

countenanced by the I.W.W., which officially declared against them more than four years ago, on the grounds that force invariably defeats itself." No one blames the I.W.W., a legal organization, for not advocating force or sabotage—especially in the face of the great persecutions to which its members have been subjected. But surely these were not the sole reasons for not joining the Berlin International? Was not the main reason that the leaders had here a glimmering of sense—a feeling that the Berlin International was not an International at all, but merely a thing which existed on paper and in the minds of a few isolated and muddle-headed idealists, and that it probably would not last a year? Let us at least credit them with this.

And so the I.W.W. decided to remain without any international affiliation, but to open correspondence with both these Internationals, in order to exchange information. Later, it was said, the I.W.W. would aid in the formation of a "true" International which would really be the right one.

Reports were made of progress in organization of the marine transport workers and the coal miners. It was stated that the members of the United Mine Workers were joining the I.W.W. as a result of their recent unsuccessful strike. Here we see an apt illustration of the disastrous policy of dualism, which has for years paralyzed the American labor movement. An interesting example of the utter illogicalness of the orthodox I.W.W. leaders may be observed in this convention. Some time ago, the leaders of the United Mine Workers introduced a clause forbidding any of their members to hold an I.W.W. card. The report states that many of the members of the United Mine Workers, however, do hold these cards, and "it is considered likely that, at the next constitutional convention of the miners' organization, there will be action to abolish the prohibitive clause". And this, from the leaders of an organization which has always attacked the policy of working within the trade unions! This, from those I.W.W. spokesmen who have always derided the possibility of ever accomplishing anything against the reactionary machine of the older unions! If it is impossible to alter the old unions, and make them into better ones, through working within them, how on earth can they expect to abolish a clause in the constitution of the Mine Workers, by these means? And, if they can succeed in this, in the face of the opposition of the reactionaries, then they can succeed in anything else. They have here themselves given the lie to their own teachings and it is to be hoped their membership will perceive it, and learn the lesson.

The I.W.W. has doubled its membership in the past year, it was reported, and is now over 50,000. How pitiful is this acknowledgement of wasted energy, suffering and heroism! In 1905, when the I.W.W. was founded, it had 50,000 members. After 17 years of dual unionism, they are still feeding their Utopianism on "encouraging reports" on the growth of the membership. If all the splendid efforts, the enthusiasm and unexampled courage of the membership had been devoted to the struggle of the workers within the great unions, what a movement we should have in America, after these 17 years!

At it is, the I.W.W. has manifested, by its latest Convention, the complete bankruptcy of its theoretical leaders and of dual unionism in general. Also, it does not show the old I.W.W. spirit—the remarkable spirit of proletarian valor, which once distinguished it. The membership is sound; it contains still all the elements of the old fine fighting force. But there are new and different leaders—or old leaders grown older and atrophied—and it is to this rank and file, this sound and courageous membership, that we should appeal. Let them ascertain for themselves what the Red International of Labor Unions stands for. Let them forget old prejudice, and read for themselves of the splendid work of the Trade Union Educational League in America. Let them apply the lessons of the past to their present condition, coldly, scientifically, realistically.

If they do this, we feel sure the members of the I.W.W. will demand of their leaders that they join hands with the great forward movement of American labor, rather than seek to pry this or that petty section from the body of the trade unions which are now suffering the full force of the capitalist "open shop" offensive. They will manifest their intention of working harmoniously with all those forces in America making for one great united revolutionary labor movement; and they will then see that the only International which really is building up a world-wide industrial revolutionary army of the workers is the Red International of Labor Unions.

Let us hope they will see this. If they do not; if they forget all their glorious revolutionary traditions, and meekly

follow their present vacillating leaders—blind leaders without a program—then there is still some advice to offer them: they forgot the Yellow Amsterdam International. It is safe and sound and characterless. However, it is just a little too radical for Gompers. It may be just right for them.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Who rules Russia?

By G. Neradov (Moscow).

Full information is provided on this very important question by the material compiled by the Russian People's Commissariat for international Affairs on the members of the Executive Committees in the governments and districts, during the year 1922.

Of the members of the Executive Committees of the governments in 1922, 99.4 per cent were men and 0.6 per cent women. The professions of the members were as follows: 40.8 per cent hand workers, 11.8 per cent peasants, 4.1 per cent technicians with medium and high school education, 2.5 per cent physicians, 11.3 per cent of the legal profession, 9.9 per cent teachers, 21.7 per cent clerks, etc., 1.6 per cent soliders, 0.3 per cent free professions, 2.5 per cent students, 3.5 per cent other vocations; 89.1 per cent belonged to the Communist Party and 10.9 per cent were non-partisan. The members of the district executives are divided as follows: men 99.1 per cent, women 0.9 per cent; workers 30.6 per cent, peasants 26.4 per cent, technicians 1.3 per cent, physicians 0.6 per cent, legal profession 0.1 per cent, teachers 6.5 per cent, clerks, etc., 25.9 per cent soliders 2.4 per cent, free professions 0.7 per cent, students 3.3 per cent, other vocations 2.2 per cent. Communists 81.7 per cent, other parties 0.1 per cent, non-partisan 18.2 per cent. The executives of the cities were composed of the following proportions: men 95.1 per cent, women 4.9 per cent, workers 53.7 per cent, peasants 7.3 per cent, physicians 4.9 per cent, clerks, etc., 19.5 per cent; students 12.2 per cent, other vocations 2.4 per cent, communists 61.0 per cent, non-partisan 39.0 per cent.

Thus for the whole of Russia, in the executives of the governments, of the capital cities of the governments, of the districts, of the cities, and of the main towns of the districts, we find the following proportions represented: men 99.0 per cent, women 1.0 per cent.—Workers 33.0 per cent, peasants 24.0 per cent, technicians 1.6 per cent, physicians 1.0 per cent, legal profession 0.3 per cent, teachers 6.8 per cent, clerks, etc., 25.0 per cent, soliders 2.1 per cent, free professions 0.5 per cent, students 3.3 per cent, other vocations 2.4 per cent.—Communists 82.5 per cent, non-party 17.5 per cent.

In the above statistics the proportion of the vocations is of great importance. The largest percentage falls to the manual workers, the second largest to the employes; then follow the peasants, and then comparatively insignificant numbers of representatives of other professions, chiefly teachers and students. It is much to be regretted, considering how important economic questions are at the present time, that the technicians should be so poorly represented among the members of our executives. There is however no doubt but that after our schools have trained large groups of red specialists, these figures will undergo a favorable alteration. At present it seems as if the workers and peasants prefer to manage without specialists in their representative organs, rather than elect bourgeois specialists whom they do not trust.

As regards the education of the members of the executives, the proportions are as follows: 6.7 per cent with high school education, 16.5 per cent with medium, 66.6 per cent elementary school, 7.9 per cent self-taught, and 0.3 per cent with very slight education.

These statistics show the Soviet republic to be very poor in educated administrators. But this is not our fault. The ruling classes gave the people no education, and it was extremely difficult to make this good during the years of civil war. These figures only go to show that in Russia the Soviet democracy rules. This democracy is still uneducated to-day, but the process of appropriating cultural advantages has begun, and is continuing rapidly. Our high schools, our workers' educational institutions, are filled to-day with representatives of the city proletariat and the peasantry. A few years more, and the reigning Soviet democracy will have the cultural level it falls short of today.

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The Communist International Against War

By Walter Stoecker (Berlin).

