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Open Letter

To the London and Vienna International and the International Trade Union Secretariat

Main body of text on the left page, including the 'Open Letter' and other articles.

Bottom section of the left page with various notices and contact information.

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

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

To the peoples of the whole world!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No Craftism: No Dualism.

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

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

Amalgamation the Chief Issue.

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

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

Railroad Men and Metal Tradesmen.

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

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

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

The Campaign Ahead.

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

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

The Defensive Struggle Begins in Poland

By N. Ulan (Warsaw).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

From Bologna to Rome; the History of a Split

By P. B.

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the Working Youth!

Rise up against imperialism and war!

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

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

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

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

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

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

To the Workers and Peasants of South America

Comrades!

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

The Role of the United States of America.

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

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

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

The Extent of United States Imperialism.

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

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

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

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

The Duty of the South American Proletariat.

Workers and peasants of South America!

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

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

Workers and peasants! The Communist International summons you. Do not forget that in the United States there are Communists ready to help you in the revolutionary struggle. The common fight of the proletariat of all the American countries against the American capitalists is a vital necessity for the exploited masses. It faces you as the one means to your security.

The heroic example of the Russian Revolution fighting desperately against international capitalism will make you comprehend what end awaits you, if you remain indifferent while the ruling class intensifies its capitalist exploitation. The antagonism between high finance and industry is increasing in your countries and the international imperialist struggles threaten to involve you also, in the massacre.

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

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

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

Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!

Long live International Communism!

Long live Soviet Russia!

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

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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The Situation of Soviet Russia

By L. Kamenev.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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