

ministers closely bound up with the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governments, are opposing the formation of a united front with all their might, this will have to be achieved against their will, by the determined will of the working masses.

5. The delegation of the Committee of Action calls upon all workers in the social democratic parties of all countries to subject the resolutions passed by the Hamburg congress to a searching examination, in the light of the rejection of joint action with the communist and revolutionary workers. They will be able to convince themselves that this refusal does not arise solely from mistrust of the Communist Parties, but from the social democratic leaders' fixed and conscious purpose of holding back the workers from any class action, especially from any international action, so that cooperation with the bourgeoisie of their countries may be maintained, and every bond of international solidarity broken.

Coming events will bear out the truth of this completely. We have attempted to attain the united front by negotiating with the leaders, despite the prospect of failure. We have made this a tempt with the greatest patience and tenacity, and have kept our antagonism to these leaders in the background. The new International has revealed its character at the moment of its birth. In spite of and because of this, we appeal to all proletarians: Up and fight for the united front!

The Fascist danger, the war danger, the general offensive against Soviet Russia, and against the entire working class of every land—all this is drawing nearer day by day:

*Long live the united front of the fighting working class!
On with the fight!*

APPEALS

The Amsterdam International Transport Workers Federation against Imperialist War, and for Soviet Russia

Against a new imperialist war! Against Fascist reaction!
For Soviet Russia!

Russia of today continues to evoke hate and abhorrence throughout the whole conservative and reactionary world; that is to say among the propertied classes of all countries.

This gigantic land, with its immeasurable natural resources, is still the object of desire of the capitalists, its unbridled exploitation their ardently cherished ideal. The hope and wish of all enemies of the fighting proletariat, whether expressed openly or not, is and remains the destruction of Russia's present form of state.

Thus the working class of all countries—regardless of everything which may separate it from or oppose it to the Russian proletariat—must continue to hold fast to the words of the manifesto issued by the international Trade Union Federation in 1921, in which the workers were appealed to to aid the starving in the Volga district, and which contained the following words: "The fall of the Soviet government would, only be the signal for the decisive battle of counter-revolution". In the countries of western Europe even in the countries of the vanquished, —the countries of revolution, reaction gains ground every day . . .

This reaction, which grows more confident every day in Germany, especially in Bavaria, and which is subjugating the workers of Spain, Roumania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia by bloody terror, would triumph with the greatest rapidity if the open and secret enemies of the Russian revolution should succeed in overthrowing the Russian government, and in setting up in its place a counter-revolutionary government under the protection of Western European capital and its allied bourgeois governments.

The trade unions must not tolerate the success of these machinations.

Comrades!

The working class wants peace: It is the only class which has everything to lose and nothing to win in a capitalist war. And surely it cannot desire a war whose aim and consequence would be to plunge the workers of all countries still deeper into misery and exploitation, to fasten the fetters of slavery still tighter upon their limbs.

Comrades!

Be on your guard!

Keep up your control over the transport of munitions and other war material in all countries! Take care that this control is made as strict as possible, and carried out with the utmost watchfulness, so that no single transport escapes your knowledge. Report everything to your committees, keep them regularly informed. Be prepared for every emergency.

Be ready, should it be necessary (as in the year 1920, on the occasion of the boycott against Hungary and the action for preventing the transport of arms for Poland in the war against Russia) to prevent the outbreak of a fresh war by actual deeds and by every means!

War against war!

Down with militarism! Down with reaction! Down with capitalism!

Long live the International of Labor!

The General Council of the International Transport Workers Federation.

Robert Williams, Chairman. Edo Fimmen, Secretary.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

An important World Conference for the Reconstruction of Russia

By Henri Guillebaux.

During the period of the great Russian famine, the International Workers' Relief was called into being with headquarters in Berlin, and this body has done much important work towards the economic reconstruction of Russia. The International Workers' Relief is built up on a communist basis, it works under the control of the Communist International, and in closest relations with all communist parties. But there are other organizations, of a non-political character, which also devote themselves to relief work for Soviet Russia, and to the furtherance of its economic reconstruction, as for instance the Quaker organization, the Red Cross, and above all the Nansen Committee. The executive committee of the International Workers' Relief has now resolved to convene a great world conference in the Reichstag in Berlin, on Sunday June 17, for the discussion of all questions connected with the economic reconstruction and relief of Russia. All trade unions and co-operatives, all labor organizations, and also non-proletarian committees such as the Nansen, and that of the Quakers, of the Red Cross, etc., are called upon to participate in this conference, which will doubtless realize important results in the interest of the reconstruction of Russia.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Dato Murder Trial

By A. Nin.

Of the 21 persons who were arrested as alleged principals or accessories in the assassination of Dato, the Spanish prime minister, 13 were recently released. Among these is the mother of Casanello and faithful friend of Luis Nicolaus, who was delivered into the hands of the Spanish executioners, with her husband, by the government of the social democrat Ebert. Almost all these comrades have been imprisoned for over two years. Even during this long time the judge of the court of inquiry has been unable to frame up any evidence against them. The long remand has obviously had the object of giving an appearance of justification to the continued imprisonment of a number of comrades whom a regular trial would immediately release. We may rejoice that justice has been done at last to these comrades, though too late. But let us not forget those who are still awaiting their trial in prison. These are Comrades Pedro Mateu, Luis Nicolaus, José Miranda, Veremundo, Luis Diez, Ignacio Dalgado, Mauro Bajatierra, Tomas de la Leare, and Adolfo Diaz. The attorney for the crown intends to demand a death sentence for Mateu and Nicolaus, and various punishments for the other accused. But no proof of their guilt exists. It may be that some of the accused have confessed to being guilty. But in Spain this does not signify much, for torture has been consistently applied there, especially during the last three years of violent reaction.

There is only one person responsible for Dato's death. This is Ramon Casanello, at present a refugee in Moscow. He openly takes the whole responsibility upon himself. On his own initiative, without collaborators, this young workman from Barcelona revenged the thousands of arrested and deported comrades, the hundreds of murdered and martyred, who fell as victims under the dictatorship of the prime minister Dato. But Spanish reaction seeks for vengeance at any price. It does not ask if the guilt of the accused is established. What it wants is severe and terrifying sentences. The revolutionary Spanish comrades now carrying on an energetic campaign in favor of the accused are endeavoring to prevent this. But they will only succeed in accomplishing their object if they are supported by the solidarity of the whole international proletariat.

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Note to this Issue

The problem of proletarian reconstruction in Soviet Russia is of interest to the workers of the whole world. Whether they desire it or not, they are inseparably bound up with the fate of Soviet Russia. The idea of proletarian economic relief in Soviet Russia, has, in recent times, been discussed with particular eagerness in Co-operative and Trade Union circles. In view of the "World Conference for Economic Relief and Reconstruction in Russia", which will be opened on the 17th of June in Berlin in the Reichstag, we are giving the widest possible publicity to a series of articles on the economic relief work of the I.W.R.

Retrospect and Prospect

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

In July 1922, an international congress of the Workers Relief committee, held in Berlin, resolved to continue the relief action for Soviet Russia, even after having overcome the worst of the famine. A year has passed since this resolve, and in the course of a few days the delegates of the Workers' Relief Committee will meet in Berlin for the second time. It is therefore an opportune moment to glance back over what has been accomplished by the Workers' Relief during the past year, and to draw conclusions for the future activity of the IWR.