An extremely critical situation has arisen in Central Europe, with unexpected rapidity. French imperialism has laid its hand upon the Ruhr coal. The German government offers resistance, and a state of war has been practically, if not formally, created between France and Germany. This conflict has been brought about by the lust for power of French imperialism, which is anxious to secure the Ruhr district in addition to the many other positions which it now occupies on the European continent, so that it may be enabled to take its place uncontestedly as the leading power in Europe, not only from a military standpoint, but from an economic one, and that it may above all be enabled to confront England with the possession of the largest coal district of Europe.

The short-sighted and disastrous policy pursued by the German Cuno government was exceedingly favorable to these designs. German heavy industry has systematically driven the finances of Germany ever further on the downward path, has plunged the state into insolvency and bankruptcy, and has at the same time shamelessly seized the opportunity of increasing its own wealth, of accumulating enormous profits. Thus the situation became more and more acute. Poincaré had Essen occupied. The German Cuno government, after several times vainly offering Poincaré the co-operation of German and French industry, has now broken off relations with France, stopped all payment of reparations to her and Belgium, withdrawn the coal syndicate from Essen, and adopted a number of other measures signifying a state of passive resistance against France.

This policy is of course grist to the mills of French militarism. Naturally the whole of the Ruhr district will now be occupied, and not alone this, but recourse will probably be had to other severe reprisals, and to the further occupation of Germany. Above all, the militarists will take the Ruhr coal, will cut off the Ruhr district from the rest of Germany, and thus enormously accelerate her economic collapse. Renewed depreciation of monetary values, immeasurable rises in prices, and unemployment, will weigh upon the German working class even more heavily than before. This disastrous policy of the Cuno government is plunging the German working class into the abyss.

Signs of impending tempest may be seen in other directions. Lithuania has seized upon a part of the Memel district, and Poland too is only waiting for a favorable opportunity. Nationalism is becoming a serious danger in Germany. No one knows how long England will remain an inactive spectator of France's tremendous extensions of power. In this grave and

critical moment the Executive of the Communist International appeals for a determined offensive fight against the danger of war. A telegram from Moscow commissions the French and German Communist Parties, and the red trade unions of France, immediately to approach the 2. Socialist Internationals and the Amsterdam trade union international for the immediate organization of a united proletarian front against the danger of war.

It is well known that the leaders of the reformist international held a conference at The Hague only a few weeks ago, a so-called peace conference, at which they resolved to reply to any danger of war by the proclamation of a general strike of the working class. The hour has come for these leaders to keep their word, if they think of taking their own resolutions seriously. The whole proletariat of Europe should rise like one man against the act of imperialist militarist violence committed by the French bourgeoisie in the Ruhr district, against the disastrous policy of the German capitalist Cuno government, against the tremendous dangers involved by this conflict, and should also protest by determined mass actions, to the utmost extent of its powers. The Communist International by no means makes the proposition of taking up the defensive fight conjointly with the Second International out of any great faith which it feels in the leaders of that body, but for the sake of the great masses of proletarians behind these leaders, and for the sake of showing these masses their task as a proletarian class in the present situation, that they may if possible be won for the proletarian defensive fight.

The proletariat of France, Belgium, England, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Germany, should gather together in this hour for a great united fraternal struggle against French imperialism and German capitalism, against the frightful danger of a fresh war in Central Europe. And the parties of the 2. International and of the Amsterdam trade unions, possess the power to do this, if they only would. But instead of this what do we see? The French socialists confine themselves to a few protest meetings, and decline to join the communists and revolutionary trade unions in an earnest proletarian struggle; the Belgian labor party even limits its action to a paper resolution of its national council, although Belgian soldiers are amongst those invading the Ruhr district. We hear nothing of really determined struggles, or of any pressure exercised by the great English Labor Party. The Italian social democrats are accomplices of Mussolini. We prefer to make no mention whatever of the Czech and Polish socialists and reformists. This is the appearance presented by the international solidarity of the second "international". The

first really critical situation proves only too drastically that it is an international of words and not of deeds, and its leaders in fact hold to their expressed intention of not deserting their native country, that is, their bourgeoisie, in the "hour of danger".

It is regrettable that the German social democracy also stands in the first ranks of this association. Instead of at last realizing its duties towards the proletariat, instead of at last abandoning the disastrous errors of its coalition policy, and of the capitalist policy of fulfillment of war obligations, German social democracy again refuses to accede to the earnest fighting proposals of the communists against the occupation of the Ruhr district, and against the Cuno government. Once more it takes sides with the bourgeoisie, as it has done since August 1914; once more it joins the national united front, if somewhat shamefacedly, and keeps peace with the German bourgeoisie. The leader of the Social Democratic Reichstag fraction, Hermann Müller, declares that in this situation the social democrats support the Cuno government, and expressly approve its measures. All over Germany we see the social democratic leaders, who have trampled the interests of the German proletariat underfoot ever since the outbreak of war, again striking a severe blow at the international proletariat by their conduct.

We are fully convinced that thousands upon thousands of social democratic workers in all countries will refuse to follow the example of their leaders, that confronted with this first serious danger of war they will open their eyes as to the policy of their leaders, and we are convinced that there are innumerable social democratic class comrades who think like the right-socialist workman at the Essen district conference, who protested loudly against the jingoism of his social democratic fraction, and called out: That the demonstrations of the German bourgeoisie seemed to him like prosecutions of street robbers that other street robbers seize them by the throat, or of prostitutes that they are violated. This embittered trend of feeling among many social democratic workers was also expressed in the attitude of the social democratic fraction in the German Reichstag. Many social democratic members of the Reichstag felt extremely uncomfortable in this national united front in the company of Cuno and Stinnes, and the residue of their proletarian and international sense of duty, led to the complete dissolution of the social democratic Reichstag fraction. While the majority of the fraction supported the vote of confidence in the Cuno government, a great many members abstained from voting at all, and 16 others gave up their voting papers with the express explanation that they were not voting. Thus it was only the communists who unequivocally declared class war against the Cuno government in the German Reichstag and manifested by their votes that they actually take up this war. In France also, it is only the communists who have taken up a really determined struggle against French militarism, and who are being thrown into the French prisons for repeating Karl Liebknecht's cry of: War against imperialist war!

The Communist International expects of all workers, employees, officials, peasants, and soldiers, including those belonging to the socialist parties, that they now take up the fight all over Europe against the capitalists, that all the exploited join forces against all exploiters, all proletarians against the bourgeoisie.

Hence the step taken by the Communist International, hence the repeated earnest appeal for a common proletarian fight, despite all lack of faith in the reformist leaders. The proletariat of Europe is confronted with the choice: either to join with the national bourgeoisie in the national united front, and to take part in the fresh war, in the new and terrible conflicts and ruin of Central Europe, or to join the workers of all countries in inexorable class war and ruthless struggle and war against international capital. The Communist International is at its post, it is determined and ready to fight. It is now the turn of the Second International and of the Amsterdamers to speak.

POLITICS

Resolution of the Moscow Soviet on the Ruhr Question

The plenum of the Moscow Soviet considers it its duty to voice its protest and indignation, in the names of the millions of proletarians of Moscow, the red capital of the Soviet republic, against the attempt of the bankrupt bourgeoisie to again plunge the peoples of Europe into a new and bloody imperialist war.

The attempts of the French and German working masses to begin fighting against the criminal bourgeoisie have been confronted by fresh treachery on the part of the leaders of the second and Amsterdam internationals, who refused the immediate organization of the united front for the fight of the workers.

The plenum of the Moscow Soviet stigmatizes these betrayers of the working class as utterly despicable, but at the same time enthusiastically greets the heroic struggles of the Communist Parties of France and Germany, on whose shoulders the whole burden of the fight falls, in so dangerous an hour for the working class.

