

inscribed on every wall, so to speak. The atmosphere is saturated with it. A regime of iron.

But anyone who happened to enter within the sphere of influence of the Fascist state at the beginning of the new year, could suddenly observe a typical incident, which is the more novel, in that it would not have been possible before the establishment of this strong government: The "Royal Guards", that is, the agents of the state police, were dissatisfied with the decree for their fusion with the Carabinieri, and in Turin, Naples, and other places they mutinied and set fire to the offices of the Fascist quite in accordance with Fascist methods. The Turin newspapers reporting these events were confiscated. But one fact is known which only shows what a really strong government is capable of: The troops of mutinying Royal Guards forced their way into the cafés of the centre of Turin, compelled the high society visitors to rise to their feet, and forced them at the point of the revolver to shout "Down with Mussolini".

On this occasion the Carabinieri and the Fascist troops succeeded in getting the upper hand again for the government. The "Fascified" police will proceed on very different lines in the future. In anticipation of the organization of the Fascist national militia, which organizes the Fascist troops under Mussolini's commands, groups of black shirts have commenced doing duty in the most important towns, as a support to the Carabinieri and the police officials. They perform the duties of the political and criminal police, as well as of maintenance of order and public morality. Fascism is also going to abolish crime. The first deeds of the Fascist patrols, forcing their way into houses and beating and arresting peaceful citizens, are so scandalous, that General De Bonno, chief of police and enthusiastic Fascist, has been obliged to adopt prompt counter measures. He disavows the actions of the Fascist troop police, and states they can only be permitted to work when accompanied by an authorized state official. The Fascist methods of controlling the cafés are particularly sensational, for here the police assume the right, as guardians of public morality, of acting like customers — but without paying.

Thieves and criminals of every description will be dealt with by the Fascisti. The traditional system of investigation is replaced by a more up-to-date procedure: for instance torture. Either confess or have your bones and limbs broken by the servants of justice. Recently the whole of Rome was thrown into a state of excitement by the kidnapping of a child. The Fascisti declared that they would find the kidnappers immediately. Nobody had any idea who these were. Meanwhile some suspects had been arrested, and several of them admitted their guilt under the influence of Fascist brute force. The child has not been found, but justice has been done.

An efficient government must be well informed of everything, and keep an eye on the enemies of the fatherland. In Milan the Fascist election committee considered it necessary to carry out a political control of the inhabitants. The committee did not apply to the chief of police for this purpose, but to the landlords, who are close friends of the Fascisti, as the latter have done away with the state limitations to rents. Every landlord received a question form in which he had to fill in all particulars regarding his tenants, including their political opinions. These were quite innovations.

There is also the censor for letters and newspapers. Officially this control does not exist. The government denies its existence. The sole communist paper, the *Lavoratore* in Trieste, published the truth regarding the mutiny of the Royal Guards.

The police immediately appeared and confiscated the page, and the paper appeared with a large blank. The workers fought for a copy of the paper, the whole edition was sold out at once. Great rage on the part of the president of police, who warned the chief editor the next day: "You are not permitted to publish your paper with blank spaces. The government does not desire it". We have decided on the next occasion to fill in the censored space by publishing a folk song: "Poor Theresa". The song is not new, but we are not inventive as the Fascisti.

Fascism liquidates old officialdom. Fresh forces are wanted, young forces, qualified workers! And Mussolini's followers occupy every high state position. A new life has begun. . . .

When drinking his coffee one morning, Mussolini — "after a moment of sharply concentrated deliberation" — appointed the deputy Edoardo Torre, pharmaceutical chemist by profession, to the position of minister for railways.

We shall not speak of the reforms announced by him in an interview. After many declarations and promises about clearing out the red railwaymen, a courageous journalist ventured to ask Torre what he thought of the great deficit in the railway budget. But the new minister is a Fascist; he answered fearlessly: "I shall state my opinion after the accounts have been calculated". Great admiration.

All the newspapers reported the following episode: The new minister travelled about. He occupied himself with instructing the staff with regard to discipline. Suddenly he sprang out of the train at one station, made a tremendous fuss, and threatened the most frightful punishments. Why? The train was not heated. A diffident railwayman ventured into the compartment which had been occupied by the minister, and ascertained that . . . the handle of the heating regulator was turned over to "cold". Technical knowledge triumphed Fascistically!

We will not speak here of the persecutions of the revolutionists, nor of the new principles of justice coming into force. As for instance the amnesty. All punishable acts committed on the occasion of political conflicts are to be amnestied on one condition: that these deeds were committed for national purposes. In this naive manner, the few Fascisti actually condemned for arson and murder are liberated. But the cruellest sentences continue to be passed on the workers who dared to defend themselves.

The printing offices of our newspaper have been invaded and destroyed. There is one office where the Fascists come every time they require anything; they complete the destruction, and take away anything they find useful, typewriters and the like. Legaŕy, we occupy the premises. But if we want to save our property, we must do so by night and by the aid of a master key. To-day I received news that the comrades have "stolen another setting machine". This is actually the case. We have "stolen" the machine, which belongs to us. Another Fascist success.

In Rome the Fascisti set fire to the business premises of our publishers' bookselling establishment. They then accommodated one of their clubs on the premises. We were insured against damages caused by riot. The insurance company informed us that they will not pay: The loss, so they say, has not been occasioned by riot as stated in the contract, but by the *revolution*. Article so and so excludes this from claim to compensation. . . . Revolution! We cannot define the Fascist revolution theoretically and politically as such, but it has probably created so many new occasions for insurance that we shall lose the lawsuit against the insurance company. Fascist Italy is interesting.

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The Federation of Soviet Republics

By J. Stalin.*)

The correspondent of the Inprekorr in Moscow interviewed comrade Stalin on the union of the Soviet republics; comrade Stalin expressed the following opinions:

The alliance of the independent socialist Soviet republics into a unified federative state, consummated at the first Federative Congress at the end of December 1922, represents a new phase in the development of the movement towards union, already begun in 1918.

During the years of civil war and intervention, as the existence of the Soviet republics was in deadly danger, these republics were obliged to form a military alliance in order to secure their very existence. This phase of *military alliance* is now, at the end of 1921 and the beginning of 1922, passing into a new phase of development, for the great capitalist powers have lost faith in the power of intervention, and are attempting to re-establish capitalist property in Russia by diplomatic and not by military methods. At Genoa and at the Hague the *diplomatic united front* of the Soviet republics acted as a counter force to the diplomatic pressure of capitalism. The agreement of the 8 independent Soviet republics, and the Republic of the Far East, formed on this basis after the Genoa conference, must be designated as a creation of this united front. But later on the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic proved insufficient; the necessity was felt for a closer alliance.

Among the factors pressing the Soviet republics to union, one of the most important is the internal *economic situation* of the republics: the great dearth of resources resulting from the 7 years of war; the insufficient financial means at their disposal for proper utilization and development of the fundamental branches of production. Another factor is the natural division of work historically originating in the economies of the republics, and the uniformity of the traffic network covering the whole federation.