The International Workers' Relief set itself three great tasks for the past year: propaganda for Soviet Russia, material and cultural aid for the Russian children, and co-operative help in the socialist reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

The centre around which all the work revolved has been, and had to be, the propaganda work for Soviet Russia. Even though the fables about Soviet Russia, as spread abroad by the bourgeois and social democratic press agencies, may not be so absolutely clumsy and silly as during the first years of the Soviet government, they have not grown less numerous. On some occasions, as for instance the S.R. trial, or the trial of the White Guard Catholic prelates, a muddy flood of mendacious and slanderous statements were spread abroad about Soviet Russia. The International Workers' Relief regarded it as one of its first tasks to dispel the false ideas prevailing as to life in Soviet Russia, and to enlighten the widest circles of the population as to the actual economic, political, and cultural situation in that country. The international committees, which now exist in 30 countries in various parts of the world, have held hundreds of public meetings in the course of the past year, hundreds of Russian art evenings, and such like. Some countries, as for instance Holland, England, etc. have arranged special enlightenment weeks. In over one hundred European cities, and in as many overseas, exhibitions have been held of Russian posters, Russian domestic art, and Russian literature. The IWR arranged Russian stalls at various German, Dutch, and French fairs, as well as a most successful Russian art exhibition in Berlin and Amsterdam. Over a million Russian photographs and cards, thousands of albums containing Russian pictures, and 6 wagon-loads of Russian home art products have been sold by the IWR. The film has proved an excellent

propaganda medium. Millions of workers and others, of every social position, have visited the Russian film evenings arranged by the IWR in Europe, America, and Japan. The illustrated newspapers issued by the IWR have also become widely popular in Europe and America. A total of more than three million copies have been sold.

At particularly critical moments the IWR has summoned its committees to engage in specially zealous activity, and, as on the occasion of the last Anglo-Russian incident, it has successfully contributed to the mobilization of wide sections of the working class against imperialist war tendencies, and for the defence of Soviet Russia.

This propaganda work done by the IWR must be continued in the future. The increasing tension between Soviet Russia and the western capitalist states—a result of the growing anxiety roused in western capitalist circles by the progressive economic improvement in Soviet Russia—render it an imperative necessity that well-organized and systematic enlightenment work, dealing with Soviet Russia, be continued everywhere, especially in those countries where there are no political parties for the fulfilment of this task (North and South America, Japan, Australia, etc.). Now as before, propaganda work for Soviet Russia remains the most urgent and important task of the IWR.

The IWR is also able to record success in the sphere of children's relief. Despite all the unfavorable economic and political conditions, the IWR, in the course of the past year, was able to raise over 300,000 dollars, for the material support of Russian orphans from the one-time famine area. The money was expended in the purchase of food, clothing, medicine, erection of children's homes, etc. Besides this, the IWR sent 50,000 copy books, drawing books, and other school materials, and had a Russian school book published in Berlin with an edition of 5,000 copies. Thanks to a guardianship system, close and lasting relations were established between hundreds of Russian children and European and American workers, accompanied by a lively exchange of letters and school work of every description. During the coming months the material support of the Russian children will hardly be so urgent as in recent years. The IWR will thus be able to devote more time than before to the cultural needs of the Russian children (establishment of school-workshops,

arrangement of communication between Russian and European children's groups, obtaining of school requisites, printing of Russian school books, etc. etc.). A task no less important and significant than the provision of food for the Russian children.

The IWR has been less successful in its actual practical sphere, that is, the sphere of productive relief. This is due to two reasons. In the first place there has been a shortage of money—the International Workers' loan is subscribed to but slowly—and in the second place there are great general difficulties in the way of agricultural and industrial undertakings in Russia at the present time. However, the IWR has been successful in maintaining its most important enterprises, and to some extent in expanding and developing these. The agricultural farms near Casan have yielded a good surplus during the past year, and the coming crops promise to be even better. The fishery near Zaryzien has been exchanged for a larger one near Astrakhan, and the spring catch this year amounted to over 200,000 puds of fish. At the present time the fishery in Astrakhan is the most important and largest undertaking being carried on by the IWR. Over 500 workers are occupied here permanently, and during the fishing season the number amounts to some thousands. The IWR has at its disposal a great curing plant, sailing boats, steam yachts, and hundreds of fishing boats.

In the Ural over 40 of the best American tractors are now working, and serve as a foundation for a great joint stock company which is seeking to introduce American agrarian cultivation into the Ural.

The shoe factory run by the IWR in Moscow commenced running in the autumn of 1922, and has increased its production from week to week. The factory is shortly to be provided with new machines, and to be considerably enlarged.

Despite all this, the first year of work done by the IWR in this sphere has not yielded the fruits first hoped for it. Still, it would be entirely wrong to limit, or perhaps even abandon, work in this direction on that account. That which has already been accomplished up to now, with such limited means and under the most difficult circumstances, is a striking proof that it is possible for the international proletariat to co-operate in this manner in economic reconstitution. To this must be added that the IWR has gained much useful knowledge from its experience up to now, and will work in future even more systematically and carefully. If the forces of the IWR are concentrated on undertakings to which it is fully equal, then the successes of the IWR in this sphere will, even if small, be yet of great advantage for Russian economics.

A survey of the first and most difficult year of organization, of the creation of committees in the various countries, of transition from famine relief to economic relief, of first groping attempts in the work of production—all this justifies the hope that a systematic and energetic continuation of the work of the IWR in the coming year, will be of even greater material and cultural utility to Soviet Russia than before.

The Character of the Economic Aid of the International Workers' Relief

By Henriette Roland-Holst (Holland).

The economic aid of the I.W.R. is the genuine offspring of the communist movement. It bears the stamp of this movement: it is at once, highly ideal and highly practical; it pursues ideal aims by the application of material means; it strives to attain great ends by the union and alliance of slight forces. It is founded not only on international co-operation on an extensive scale, but also on the co-operation of thousands of variously gifted and variously paid human beings. It needs ardent and clever propagandists, who understand how to arouse enthusiasm for the aims of the I.W.R. among the masses, and who are adepts at accentuating that side of their endeavors best corresponding to the national character and the peculiarity of the national movement. It needs good administrators, capable of completely controlling the complicated financial mechanism of an enterprise operating with the tiny contributions of innumerable participants. It needs good business men, capable of striking bargains, and of holding their own in the markets against the cunning and artifices of the capitalist commercial world. It needs experts, technicians, agricultural workers, engineers, each energetic and industrious in his own sphere, capable of initiative, and never discouraged by any difficulties.

The I.W.R. is a microcosm, a capitalist world on a small scale. All the various qualities and capabilities, required by the proletariat for the establishment of a socialist state of society,

find scope within the I.W.R. Its efficiency is a living sign that society has entered on the stage of socialist development. As Russia is the first country in which the proletariat rules, it is fitting that the first phase of this socialist development should take the form of aid lent by the proletariats of all countries in the reconstruction of the production of Soviet Russia on socialist or semi-socialist principles.