The plenum of the Moscow Soviet appeals to the working men and women of all countries, and above all to those of France and Germany, to close ranks beneath the flag of the Communist International and Red International of Labor Unions, these sole leaders and champions of the cause of peace, of the cause of emancipation of the working class, of the cause of Communism.

For the workers of all countries the slogan must be: War against war!

United front of the working class against the crimes of the bourgeoisie!

Long live the fight of the working class!

Long live the general staff of the working class—the Communist International!

The Situation in Italy

By Edmondo Peluso (Rome).

The solemn entry of the victor into the city of the Caesars, escorted by the great Fascist army, the ovations of the bourgeoisie, the approval of the king, — all this but a few weeks ago, aroused the belief, that Mussolini's reign would be a fairly long one.

But despite all this, it has sufficed to watch him at his work for barely two months, and closely to observe his first actions as head of the government, to arrive at the conclusion that the dictatorship of the Fascist chief will not die of old age.

The great masses who helped Fascism to power, because they hoped to find in it a new Messiah for their salvation, began to disintegrate immediately after the first days of the Fascist ministry. For the economic basis of this party is completely lacking in firmness and stability, and Mussolini is quite unable to pursue a policy calculated to even half satisfy all the heterogeneous elements which have gathered around him outside the great masses of the proletariat.

The hour has come for him to redeem his promises. Mussolini's followers, greedy for booty and profits, are pressing around him and demanding their reward for having changed their creed. Thus the first experience of the dictator is the deep disappointment of the band of adventurers and career hunters. According to Mussolini's announcement, he appointed to governmental posts, that is, as accomplices in his policy, generals and men possessing the "required elasticity" of movement for these "delicate" and confidential functions (governmental and police presidents). In this manner not only have the liberals and democrats of yesterday been swept out of the way with one blow, but also the nationalists, the brothers-in-arms of the Fascists, and these now feel themselves to be treated as patriots of an inferior quality, if not actually as suspicious characters. Their motto: "The king and the nation", has gone out of fashion, for in the eyes of the ex-revolutionary there is but one motto which has any value or validity to-day: "For Mussolini. God, and fatherland".

All who do not fully share this view are suspicious characters. This is the reason why so many organizations have been dissolved; among them d'Annunzio's organization, the "Legion of the Bold", by which a strong band of fiery and belligerent youth has been driven into the ranks of the opposition. The dictator has wrested the weapons from their hands, but he cannot disarm their spirit.

The germs of disintegration, long present but still latent, have now penetrated openly into the ranks of the great Fascist army. In Ferrare, Rome, and other places, the Condottiere are fighting briskly against the Fascist bands of the maintenance of their dominance in their sphere of activity.

One of the first official acts of the dictator was to dismiss numerous officials, and to replace these by tools of his own. By this he has considerably increased the number of discontented in the ministerial and administrative bodies. And instead of improving their material position, he has on the contrary, done away with the special remuneration for overtime work, and has further burdened these and all other workers by a wage tax.

Since 1870 the schools of Italy have been secular. But Mussolini has recently proclaimed that the secular teaching of the schools is to be done away with, and religious instruction reintroduced. According to Mussolini "Religious instruction will form in future the main foundation of the public educational system, and will effect the whole work of restoring the "Italian morale". The irony of fate wills it that this religious reformation

is to be the work of the one-time schoolmaster and arch-Jacobin Mussolini. But the anti-religious and freemasonic strata are still fairly powerful in Italy, so that this decision of the Fascist government may only have the effect of bringing to a head the dull hate of Italian freemasonry for the dictator. There are a large number of leading commanders in the Fascist ranks, as for instance Italo Balbo of Bologna, who are at the same time high dignitaries among freemasons, and are by no means in agreement with Mussolini on this subject.

The annulment of the compulsory housing measures, in force since the war, has been announced by the new ministry to take place within a short time, and this has brought about a certain feeling of panic among the petty bourgeois circles who chose Mussolini for their idol. For such a measure will plunge a great number of petty-bourgeois households into the greatest possible uncertainty and confusion through fear of notice to quit, of the troubles of house hunting, and especially of the inevitable rise in rents.

By increasing the term of compulsory active military service in Italy to 18 months, the Fascist government not only further ruins the state exchequer, already burdened by a deficit of 6 billion lire which the Fascist government had promised to cover, but it has also aroused the dissatisfaction of the great masses of Italian peasants, who form the main strength of the active standing army and are by no means pleased to make the government a present of long years of slavery.

The above is a fair outline of the whole of the positive work accomplished by the dictator since October 28. It would be a waste of time to enumerate all the persecutions of the proletariat, all the restrictions of every description imposed on the press, on the right of holding meetings, etc., quite contrary to law and even to the constitution. It will suffice if we mention that only a few plays ago, in Turin, a specially mobilized Fascist troop was able to slaughter ten proletarians in cold blood, in the open street, without the government taking any steps whatever to prevent it, as a reprisal for the death of two Fascisti killed in a tumult.

But the dictatorship against the workers can only be maintained if the bourgeoisie succeeds in maintaining unity in its own ranks. But the latest measure of the dictator, the dissolution of the Royal Guard and its substitution by a Fascist guard, seems to have struck a severe blow at the foundations of the military basis which constitutes his real power. As soon as the formation of a Fascist guard was announced, the *Corriere della Sera*, the organ of the educated Italian bourgeoisie, uttered the first cry of warning, and clearly pointed out the dangers attendant on the formation of a guard for the special purposes of a single party, or rather of a single person: Mussolini.

The decree announcing the dissolution of the Royal Guard, and coming into force on January 1, has aroused the bitterest indignation among the 100,000 police officials who thus find themselves thrown unceremoniously into the street, for the most part entirely without means of support. This fact allows us to better comprehend the events which took place on December 31, and January 1, in almost all the large towns of Italy, but especially in Turin and Naples, where the Royal Guards, hitherto comrades-in-arms of the Fascisti, killed and wounded a large number of them, burnt down the Fascist club houses, and marched through the main streets to the accompaniment of revolver and rifle fire, and of cries of "Down with Mussolini! Down with the Fascisti!"

The government prohibited the newspapers from publishing any other than the official report of these occurrences. But the fact that it seeks to hide the truth is in itself sufficient proof of the importance of the movement, though the government asserts that it has successfully suppressed it. Even if we assume this to be correct, we may confidently believe that the government is only temporarily successful in suppressing one of the forces which it has unchained against itself.

For it will be Mussolini's fate to fall by the hands of the forces which he will encounter in ever increasing numbers on his road of oppression. And the day is not far off.

ECONOMICS

The Situation of Russian Industry

By Bogdanov.

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

During the four years of civil war the whole of our forces were employed in defending our frontiers, and in fighting counter-revolution; industry was away on leave, so to speak, and we could only await the moment when it would be possible to resume work. This became possible this year; industry has had to prepare for the attack, and to do so under the conditions

of the New Economic Policy. We must describe the difficult conditions attendant on the complete reconstruction of the organization of our industry, its collision with the free market, and with the New Economic Policy.

It is clear that the New Economic Policy is no accidental episode in our revolutionary struggle; it is not a method which we adopt to-day, and can discard again to-morrow by a decree of the same or another congress; it is a definite process, and a long period will be required before it has fulfilled its task of strengthening our economics and attaining a higher form of organization for our industry. It is only after we have reached this higher level of development that we can pass painlessly over to socialism.

The Difficult Conditions of the First Period.