The alliance was further dictated by the position of the Soviet republics with regard to other countries. The danger of attacks on the part of the capitalist powers demands a *united army* and a *united military front*,—especially now that the Red

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Army is reduced to 600,000 men. Besides being liable to military attacks, the Soviet republics are exposed to the danger of economic isolation, of being boycotted by the capitalist great powers. The events that preceded the conference of Lausanne, and those of Genoa and The Hague, show the endeavour of the Entente to *isolate* the Soviet republics. Unity with regard to foreign relations is thus a necessity.

Finally, the formation of a united federation of socialist Soviet republics is actually dictated by the *nature of the Soviet* as opposed to that of any bourgeois government, in that it is *international* in its essence, and brings every pressure upon the working masses of the separate nationalities to unite into one socialist family.

The combination of all these factors has prepared the soil for the alliance.

The initiative towards the alliance has been taken by the republics themselves. Three or four months ago the republics of Aserbaidshan, Georgia, and Armenia, brought up the question of forming an alliance of republics; the Caucasian republics were joined by the Ukraine and White Russia.

On December 10, the alliance was decided upon by the Soviet congress of the Caucasian Federation; on December 13, by the Soviet congress of the Ukraine; and after this decision had also been accepted by the last All-Russian Soviet Congress the *First Federative Congress* of the Soviets was held in Moscow on December 30, and the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics was formed.

This Union was joined by: the R.S.F.S.R. as a united federative body, the Trans-Caucasian Republic, also as a federated whole (Aserbaidshan, Georgia, Armenia), the Ukraine and White Russia. The 2 Soviet republics, Bukhara and Khiva which are not socialist but people's republics, are not included in the federation. The R.S.F.S.R. forms the greater part of the federation.

The fundamental principle of the Federation is that the republics are voluntarily affiliated, have equal rights, and retain the right of leaving the federation of republics.

The supreme organs of the Federation of the S.S. republics are: the Federative Central Executive Committee, based on proportional representation, and the Federative Council of

People's Commissars, elected by the former body as its Executive organ. As regards the separate commissariats, those for foreign trade, army, navy, traffic, and foreign relations, are amalgamated; so that special commissariats in the separate republics will cease to exist; on the other hand the commissariats for finance, political economy, local government boards, labor, and inspection, will be retained in each republic, but in such a manner that they act in accordance with directions issued by the corresponding commissariats of the federative centre. The remaining commissariats, as those for agriculture, justice, education, internal affairs, etc., having special reference to the customs and habits, cultural level, and to the special forms of land cultivation and jurisdiction of the various peoples, are left to the independent regulation of each of the allied republics. One effect of this is to secure the freedom of national development of the peoples belonging to the Federation of Soviet Republics.

This is the form of peaceful relations, of fraternal co-operation, of more than 50 nationalities, within the limits of a united state now created on the frontier between Europe and Asia. This is the solution of the nationality question which has been found by the Soviet republics. What the old and much praised bourgeois democracy has failed to accomplish has been performed at one blow by the new Soviet democracy. The peoples formerly held together by Tsarism, with the aid of the knout, within the limits of a single state, and who strove towards independence with every fibre of their being, these peoples have now united of their own accord to form a united state federation, and to point to the world the way towards the formation of the Socialist World Soviet Republic.

POLITICS

The Communist Successes in the Norwegian Municipal and Rural Council Elections

By Alfred Aakermann (Christiania).

The municipal and rural district elections took place in Norway in October and December. The Communist Party ran candidates in 58 towns. In all, 560 communists were elected out of 2,120 members of municipal administrative bodies. The conservatives, including the associations of non-party citizens, won 775 seats, the democratic parties 246, right-socialists 254, land owners, prohibitionists, and other non-political groups 285. The labor parties have a majority in five municipalities; in five others they have as many seats as the bourgeois bloc, which in nine towns, including the capital city has only one more vote than the labor parties.

During the next three years the communists will be the strongest party in Bergen, Trondhjem, and 13 other towns. The socialists of the right take the lead in 13 other towns. With regard to the bourgeois parties, there is a purely conservative majority only in four places, principally where the prohibitionists are unpopular, in the remaining municipalities they have a relative majority, the decision lying here with the few democratic politicians of the middle class.

At the municipal elections in 1919 the labor party won 630 seats. On the occasion of the split which took place two years later, a great part of the elected town councillors joined the social democrats, and formed special organizations, for the most part in opposition to the old party organization. After the split there was a total of 333 followers of the party majority and 244 social democratic secessionists in 47 municipalities. 501 communists and 233 right socialist have now been elected in these same towns.

The number of votes cast is of equally great interest. At the parliamentary election last year the social democrats for the first time set up their own candidates. In 44 towns they then received 42,000 votes as compared with 80,000 received by the communists. This time the two parties received at the municipal elections in the same towns, 30,000 and 85,000 votes respectively. The communists have increased their vote from two thirds of the total labor vote to three quarters. In Christiania the party gained 5,000 votes. The increase was from 34,500 to 39,400. In the other towns the increase was from 44,600 to 45,800. As compared with this, the social democratic vote in Christiania decreased from 11,500 to 9,300, and in the other towns from 30,300 to 21,000. The capitalist parties have at the same time suffered a serious loss of votes, when comparison is made with the parliamentary election. The absolute gains of the communists are of the greater significance in that the limitations now imposed

on municipal suffrage—the right to vote being dependent on two years residence in the municipality—are distinctly unfavourable for the working class.

The rural elections displayed the same political character as those in the cities. The country districts comprise almost two thirds of the total population, and represent a very important factor of local administration. As already mentioned, the rural elections took place in October. The communists gained an absolute majority in 27 rural councils. In nine others they possess one half of the total seats. In 25 other rural district councils the combined labor parties have the virtual majority. In one province the party received almost one half of the total votes. Here 14 communist district councillors were elected out of 29 councillors, so that the communists have almost the majority in the district meetings of this extensive district. A total of 1,800 communists and 500 socialists were elected to the rural councils. At the elections three years ago the labor parties had only 2,050 seats in all.

The new municipal and rural councils soon will be convened. In consequence of the election results the Norwegian Communist Party will receive a large number of chairman's (mayor's) positions, the importance of which varies according to circumstances. The communists have gained great influence in the three most important towns of Christiania, Bergen, and Trondhjem, and have created a most advantageous situation for the working class by breaking the power hitherto exercised by the reactionaries. The next step taken by the party will be the formation of a union of municipal and rural councils, administered by the workers, as an instrument for aiding the workers to represent their common interests in the class war.

ECONOMICS

On the Denomination of Paper Money in Soviet Russia

By E. Preobrazhensky.

For the second time the Soviet government has struck off a few naughts from the figures of its paper money, that is, it has carried out a denomination. That we may be clear as to the significance of this proceeding, let us first ask the question: What is the difference between a denomination and an actual devaluation or depreciation of a currency.

