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The Champions of the World Proletariat.

by Karl Radek.

The Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International adopted a truly heroic resolution at its last session; it pronounced in favor of a mass strike in case of—a future war. Such heroism is like a post-dated check—the cheapest kind of heroism in the world. *The Congress did not, however, mention the fact that not far from Rome where they were meeting a bitter contest was going on over one important aim of the proletarian class struggle—the title of society to its machinery of production.* This proletarian congress did not think it necessary to appeal to the proletariat to support the Russian Soviet delegation with all means at its disposal. It did not do this, although even without being possessed of special information it should have known that in Genoa a merciless struggle was being carried on and that any moment could witness a rupture of the negotiations. The conflict in Genoa is a book with seven locks to the European trade-union bureaucracy which formed the International Workers' Congress in Rome. Are not Tchitcherin, Krassin and Litvinoff like themselves, the Jouhaux, Hendersons, Leiparts and Grassmanns? Was not Henderson, when His Britannic Majesty's minister, compelled to don silk hose and breeches when attending court? Did not Tchitcherin and Krassin attend the reception given by the King of Italy? And when the Russian delegates haggle with world capital over concessions—well they, the Hendersons, Jouhaux and Grassmanns, have all their lives done nothing but make concessions to capital. True, there will be a bit more noise in Genoa in that respect, but, all things considered, they, the exponents of trade-union officialdom really need not worry over Genoa.

Meanwhile Socialism's right to exist is at stake in Genoa. Without mincing words, the Allies uncompromisingly demand in their memorandum that:

"The Russian Soviet Government assume responsibility for all material and direct losses caused by the breaches of contract or in any other manner which the subjects of other powers have suffered in consequence of actions or failures to act on the part of the Soviet Government, its provincial and local authorities, or its agents."

The memorandum goes on to demand that:

"The subjects of foreign powers have the right to claim the return of their property or acknowledgement of their rights and interests. If such property, rights or interests still exist or can be ascertained, they are to be returned and compensation granted for their exploitation or damage. If such property, rights or interests do no longer exist or cannot be acknowledged, or if their former owners do not desire their return, the Soviet Government must compensate such parties either by giving them similar property rights or interests, or by compensation."

The tenor of these demands is the declaration of Allied capital that capitalism was, is and will be. Private property is sacred, and woe to you, proletarians, if you dare to follow in the footsteps of the Russian Revolution! We hold you responsible for all the damages you inflict upon capitalism! And we shall make you suffer for such damages to the tenth

generation. Not only will you have to return all sacred property, but if you were to die of hunger, and if your children had neither bread nor milk, neither clothing nor shelter — you will not be allowed to provide for them, but will be forced to make good the injuries you have done to the bourgeoisie!

World Capital, which arose from the policy of the exploitation of half the world, beginning with Venice's piratical expeditions in the 12th century, with her slave plantations, through the colonial spoils of the Dutch and the English and the ransacking of the churches and monasteries to the modern form of exploitation of whole nations by trusts, now stands up and declares:—

The rights I have acquired with blood and iron — the rights and the property built upon mountains of human bones and cemented with blood and tears, shall not be touched henceforth, neither by the sword nor by fire, neither by the wish of the toiling masses nor by any other means whatsoever!

And if the ocean should rise from its bed, and if nature itself should offend against our rights, we shall punish it as Xerxes did: we shall whip the waves of the sea. And Soviet Russia, if it does not desire to perish of hunger, must reinstate Sacred Private Property on its throne and worship it.

The memorandum of the Soviet delegation in reply to the Allies' memorandum draws a truly heartrending picture of what will happen if Russia should acknowledge the Allied debts and if its counter demands were not recognised and it should within a short time start paying off the Allied debts.

Even if the war debts of the Czarist and the Kerensky government were annulled, Russia's debts together with the accumulated interest (the payment of which the Allies' memorandum demands on November 1st, 1927) would amount to 13 milliard gold roubles. On that day Russia would have to pay 1,200,000,000 gold roubles partly as interest and partly as amortisation of 1/25 of the total debt. For the last five years before the war the Czarist government paid for the same purpose approximately 40,000,000 roubles annually. In order to comply with that demand, Soviet Russia would have to attain till 1927 not only the pre-war level of production, but treble that production. Before the war the national annual income of Russia was estimated at 101 roubles per capita; now, after the devastation of the war, it is only 30 roubles per capita. It follows that if it desires to start paying off its debts in 1927, Russia would have to increase its production ninefold. Nor are war debts and compensation for the revolutions damages included in this estimate! When proclaiming the rights of sacred bourgeois private property, World Capital is also proclaiming its title to the slave labor of 150 million people. Thus it becomes quite apparent that Soviet Russia's struggle against the Allied demands, against the burden of debts with which the Allies intend to saddle it, against the attempts at depriving the proletariat of what it gained by stubborn struggle — common property — is not a fight for theories, but for the very existence of the Russian people.