On the surface, it might appear as if this relief only furthers socialist development in one single country, but in reality its result is the establishment and expansion of the beginning of the whole socialist system of production. At the present juncture, Russia is the representative of the young and still undeveloped socialist system of production, as England was at one time the representative country of young capitalism. Russia is the country from which the new state of society—the state of society founded on the new conditions of production, in the new organization of work—will spread over all countries and continents. The victory of socialism in Russia signifies the victory of socialism in general, the victory of the higher methods of production, of the higher forms of society, of the higher culture over the lower. As little as the capitalist system of production could be confined to one country, just as little will the socialist system be capable of being confined. A strengthening of the commencements of socialist methods of production in one land, especially in a country possessing Soviet Russia's economic, political, and cultural significance, reacts immediately on all other countries. The form taken by this reaction cannot be predicted in advance. But it is perfectly plain that every uplift in the welfare and culture of the masses of the Russian people, such as must naturally follow on the extension of the socialist methods of production, must make a tremendous impression on the proletariats of all other countries, especially on the impoverished masses of Eastern and Central Europe. And this effect will be the greater in proportion to the amount of aid lent by the world proletariat to Russia, through the relief project, and in proportion as the world proletariat feels itself to be taking part in Russia's uplift. The fact that a number of undertakings in Russia are collective property, conducted on socialist principles, calls the attention of the world proletariat back to Russia again and again, and keeps alive the consciousness that Soviet Russia's fate is closely bound up with that of all proletariats.

Not only the political and cultural, but also the economic strengthening of Soviet Russia, is by no means an exclusively Russian factor, but on the contrary is an eminently international proletarian factor. Not so much because the increase in export of Russian corn, and the greater consuming powers of the Russian masses, revive the international markets and lead to a reduction in the price of bread. These effects of improved production are more likely to yield profit to the capitalist classes than to the proletariat. But the victory of principle involved in the expansion and establishment of the beginnings of socialist production—this victory would of course be to the exclusive advantage of the international proletariat. This victory would indeed be more decisive than even the most important political or military victory—and would be the means of rendering fruitful all victories obtained in the spheres of war or politics, and all the immeasurable sacrifices paid by the Russian and international proletariats for their cause. For all the battles which the proletariat fights on other fronts have this one ultimate object in view—victory on the battle-field of labor. Indeed, it is possible that this victory—we mean the expansion and establishment of the beginnings of socialist production in Russia—should it be brought about with the co-operation of the international proletariat—might render all other battles superfluous, and spare the proletariat much bloodshed. It would probably put an end to the political scatteredness of the masses, for it would fill these masses with confidence in the speedy victory of their economic and cultural principles. It would perhaps even bring us many members from the ranks of the middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligencia, now in the throes of utter perplexity and vacillation. For as soon as actual facts exist, positive enough to convince these classes that the socialist system of production is capable of creating good conditions of existence for all who engage in work, and will give everyone the possibility of pleasurable and creative participation in culture, then they will long to escape from the dens of decaying and rotting capitalism.

When agitating for the economic aid to be lent by the I.W.R., these connections and prospects are to be particularly emphasized, that is, the greatest accentuation is to be laid on the revolutionary effect of this relief, on its communist core. Naturally, lying representations made by the bourgeois press can and must be combated. Such representations have for their object, not only to prevent the working class from taking part in this loan of the I.W.R., but at the same

time to undermine the faith of the working class in general, in Soviet Russia, in her economic development, and in the durability of the Soviet regime. It is thus effective to emphasize the reliable character of the I.W.R. loan as compared with the swindling enterprises of the capitalist states. The greatest care should, however, be taken not to work upon the saving instincts of the worker, to speculate on his petty bourgeois tendencies, to arouse in him the hope that his participation in the I.W.R. loan might improve his personal position under capitalism. Not only would such a representation be untrue, for the savings of the individual worker are at best much too small for him to hope to improve his position to any noticeable extent by income from any bonds. And in the second place no socialist victories can be won by speculating on selfish feelings. Such victories can only be won by appealing independently to the disinterested feelings—the communal feeling, solidarity, social idealism. It is only by being able to lay continual emphasis on the revolutionary character of the economic aid of the I.W.R.—to accentuate revolutionary pride in the perfectly peaceful means which it employs in pursuance of its object of converting capitalist systems of working into socialist—only if we are able to do this, shall we be able to awaken in the working class the self-sacrificing enthusiasm which we require for the further development of our undertaking. Perhaps we shall ourselves be astonished at the extent of the response to our appeal.

If we are successful in inducing the working masses of all countries actively to support the economic relief, which today still possesses a secondary propagandist character, then it will gain a really economic significance. Mixed undertakings will arise in Russia, where workers and employees of all countries will work together with Russians. These undertakings will spread and increase. They will render it possible for a small elite of the international proletariat to learn the control of production, and to exercise the new socialist workers' discipline, even before it has won the final victory over the bourgeoisie.

The Actual Tasks of the Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia

By Karl Müller (Berlin).

The International Workers' Relief was created in August 1921, for the purpose of combatting the famine which had broken out on the Volga. The practical experiences of the famine aid campaign involved the necessity of helping the reconstruction of Russian production. The famine relief developed into the productive economic relief. Today, after one year of economic relief work, it is once again the practical experiences made during work in Russia which force a second change of direction upon the IWR. This one year has shown that economically productive work is possible under the internal conditions of new Russia. The germs of production for the common weal, germs capable of life and development, have already been created in many of the undertakings of the IWR. The totality of Russian economic life has recuperated unmistakably, if slowly, during the past year. But this process of convalescence is being suddenly jeopardized by the external situation of the Russian Workers' government.

There is no longer any doubt whatever that the movement inaugurated by Lloyd George, for the tacit and *de facto* recognition of Soviet Russia, for entering into commercial agreements, for the official recognition of Russia by the capitalist states, and for the final breaking through of the blockade, has been abruptly checked. The conference at Genoa, intended to crown Lloyd George's work, had the contrary effect of bringing about his downfall and the untimely end of his policy. In Italy, the party in power, the Fascist, is one which would regard it as its highest aim to bring about the downfall of the Soviet government. In France, Briand has disappeared along with his policy, which in many respects represented the Gallic pendant of Lloyd George's, and this has been replaced by the tactics of armed interventions, today in the Ruhr, tomorrow in Poland and the Ukraine. American politics are dominated more than ever by the principle of hostility to the Soviet power. All these facts are the expression of tendencies which are consciously aiming at the destruction of all beginnings of economic relations and political agreements between Russia and the capitalist world, and signify a relapse into the period of blockade and armed intervention. It once more appears evident that the brief period of the Lloyd George tactics was nothing more than the expression of a passing state of extreme exhaustion and acute loss of power, brought about by the gigantic industrial crisis of recent years, and of the not yet banished political confusion and demoralization

of the bourgeoisie by the great war. On the other hand, Russia was so completely occupied with her famine during this period, that the capitalists did not feel themselves acutely threatened by her existence. Today, now that the acutest forms of the famine have been overcome, and the capitalist monster has recovered to a certain extent from the economic paralysis and nervous shock caused by the war, it is sharpening its claws again before making a deadly spring. The pseudo-pacifist interval is at an end, and again we have demonstration of the fact that between a proletarian power and the bourgeois great powers there can be no other lasting relations than those of a life and death struggle. The shots fired at Lausanne resound through the whole world as the preliminary signal of the struggle.

It is plain that the renewed world war of the classes cannot but react on the process of economic convalescence going on in Russia. And the activity of productive economic relief, as afforded by the IWR and some neutral relief committees, is bound to be equally affected.