Devaluation means a financial measure by which the state transforms the depreciated currency of the country, according to the rate of exchange, into new securities of fixed or gold value. The state actually buys up the old monetary mediums at their market value, paying the owner either in gold, or in paper securities of fixed or gold value. The bourgeois state which undertakes such a devaluation thus declares its bankruptcy, for bourgeois financial law considers the constant issue of fresh paper money for its budget requirements as a form of internal loan. Furthermore, a serious devaluation implies that no further issue of paper money will be made to cover deficits, and assumes as a pre-requisite,—conditions in the state itself, favorable to a stable valuta.

Denomination, on the other hand, is purely a measure of convenience. At the first denomination in Soviet Russia last year, for instance, 100,000 roubles of the old type were rendered equal to one new rouble of the 1922 issue; 4 naughts were thus struck off. At this year's denomination a new rouble becomes equal to a million old roubles, or to 100 roubles of the 1922; 2 further naughts are thus struck off. "One rouble" is written and spoken instead of "one million"; the rouble of 1922 is worth the hundredth part of the new rouble; it is equal to a kopek.

Denomination is thus simply a reduction of the gold nominals; it does not alter the purchasing power in any way, for this purchasing power is determined by the laws regulating traffic in goods and money in the country. The sole significance of a denomination is a simplification of calculation. The denomination of 1923 has thus struck off 6 naughts at one time from the old money as it was before 1922. But this was not done until the actual value had been struck off by the process of depreciation by the market itself, indeed to a much greater extent.

Neither does a denomination by any means signify the transition to a fixed rate of exchange. The currency may continue to depreciate. In a country which has been forced to resort to the issue of paper money for many years, a yearly denomination is very well possible. Such a yearly denomination

would be very inconvenient for various reasons, and would not be a measure influencing the financial position of the country in any essential manner.

The bourgeois states have of late been showing much interest in the Russian denomination, but without comprehending its real significance. Denomination is frequently regarded as a method of expropriating the owners of paper money. What has been said above suffices to show that such an idea can only be held by the naive philistine. The owner of paper capital is expropriated by the actual depreciation of paper money in the market. This depreciation may take place under two conditions; it is either the result of a tremendous issue of paper money resulting from the decay of economics (as in the Western countries with depreciating Currencies); or it is the result of a large issue of paper money attendant on the circumstance that, where economics are being reconstituted, the factor of issue outweighs all other factors in the improvement of the currency (as in Russia to-day). But neither in the one case nor in the other is there any expropriation of a part of money capital as a result of the denomination, which is nothing more than a very limited resumé of what has already happened. The false idea of denomination also bears witness to a prejudice of bourgeois financial science. This science invariably regards state issue of paper money, accompanying sinking monetary standards, not as a particular kind of tax, but as a certain form of credit operation at the expense of the money circulation of the country, though in actual fact this is only the case when issues are made in the interests of traffic, and the rate of exchange is fixed, that is, under quite different financial conditions. Another naive conception results from this: the expectation that a government which has occupied itself for some years with the issue of paper money could reimburse the population by raising the rate of exchange to pre-war value. Quite apart from the fact that the values depreciated by the issues do not permit of reimbursement, it is totally impossible from a financial view point to replace precisely those values which have been lost by the fall in the rate of exchange. Let the German or the French government make an attempt at compensating their citizens for the losses they have suffered since the war through the depreciation of the mark or the franc!

It may be said of the latest Russian denomination that it has passed off quite painlessly. The new rouble has already banished the old "million", or, as it has been colloquially expressed, the "limone" (lemon); and it will not be long before every one will have become accustomed to this new and much more convenient method of counting money. But as soon as conditions permit to undertake a real financial reform, that is, conditions permitting a fixed rate of exchange, the question of outward form will be of secondary importance. The actual question is the liquidation of the budget deficit.

The State Bank of Russia

By A. Chvetzov.

I. Its difficulties and achievements.

The Soviet State Bank recently celebrated its first anniversary. In October, 1921, the fourth Pan-Russian Executive Session of the Soviets voted for the establishment of the state bank which the new economic situation had made necessary. On the 16th of November following, the State Bank (Gosbank) began its operations.

The founding of the bank involved almost insurmountable difficulties. Yet, within a year, one sees the appearance of a great national bank, possessing a complete system of branches, and firm in the confidence of the public.

Other equally serious difficulties have been overcome; for instance establishment of credit. And in applying the ordinary rules of credit under the exceptional circumstances following close on a social revolution, the bank has had no light task. How fix the rate of discount and the interest on credit with a paper money constantly depreciating? It was necessary to proceed carefully, step by step, to compensate the losses of one venture by the gains of another, until practical solutions were arrived at. The bank issues notes on a gold basis and under favorable circumstances discounts commercial drafts. It finances nationalized industries, it contributes to the revival of agriculture by the granting of long-term credits and encourages the development of business.

One should mention here, among the bank's commercial operations, its participation in the corn trade. The agricultural revival has not been entirely sufficient for its task, and the Bank

has supplemented it by the purchase of great quantities of cereals.

The Bank has played an important part in the repairing of public buildings both in city and country. In this field private initiative has been largely encouraged and credits freely granted.

Before reviewing the chief results obtained by the State Bank in Russia, it should be remembered that they have had to be attained under the greatest possible difficulties. The bank has had to improvise, to adapt itself to situations both new and unforeseen even by the experts; in short, to achieve revolutionary results in a period of actual transition.

Note: the figures quoted in the following sections are in gold roubles.

II. Loans on Wheat.

The loans on wheat continue to be repaid. A total sum of 10 million gold roubles has been covered as follows:

1. To provincial branches of the Bank	3,966,655	or	39.7 %
2. Sold at Moscow	2,013,084	"	20.1 %
3. Sold to State organs (To nationalized industries and to co-operatives)	1,772,320	"	17.7 %
4. Exchanged against merchandise with nationalized industries	257,680	"	2.6 %
5. Given to co-operatives and to state organs on basis of long term loans	1,000,000	"	10.0 %
6. Sums turned over to various commissariats in payment of salary arrears	990,261	"	9.9 %
	10,000,000	or	100 %

Most of the bonds have finally found their way into the hands of the peasant population, which has received them in one way or another, from private industry or administration and are used for the payment of taxes in kind.

80 % of the bonds have been exchanged against merchandise or paid in ready money. Thus the object of the loan, which was to furnish the State Bank with resources which permit the restriction of emissions, has been attained.

The loan on wheat has also accustomed the masses, especially in the country to appeal with confidence to the credit facilities of the State.

III. Loans for the purchase of Horses.

The lack of horses is one of the worst drawbacks for agricultural Russia, ruined by imperialist and civil war and by famine. Consequently, the State Bank has, since August, placed important sums at the disposal of the peasants for the purchase of horses.

These credits are at the disposal of the Commissariat of agriculture and of famine relief. The loan, bearing 5 % interest, is to be repaid in two instalments by the 1st of December, 1924.

Preference, in distributing the loan, is given to those injured in war and industry and to peasants who have lost their horses either in the service of the state or as a result of a public calamity.

The Commission for the Revival of Cattle Raising examines all the horses received, so that the population receives none but healthy animals.

The horses are bought in Kuban, in the Orenburg region, in Siberia and in the Ukraine. The arrival of the first consignment of horses from Kazan, about the 20th of October, created a great stir among the peasants.