The Social Democrats of all shades together with their spiritual brethren, the Centrists, persist in repeating: "What do we care for Genoa, for the Soviet delegation and its struggle; there are merely Russian state interests at stake, which is to say that the interests of European labor are not in danger. The interests of the Russian State coincide with those of the Russian working people, and those interests demand war on the sacred institution of capitalist private property. And the fact that they are the interests of the Russian working masses (both of the peasants and of the workers) provides a bedrock basis for the Socialist character of Soviet Russia's policy, not because the Soviet Government wants to adhere to its old slogans and principles, but because it must do so. This is the ultimate cause of, and the best foundation for, its Socialist policy which is directed against the domination of World Capital, a policy which is as far above the compromises and the combinations of the day as the stars in the sky.

Marx once called the English workers the champions of the international labor class. And they were that; not because their outlook was more international than that of other proletarians, but because their situation compelled them to fight capital in order to attain the first fundamental rights of labor, the right of organization and the protection of labor and as the first phalanx which was forced by the logic of events to enter upon the struggle destined to last a century.

The Russian Soviet Government, the Russian Red Army, the Russian working masses were compelled by history to fight for the principle of common property against international capital which implies private property; they took up arms for these general aims of international labor, while bitter hunger was gnawing at their stomachs. Now they are fighting for the same aims with diplomatic methods, and if the negotiations in Genoa prove futile, they will, perhaps, once more be obliged to defend themselves against fresh attacks. And because the Russian Soviet Republic has been placed in a position where it must struggle for the general aims of international labor, against private capital and its alleged right to enslave and starve whole peoples, its struggle, no matter what its forms, becomes a fight for the international interests of labor. The Soviet Government and the weakened, hungry and bleeding working class Soviet Russia's are the paladins of the international proletariat. They advanced with weapons in their hands in 1919, borne by the rising wave of the revolution; they have now, after a retreat which was dictated by the temporary quiescence of the revolutionary movement in Europe, occupied positions which they will defend with their lives but which they will never abandon.

Anybody hesitating to come to the assistance of this vanguard of the international proletariat which is fighting for the interests of international labor—not with diplomatic resolutions and phrase, but by exerting his whole energy and with a holy enthusiasm—betrays the working class, no matter what his name and no matter what the arguments he advances in favor of his attitude. History will judge him and it will not ask for the reasons of his betrayal, but will find him guilty of betrayal, because he deserted the Russian working class, the vanguard of the revolution, in its darkest hour.

POLITICS

The Political Prisoners.

by N. Bukharin.

** The capitalists have an excellent method of confusing the workers and keeping them under spiritual imprisonment. This method consists in putting up slogans that are absolutely empty of content, and for this very reason they permit their makers to misuse them in any way they choose.

The greatest lie of our times, the most despicable shame that is used to confuse the working-class is so-called "Democracy". This "Democracy" is based upon "Freedom". But the conception of freedom is an empty one if it does not expressly say which class this freedom is meant for. The same is true of all other ideological "fundamental conceptions" of the prostituted capitalist press, like "Civilization", "Community", etc. In its content, this civilization is the civilization of the ruling bourgeoisie; "Community" really means the association of profiteers and bankers, of landlords and speculators, of priests and courtisans, of lieutenants and ministers. Ah, but these words sound "nice". The bourgeoisie therefore takes full advantage of this. The united forces of the imperialist pirates are labelled "League of Nations" and the slaves' brains are completely

dazzled. The freedom of exploitation which is a capitalist liberty is called "Freedom" in general, and the exploited are thus deceived. Unfortunately there exists under the capitalist system a fetishism of words. Words dominate the blind, who are incapable of seeing their back-stair meaning. That is the reason why some of the simplest and clearest facts are as yet not understood by many.