The first year of famine relief showed that it was impossible to overcome the famine without co-operation in the reconstruction of Russian economics, and the first year of productive economic relief work has shown with equal distinctness that it is only possible for economics to recover, however slowly, when certain foreign political factors are present; without these factors the uplift of the last few years could not have been accomplished, and now that they are absent, the economic prosperity which we were attaining again relapses. These factors are peace on the frontiers, assured commercial relations with foreign countries, political recognition of the Soviet government by the other governments, and the securing of foreign credits for Russian reconstruction work. All these four factors have been at Russia's disposal during the past year, if only in a very slight degree, and these have determined the positive results of the past Russian economic year. But the dreams of the social patriots and reformists, that revolution could be "avoided" along these lines, rapidly proved to be the empty dreams they were. To let Soviet Russia go on working quietly, to even smooth and widen the path for her—this would have signified, for the capitalist world, the starting of a race in which Russia would forge ahead with mathematical certainty, while the capitalist states, hampered by their automatically recurring crises, would naturally fall further and further into the rear. And the very first, or one of the first, armed collisions of capitalist countries among themselves—and the character of capitalist production renders such collisions inevitable—would have given Russia the position of leading power in the world, and would have thereby assured to the proletariats of all countries the decisive victory over their own bourgeoisies. In order to render this impossible, Soviet Russia's economic uplift is to be throttled in good time, while the capitalist governments are, or at least fancy themselves to be, still the stronger. This is the import of the new turn taken by capitalist world policy against Soviet Russia, since the failure of the Genoa conference. This change in capitalist world politics, if not opposed, is bound to lead further, to the destruction of the economic reconstruction which has begun in Russia. And therefore it is imperatively necessary that all organizations working for Russia's economic relief, especially the International Workers' Relief, should once more adapt their action to the necessities of the moment. A year ago the first pre-requisite for successfully combatting the famine was assistance towards improved production, and today the assistance given must be towards the securing and creation of the foreign political prerequisites to economic reconstruction, so much endangered at present. As little as Russia could be saved by bread alone, just as little can mere productively economic relief save her from the present situation. The fight for peace with Soviet Russia, for the maintenance of the existing commercial treaties and the creation of new ones, for the political recognition of the Russian government, and for the abolition of the credit blockade, — these form today the most important and urgent tasks in any sincere aid for Russia, and these are therefore the leading tasks incumbent on the International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia.

The new situation imposes no really new tasks on the IWR., but alters the centre of gravity of its activity. It will continue to carry on and extend the economic enterprises which it has undertaken; but it will do more than before to enlighten the world by speeches and writing, by picture and film, to awaken the conscience and consciousness of the world to the actual prerequisites of Russian reconstruction, and to the facts regarding the manner in which these pre-requisites are being endangered. The IWR will devote itself to this task with the same energy and devotion as it has shown in the struggle against famine, and in the action for productive economic relief.

The question, however, bears a different aspect for the philanthropic and bourgeois aid organizations. The inevitable

logic of the necessity of transition from famine relief to productive relief already brought most of these organizations into conflict with their governments and subscribers, and tore the mask of hypocrisy from the face of the capitalist beast of prey. Nevertheless, Nansen and the Quakers have accomplished much admirable work towards productive relief, but the further carrying on of their work will naturally also be greatly endangered if the new policy of the capitalist great powers pursues its way unhindered. The new tasks of the relief action imply, for these last upholders of bourgeois philanthropy towards the class enemy, a decisive and perhaps disastrous turning point. During the famine aid action they were still supported by the hypocritical sympathy of their class and their governments, and in their action for economic relief they were at least not opposed by any open adversary, but in the struggle for the foreign political prerequisites for economic relief action, they have nothing better to rely upon than the unfortunately extremely brittle and mendacious bourgeois "morality", and the no less notorious "sound common sense" of bourgeois public opinion. But from the bourgeois governments and the official press of the big bourgeoisie they have nothing else to expect than the bitterest hostility to their endeavors. If they do not want to leave the undertakings which they have already taken up for productive aid ignominiously in the lurch, then they have to protect their own existence against the powers upon which they imagined they relied up to now. For these bourgeois helpers there is no escape from the dilemma, for the fact remains that all economic actions for the building up of proletarian Russia are immediately converted, under present circumstances, into an action against the ruinous policy of the capitalist governments of Europe and America. Even the last neutral helpers of Russia will have to take sides. The logic of facts remains, the last delusions are dispelled. . . . History will give honor to the men who will stand this test. The World Congress for Economic Relief and Reconstruction in Russia, to which all the organizations engaged in the economic relief action are invited, as well as the majority of the committees for the former famine relief, will clear up the situation.

The Proletarian Trust

By R. Oehring (Berlin).

The International Workers' Relief — whose activities have, from its very beginning, not been merely philanthropic — already took up economic activity during the famine relief campaign, although the immediate object was not economic. A systematically conducted plan for aiding the starving, demanded that the pre-requisites for fresh crops be provided, and that timely steps be taken to counteract the inevitable results of the famine. The IWR, working from this point of view, was brought into contact with economic undertakings, and it is obvious that the cessation of the actual famine relief could not merely signify a mechanical abandonment of the undertakings already taken over by the IWR. The connection with Russian economic life was also established from another point of view. Propaganda for the relief work implied combat against the slanderers of Russia, implied work towards enlightenment, implied the clear establishment of the fact that the famine was not the result of economic conditions, but the result of a natural catastrophe, although the previous conditions naturally enhanced the consequences of the failure of the crops. This side of the work also led to connections with definite economic organizations, and to economic tasks being undertaken.

After the actual famine period was over, the IWR was in possession of several farms and sets of tractors. It participated in large companies, maintained a shoe factory, a soap factory, carried on independent building enterprises, was associated with film undertakings by its film propaganda, had had frequent opportunity — thanks to its regular transports — of taking goods out of Russia as return freight, and took part in many other undertakings. An organization in the nature of a trust had been formed, and to simply dissolve this would have signified great detriment for the undertakings concerned. On the other hand the continuation of the work, demanded further means being raised. The case of the children's relief may be adduced. To support children for a year, and then to throw them upon their own resources, would have been equivalent to destroying a hope just sprung into being.

In capitalist society the trust has been victorious. The trust originated in America, in a developed form, and signified a special form of combination of undertakings of similar and different natures. It has been a medium in the hands of various groups of capitalists, by which they have been able thoroughly to utilize all the technical advantages attendant on their alliance, to strengthen their own competitive powers, and to secure and increase their profits. Similar forms of combine sprang into

existence simultaneously everywhere, and it became customary to dub every organization of this description a trust. The second form of organization adopted by big industry, the cartel, which is typical for Germany, still continues to exist, but has retired into the second place, or has had to adapt itself closely to the trust in its structure.

Pre-revolutionary economic Russia possessed a few large trusts, but as a general rule the organization of industry was extremely backward as compared with the West. This was one of the most important reasons which caused Soviet Russia's political economists to decide on permitting private enterprise in certain spheres, free trade under state control for certain groups, and the introduction of a new wages system. The concentration of certain branches of industry into a sort of monopoly has been replaced, except in actual heavy industry, by organizations resembling a trust, participated in either by various state and trade union organs, or by private capitalists. In so far as these trusts possess a preponderance of public capital, their economic character is communal, save that their communal economic aims are pursued on lines similar to those of private undertakings.