The establishment of loans for the purchase of horses is proving, in the rural districts, one of the most fortunate activities of the State Bank.

IV. The Development of Banking Operations.

The State Bank of Russia, today, possesses 133 branches (19 banks of deposit, 79 branches, 35 agencies).

On January 1, 1922, its balance was reckoned at 476.4 million roubles; on November 1st it was 71,321 millions.

At the same time the current accounts have increased from 171,800,000 to 17,549 millions. On May 1, the State Bank possessed only 3.5 % of the total sums issued by the Soviet Republic, on November 1st, it retained in its vaults 17 %, which indicates a remarkable increase of business and a rapid strengthening of the public confidence.

Discount has undergone a similar development. Beginning in April, reaching the sum of 123.4 millions of roubles on the 1st of May, it attained the sum of 6,031.7 millions on November 1st.

In six months, credit on letters of exchange has increased 45 times. The interest on discount of bills for short terms has

been lowered, since the 21st of June, to 2% per month (Up to two months).

The State Bank has financed nationalized industries, sometimes by transferring to them long term loans, on the account of the Commissariat of Finance, sometimes by granting them direct credits. On the 1st of June, the State Bank had assigned in this fashion, 550 millions, on July 1st 3,245, on August 1st, 6,773, on September 1st, 7,928 and on October 1st, 11,004.

At the end of March, the Bank began its operations in agricultural credit. The loans granted to agriculture increased successively from 11 millions (April 1st), to 121 millions (May 1st); 682 millions (August 1st); 1,136 (October 1st); 1,534 millions (November 1st). The credit was chiefly granted to manufacturers of farm machinery, to nationalized agricultural improvements, to model cultivation enterprises, etc. Agricultural credit can hardly attain any great extent without the help of agricultural co-operation.

Since November, 1921, the Bank has assumed the transmission of capital to and from foreign countries. At first, the sums transmitted through the Bank were turned over to the receivers in Soviet roubles, at the rate of exchange prevailing on that day. After May 1922, it could be done in foreign currency, at first at a rate fixed by the Bank, later at a rate established by a special commission. It will soon be paid at the rate prevailing on the money market. The State Bank will deduct a tax of 3% at Moscow and Petrograd, and of 5% in the provinces.

Commencing in May 1922, the amount of capital transmitted to foreign countries through the agency of the State Bank had increased, by the 1st of November, to a total of 1,242,292 roubles. The Bank charges a tax of from 1.5% to 2% for these operations. At first, this consisted almost entirely of small sums, evidently for the personal use of the recipients. But the remittances of a commercial character have been rapidly multiplying for some months. In September, 930 consignments of capital from Russia to foreign countries were registered, of which 239,250 gold roubles were in foreign currency and 195,750 gold roubles in actual Russian money. In October there were 1,162 consignments, a total of 356,708 roubles (One half in exchange).

To facilitate this transmission of money, the State Bank is contemplating the direct alliance of its branches at Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Rostov-on-Don, Minsk, Vitebsk, Novorossiisk, Nikolaev, Ekaterinoslav, Elisavetgrad and Homel, with foreign countries. This alliance exists, as yet, only in Petrograd and Moscow.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the Balkans

By G. Dimitrov.

The trade union movement in the Balkan states (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Greece, and Turkey) is comparatively young. With the exception of the trade union organizations within the territory of the one-time Austro-Hungarian state, which was united to Yugoslavia, the trade unions of the other Balkan countries have been formed during the last 20 years.

The trade union movement in the Balkans is developing in the atmosphere of a violent class war between labor and capital. The competition and pressure of the considerably more powerful and better organized European capitalism has caused the workers to be exploited with a barbarism which only finds comparison in the backward colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Even before the war the trade unions were forced to carry on long and difficult struggles for every trifling improvement in working conditions, while in many other European countries certain improvements were gained by means of peaceful negotiations between trade unions and capitalists.

The trade unions of the Balkan states have had to fight for the bare right of existence, have had to defend themselves against many attacks involving great conflicts and sacrifices.

It is thus very well comprehensible that opportunism has not been so successful in the trade union movement of the Balkan countries as is the case in the European movement, and that it has not been able to influence the theory and practice of the trade union movement in the direction of class peace, and of collaboration between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. And there

has been even less room for a trade union bureaucracy ready to play flunkey to the bourgeoisie.

This objectively explains why, in the Balkan states, the trade unions did not permit themselves to be made the tools of imperialism, even before war was declared, as did the trade unions of Germany, France, England, and other countries, but on the contrary, armed themselves against the imperialist war, and condemned the treachery of the Amsterdam International.

This is also the explanation of the remarkable fact that all attempts made by the reformists, after the war and at the present time, to influence the trade unions, or to create their own organizations, have been unsuccessful.

In this respect Bulgaria and Yugoslavia offer a noteworthy example. The reformist trade union centre existing in Bulgaria up to the war joined the Red centre in October 1920, the latter being affiliated to the R.I.L.U. since its foundation. This effected the complete unity of the Bulgarian trade union movement, a unity entirely revolutionary.

After the revolutionary trade unions were destroyed in Yugoslavia, the reformists endeavoured to head a legal trade union movement. But although they were aided by the government to take possession of the buildings, funds, furnishings, etc. of the revolutionary trade unions, still they did not succeed in winning over more than a few dozen deluded workers.

The working masses of South Slavia utterly scorn the reformists, and the raging Terror does not prevent them from uniting in revolutionary trade unions possessing great powers of resistance. On the other hand, the favourable influence of revolutionary socialism has prevented the trade union movement in the Balkan states from being affected by anarcho-syndicalism.

At the present time the capitalist offensive is in full swing in the Balkans. The white Terror enables the capitalists of Yugoslavia to increase the exploitation of labor, for by its aid they have been able to introduce the nine and ten hour working day, and to reduce actual wages to their present level of 40 to 45% of the average pre-war wages.

In Roumania and Greece the same conditions obtain: The capitalists seek to reinforce their economic offensive by means of strengthening political reaction.

It is in Bulgaria alone that all the attempts of the bourgeoisie to establish the white Terror have been without avail. Thanks to this circumstance the Bulgarian trade unions are in a position to organize the resistance of the masses against the capitalist offensive in comparative peace, and are doing this with great success. At the present time the whole country is pervaded by a united strike movement, and led exclusively by the Red trade unions. This unanimous and organized resistance of the working masses against the attack of capital has already borne excellent fruit in Bulgaria.

Not only has the eight hour day been retained, and the main objective of the capitalist offensive thus successfully defended, but in some of the most important branches of industry it has been possible to gain an actual rise in wages. Thus for instance the average cost of living in Bulgaria rose by 25% between April and October 1922, and during this same period, thanks to the influence of the trade unions, the wages in the leather, sugar, and tobacco industries, and in the building trade, were raised by 35% to 40%. (The average wage in Bulgaria is however still 40% lower than before the war.)