In the mud-throwing campaign against Communism and Soviet Russia the question of the "political prisoners" plays a conspicuous part. We are asked, "Wherein lies your liberty? You are keeping hundreds of prisoners under lock! You are murderers and hangers! You are hypocrites when you demand of the other governments that they grant an amnesty to political prisoners, at the same time acting like these governments yourselves!"

But calm yourselves, gentlemen!

It is not true that we demand a "general amnesty" for political prisoners. To put an example. In Germany, we do not ask that the murderers of Erzberger be freed. On the contrary, our German comrades demand the arrest of these "political criminals". These murderers are freed not by Communists, but by the government of M. Horthy.

This small example is typical, and it is sufficient to open our eyes as to the real issue in question. The proletariat should effect the liberation of those who fight for its causes. On the other hand, the proletariat has the right to imprison those who are a menace to the proletarian movement.

Not one of the gentlemen from the 2 and 2½ Internationals dares to demand of us that we free the notorious arch-reactionaries, in spite of the fact that the imprisonment of these gentlemen also constitutes "an injury of their personal liberty". Why? Simply because such a demand would be a proof that our "humane" prosecutors are on the side of the bourgeoisie, body and soul.

But should these gentlemen not dare to defend their dear lady "Freedom for All without Exception", they would then lose their position.

For it is clear that it is actual class-moments and not general platitudinous and empty phrases that are of value to us.

Now we come to the "second stage" of the method of argument and proof used by our enemies. They tell us: "We do not grudge you your counter-revolutionary generals. But in your prisons you also have Socialists! You have imprisoned men who had fought against Czarism for decades!", etc.

Well, we shall answer your question, gentlemen. And it is very easy to prove that in this argument there is a fallacy and behind this fallacy there is treason.

Just a word or two.

Should the word "Socialist" be decisive for us or not? We know that in France, for instance, the leading imperialist party calls itself not only Socialist, but even "Radical (or Socialist)". In Austria there are "Christian Socialists". Count Keyserling also claims to be a Socialist. Not to mention Lenin who is a constant collaborator of the Stinnes Press and at the same time a Social Democrat, or Vandervelde, who is one of the signers of the Versailles "Peace" Treaty, or of Noske, Alexinsky and their like.

And as to the past merits and deserts? Ah, Gentlemen! Do you recall those who are now leading the bourgeoisie?

In France, Briand! Briand, the gendarme, who was once one of the first apostles of the revolutionary general-strike!

In Italy: Bonomi, was a member of the Socialist Party. Mussolini, the leader of the Fascists, the professional murderer of the proletariat, is a former editor of "Avanti", the central organ of the Socialist Party (!)

In Russia: Bourtzeff and Savinkoff, former anti-Czarist terrorist, Alexinsky, the present Wrangelian, was a radical Social Democrat.

That suffices perhaps, to show that "past deeds" are an argument for present respect. Every Marxist will understand that in a phase of development in which the question was one of fighting against Czarism, many people fought sincerely; for in place of Czarism they wanted a bourgeois democracy. But this does not at all mean that they greet the liberation of the proletariat from the bourgeois republic. For the bourgeoisie is no particular devotee of the proletarian dictatorship.

And now, speaking to the point:

With us in Russia, the Socialist Revolutionaries are the germs of the "Radical Socialist" Party in France. They are in favor of the armed struggle against the Soviet Power; they had a hand in almost all attempts against the Soviet power (including those of Yudenitch, Koltchak, Denikin, Wrangel and other generals); they have murdered our best comrades (Volo-

darsky, Uritzky); they have wounded Lenin; they have organized attempts against the lives of Trotsky and Zinoviev. They attempted to murder Lenin in the name of "Civilization", of course! They entered into pacts with the French, the Germans, the Czecho-Slovaks and Americans; they received gold from all sides. Their present propaganda is chiefly an agitation for the rebellion of the Vendée against the revolutionary proletariat.

And then we are asked: Why don't you set the anti-Czarist fighters at liberty? . . .

And the Mensheviks? Firstly, they are in league with the Social Revolutionaries. They had also fought with arms against us not only in the October days, but even much later. It suffices to say that the Georgian Mensheviks furnished General Wrangel with 30,000 officers. Their method is just as cowardly and despicable as that of the S.R. They always have a "division of labor". The gentle Martoff is radical and "not responsible" for the counter-revolution. This fact was effectively demonstrated at the Berlin International Conference, where Martoff and Dan sat with the 2½, and ex-minister Tsereteli with the Second International. But these "finé nuances" concern us very little.