The difficulties arising in Soviet Russia in constituting these trusts are, in part, the same as those attendant on the socialist planned economy organized for the first economic period of Soviet Russia — above all the lack of qualified persons devoted to the cause. Every case in which it is possible to create a trust rendering public service, and working at a profit, signifies under these circumstances a gain for Soviet Russia which reaches far beyond the confines of the particular economic enterprise concerned.

If this is taken into consideration, the significance of the IWR in the sphere of economics becomes more evident. It represents the formation of a proletarian trust, in which the working methods and forms are, for the most part, imitations of private capitalist models, but whose aims are purely socialist and communist. If we succeed in forming and extending such trusts, Soviet Russia is enriched by a powerful counter-poise against the dangers of the new economic policy. Soviet Russia is strong enough, thanks to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to hold under her authority those capitalists who receive a certain freedom of movement within the new economic policy. The further development of reliable trusts, serving the interests of the proletariat only, will however, enable forces to be released for other purposes. The proletarian development of Soviet Russia's economics, signifies for the whole international proletariat the preparation for socialist-communist working methods. During the famine relief campaign, the whole working class contributed to the creation of the trust of the IWR. It is the work of the working class. And having once created it, the workers must not desert it. The interest which they felt for the salvation of Russia, during the famine relief campaign, remains in an altered form, in the shape of the desire to co-operate in the proletarian reconstruction of Soviet Russia. The private capitalist, when building up a great trust, requires a bank which places ready money at his disposal as he needs it. The international working class will solve the problem of raising the current funds required for the trust of the IWR. The IWR loan is the chief means for this purpose. The amounts already subscribed in all countries show that the international working class is not going to abandon the work already commenced, and that the trust of the IWR will be enabled to develop further.

The Fishery Enterprise of the International Worker's Relief near Astrakan

By Richard Düsseldorf.

The fishery undertakings on the lower Volga have always played an important rôle in Russia's economic life, and have not only contributed to provisioning the home markets with fish, but have supplied considerable quantities for export. The fisheries have produced not only fish itself, but the world famed caviar, and numerous bye-products, such as fish-glue and isinglas, used in wine pressing. During the war, the output of the Volga fisheries diminished considerably, owing to lack of man-power and means of production, and also in part owing to the limitation of possibilities of export, so that at the time of the beginning of the revolution, conditions may be said to have been very unfavorable. The attempts to raise the output of the Volga fisheries to their old level proved a failure, for it was precisely this area which suffered particularly, owing to internal confusion, and under the blockade which excluded the possibility

of export. And just at the moment when the Volga fisheries, despite these unfavorable circumstances, were showing an upward tendency, they were again thrown back by the failure of crops in 1921, from which, as is known, the Volga district suffered severely.

The connection between the IWR and the Russian fisheries was established during the famine relief period. Here the IWR did not at first follow any actual economic aims, but was purely engaged in famine relief work; the IWR concluded agreements with the fisher-folk of the Volga district near Zarizyn, in accordance with which the latter delivered over their catch to the IWR, in return for the food distributed. The first task which confronted the IWR, was the necessity of enabling the workers to live, and to save the means of production from complete destruction; it was thus, at first, impossible to place the factor of actual profit in the foreground. In spite of this, the output of the fisheries could be described as extremely satisfactory. The spring catch in 1922 yielded a considerable surplus of fish. A great part of the fish could be sent to other famine districts, and another part put to commercial uses.

After the actual famine relief work came to an end, and the IWR turned its attention to productive economic relief, the object with which the fisheries had been carried on had to be changed just as has been the case with the other IWR undertakings. The IWR, now placed the question of possibilities of profit in the foreground, and those enterprises whose working results were less favorable were given up by the IWR, which, having saved these enterprises, could now pass them over to other hands. Under these circumstances the fishery undertaking near Zarizyn could be given up, and a new concession taken over in a fishing district promising better results, in the Astrakan district.

The contract agreed upon with the ministry for fisheries concedes to the IWR, exclusive fishing rights in the areas taken over. The agreement holds for 3 years, and can be prolonged. The rent paid for the lease is calculated on the basis of the average rent for fisheries of a similar extent during the period of the contract. Relations with the employees are regulated by a collective agreement, under control of the trade unions.

The organization of the fishery enterprise is directly subordinate to the Moscow business office of the "Industrial and Commercial Joint Stock Co. International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia". The Moscow business office maintains a special department for industrial and agricultural undertakings. The management of the fishery enterprise in the district itself is carried out by a head office, this having its headquarters in Astrakan, the leading commercial centre for fishing products. Local managers are appointed for the work in the district itself. The exploitation of the fishery district is carried out according to two different methods. One part of the work is taken over by the IWR, with its own flotilla and its own paid fishermen. The second method consists in the collaboration of fishers working on their own account; these work at the small fishing stations, and deliver over their catch, for payment, to the IWR.

The plan worked out for the fisheries estimated a catch of 350,000 puds (1 pud about 16 kilograms) in the spring season of the year 1923, and of 100,000 puds for the rest of the year. The calculation of the catch is as follows:

	Gold roubles
Expenditure for spring catch (wages for fishers, payment of fish delivered up by fishers working on their own account, storage costs, materials for preparing fish)	233,507.—
The same expenditure for summer and autumn catches	118,500.—
Current expenses, not confined to the fishing season (permanent employees, ice cellars, repairs, heating, taxes, etc.)	114,111.—
Estimated proceeds from fish sold	1,124,250.—
To the above expenses must be added: loading and freight costs to the amount of 395,000 roubles, so that the total costs to be deducted from the proceeds are	861,118.—
Total profits	263,132.—
The surplus is utilized in such manner that 5% interest on capital	23,305.—
and a further 10% costs reserve, to the amount of 23,983.— are calculated. After further amounts have been reserved for new requirements, such as boats, nets, workers quarters etc., there remains an available remaining sum of 101,344.—, which as a net surplus can be employed for the other undertakings of the IWR.	

These estimates carefully drawn up by reliable experts, show that the fishery enterprise of the IWR, will—unless some very special disturbance of economic life should occur—fulfil the object which the International Workers' Relief regards as decisive for its work in Russia at the present juncture. The present aim of the production relief afforded by the IWR, must be to build up economic undertakings, within the new economic policy, whose whole basis and careful management and organization guarantee that they will yield a profit and prove that proletarian enterprises can be as competent as capitalist enterprises. The IWR, undertakings will then form an important constituent of the socialist communist structure, a preparation for the future, a means of training the working class for the economic problems to be solved later, and a medium for strengthening the confidence of the worker in his own powers.

Cultural Work of the IWR

By Max Barthel (Berlin).

The International Workers' Relief has risen from small beginnings to a world organization. Its representatives are working in the United States, Canada, Brazil, Germany, Argentina, Uruguay, South Africa, Australia, Japan, Russia, France, Belgium, Italy, Holland, England, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Switzerland. The History of the I.W.R.—should it ever be written—would be more interesting than any novel. After the horrors of war, after the iron embrace of the blockade, Russia is overwhelmed by a failure of crops, by a frightful natural catastrophe threatening 30 millions of human beings with death by starvation. Hundreds of thousands die, starve, perish in misery. The League of Nations declines to aid the starving. They may starve and die in misery, for the Red Flag waves over their country!