This energetic resistance naturally enrages the industrial magnates, and they are organizing armed bands in their works and factories, led by White Guard Russian officers. In many places these bands have already attempted to attack the workers, and to render strikes impossible. It is gratifying to note that the favorable influence of the R.I.L.U. and of the C.I. is promoting the rapid formation of the proletarian fighting front of the workers of the Balkans against the capitalist offensive.

At the same time we are enabled to see with increasing clearness that the first pre-requisites for an organized fighting front must be created in the Balkans for the trade union movement. The formation of this front is the most important task of the trade union movement in the Balkan states at the present time.

There is no doubt whatever that the tremendous difficulties obstructing the development of the trade union movement, the white Terror in Yugoslavia, the violent persecutions in Roumania, Greece, and Turkey, and the attacks of armed bourgeois bands in Bulgaria, will be shortly overcome by the revolutionary trade union movement.

The Capitalist Offensive against the Eight Hour Day in Austria

By Ernst Haidt (Vienna).

When the National Assembly in 1919, resolved on the forty-eight hour week for workmen, and the forty-four hour week for youthful workers and women, the capitalists were still influenced by the insurgent proletarian power. They were anxious to show the workers a different countenance, to make them forget what they had suffered before and during the war at the hands of these same capitalists. The resolution of the National Assembly did not proceed from conviction, it was a concession which it could not avoid. The Social Democrat Hanusch, as secretary of state, also took good care to provide so many exceptional regulations that it was not difficult to pass the bill. But after about three months he himself began to pick holes in this shop-window measure of the Austrian Social Democrats and to reshape it more in accordance with capitalist desires. The first thing was to do away as far as possible, with the 44 hour week, which at first applied to all women without exception. A decree issued by Hanusch ordains that the 44 hour week is only valid in undertakings in which women are in the majority. The employers gladly accepted this hint. All officials, foremen, etc., were added to the number of workmen, so that in most undertakings the required majority of male workers was found. In the state tobacco and cigar factories a permanent agreement was made with the workers' organization for three hours weekly overtime, so that 47 hours were worked per week instead of 44. In the workshops of the state railways the "necessary repairs to plant" were put forward by the organization, as a pretext for squeezing 10 hours overtime weekly out of the workers employed. Thus the first attempts at abolishing the eight hour day, and the 44 hour week for women, were made by the social democratic secretary of state and by the leaders of the reformist organizations.

The capitalists were naturally encouraged by this example and wherever it was possible the eight hour day was made a dead letter, for the time at least, by the introduction of overtime. It must be especially noted that this was done with the connivance and even the aid of the reformist trade union. Even in the undertakings of the city of Vienna, the deputies of which are three quarters Social Democrats, the eight hour day was temporarily set aside by the demand for overtime.

The slogan chosen by the capitalists, the government, and the trade unions for the work of re-construction, was "more work". The Social Democrats somewhat shame-facedly interpreted this motto as signifying that the eight hour day was to be used to the fullest extent, that the workers should work as industriously as possible.

Thus the way had been sufficiently prepared for the capitalists by the trade union leaders before the actual attack was made. So long as the markets were favourable, the greater number of undertakings could do no more than merely wish for longer working hours. But the scene changed with the beginning of the crisis, with its attendant wholesale dismissals of workers. Even more were discharged than necessary, in order to exercise pressure on the "high wages", and to weaken the resistance of the workers to reductions. Reduced wages — so the capitalists argued — will induce the workers to work the ninth and the tenth hour, to compensate for the shortage of wage. It is an actual fact that in one mining undertaking, 280 workmen were dismissed on the pretext of shortage of work, and were then told that they could start again if they would give a written pledge to work ten hours a day. This case is not isolated, and it is especially in small undertakings, standing alone, that the employers openly approach the workers with the demand for longer working hours. The plans of the Seipel government towards a "sound basis" are obviously drawn up with the intention of extorting the longest possible working hours out of the workers. Even now, the trade unions lend willing aid toward lengthening working hours. In the "Engine Driver", the organ of the railwaymen's organization, it was explained that the eight hours only applied to the time of actual official duty. Preparatory and subsequent work were not to be reckoned, so that the practical carrying out of this organization shift involves at least 10 hours work. Working hours based on this interpretation have actually already been introduced, step by step of course, so that we have no longer to reckon on an eight hour day for engine drivers etc., but with a nine hours day. In private industrial undertakings, 60 to 100% of which are at present on short time, there is as yet no open effort on the part of the employers to lengthen working hours. At present they are merely endeavouring to increase the army of unemployed, to reduce the wages of the workers employed, and to increase the misery of the unemployed, so that they may utilize these in their

main attack against the eight hour day. It is characteristic that despite short-time, despite the hundreds of thousands of unemployed, the leading theme of the bourgeois press, and of the capitalist conferences, is the necessity of doing away with the eight hour day.

So far as the reformist trade unions are concerned, the capitalists will find but few obstacles thrown in their way. They have already demonstrated that they are not only willing to tolerate, but are prepared to further, a violation of the eight hour day. Fortunately, the state of affairs is very different among the working people. To their honor it must be said that they have resisted every attempt at bribery, and have only succumbed to the extreme pressure of trade union bureaucracy. It may thus be confidently expected that, as soon as all undertakings are running again, they will defend themselves against the united attacks. The eight hour day law in Austria was, in actual practice, only an official sanction of an already existing state of affairs. Most categories of workers had already fought for and won an 8½ hour working day. The workers will thus be able, despite the endeavours of the capitalists, and despite a complacent trade union bureaucracy, to maintain the eight hour day and to render all attacks against it abortive.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Struggle of the Soviet Republic against the Counter-Revolution

By Ashmarin.

(On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Tcheka.)

The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for combating counter-revolution and profiteering (the Tcheka) was founded on the 20th of December, 1917, in Petrograd. During the first period of its activity, the technical apparatus of the commission was exceedingly limited; it was composed of a collegium of 10 and of 120 employes. The development of the struggle with the counter-revolution obliged the commission to gradually enlarge its apparatus, until it became a mighty organization extending over the whole country. We shall try to trace in broad outline what the Tcheka has brought to light from out of the subterranean darkness of counter-revolutionary conspiracy, and to give a slight idea of all this extraordinary organ has been able to accomplish towards saving the workers' and peasants' state.

The Soviet Republic inherited many mighty bourgeois organizations from the Kerensky government; these had gradually deserted Kerensky, and being disappointed with the revolution, longed to return to the past. The Russian bourgeoisie, and the liberal democratic classes closely related to it, gathered together in Moscow in July 1917, after the Cadets had withdrawn from the Coalition Government, and attempted to mobilize all non-socialist elements in the country from this centre. In the middle of October the *National Political Council* was formed, which worked towards the restoration of the monarchy, and opened up connection with the counter-revolutionists Koltchak and Denikin, then abroad.

The *Trade and Industrial Committee* united the big bourgeoisie of Moscow, which had no faith in the provisional government, and greatly feared the threatened proletarian revolution. The activity of the Commission in the period 1918-19 shows the hidden side of the struggle of the big bourgeoisie against the Soviet power. The representatives of the Committee frequently visited the German embassy in Moscow, at the same time keeping up relations with the Allies. The agents of the Committee succeeded in penetrating into various Soviet organs. The Committee lived solely on the hope of the overthrow of the Soviet power, made active preparations for reconquering the nationalized factories should counter-revolution be victorious, and financed the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organizations.