The transition to the New Economic Policy involved depriving industry to a considerable extent of state support, and the industrial undertakings were obliged to raise the means required to pay wages themselves, and to purchase raw materials, fuel, etc. in the market. But famine, lack of purchasing power among the peasantry, fear of putting bread and goods on the market, had had such an effect that there was no market at all, and industry was thus frequently forced to sell its products to any buyer who presented himself, without making any proper calculation, and without considering whether the buyer was a private dealer or a state authority. The goods had to be sold to any body who paid cash enabling wages to be paid. The state, just beginning to regulate its finances, had not yet ceased to take over the products of industry for purposes of systematized economics, without giving material compensation for the products taken. This period lasted for about eight months, and was not properly overcome until the spring. Despite the difficult conditions governing the market, industry has carried through its task successfully; the apparatus controlling industry, and the workers engaged in industry, have been able to maintain their position. Their future task consists in rendering this position more secure.

Light Industry.

Especially good progress has been made in the sphere of light industry (an increase of production of one and a half times to four times that of our year crisis, 1920). Here we find a production sufficing in many cases to meet the requirements of our market.

At the same time all factors of production have considerably improved during this year in light industry, for instance, in the textile industry. We have increased and improved our sources of supply of raw materials and fuel, we have increased the productivity of work by one and a half to two and a half times in the various branches of the textile industry, we have increased the work of the industrial undertakings by two to three times, attaining to two thirds of the pre-war standard. The actual wages of the workers reached 70 per cent of the pre war wages. Compared with 1921, and especially compared with 1920, we have taken an enormous stride forward; the textile industry has a firm footing, and its further progress is dependent on the measures taken.

The working conditions in the textile industry were perhaps the most difficult of all. In October the price realized for chintz was lower than the cost price, which resulted in a gradual diminution in the turnover capital of this branch of industry. The condition required to aid this industry, and to enable it to continue its work, is the granting of a credit assisting it to overcome, as easily as possible, the inevitable autumn depression.

The Question of Raw Material.

After the revolution the peasants ceased to produce raw materials for industry; they ceased to breed certain animals, for instance sheep, so that the supply of sheep's wool was greatly reduced. The progress which we now observe in light industry is closely bound up with our progress in obtaining supplies of raw materials. This year we must import from abroad about 2 million puds of cotton and 300,000 puds of sheep's wool. One of our most fundamental tasks for next year is the improvement of our raw material economics.

Heavy Industry.

The other great section of our industry is the metal industry. Although productivity has increased here also, although we can speak of a threefold production of cast iron and a double production of Martin steel, still the proportion is very small as compared with pre-war production, being only 4 per cent in the case of cast iron, and 7½ per cent for Martin steel. These figures show what little progress has been made in this branch of industry as compared with that observed in other branches.

But we cannot work without metal; without metal we cannot improve our means of transport.

The position of the metal industry differs in various places. The Ural district, having cheap labor and considerable quantities of wood fuel at its disposal, is working, and has increased its projected production from 4 to 8 million puds this year. This improvement began in August, and the productivity increases rapidly from month to month.

Petrograd has obtained fuel in return for the wood shavings sold abroad, and is reviving the factories (chiefly of the metal and metallurgical industry), with this fuel. The locomotive factories can now face the future with greater confidence, their position being secured by orders for 508 new locomotives within three years, and by 1,800 large repairing orders.

Metal industry in the south is in a particularly difficult position. This is the most important metal area, producing in past years three quarters of the total metal production, about 180 million puds. The production here this year is somewhat greater than in the Ural district, but the absolute figures are still very insignificant, amounting in all to only 2½ per cent of the pre-war figures.

In some branches of the metal-working industry a crisis is impending. Lack of financial means renders it impossible for the traffic commissariat to give the required orders. The productivity of the agricultural machinery industry is also extremely small. The development of this industry is hampered by the low purchasing powers of the peasantry. The peasant was accustomed to buy agricultural machines on credit, but the industry is not in a position to sell its products on credit.

But even here, as in light industry, there is an increase of productivity to be observed, one and a half times as much having been produced in comparison with last year, while the work demanded of the industrial undertakings has so increased, that in many factories in the Ural district it has attained to more than 50 per cent of the pre-war standard. There is also an improvement to be noted in the utilization of raw materials and fuel; the amount of cast iron produced with a certain amount of fuel has increased. As in light industry, general progress in productive conditions has been made, and many important advantages have been won. Further development depends on the financial situation.

Fuel.

This year has also seen rapid strides forward with regard to fuel. The output of both coal and naphtha have increased; the output of naphtha, for instance is already 50 per cent of the pre-war output. Our coal output is 34 per cent of the pre-war output. The percentage of fuel employed for supplying the mines decreases from year to year (39 per cent in 1920, 28 per cent in 1922).

In the Don basin we passed through a severe crisis last year, involving considerable reduction of output.

The naphtha industry, on the other hand, has not reduced its production, and Baku and Grosny have been working with the accuracy of clockwork during the whole year.

The utilization of fuel has undergone much improvement during the year, less wood being employed, and more mineral fuel. Three years ago 80 per cent of the fuel required by the state had to be supplied by wood. In the future we shall however calculate upon a reserve of 2 million cubic metres of wood only, and meet the rest of our systematic fuel-consumption by mineral fuel. Only a slight further exertion is required, and we shall have attained the normal pre-war proportion of wood and mineral fuel.

Electrification.

This year, as last, the state, despite the lack of financial resources, expended considerable sums on electrification. Work has already been completed at the two most important stations (that in Kaschira, and the "Red October" station near Petrograd). Work is in full progress at the hydro-electric station Volchovstroi, one of the greatest stations of Europe, and at Tscheyabinsk, Kisilowsk, and Nischni-Novgorod, and work has also been begun at the station in Schatura and at the station in the Don basin. We are also proceeding with the exploitation of the Dnjepr river. This will mean a great hydro-electric station giving life to the Jekaterinoslav district. I pass over a number of smaller stations without special mention. I need only say that this work is proceeding uninterruptedly, and that within four years we shall have nine great stations enabling us to erect electric centres all over Russia. These stations will considerably reduce our costs of production, will allow of our utilizing our fuel much more effectively, and will win for us that strategic position from which we can organize our industry properly, and ensure its further development.

The General Situation.

Until October the prices of industrial products were considerably lower than the corresponding pre-war prices, when

comparison is made with the price of bread. It was not until the crops created a market, and awakened a demand among the peasantry, that these comparative prices began to equalize.

There was no market before; it is only since September that a real market can be spoken of. In this market our state industry has been able to fully maintain its position in wholesale trade, and has retained 50 to 70 per cent of the turnover in its own hands. Here we have not abandoned one single position. But state industry cannot deal directly with the immediate consumers, the peasants.

It is typical of our market that for the period of a year the selling prices of the great industrial undertakings were lower than the market prices. This difference was inconsiderable during the time of depression in the summer, but it increased with the revival of the market, and the market price of the best selling manufactured articles rose to 50 to 60 per cent above the selling price of the trusts. This is a sign that the endeavor of industry towards a rise in the price of its productions is a healthy and normal phenomenon.

Foreign trade.

The role played by the state organs in foreign trade has greatly increased in importance, and approximately 50 per cent of our foreign turnover falls to state industry. Our main export branches, such as the wood industry, have won a secure position in the market during this year. The export of our naphtha products has greatly increased. This year a breach was made in the blockade against our naphtha products in foreign markets, and in the course of the year we exported naphtha to the value of 14 million gold roubles.

The rubber manufacturing industry is also beginning to send its products to foreign markets. The quality of the articles manufactured is quite up to foreign requirements.

Questions of organization.

Before the 9th Soviet congress the organizational questions of our industry, under the new conditions created by state capitalism, had not been adequately formulated. The 9th congress created the basis of re-organization. We have had to pass from the principle of various central distribution authorities, from strict centralism, to autonomy of the economic undertakings.

