a cargo with things for the Swedish Children's Home; clothing, leather; 2 motor. ploughs.
 71. By the steamer *Belvedere*, in July, from New York to Petrograd, a cargo of provisions and clothes.
 72. By steamer from Fnoiland, a cargo to Petrograd: 41 cases tools, 7 cases of clothes, to the value of £500.
 73. By steamer *Hand Gude*, from Bergen (Norway) to Petrograd, on September 25th, a cargo: 600 tons of herrings.