The proletariat knew its duty, and took action. And bourgeois philanthropists, like Nansen and the Quakers, organized their relief work. But it was around the IWR that the most self-sacrificing workers gathered. Its small Dutch committee alone raised a quarter of the sum collected by the world organization of the Amsterdam trade union international in all countries, for the famine victims in Russia. The IWR collected over 2,000,000 dollars for the relief action. People of every nation and color, brown, white, black, and yellow, brought their offerings, ready as a matter of course to sacrifice something for Soviet Russia. Their help has not been philanthropy, but class solidarity. Machines and food have been sent to Soviet Russia, children's homes established, tools and clothes collected. Many thousands of human beings have been saved from death by starvation, many factories and farms have been taken over by the IWR. Famine relief and economic relief become one and the same thing. The famine has been overcome, after enormous exertions on the part of the Russian government and its collaborator the IWR. The new economic policy is now bringing the economic revival.

Our work has pursued no philanthropic aims, has had in this respect nothing in common with the work of the bourgeois philanthropists. Even our children's relief has been self-sacrificing proletarian solidarity. The artists' relief commenced last year received support solely from artists sympathizing with Russia.

The IWR has not only carried out the needful economic aid, but has, at the same time, fulfilled great cultural tasks. Its world organization is in itself a deed of culture. The coolies of Tokio and the miners of Bochum unite fraternally to help Russia. The frontiers of the capitalist countries are wiped out. There is only one Fatherland in the world, for which all human beings are fighting, sacrificing, and working, whether they be white, black, brown, or yellow: Soviet Russia!

The propaganda carried on by the IWR has been to a great extent successful in breaking down the wall of slander erected by various groups. Its committees all over the world have done much preparatory work towards spreading understanding for Russia and its revolution, have prepared the soil in many countries for regular commercial relations with Soviet Russia.

It is not by accident that its innumerable appeals, pamphlets, illustrated newspapers, and photographs, have been supplemented in recent years by installing the film in the service of cultural propaganda. Until 1921, Russia knew nothing of the film world, although hundreds of films were running in Moscow, Petrograd, and in many other cities, as well as at the fronts

where the Red Army was fighting. In that year the IWR sent its own film operators to Moscow, in order that Western Europe might have the opportunity of obtaining insight by means of the incontestable evidence of the film picture, into Russian life, its condition and its struggles. The film led through Moscow and Petrograd to the famine district, and gave a terrible picture of the mighty struggle against starvation. This film was produced in the United States, in Argentina, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Switzerland. Other films were also brought to Germany, and received with enthusiasm.

The IWR made agreements with the leading film companies in Russia, thus gaining definite influence on Russian production and film export. The IWR attained a world success with the film "Polikushka", which convinced by its uncompromising truthfulness. This film is proceeding on its triumphant progress round the whole world. Up to the present, the IWR has acquired over 100 film licences for Russia, sent over 500,000 metres of unused film material to Petrograd and Moscow, as well as over 100 copies, with a total length of over 150,000 metres. It stands to the credit of the IWR that it has been the means of opening the world's markets to the Russian film.

The work of the IWR is a deed of culture. Our organization has found room for many thousands of Russian children in 88 children's homes in Russia, has provided them with food and clothing as well as the means of instruction, and has established communication between the children's homes in Russia and other countries. Many countries, America, Argentina, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, France, etc. have established special children's homes. Many countries have carried out extensive and successful propaganda for the adoption of Russian children.

Over a million photographs, representing new Russia, have been disseminated over the whole world by the IWR. Some millions of copies of the periodical "Soviet Russia in Picture", have been doing agitative and enlightening work among the proletariat and intellectual circles of Europe. The international illustrated newspaper "Sichel und Hammer" appears monthly, in Germany alone, with an edition of 250,000 copies. The committees in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Holland, England, and America have special editions of "Sichel und Hammer" or of "Soviet Russia in Picture". In these countries a million copies of these English, French, Dutch, Czechish, and American editions have already appeared.

The IWR takes a lively interest in Russian art. It organized, in co-operation with the Commissariat for People's Education and Enlightenment, a great Russian art exhibition in Germany, Russia, and Holland. This Russian art exhibition received a hearty welcome from the great European press. At the present time the exhibition is being successfully held in Holland. It will proceed to the United States. There are still people who cannot be convinced by economic facts, but who alter their opinions decisively when approached through their attitude to art. Among such people the Russian art exhibition has rendered excellent service.

And now, when mighty groups of capitalists are pressing forward to combat Russia, the IWR is still at its post. An uplift of the masses of the proletariat is impossible without Soviet Russia. The IWR has placed itself at the head of the organizations making an unqualified stand for Soviet Russia against all the dangers threatening it, against the madness of the impending fresh predatory capitalist war. It is not proletarians alone who are gathering around its committees; many notable intellectuals are also declaring themselves solid for the IWR: Anatole France, Henri Barbusse, Maxim Gorki, Andersen-Nexo, Henriette Roland-Holst, George Groë, Alfons Paquet, Ernst Toller, Upton Sinclair, Madeleine Marx, and Käthe Kollwitz. And our old and unforgettable champion of the proletariat, Klara Zetkin, is one of the most active workers of the IWR.

Fresh intellectual groups have become active recently. The circle of artists, scientists, technicians, physicians, and political economists, sympathizing with the East, is expanding. These are emerging from their retirement, and are gathering around the clubs bearing the characteristic name of "Friends of Soviet Russia".

The International Workers Relief is cultural work for the present and for the future—it is the world organization of all productive forces for the proletarian reconstruction in Soviet Russia.

The Children's Homes of the IWR.

The action taken by the International Workers' Relief for the Russian children has been eminently successful. The care of Russian children through the agency of the IWR, has met with the support of many sections of the population which are not proletarian. The international workers maintain and provide for thousands of children, in children's homes in Soviet Russia. Most of these homes are in the Ukraine, in the Ural district, and on the Volga. In the vicinity of Samara alone, there are 19 children's homes containing 1,330 children; in the upper Ural district there are 12 homes with 2879 children; in the environs of Orenburg 10 homes with 900 children. The arrangement and conduct of the homes varies greatly, as they differ with regard to their equipment, the number of children, and the staff of teachers and workers. The smallest homes contain 20 to 30 children, the largest some hundreds (the "Clara Zetkin" Home in Simferopol, adopted by America, contains 376 children). The homes are distributed over the following districts: in Ural 12 children's homes with 2879 children, in the district around Charkov 6 homes with 338 children, Ekaterinoslav and Alexandrovsk 2 homes with 420 children, Odessa 2 homes with 350 children, Nikolayev 3 homes with 610 children, Donbasin 2 homes with 250 children, Samara 19 homes with 1330 children, Orenburg 10 homes with 900 children, Aktyubinsk 3 homes with 200 children, Iletzk 2 homes with 100 children, Casan 3 homes with 690 children, Saratov 6 homes with 257 children, Ural'sk 2 homes with 757 children, Nemkommune 2 homes with 500 children, Zarizyn 4 homes with 300 children, the Crimea 3 homes with 600 children, Tchekboksari 3 homes with 500 children, Tchelyabinsk 3 homes with 419 children.