The fundamental organizing cell of our industry, which we have designated with the word "trust", has proved an element of essential vitality. We do not form these trusts mechanically all after one pattern, but every consideration is accorded to economic and technical conditions in each separate case. The other form of organization of our industry, the union of the separate trusts into syndicates, has also proved to be of lasting value. More than 50 per cent of our trusts are united in syndicates.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from the situation of our industry thus described? We must above all recognize the fact that during the past year, industry has passed the dead point of the crisis of the last few years. This preliminary step has been taken. It is greater in light industry than in heavy. There are signs that this development will proceed further, for the living forces of the proletariat are working for it, and these forces strengthen industry both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The commanding position incorporated in our nationalized state industry has remained completely in the hands of the proletariat. We can look to the coming year with much greater confidence than we could at last year's congress, when our industry was still inexperienced in the New Economic Policy. We are able to wait, and we are able to demand conditions favorable to us from the foreign capitalists who are beginning to stream towards us.

Our New Economic Policy sets us the task of encountering foreign and inland capital—where their appearance is unavoidable—with a mighty and centralized state industry. This year has demonstrated that we are equal to this task, and we are fully convinced that next year our positions will be finally secured.

The Economic Situation in Hungary and the Hungarian Proletariat

By Georg.

The results of the Hungarian counter-revolution have spelt ruin to economy and starvation for the working class, to an extent which horrifies even the bourgeoisie. After a brief period of apparent prosperity, all the symptoms of an acute crisis have set in. Among many categories of workers, as for instance in the clothing trade, unemployment is increasing rapidly. In many metal-ware factories discharges and short time are the order of the day. The state finances are in a frightful condition. It is

impossible to state exact figures, as the Horthy government does not submit any draft of the budget to parliament. But the state finances for 1923 are said to have a deficit of 55 milliards, which is to be "covered" by the issue of notes. The reparation demands of the Entente have also done their work, and effected a general "flight from the crown". The capitalists accumulate foreign securities, and effect a great artificial depreciation of the crown, in order to prove the insolvency of the country by this inflation policy, which is consciously pursued even by the government. A renewed wave of increased prices follows on the heels of the fall of the crown, but wages remain unaltered.

Even the government found itself obliged to do something to placate public opinion last year, and got up an "emergency action". This however ended in a miserable fiasco, and in any case was not intended to alleviate the misery of the proletariat, but merely to distract the attention of the workers from their plight. The bourgeoisie enjoys almost complete freedom from taxation, while all state liabilities are borne by the working class and the small farmers. The landowners sell their products abroad for the most part agrarian, is forced to buy the same products, like potatoes, and even wheat abroad. The result of this is that food prices have continually increased, even at the time when the Hungarian crown was temporarily stabilized last year, and did not follow the downward movement of the German mark. This extortion in prices is supported by the government, as this is in the hands of the large landowners and bankers. The state authorities frequently proceed against small dealers (thus a street hawker, an ill-clad invalid, was interned in camp for two years for excessive prices), while usurers and profiteers on a large scale go scot free. This usury exercised against the working class by high prices and taxation, combined with the lowest wages in Europe, is driving the workers into the miseries of famine. In order to suppress any desperate actions on the part of the working class, the Horthy government requires the aid, not only of its democratic parliamentarism, but also a continuation of the White Terror, now legalized in the form of a "security law", and also carried out illegally by the Fascist organizations.

There is no wonder that foreign capital takes a particular interest in this White Guard Eldorado. Czecho-Slovakian undertakings are removing to Hungary with their machinery, French capitalists are investing their money in Hungarian undertakings, and are having new buildings erected, Belgian capital is applying for the municipal undertakings of the capital city, and even Stinnes has not omitted the Hungarian proletariat from his plan of reconstruction. He already has a share in a number of iron concerns, and is continually purchasing fresh shares in Hungarian undertakings. It is in fact a most profitable business for international capital to emigrate to Hungary.

With the workers the case is otherwise. Thousands are trying to leave the country, many have already emigrated. In the course of last year a lack of skilled technical workers was felt, and the Horthy bourgeoisie felt obliged to take drastic measures against the emigration tendency. Miners desirous of going to the Ruhr area were arrested under the pretext of being connected with secret emigration agents, and the government even sent its spies specially to the Ruhr district for the purpose of discovering the "secret connections" between the Hungarian workers there and Budapest. The union of Hungarian building industries demanded from the government the strict prohibition of emigration for all qualified workers.

The most striking illustration of the existing famine conditions is to be found in the bourgeois statistics, which show the consumption of bread to have decreased in Budapest, by more than 40%, as compared with pre-war consumption. And this although the number of inhabitants of the capital has been considerably swelled by the various refugees. As early as October 1922 the average real wage of the Hungarian industrial worker was only one quarter of the pre-war wage, while even the wretched wages of the German workers amounted at that time to one half of the pre-war wage, and those of the Austrian proletariat to one third. Since this time further increases in prices have rendered the situation considerably worse. The real wages of the workers fall in proportion as dividends and illegal profits rise. In peace times the average weekly wage of the industrial worker was 40 crowns, and at the end of last year it amounted to 5,000 paper crowns. For the 40 crowns the worker could buy, in pre-war times, 400 lbs of wheat, 308 lbs of bread, or 1,332 lbs of potatoes, while the present weekly wages scarcely suffice to buy 82 lbs of wheat, 72 lbs of bread, or 280 lbs of potatoes. This signifies an average sinking to 20-23 per cent as compared with pre-war wages. In 1914 a pound of bread cost 0.13 crowns, while in October 1922 the price was 60 crowns. The new year set in with an enormous rising flood of high prices. It began with the increase in the price of bread and meat. A pound of meat now costs

330 to 370 crowns, fat 400 crowns, flour 90 to 100 crowns, and the bakers are demanding an immediate rise in the bread price of 5 crowns per pound.

In October last, a bourgeois economic expert calculated the weekly minimum cost of living of a family of five at 11,426 crowns; the social democratic organ gave the sum, for absolute necessities exclusive of housing etc., on October 21, as 6,111 crowns, while the maximum wage of the best paid workers was 5,000 crowns, of the assistant workers 2,700, and of female workers 1,600 crowns. According to the bourgeois statistician above mentioned the index figures of increased prices amounted in October, when the crown was stable, to 23.8 per cent as compared with the preceding month, while the social democratic trade union paper characteristically calculates a lower index figure, 20.1 per cent, for the same time.

The misery of the Hungarian proletariat is mirrored in the wage conditions of the best paid metal workers. Although the most modest computation shows their real wages to have sunk 35 to 40 per cent in the year 1922, the employers' union has refused to grant any rise in wages, and adds insult to injury by calling upon the workers to improve their material position by working 10 to 11 hours daily. The amounting of the eight hour day, even among those categories of workers who held to it despite the raging Terror, and the introduction of the ten hour day, are amongst the demands of the counter-revolution. When venturing on such provocations, the capitalists reckon on the docility of the trade union leaders, whose chief care is invariably to warn the workers "against ill-considered action and irresponsible provocateurs", that is, against any struggle whatever. A member of the bourgeois opposition giving his report simultaneously with a social democrat in a provincial town, was enabled to declare, with perfect truth, that he found much more patriotism and "understanding of the emergency of the fatherland" among the social democrats than among many of the bourgeoisie. The working class will be exposed to the miseries of starvation until it ceases to entrust its fate to the patriotic Hungarian knights of the Second and two and a half Internationals.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Enslavement of the Mining Proletariat

By Gustav Sobottka (Berlin).