We now pass to the organizations which were founded after the November Revolution.

The *Right Centre* was founded in March, 1919, by the representatives of the *National Council*, the Cadets, and other counter-revolutionary organizations. Its main object was the resumption of the Eastern front against Germany, and for this purpose it received the instructions of the Entente, and was supported by the S.R.'s. In the autumn of 1918, the *Right Centre* collapsed, as most of its leading functionaries went south.

The story and the rôle of the *League of Rebirth* have been made sufficiently clear by the trial of the *Right Social Revolutionaries*. The *League of Rebirth* occupied a common platform

with the monarchists and Cadets, acknowledged Koltchak's power, and kept up relations with the Entente and with the White Guard generals in the South.

The National Centre was founded in May-June 1918. It gathered together the representatives of all non-socialist parties. It was headed by Tchenkin, who was also the leading figure in the League of Rebirth. The Centre maintained relations with the White Guard General Alexeyev, with the representatives of the Entente, and united in a bloc with the Association of Socialist Parties maintaining the Idea of the State and the League of Rebirth. Its agents endeavoured to disorganize the army, its Petrograd organizations performed the work of spies for Yudenitch.

In May 1918 the Tcheka discovered a great counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the Association for the Defense of Fatherland and Liberty, headed by Savinkov. The members of this organization, one-time officers, enlisted in the Red Army without mentioning their past. The aim of the organization was to unite the officers, on the common ground of patriotism and of hate against the Soviet power. The risings in Moscow and Kazan were prevented by the Tcheka, but the centre of the association fled, and set to work energetically to reconstitute the organizations and to make fresh plans. Risings in various districts of Russia were projected in connection with the expected landing of the Allies in Archangel. The association had its nuclei everywhere. The planned uprisings were discovered in time, and the White Guards received proper punishment.

In the summer of 1918, the Entente missions were exceedingly active. These were headed by the English representative Lockhart. The Tcheka discovered the whole network of the spies of the Entente agents; the material found in the possession of these, showed that the agents of the Entente had not only to act as spies, but were also concerned in the disorganization of the Red Army, the blowing up of bridges, etc. Lockhart, Lavergne (French agent), and Pool (American agent), were exchanged for the Bolsheviks retained in the concentration camps of England and France. Their agents had however to answer to the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, in the famous "Lockhart trial".

The Tactical Centre, which was composed of monarchists, Cadets, Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and other groups, stood for the recognition of the Koltchak government, and showed great activity in the cause of overthrowing the Soviet power; it is solely due to the watchfulness of the Tcheka that this most dangerous organization was rendered harmless in good time.

The first collapse of the Association for the Defense of Fatherland and Liberty took place after the famous Yaroslav rising, when the White Guards were successful in seizing power. After the rising in Yaroslav had been suppressed, and after other attempts at mutiny had been prevented, the association ceased to exist, but came to life again in 1920. This organization was finally crushed by the Tcheka in 1921.

We make only brief mention of the provocations of the central committee of the Left Social Revolutionaries, which inspired the murder of the German ambassador Mirbach, and attempted a rising for seizing power in Moscow. We only draw attention to the fact that at the moment of the rising, half of the collegium of the Tcheka was composed of left social revolutionaries; the deputy chairman and the majority of the troops were also from the ranks of the Social Revolutionaries. This is the sole explanation of their temporary success. Our rapid and energetic action was successful in arresting the fraction of the Left Social Revolutionaries at the Soviet congress, and to put an end to these futile attempts.

Everyone will still remember the murderous act perpetrated against the Moscow committee of our party in Leoniev St., where many of our party comrades were killed and wounded. The Tcheka speedily discovered the culprits, and arrested all the "subterranean anarchists" concerned in the affair. This organization, though "left" in phraseology, maintained relations with the White Guards of the Ukraine and of the Don district.

In Petrograd the Tcheka had no light task. Here the conspiracies of one-time officers were frustrated, and in November 1919 a conspiracy organized by an English spy was discovered. In the summer of 1921, the Tcheka discovered a huge conspiracy which seriously threatened the republic. The Tcheka crushed the great military and terrorist organizations connected with the Mencheviki and the S.R.'s.

The Tcheka played an important role in the unceasing struggle with the right social revolutionaries. The activity of the right S.R.'s was revealed in its true light before the proletariat of Russia and of the whole world at the public S.R. trial held in Moscow during the summer of this year.

It is solely due to the energy of the Tcheka that the Russian peasantry has been finally freed from the banditism

which was endangering our agriculture, and which formed a great support of the White Guards. At the present time banditism has almost completely ceased.

After the organizatory forces of the counter-revolution had been defeated, after internal and external enemies had been ruthlessly crushed, the Tcheka ceased to play a great role, and we were able to proceed with peaceful constructive work.

The Tcheka, now dissolved, was replaced by an organ adapted to peaceful conditions, the State Political Administration (G.P.U.).

The new economic policy, which represents a medium for the economic revival of a country exhausted by imperial and civil war, leaves a loophole through which ideology antagonistic to Soviet Russia is endeavouring to make its way. Unwearying fight against the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship, against the traitors on the economic field, and against the illegal struggles of the social traitors, whose work must be discovered and stopped—these are the future tasks of the G.P.U.

This work was carried on by the G.P.U., during the year 1922, with an energy by no means inferior to that shown by the heroic Extraordinary Commission.

FASCISM

The Reign of Terror in Italy

By Umberto Terracini.

All the Italian newspapers, Fascist, pro-Fascist, neutral, and anti-Fascist, publish long reports on the frightful carnage in Turin; there is no comment; the horrible drama of bloody and cowardly barbarity has everywhere called forth confusion and disgust. The bare chronicle of events suffices, all comment is superfluous. It may be seen however, that even the unbridled reaction leading to these murderous deeds is still not enough to satisfy the accomplices in the government; the telegram sent by the minister De Vecchi, expressing solidarity with the Turin murderers, has been followed by an official communiqué which excused the fact that the streets of Turin during the last few days were strewn with the corpses of workers, by referring to the "temperament peculiar to Fascist mentality, originating in the traditions caused by the war, and which welcomes any kind of action or sport."

Within a few days Mr. Mussolini will again cross the frontier in order to hold diplomatic consultation with a colleague of the countries of the Entente, and the halo conferred on him through shedding the workers' blood will shine more brightly than before. We also will abstain from comment. We will only give literal reports of particularly typical episodes of the days of terror, taking these from the bourgeois Turin newspaper *La Stampa*.

"... The killing of the tramway worker Matteo Chialero was a most dramatic episode. He was sitting at supper with his wife and child, when a knock was heard at the door. He got up, opened the door, and asked: "Whom are you looking for?" "The tramway worker Matteo Chialero." "I am he", was the reply, and at the same moment a number of shots were heard. Wife and child sprang up and called for help, but the man staggered and fell; a bullet had gone through an artery..."