The Children's Relief Committees have adopted 54 homes in all, with 5,108 children, as follows: America 31 homes with 2797 children, Argentina 3 homes with 263 children, Belgium 1 home with 98 children, Bulgaria 1 home with 118 children, Canada 1 home with 176 children, Denmark 2 homes with 74 children, Germany and Holland 3 homes with 266 children, Japan 1 home with 50 children, Yugoslavia 1 home with 92 children, Norway and Sweden 1 home with 50 children, Austria 1 home with 69 children, Roumania 1 home with 64 children, Switzerland 1 home with 103 children, Czechoslovakia 3 homes with 127 children.

Soviet Russia is becoming more and more firmly established; she is now in a position to provide to a greater extent for the child victims of the horrors of the famine, and is better able to accommodate and care for them in her own homes. The International Workers' Relief cannot and will not however give up the aid it lends to the Russian children. The existing children's homes must be developed into work-schools; technical workshops must be arranged for the elder children. In many homes small workshops have already been set up, as for instance in Samara, in the "Comintern" homes, where the children make their own toys, in the "Venzik" home for blind children, where baskets are woven, brushes made, and other woven and plaited work done. In the "Clara Zetkin" home the children make fancy-work, footgear, and baskets; in the "Trotzky" home there is a small carpenter's and bookbinder's workshop; in the "Karl Marx" home there is a small shoemaker's workshop and a knitting and sewing room. In the "Friedrich Engels" home baskets are woven. In the children's homes in Yekaterinburg, the children in the "Karl Radek" home, which is affiliated to the "Sissersk" undertaking, are occupied with shoe-making, tailoring, carpentry, and agriculture. The "III. International" home possesses workshops for fitting, turning, forging, carpentry, tailoring, knitting stockings, and shoe-making. The children here even work productively, for they carry out orders for joiner's and locksmith's work with the aid of their teachers. The "Rosa Luxemburg" home in Perm, in which there are only girls, has a large dressmaking and knitting workroom. The children's homes in Casan, "Clara Zetkin" and "International Labor Solidarity", have well equipped sewing rooms. The "Karl Marx" home in Motovilicha possesses a factory-school, provided with workshops for fitting and smithy work, tailoring, knitting, and shoe-making. In Nischi-Tagil the children of the "Karl Liebknecht" home are able to enjoy the advantages of practical instruction in the adjacent large farm and electric works. In Tachkent the "Karl Liebknecht" home possesses workshops for fitting, carpentry, and shoe-making, as well as nursery gardens. The children's home "Liebknecht-Luxemburg" in Smolino, near Tchelyabinsk, carries on farming work. These homes are in part equipped with good tools and machines, the gift of workers of various countries.

The "World Conference for Economic Relief and Reconstruction in Russia" will have to devote part of its attention to

productive aid for the Russian children. However important machinery may be, the rising generation who will control this machinery is of still greater importance.

Art in New Russia and the IWR.

By J. W. Kruyt.

The Foreign Committee of the International Workers' Relief organized, with the cooperation of the Russian people's Commissariat for National Education and Enlightenment, an art exhibition which roused the greatest public interest in Russia, as well as in Germany at the beginning of the year. In Berlin this exhibition was taken up by the press with the greatest enthusiasm. The paintings, sculpture, and china, were in themselves sufficient evidence that, despite civil war and blockade, Russia has found fresh forms of expression in the sphere of art. The exhibition in Berlin was a living refutation of the assertion so frequently made, that the Russia revolution suppresses art and Russian artists. European artists, and the art-loving public, became suddenly aware that creative art has made great and varied progress in Russia since the revolution; they realized also that the revolution has imparted new forces and forms to art, life and vitality, not merely grey theory as in western Europe.

Even before this, Russian native art had always evinced an amazing degree of the art of graphic representation and of naive imagination, which was calculated to rouse the highest admiration. Objects of Russian home art and handicrafts are sold all over Europe by the IWR, in the form of innumerable wood carvings, toys, fancy-work, etc. All this art on a small scale shows, that the Russian people, despite starvation and cold, have not lost their joy in beauty and creative forms. The first Russian art exhibition in Berlin has greatly deepened and widened this impression, has discovered living sources of creative art, and has brought the new Russian artists — for the most part still unknown in western Europe — into the foremost ranks of recognized creative artists.

The "First Russian Art Exhibition" is in Amsterdam at the present time, where, with the aid of the Dutch section of the foreign committee of the International Workers' Relief (the "General Committee for the Economic Development of Soviet Russia") it has been found a place in the municipal museum. The success attained by the exhibition in Holland, the "Rembrandt country", where the name of this master is still held in such high honor, has been equally great as in Berlin. Many hundreds of visitors attend the exhibition daily, the Dutch press writes brilliant reviews, many pictures are sold, but before all the Russian Soviet china, with its charming painting which delights the Dutch.

As in Berlin, the workers show a special interest in this exhibition. The Dutch painter Alma has arranged courses of instruction for introducing the Amsterdam proletariat to Russian art, for explaining much that may be found strange and unknown, and for rendering the conception and feeling of this art accessible to those studying it. Moscow, Berlin, Amsterdam; these three stages have already been passed through by the first Russian art exhibition. In the course of the forth-coming weeks it will go to the United States, the land most hostile of all to Soviet Russia, and will there awaken interest for the Russia of today. Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, France, and Scandinavia, have requested that the exhibition visit them. The Russian art exhibition is connected in every country with the International Workers' Relief, and in every country it is organized with the aid of the local committees of the International Workers' Relief. Cultural work on the most extensive scale! The international language of creative art demonstrates to the bourgeoisie that Soviet Russia is alive, that revolution does not imply annihilation of art, but is rather the prerequisite for its rebirth.

Soviet Russia in Film

By G. Flemming.

There is no need to say another word about the significance of the film as a medium of propaganda. The film has conquered the world. The Russian film is now beginning its triumphal course. The mighty success of "Polikushka" has paved the way for this. But before "Polikushka" appeared, other Russian films were already being produced in Germany, Holland, America, Czechoslovakia, and other countries, unnoticed by the bourgeoisie and unreviewed by the great newspapers. These films were organized by the IWR, and many of them,

as for instance "Five years of Soviet Russia" and "The miracle of soldier Ivan", have done magnificent propaganda work for Soviet Russia, have broken down barriers of falsehood, have sought and found comprehension. Soviet Russia is no longer a book of seven seals, it is a great state of millions of inhabitants, awakened to new life, and having new forms of life, new claims. Soviet Russia can no longer be discussed out of existence. The new films now coming from Russia are being awaited with great interest, even by the bourgeoisie. Besides "Polikushka", another film "New Russia" is about to be produced in the bourgeois cinemas. This film gives a graphic insight into the life, development, and struggles of the young Workers' and Peasants' Republic; into life in Moscow and Petrograd, in the Red Army, among the peasantry, etc. A great new film on "The Red Army" is in course of preparation, and is likely to evoke special interest. Another film, dealing with Russian childhood, will also be put on the market shortly. The International Workers' Relief has released the Russian film for the world markets, and it is through its intermediation that Russian films have been shown over almost all the world in the course of the past year. All this is cultural work for Russia, propaganda work for the Workers' and Peasants' Republic in the East.

Soviet Russia and the IWR.