1922 has been a year of severe fighting and many defeats for the whole mining proletariat. In Germany especially, mining capital assumed an attitude of increased offensive towards the miners from the very beginning of the year. The wages of the miners were to be reduced, their working hours lengthened. On March 23, 1922, the former imperial minister Gothein stated before the social political committee of the state economic council, that the seven hours' shift is an obstacle upon which the reconstitution of Germany, that is, the capitalist reconstitution, is bound to be shipwrecked. The first aim therefore was to abolish the seven hour shift, and thus clear the way for the abolition of the eight hour day. Eight days later, during negotiations held by the state coal-mining council on March 31, the workers' representative Löffler, member of the committee of the Miners' Union, also adopted the standpoint that the output of coal must be increased, and expressed himself in favor of an agreement providing for overtime and extra shifts. This circumstance was a welcome opportunity to the mining capitalists, and they immediately sent their faithful minister Croerer, who then exercised pressure on the social democrats in the government, and thus at the same time on the reformist leaders of miners' organizations, to induce them to abandon the sham resistance which they had hitherto offered to the abolition of the seven hour shift in mines. The first attack was then made in May, but failed, thanks to the attitude of the miners' representatives. At the joint conference of all miners' organizations under reformist leadership, held on July 11 in Bochum, overtime and lengthened shifts were rejected. The ministers who had come personally to the conference to aid the union leaders to break the resistance of the miners—the state minister of labor Brauns and the state minister of economy Schmidt—encountered a humiliating defeat, and had to return to Berlin without accomplishing their object.

The capitalists and their helpers, the ministers and trade union bureaucrats, did not however abandon their projects. A course of systematic pressure on the miners was now begun, especially in the Ruhr basin. At meetings and conferences the miners were told that if they would work overtime the dollar would cease to rise, food and other necessities would become cheaper, wages would rise, and the standard of living improve

All this had no effect. The miners were not to be persuaded to consent to an agreement lengthening the shifts. It was only by the aid of a cunningly thought out plan that the union leaders were enabled to humbug the miners. At the international miners' congress the German delegation and its chairman Husemann, were especially emphatic in utterly rejecting any thought of longer working hours for the miners. But before these thundering speeches had ceased to re-echo, the committee convened a conference of confidential representatives in Bochum, and had a resolution passed empowering it to take steps towards relieving the coal shortage. The committee of the miners' union of course considered a lengthened shift agreement to be the most suitable step, and an agreement with the colliery owners was resolved upon, according to which the miners from September, were to work one hour longer for 6 days in the week, or two hours longer for 3 days. It took about six weeks before the leaders of the organizations succeeded in the breaking the resistance of the miners, and even then only a small number began working overtime. The majority demanded a shop stewards' conference, and that it be put to the vote whether the agreement resolved upon by the union leaders be accepted or not. By means of the assistance lent by the security police, and by dismissing the miners taking a leading part against the longer working hours, the introduction of the eighth hour was finally accomplished in every colliery of the Ruhr valley. With respect to rises in wages the miners have had to struggle just as obstinately as in the overtime question, and here they have met with equal defeat. At the close of the year their actual wages were considerably lower than at the beginning.

The mining capitalists, on the other hand, may be well satisfied. During the past year the output of coal increased considerably. According to the figures stated up to now by the "Deutschen Bergwerkszeitung" (German Mining Periodical), the output for the year in the Ruhr valley is estimated at 97.3 million tons. This is an increase of 3.2 million tons compared with last year, and exceeds the output of 1911, and is but little inferior to the output of 1913. It must also be taken into consideration that the production of coke has extraordinarily increased. The daily work performed by the miners has also increased from month to month.

Thus in October the output of one day's work was 339,505 tons. This exceeds the output of the preceding month of September by 22,505 tons, and that of October 1921 by 30,000 tons. In the month of November 1922 the output again rose to 354,483 tons, an increase of a further 14,878 tons. According to the figures ascertained up to the present, the month of December shows a daily output of 344,000 tons as compared with November. This is a slight falling off, but is still a substantial increase as compared with October. With regard to the production of coke no exact figures have as yet been published, but as the paper of the German coal barons, itself states, this has increased enormously.

This increased output is not confined to the Ruhr valley, but also applies to the Central German lignite district, the largest of its kind in Germany, where the output of brown coal has been greatly increased. In 1921 the brown coal output of this district was 84.7 million tons, but before the close of 1922 an output of over 95 million tons had been reached, an increase of over 12%.

The mine owners invariably account for this increase by drawing attention to the increased number of workers employed. This is not the case however. In the month of October 1921, 144,318 workers were employed in the Central German brown coal district, and in October 1922 there were 147,210. This is an increase of only 2%, while the increase in coal output was more than 12%. The same applies to the Ruhr valley, where the increase in the number of employed is not in proportion to the increase in coal output, for here the larger number of workers now occupied are not working at bringing up coal, but in coking-furnaces and chemical plant. Before the war, the hewers in the Ruhr valley comprised 54 per cent of the total mining workers, at the end of 1921 only 38.1 per cent, and in the second quarter of 1922 only 37.6 per cent. The proportion of surface and pit workers had altered between the end of 1921 and the middle of 1922 by one per cent to the disadvantage of the latter. Out of a total of 525,000 workers this signifies 5,250 more workers working above ground in July 1922 than in December 1921, and fewer in the mine for winning coal. All this shows with perfect clearness that the increased output is due solely to the intenser exploitation of the mining proletariat.

But it is not only this increased output which has added to the wealth of the mining capitalist, but the deprivation of the miners of their rightful wages. According to a statement published by the miners' newspaper, the share allotted to wages and salaries, in August 1922, from the selling price per

ton of coal was	619.28 M. = 40.93%
for taxes and levies	528.15 M. = 34.91%
remained to the capitalists for settlement of prime costs and for profits	365.57 M. = 24.16%

In the month of November the proportion had altered as follows:

share for wages and salaries	2334.64 M. = 28.77%
taxes and other levies	2668.04 M. = 33.13%
remained to the capitalists for settlement of prime costs and for profits	3091.04 M. = 38.10%

Within three months the share falling to wages and salaries has shrunk from 40.93% to 28.77%. The profits of the capitalists have risen from 24.16% to 38.10%. This calculation is based on a daily output of 530 kgs per head per shift. In a great many collieries the output per head and shift is however much higher. The "Hibernia" colliery for instance, a company employing 25,000 workers, had attained an output of 700 kgs per head and shift as early as 1921, according to its own business report, and this will certainly have been further increased in 1922.

This reduction of the workers' share is particularly expressed by the fact that the rises in wages do not in the least correspond to the increased cost of living. According to the state Statistic Office the costs of living rose by 65.7% in October 1922 as compared with the month of September. The rise in wages granted the miners was only 24%. From October to November 1922 the costs of living rose by 114%, the wages by only 74%. In December the costs of living increased by at least 100%, as compared with an increase in wages of about 50%. It would not have been possible for such a frightful state of affairs to have arisen, had the reformist trade unions not done their utmost to nip in the bud any signs of a desire to fight amongst the miners.

The want and misery into which the German miners are plunged may best be realized by a perusal of the following figures. In November 1913 a miner in the Ruhr basin received an average wage of 5.50 marks, equivalent to 1 1/2 dollars. In November 1922 the average daily wage was 1701 marks. That was 1/4 dollar.

In November 1913 the miner received for his day's wages	5 1/2 lbs of bacon
" " 1922 " " " " " "	1 1/2 do.
" " 1913 " " " " " "	32 lbs of bread
" " 1922 " " " " " "	15 do.
" " 1913 " " " " " "	7 lbs of margarine
" " 1922 " " " " " "	1 1/2 do.
" " 1913 " " " " " "	1 pair of pit shoes
" " 1922 " " " " " "	a patch on a pit shoe
" " 1913 " " " " " "	a pit suit
" " 1922 " " " " " "	had to work for a whole week before he could buy a pit suit.