"... The shoe-maker Mario Probo, now lying severely wounded in hospital, met a troop of Fascists, who placed him on a lorry and drove him away from Polefer. Here two shots were fired at him, and he was thrown into the water. The scene had been observed by some citizens, who, after the Fascisti had gone away, pulled him out of the water and took him to the hospital..."

"... Karl Berruti was conducted outside of the town in a motor car by 4 or 5 Fascisti; he was then set down with the order to run. A number of shots put an end to his life..."

"... The tramway assisant Luigi Barolo met a Fascist patrol. He was asked: "Are you Barolo?" "Yes", was the reply, and a shot stretched the unhappy man to the earth..."

"... In Borgo St. Donato some passers-by found a man, apparently a workman, lying with his head in a pool of blood; the breath rattled in his throat. He was taken to the hospital where it found that his skull was fractured. The man's name is Chiomo and he is well known in Turin. The Fascisti had seized him and a friend of his in the afternoon, and had afterwards released the friend; some witnesses maintain that the Fascisti dragged Chiomo through the town the whole evening..."

"... Shortly after midnight, a manufacturer who was going along the Corso noticed a man lying in the street and groaning. He had a large shot wound in the forehead, his face was covered with blood. The man was discovered to be Pietro Ferrero, secretary to the Turin metal workers' section; he was very well known, having always had to carry out the negotiations with the authorities and manufacturers during trade union conflicts..."

"... During an expedition a Fascist patrol entered the tavern of a certain Leone Mazzola. All that is known up to now is that the neighbours heard a tremendous noise, and several shots. When the security officials appeared shortly afterwards, they found Mazzola dead in his bed. A dagger stab had wounded him in the body, a shot from a revolver had hit him in the temple. It is assumed that the Fascisti had found the sign of the hammer and sickle when searching the house..."

"... About 2 o'clock last night the Fascisti set fire to the Labor Headquarters, which they had occupied in the morning. The signal for the fire was given by a loud explosion, a shell with a fuse having been placed for the purpose at the highest point of the building, the tower. From here the flames spread with the greatest rapidity to the lower stories. The flames darted from all the windows, spreading with enormous speed, being fed by benzine purposely poured on the floors..."

This incendiary act had been carefully prepared in every detail. Fascisti with whom we have conversed have told us this themselves. It was intended to completely destroy the whole building. And the fire did actually reach the intermediate story and the ground floor premises within a very short time. From time to time the detonations of percussion caps were heard, interspersed with the more violent explosions of bombs and mines intended to spread the fire as rapidly as possible.

The half open door presently fell a prey to the flames; a dark figure had poured in an inflammable liquid causing it to take fire.

The Fascisti formed a complete chain of troops around the building. The unmoving figures in their black shirts contrasted strangely to the purple background of flames. When the fire was at its height, the Fascist song "Glorinezza" was sung, accompanied by the music of a band. A large roll of paper was brought out of the Labor Chantier, which served to kindle bonfires here and there.

Numerous Fascisti and small groups of soldiers of the royal guard (police troops) remained near the burning building. Some few police constables also put in an appearance, but these were prevented from doing anything by the absolute determination of the Fascisti to have the building completely ruined. This determination was confirmed by the fact when the fire brigade received news of the fire, and hastened to the spot to extinguish the fire, the Fascisti forbade the fire brigade to even approach the burning building..."

"... The dead bodies of two men, apparently workmen, were found in a ravine near the Barriera di Casale. Near one of them a piece of paper was found with the inscription: "You have paid for it, canaille!"..."

The frightful list of dead is not concluded; every day brings fresh names of unfortunate victims, new details of tragedy. The Fascisti are absolutely determined to break the last resistance of the red city.

On the evening of the day of horror, in the midst of the raging terror, the following communiqué was placarded by the military command of the Turin Fascisti:

"The citizens are herewith called upon to raise the national flag, draped with crape, as a sign of mourning for the death of the young Fascist Dresda!"

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The "Women's Question" at the IV. World Congress.

By Else Baum.

The women's question was one of the items on the agenda of the IV World Congress of the Communist International. It was necessary to have this question discussed at the congress, for it is one of the most burning questions which confront the proletariat today and imperatively demands solution.

Capital is attacking all along the line, and the proletariat is completely lost if it does not defend itself tooth and nail. United and unanimous the proletariat must take up its position of defense, must oppose the front of the exploited to the front of capital. But this front will be incomplete, will contain gaps,

if women do not take their place in it. The women who are exploited in the factories and workshops, who receive smaller wages than the men for the same work, or who work for untold hours in the household for no payment whatever; these women who to-day still form for the most part a compact reactionary mass, may to-morrow be the comrades in arms of the revolutionary, class-conscious, fighting workmen, if the communists succeed in winning their confidence.

These women are easily won over, for the capitalist offensive is sowing misery and death in their ranks. The abolition of the eight hour day signifies, more than prolonged working hours for the proletarian women. It signifies that they will now have to work day and night to fulfil their duties as worker, housewife, and mother. The women are the first sufferers when the regulations relating to workwomen, protection of motherhood, and social insurance, are slackened. The increased exploitation and starvation signify immediate danger to life for the women and their children: they are the easiest victims to tuberculosis. The objective conditions are thus favourable for winning over the women for the conflict.

The most important question is to ascertain what methods have proved most efficient in influencing the mentality of proletarian women? What are the results of experience? That special methods must be required to reach this backward section of the proletariat is clear to everyone who is not wilfully blind. But at the congress, it was still necessary, to again draw attention to and specially emphasize the fact, that particular methods must be employed for inducing women to take their place in the proletarian fighting front. Comrade Zetkin made this perfectly clear in her emphatic and unequivocal speech: "We must not forget that the broad masses of women live under special social conditions. The exceptional position accorded to the female sex in human society has been the means of imparting a special psychology, and as a general rule it appears that women best understand how to carry out communist work amongst women. In the countries where such special organs exist, as for instance in Bulgaria, Germany, etc., the communist women's movement has become a force in the general communist party life. The same naturally applies to Russia."

It was necessary to emphasize this, for even within the Communist International there are comrades who have not sufficient faith in this work. They see spectres in broad daylight. They regard every attempt at special organization as an attempt to protect mere sex rights. Many comrades, especially in England and France, are still possessed with fear of the undoubtedly harmful women's movements which have done so much to weaken class consciousness. The fear is without foundation. The line of class antagonism has been drawn with particular clearness during the last few years, it has not stopped at the "weaker sex", and an unbridled chasm yawns between the worker bees industriously gathering treasure, and the drones of the leisured class. Women do not soar in the clouds like Raphael's madonna, they stand with both feet on the hard ground of the capitalist world. The actual experience of recent years has demonstrated that there are no so-called purely feminine interests binding all women to one another without distinction of class. In every case where there is a question of so-called special women's interests, in questions of protection for working women, mothers, and children, of aid during confinement, protest against abortion laws, etc., the women members of Parliament have invariably bowed obediently under the yoke of their class laws. The "women's rights" movement has ceased to be a real danger to the class movement of the female proletariat.