The IWR, sent a circular, containing the following questions, to various political and intellectual personages:

1. What do you consider to be the economic, political, propagandist, and cultural tasks of the I.W.R.? 2. In Russia? 3. Abroad? 4. Should the I.W.R. co-operate with philanthropic organizations, as those of Nansen, Ara, etc.? 5. What, in your opinion, should be the special basis of the work of the I.W.R.?

Of the numerous replies received, we append the following from Clara Zetkin and Alphons Paquet. Starting from different points of view, they come to the same affirmative agreement as to the many sidedness and importance of the work done by the I.W.R.

To Question 1.

The I.W.R. should spread reliable information, based on facts, on the situation and conditions obtaining in Soviet Russia, among the widest circles of the workers, among the whole productive working people. This with the object of creating understanding of and sympathy for the Russian revolution, its difficulties, its magnificent work and its world-historical significance, and thereby to mobilize the most numerous forces possible, forces conscious of the surpassing range of the events in Soviet Russia, and ready to support, energetically and devotedly, the building up of the new and higher social life in Russia.

To Question 2.

Support of the existing children's homes, founding of its own children's homes, and the development of all into model institutions. Support or founding of social relief and welfare institutions (ambulance stations, hospitals, convalescent homes, etc.). Support or founding of culture institutions and culture establishments, furtherance of production by the provision of money, machinery, etc., setting up of business and commercial relations, especially on the part of the co-operatives; by providing a supply of technically skilled workers; by participation in trusts, etc.; the erection of model factories, etc., taking over of concessions, and so forth.

To Question 3.

Dissemination of informative material by word and picture (film), meetings and lectures, not only on general conditions and intended for "everyone", but dealing with special topics, and intended for special groups of professions (teachers, physicians, engineers, craftsmen, social politicians, etc.). Arrangement of Russian art evenings, theatrical performances, concerts, scientific and literary lectures, etc. Organization of Russian exhibitions, collection of money, tools, and useful articles. Establishment of energetic local working committees of the I.W.R. and their strictly centralized concentration. Founding of societies for the "sympathizers" with Soviet Russia, and systematic cultivation of relations with these.

To Question 4.

Yes, when this co-operation: a) does not bind the I.W.R. in its principles and practical activity; b) extends the field of work of the I.W.R. and strengthens its influence; c) implies

practical advantages through more purposeful organization, division of work, joint purchases, transport, etc.

To Question 5.

The awakening and realization of the consciousness of international solidarity of the proletarians, of the productive workers of all countries, and of the consciousness of their duty towards the first workers' and Peasants' state in the world.

Clara Zetkin.

To the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. Questions.

The I.W.R. is an instrument towards the uplift of the working classes in all countries, and is, as compared with the instruments of direct combat—as for instance the revolutionary organizations—an especially valuable means of training in economics, foreign politics, and transport-organization. Amidst the attempts at and possibilities for the reconstruction of Russia, it is incumbent on the I.W.R. to form the positive expression of the participation of all sections of workers in Russia's economic welfare and the role it will play will be independent and responsible in proportion to the extent to which it is supported by the working populations of the world. It needs the contributions, the offerings, the sympathy of wide circles, even those of the intelligentsia, as for instance artists, scholars, engineers, and educated tradespeople. Even if these circles, in their peculiar position between the classes, do not appear to be the forerunners of a classless state of society, they will none the less find it more and more necessary to rely on the working class, and to take part in the concrete tasks proceeding from the rise of the

working class. In Russia, the I.W.R. can undertake commercial enterprises and technical undertakings, which would disappear and prove a loss without its intervention. The tasks of systematizing, leading, and managing entirely different kinds of undertakings on lines of common economics, are ones demanding that the entire concern be unshakeable in its co-operative foundation, but exceedingly variable and elastic in its forms.

To the 4th. and 5th. Questions.

The tasks set the I.W.R. are fundamentally different from those of pure philanthropy, and thus any intervention by philanthropic organizations appears likely to detract from its purpose. In individual cases, in limited concrete spheres of activity, co-operation between the I.W.R. and the Nansen or Quaker organizations would appear to be highly recommendable. For, in the first place, there is much to be learned by this, and in addition there exists the possibility, even the probability, of one day entering into the heritage of these institutions. In my opinion the work of the I.W.R. should be specially based on the consciousness that the co-operative principle of working is still very little developed, at least in the world of Europe, but is still highly capable of development in various directions, particularly in that of non-state work. Originating in the immediate need of rapid aid for Russia, it is up to now a weak, but in its essence a correct beginning at an active co-operation of all peoples among themselves, and its further development, which is to be striven for with all energy, may enable it to rely on the natural need of all human beings for mutual help, and especially on the community of interests obtaining among all peoples suffering from exploitation or threatened by catastrophes.

Alfons Paquet.

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Have a Care Lord Curzon!

By A. Lozovsky.

The price for an English spy, according to Lord Curzon's exact calculations, is one hundred thousand gold roubles! Another English citizen, but of the female sex, costs, on the same calculation, thirty thousand gold roubles. The days in which activity of this nature was charged at the rate of thirty pieces of silver are long since past; in those times the noble lords did not occupy themselves with the defence of Judases of either sex, nor with the ascertainment of their value on a gold basis. But if we were of the opinion that Lord Curzon, and the most predatory circles of British imperialists who are backing him up, are raising the whole question merely for the sake of thirteen thousand pounds sterling, or on account of the right of English fishers to fish in Russian waters, and for the sake of the "honor and dignity" of the English people (!) which has been so offended by Weinstein's insulting notes, then we would be political children indeed. But in Russia there are very few political children to be found, even among the Communist Youth. All these trifles only serve to conceal two really serious questions of burning importance for the Britain bourgeoisie: 1. The influence exercised by the Russian revolution on the suppressed peoples of the East; 2. The restoration of property confiscated by the Russian revolution from English capitalists. But before proceeding to the discussion of these questions, we should like to introduce to our readers, the present English Minister for Foreign Affairs. At the International Transport Workers' Congress held recently, Robert Williams showed me his passport, upon the first page of which was written in large letters.

"We George Nathaniel Curzon, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Viscount Scarsdale, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, a Member of His Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Commander

of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, etc. etc. etc.,

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs . . ."

Unfortunately we do not know what this highly significant "etc." represents; in all likelihood it means: defender of the suppressed Oriental peoples, protector of injured property-holders, etc. But whatever further titles Lord Curzon may possess—those already adduced suffice for us to comprehend why the whole of slave-holding old England speaks through his lips. If England's demands with regard to the East are deciphered, it is seen that these not only imply that the Communist and Red Trade Union International be banished from all places outside the frontiers of Soviet Russia, but they aim at the conversion of Soviet Russia into an imperialist power. What does Soviet Russia's propaganda consist of? In the mere fact of its existence; in the fact that it represents the realization of its conception of the right of self-determination of the peoples. Compared with the mere fact of Soviet Russia's existence, and Soviet Russia's policy arising from the proletarian and socialist sources of our revolution, all Lord Curzon's stolen cipher telegrams are not worth a brass farthing.

This is the kernel of the whole matter. The English bourgeoisie turns to the Russian revolution and bids it, through the mouth of its Grand Commander, to simply "cease to be a socialist and Soviet republic!" We take the liberty of informing Lord Curzon, decorated with all his various orders, that the Russian revolution does not permit an English slave-holder to stipulate the lines on which it develops. With regard to the locality of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U., we have nothing against