The constant retreats beaten by the miners' organizations encouraged the mine owners, and their colleagues in the steel and iron industries, to continue the same line of action. When the labor organizations demanded fresh negotiations in the middle of December, the colliery owners declared that no rise in wages was to be granted, and that they were not prepared to negotiate before January 12. Their colleagues in the iron industry applied to the state government with the demand that an increase in the miners' wages was not to be agreed to under any circumstances. At the same time the capitalist press set up the wildest agitation against the miners. This shameful conduct aroused such indignation and excitement among the miners that the reformist leaders were almost swept away. In order to prevent this, the leaders of the miners' union in particular, adopted an extremely radical tone, and rejected the government's first offer of intermediation, when no agreement was come to between the mine owners and the labor organizations. This was however merely an empty demonstration, for the miners' union simultaneously headed a savage campaign of agitation against the communists. A number of confidential representatives of the workers, not even communists, but dissatisfied with the constantly false tactics of the miners' union, were expelled from the union. The Amsterdam bureaucrats thus destroyed their own union rather than be obliged to lead a miners' fight. And when, at the instigation of the government, another arbitration award was pronounced, but which offered not a penny more than the first, the union leaders were content, and accepted. They even accepted the condition that the interrupted working of overtime, should be taken up again from January 15 onwards.

The crushing enslavement to which the German mining proletariat is subjected by the German capitalists is greatly facilitated by the attitude of the Entente capitalists and the continual reprisals regarding delivery of coal. Under the pretext of having to fulfil the obligations imposed by the Spa coal agreement, the

German mine owners squeeze the last drop of blood out of the mining proletariat.

The ever sinking actual wages of the German miner are at the same time a danger for his comrades abroad. Simultaneously with the intensified offensive of mining capital, a tendency towards sharper oppressive measures could be observed among the mining capitalists of England, France, Belgium, and the Saar district. The English capitalists persist in a determined refusal to raise the wages of the pitmen, though these still remain 80% behind the increased cost of living. In Northern France all means are being employed to further lengthen the shifts, and a favorable moment is being looked for to abolish the eight hour day by a Parliamentary decree. In the Saar district the miners are also carrying on a severe struggle against reductions of wages by the French authorities. Despite this, wages have here been also considerably reduced, although prices have increased. Thus at the present time the pit workers are earning between 13 and 14 1/2 francs. Hewers' wages vary between 14 and 16 francs. After all taxes and liabilities have been deducted, the hewer receives a monthly wage of 314 to 320 francs. Compared with pre-war wages and prices, this is about half the actual pre-war wage.

For the miners there is no other course than to organize a common international struggle, participated in by the world mining proletariat, against capitalism, against the enforcement of the peace treaty and the Spa agreement. If this fight cannot be taken up with the consent of the Amsterdam trade union leaders, then it must be taken up against their will, if the miners, and with them the whole proletariat, are not to perish in misery.

The Question of a United Front

By W. Münzenberg.

The efforts of the Communist International, towards the creation of a united front of defense against the world-offensive of Capital, showed that a united proletarian front can only be realized by a fight against the principal strongholds of the Social Democratic parties and trade unions, and only through a widespread Communist propaganda. This lesson, learned from previous experience in fighting for a united front, should be recognized as indisputable by every comrade. Another question is the question of how to proceed with the agitation for a united front among the great mass of people. Mistaken as the Friesland group was, when it withdrew from the 3rd International, in believing that unity could only be brought about through negotiation with the head organizations, it is an equally great error to believe that the united front can only be achieved through propaganda among the great politically indifferent and unorganized masses. Since the collapse of the Berlin conference last year and of the peace comedy at the Hague, negotiations between the Communist International with the principal bodies of the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, or of the executive of any Communist Party with the Social Democratic parties of the same country have become much more difficult and, at present, are practically impossible. But there is still another question, whether we should confine ourselves to the proletarian and politically active elements in the Social Democratic Party and the social democratic unions, in this propaganda for a united front. It is true that circumstances may arise in the various countries, where a particular sharpening of the political situation, might make it possible for the Communist Party to assume control, and to unite in the struggle the great mass of workers who are not members of the party. But our propaganda for bringing about a united front is not concerned with the exceptional action which springs forth impulsively, forced by historical events. Rather it attempts to discover, through organization and propaganda a means to overcome the apathy of the despairing masses of workers in Central Europe, to prepare them at least ideologically, and, if possible, to organize them for common action. But to accomplish this, the propaganda must be concerned, not so much with the broad sections of the politically indifferent. It must be extremely dexterous in spreading its agitation among the politically active groups of the social democratic parties and the unions under their influence. For, unless these groups are won over to the tactics of a united proletarian front, the Communist International and its parties will find it difficult, for some time, to lead the masses into the struggle, and above all to retain control in case of a simple struggle (Ludwigshafen). The winning over of such groups to the tactics of a united front is undoubtedly possible but it demands propaganda and action of a considerably greater elasticity, a considerably greater adaptation to circumstances and a greater skill than the simple Communist propaganda among unorganized

workers. The politically active groups (party functionaries and shop-committee men) in the social democratic parties and the trade unions are bound by a hundred ties, to their party and unions, through the tradition of many years membership, through the power of habit, through personal bonds and friendships. It would be very difficult to completely alienate the politically active elements of the old parties and unions from their organizations and to bring them into the Communist Party. But it is possible to win over to a real conception of the Communist International and its problems, that element which stands in no dependent relations as an employee of the party or the union, but which actually works in the workshop factories and mines.

The agitation within each group must deal, in the first place, with the economic and political questions of the particular country, with the increased cost of living, Fascism, etc. We need mention here only one of the international questions which should serve as points for propaganda, namely, the question of the attitude of the world-proletariat to Soviet Russia. Immediately after the victory of the Communist Party in Russia in the autumn of 1917, and even more so in 1918 and 1919, a storm of enthusiasm swept the ranks of the proletariat the world over. Even the non-Communist sections, the still numerous Centre parties yielded to the pressure of the enthusiastic workers and declared themselves solidly with Soviet Russia. A certain reaction among the masses appeared when, in the course of Russia's history, she found it necessary to undertake a retreat in the economic field, which the social democratic press utilized in a shameless way in its propaganda against Soviet Russia. But it is important to recall that when in 1921 the terrible famine so greatly endangered Soviet Russia, and one was actually compelled to reckon with the precarious position of the Soviet government, the old love and spirit of solidarity of the foreign working masses found expression again in the international relief work for the starving in Russia. The workers from European countries, from Japan, China, Brazil, Egypt; in short everywhere where a machine throbs or a proletarian labors at the forge shouldered their share in this relief. The workers of all organizations and parties combined in this unified action. The feeling that the fate of the worker is bound up with the fate of Soviet Russia permeated the great mass of the workers in the course of the famine campaign. We are firmly convinced that today, even more than in the last few years, the question of Soviet Russia and its significance for the international working class has gained the interest of the great mass of the proletariat, and this can and must be used as the starting point for winning over the politically active groups in non-Communist organizations.

In 1921, when the international solidarity of the workers for Russia reached its apex, Soviet Russia was in a worse position and the international proletariat in a better position than is the case today. To the same extent that Soviet Russia has established and strengthened herself, has raised and improved the economic condition of her workers and peasants, the political and economic position of the workers in Europe and America has grown steadily worse. The economic position of the workers in certain Russian cities and provinces, as Moscow and Petrograd is already better than that of various groups of workers in Central Europe. In addition there is the increasing danger to the Socialist and Communist movements from the rapidly spreading and internationally united Fascisti.