Comrade Zetkin's report on the work of the International Women's Secretariat showed that a start has been made in all countries, that the beginnings of a communist women's movement already exist. She could even report that excellent results have already been attained in various countries. Women, especially of late, have taken more and more active part in defending themselves against the lowering of their conditions of living, and against the abolition of the eight hour day. The awakening of the women of the proletariat was internationally expressed at the international women's conference, and in the relief action for Soviet Russia. It could also be seen from the report that all the weaknesses and deficiencies of the party are mirrored in the women's movement. The firmer and more purposeful in action a communist party is, the more united its organization, then the firmer and more concrete is the organization of the masses of women within this party and under its control. Every error and confusion within the party has a paralysing effect on the work of the women. Thus the strife in the French and Italian parties, and the weaknesses of the English Communist Party, have not failed to retard the mobilization of the proletarian women of these countries. Petty bourgeois reformist tendencies, retained by some parties as relics of a social democratic past, are also not without influence on the work amongst women.

Comrade Hertha Sturm was quite right when she referred in her report to a general weakness in the international proletarian movement. The women organized in the Communist Parties are, for the most part, housewives. Only a comparatively small number of women going out to earn, working in factories, etc., are organized in the Communist parties. There is no doubt that the proletarian housewife is a valuable ally in the proletarian struggle, especially at the present time, when the fight against the shameful exploitation and increased misery of the proletariat is receiving the greatest impetus from the suffering housewives. But the fact must none the less be recognized that the participation of the proletarian women working in factories, workshops, etc. will be of more decisive significance, both as regards the great economic struggles for the improvement of conditions of living, and as regards the fight for political power. The times call for women to enter the proletarian fighting organizations, to enter the Party. This weakness of the Party has a fatal effect on the trade union movement. The communists in the trade unions have done very little up to now towards uniting and organizing the working women. This neglect must be made good. The efficiency of trade union work in factories and workshops, the establishment of closer relations between the communist nuclei and the leadership of the Party—these are the factors upon which the bringing about of closer connections depend, and these closer connections must be made between the centrals of political agitative work among the women and the working women organized in the communist nuclei.

Besides the report from Russia, which showed the steady systematic manner in which women are entering into the communist sphere of thought, and into the struggle for communist economics, there was another most interesting report, by comrade Kasparova, on work among the women of the Orient. Here communist agitative work falls on a soil already ploughed by capitalism.

During the congress there was a special meeting held by the women delegates from all countries, participated in by a number of male party comrades. This conference resulted in many stimulating ideas and practical suggestions for work among women being brought forward, and succeeded in bringing about that for which written intercourse had proved inadequate—personal relations among the comrades, and insight into the conditions of the various parties which is so absolutely necessary if there is to be mutual comprehension, and if correct judgments on international conditions are to be formed.

With that openness which is only found in the Communist International, both the congress and the conference of women delegates discussed all the faults and deficiencies of the various parties and their work.

The resolutions passed by the congress will help to render the parties strong, united internally, and prepared for battle; when they are carried out in all seriousness, they will, at the same time, give a forward impetus to the proletarian women's movement. The working class can neither defend itself successfully, nor effectually combat the bourgeoisie, if broad masses of proletarian women stand on one side, or even form an actual obstacle in the way. On the other hand, only the united working class can emancipate the working women. We communist women join with Klara Zetkin in saying: "We women want to take part in all the work and struggles of the Communist Parties and of the International and it is our ambition to stand in the front rank".

APPEALS

To the Working Youth of the World!

Soldiers and sailors!

New imperial wars threaten the world.

The war in the Near East, the conflicts of the imperialist powers at the different conferences, the constant threats of the French bourgeoisie with the occupation of the Ruhr valley,*) the enslavement of Austria, the refusal of the border states to accept Russia's proposals of disarmament—all this shows the atmosphere to be charged with storm. The standing armies alone, which numbered 6 millions of men before the war, have today increased to 11 millions. The capitalist states are arming for fresh wars!

The bourgeois preparations for a new war are closely connected with the advances being made by reaction in all countries. In many states the White Terror rules. In Italy it

*) This has since become an accomplished fact.

has come into power. In England and in Poland reaction is again impudently raising its head. The bourgeoisie is armed to the teeth, and is not content to use its weapons against the workers alone, but intends employing them for imperialist war.

Comrades, Young Proletarians!

All this shows with frightful distinctness that the capitalist states are working unremittingly in preparation for a new war!

The first victims of war have always been, and always will be, from the ranks of working youth. They serve as cannon fodder and have to bear the most terrible sufferings and privations.

The youthful workers must therefore be the first to declare determined war against all new wars.

Working youth!

Millions of your elder brothers, of all nations and races, were slaughtered during the last war in the interests of the bourgeoisie. The alluring promises made to you during the war have all been broken, and all that the working class has gained from the last war is blackest misery, alike whether the workers belong to the vanquished or the "victorious" capitalist countries.

A peace conference was recently held at The Hague, but led to no practical result. No real and practical measures against war were resolved upon. The working youth can wait no longer. It must begin with the propaganda needed to arouse the working class of the whole world! It is only in this way that really effectual war against war can be carried on.

The III congress of the C.Y.I. has commissioned the E.C. to propose to the two social democratic youth internationals, despite all differences of opinion, to form a united front for the fight against imperialism and reaction, and to participate in an international propaganda week against war, to take place from March 11—18, 1923.

Youthful working men and women; soldiers and sailors!

The working class is not defenceless. United in determined fighting ranks, it can frustrate all the designs of capitalism, can offer an iron resistance against which every attack is shattered.

Join us in the fight against a new imperialist war! Every means is to be used to combat it. Revolutionary general strike and revolution in case of war. For the annulment of the peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, etc., treaties which signify the enslavement of innumerable millions of workers, and are bound to be the cause of fresh wars.

For the prevention of armaments!

For revolutionary propaganda in the army, and for the formation of revolutionary nuclei among the troops, especially among the colonial and semi-colonial troops.

Against the disastrous theory and practice of defence of the capitalist fatherland.

Against the false pacifism of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Against international reaction, against Fascism!

For the complete disarmament of reactionary organizations and of the bourgeoisie, for the arming of the proletariat!

Young Social Democratic Workers!

It is the second time that the C.Y.I. proposes to you and your leaders to join us in the fight against capital and imperialism. Once already your leaders have prevented the formation of the united front and you tolerated this. To-day we repeat our proposal to join the youthful workers of the whole world to form a united fighting front against impending new imperialist wars and against reaction. What answer will you give to your class comrades and fellow sufferers?

Working youth!

The first propaganda week against war must be a mighty demonstration of the working class against fresh slaughter, against the imperialist world bourgeoisie already stained with the blood of millions.

Respond to our call:

Down with imperialist war!

Down with reaction!

Long live the united front of the working youth against war!

Long live the victory of the working class!

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

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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.

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

predictions in effect have been completely realized. The years that have passed since the signature of the Versailles Treaty have been years of continual unkindness 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.

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