The fate of the workers of Europe and of America is more bound up with Soviet Russia today than ever.

This fact is so apparent that every worker including the social democrats, must realize its truth. One can understand that it would be almost impossible for an old member of the Social Democracy to break the ties of tradition, habit and association, and become a member of the Communist Party. But he most certainly can be won over to fight in his own party for a friendly policy towards Russia. Practical experience in the International Workers' Relief during the last campaign proves the truth of this. In Belgium, the members of the Social Democratic parties and groups declared themselves ready to work with the Communists in carrying through the relief campaign for the Russian children. In England, O'Grady represents the trade unions on the Loan Committee. In Sweden representatives of the unions and of the Social Democratic Cooperative Societies sit with the Communists on the Loan Committee. A similar committee is being formed in Denmark. Social Democratic Cooperative Societies in Czechoslovakia and Sweden have placed long-term credits at the disposal of the Workers' Relief. All these examples of a united proletariat have made their appearance in the past months with the sharpening of the opposition (Hague Conference) between the Communist International and the other Internationals. And this proves beyond doubt how strong a desire to help in the reconstruction of Russia exists in the great mass of workers not yet Communist.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

A Joint Committee of Action of the C.I. and the R.I.L.U.

(Declaration of the Executive Committee of the C.I. and of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.)

The general situation of the labor movement at the present time all over the world, demands a complete co-ordination of all organizations of the working class, both political and economic, that are prepared to fight against capitalism. The capitalist attack which has now been raging continuously for two years renders this co-ordination urgent and imperative. The form of co-ordination is of secondary importance. The main point of significance is that co-ordination is actually carried out, and can play a part in the daily struggles of the workers.

In the first International the political parties and the trade unions were amalgamated in one organization. During the epoch of the second International the overwhelming majority of the political parties were of a parliamentary opportunist character, and shrank from revolutionary mass struggles, while the trade unions, with few exceptions, confined themselves exclusively to defending the interests of the working class within the limits of capitalism, and shrank from conflicts with the bourgeois state.

In our epoch of desperate political conflicts at home and abroad, when the centralized forces of the bourgeoisie and its state power are mercilessly attacking the working class, when our most effectual fighting method must be mass action of the proletariat, the co-ordination of this action is most indispensable.

On the basis of the resolutions passed by the fourth World Congress of the Communist International and by the second World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions, make the following declaration:

1. A joint committee of action will be formed by the C.I. and the R.I.L.U. for the promotion of their common activities against the attacks of capital, and for the leadership of the offensive and defensive struggles of the working classes against the bourgeoisie and its accomplices; the name of this committee will be "Committee of action of the C.I. and R.I.L.U."

2. This committee of action will be formed on the basis of equal representation. The Executive Committee of the C.I. and the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U., will each appoint three representatives to the committee.

3. Besides this, joint committees of action can be appointed for conducting special campaigns, and common sittings of the Executive Committee of the C.I. and the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. (or their presidiums) can be held for the purpose of deciding on questions of particular importance, demanding joint action of both organizations.

4. The mutual relations of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions in the different countries are to be decided on the basis of the resolutions passed by the fourth congress of the C.I. and the second congress of the R.I.L.U., and by the concrete situation obtaining in the country in question.

The bourgeoisie does not shrink from co-ordinating all the forces of its organizations (bourgeois state, parties, employers' unions, schools, church, parliament, etc.) in the conflict against the proletariat. The leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals do the same.

The bourgeoisie and the heroes of the Second International, who have preached to the working class on so-called neutrality, autonomy, etc., have themselves struck out quite a different path. The working class must once and for all grasp the fact, that it can only hold its own against capital, by concentrating the whole of its forces in a systematic and planned co-ordination of activity, enabling it to offer the required resistance against the ceaseless attacks of the capitalist class.

THE WHITE TERROR

Russia to the Rescue

Arrival of the exchanged Lettish communists in Moscow.

After more than 400 Hungarian communists had been liberated from the prisons of the Hungarian White Terror, an exchange agreement has been carried through between the Soviet government and the government of Latvia. On December 23, ninety communists arrived in Moscow, from the prisons of "democratic" Latvia, where they had been martyred and tortured, and from whence they have now been rescued in exchange for Lettish hostages retained in Russia.

They were received at the Vindavsk station in Moscow by the workers of the former Riga factory "Union", of the railway workshops of Moscow, and by the students of the communist university in Moscow, further by the representatives of the Comintern, of the Lettish section and the Moscow Committee of the Russian CP, of the Moscow Committee of the Youth Union, of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, etc. In their speeches of welcome, the delegates expressed their conviction, that the flames of the world revolution would soon seize even those places from which the martyred comrades came. They conveyed messages of sympathy from the Russian workers to the Lettish comrades, who have suffered so much in the prisons of bourgeois Latvia.

Comrades Krustin, Dermann, and Kliavs-Kliavin replied to the welcome on behalf of the exchanged comrades. Comrade Krustin pointed out that the leaders of white Latvia were building "democratic" Latvia on the dead bodies of the workers who fell in the fight for their emancipation. Comrade Dermann, deputy of the Lettish national assembly, emphasized that to-day in Latvia, the Tsarist code of criminal law is still being used, and that workers are being condemned to death for deeds for which even the Tsarist government seldom imposed capital punishment. The Lettish courts of justice, headed by the social democrat Holzmann, has caused death sentences on communists to be carried out.

The last speaker, comrade Kliavs-Kliavin, who, despite his being a Russian subject, was tortured in the prisons of Latvia, thanked the workers of Soviet Russia for their comradely reception, and declared that the whole of the comrades who had arrived from Latvia were fully conscious that they owed their lives to Russia, whose powerful hand had rescued them from the hangman of "democratic" Latvia. These comrades are united to the workers of Russia by the tie of communism, and will devote their whole work and their lives for the increase of the political and economic power of Soviet Russia.

APPEALS

The Russian Medical Workers to the Medical Personnel of all Countries!

The 4. All-Russian Congress of medical employees and workers, representing over 350,000 union members, having held its session recently in Moscow, sends fraternal greetings to the medical personnel of all countries, and imparts the following information:

"The union 'Wsemediksantrud' is based on the principle of one vocation one union, and comprises all workers employed in the medical and veterinary profession, or in pharmaceutical chemistry, (Physicians, dentists, veterinary surgeons, ambulance assistants, mid-wives, infants' nurses, pharmaceutical chemists, druggists, etc.) in state, public, or private institutions within the territory of the RSFSR.

The union takes an active part in solving the questions connected with medical, sanitary, and veterinary work; it discusses the most important points in the structure of our health authorities, conjointly with the economic organs, and puts forward candidates for responsible positions in the organs for the protection of public health, hospitals, etc.

During the 5 years of Soviet government the members of the union have stood shoulder to shoulder with the workers of Russia, and have supported the government in all its measures. They have fought against epidemics and served in the field, despite the most frightful deprivations; they have cared for the sick and wounded of the Red Army, and have had faith in the victory of our ideals."

The appeal also contains the following:

"Comrades! Our organization is affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions, notwithstanding, we appeal to you, who are in the ranks of other international organizations, and propose that you enter into close relations with us. We beg you to exchange your experiences in the class-war with us.

We for our part will willingly give you the full benefit of the experience gathered in the course of our work, and in this way we may succeed in working out, conjointly with you, a general line of common tactics.

The 4th All-Russian Congress of the 'Wsemediksantrud' appeals to you, comrades, to enter into the closest connection with us.

Long live the proletarian united front!
Long live the international proletarian revolution!
Long live the Red International of Labor Unions!