The International Conference had for its goal the united front, which it was to organize up against capital, and in no way to aid capital to break up Soviet Russia. And it is not only the right but also the duty of the first proletarian state to beat back every attempt at its life with all the force at its disposal. That is not particularly priestly-humane, English-hypocritical, or democratically-free. But it is practical and necessary from the point of view of the struggling proletarian revolution.

The Awakening of India.

by Evelyn Roy.

** India, which during the past decade has been stirring uneasily from its slumbers, has awakened to full consciousness in the last two years. One has but to glance through any daily paper to witness the unusual prominence given to news of events in India in order to realize that this awakening extends to every phase of national existence,—intellectual, social, economic and political. The age-long apathy of patient resignation and endurance has been broken, partly by the opening up of India to currents of world thought, due to such transcendent events as the imperialist war and the Russian Revolution, and partly by the desperate economic condition of the overwhelming mass of the people, whom centuries of exploitation have reduced to the last stages of wretchedness. The third and most significant factor in the awakening of India lies in the rapid industrialization of the country, which has been going on throughout the last two decades and which has resulted in the creation, along with a native and foreign capitalist class, of an industrial proletariat numbering about nine millions. It is the growing class-consciousness of the latter, brought about by the increased exploitation during the years of reckless war-profiteering, that is responsible not only for the unparalleled record of strikes, lock-outs, various manifestations of mass action and the growth of trade-unionism within recent years, but also for the increasing intensity of the nationalist campaign for political independence.

The intimate relationship that exists between the nationalist struggle for Swaraj or Home Rule, and the labor movement for bettering the economic condition of the workers, is realized by few outside of India and even fewer inside. Mr. Gandhi, the saintly leader of the nationalist forces and apostle of non-resistance, could never have commanded the nation-wide response of the masses, nor have terrified the British Raj into its present frenzied rage, had there not been behind his incoherent and badly-led movement the steady driving force and fighting spirit of the Indian working-class. The power of organized labor has long made itself felt in England and the countries of Europe and America, and no sooner did the spectre begin to raise its head in India than the British rulers foresaw wherein lay the real danger to capitalistic imperialism. In the growth of trade-unionism, in the demands of the workers for higher wages, fewer hours, better living conditions and a share in the profits of industry, backed up by the united action of the proletariat in prolonged strikes and bloody encounters with the police, the Viceroy of India and his coadjutors rightly read the real threat to British rule. They hastily began to attempt the divorce of the economic from the political movement by the creation of Labor Arbitration Boards, by the introduction of Factory Acts, the nomination of Labor Members to the new Legislative Councils and the appointment of Government Commissions to study the causes of labor unrest in India. But at the same time, they displayed their implacable hatred of the working-class by ordering out armed police and soldiery to quell every strike and to force the workers to capitulate to their employers. The labor

movement, agitated by nationalist leaders, inevitably drifted into political channels; it became the willing instrument of politicians who called Hartals, national strikes and local ones, declared an economic boycott of British goods, organized their Non-Cooperation campaign against the Government and advanced extremist demands for Swaraj, because they were always sure of being supported in their action by at least one section of the population that stood ready to risk life and limb to obtain its demands, namely, the Indian working-class, with nothing to lose but its chains.

The huge, unwieldy mass of disaffected, discontented people in India which swells the ranks of the Nationalists, consisting of the rising bourgeoisie, Government servants, petty traders, ruined artisans, peasants and field and city proletariat, are held together by the slenderest thread of unity—the Nationalist Program, which calls for Swaraj or Home Rule; the righting of the Punjab wrongs of 1919, when several thousand people were massacred by machine-guns under the infamous Rowlatt Act; and the revision of the Treaty of Sevres by the Allies so as to grant complete independence to and the restoration of Turkey. Upon this exceedingly vague program of conflicting and impossible demands, all classes were asked to unite and to fight the British Indian Government by the non-violent means of boycott, civil disobedience and non-cooperation. So chaotic a movement must long ago have fallen apart into its various component elements, had it not been for the saving grace of Mr. Gandhi's personality, which contained a powerful appeal for the Indian masses; for the policy of government persecutions, which took definite shape and reached its climax during the recent visit of the Prince of Wales, and for the awakened mass-energy of the workers and peasants determined to better their lot. The national Hartals or general strikes, which paralyzed the life of all the great cities visited by the Prince, together with the bloody conflicts which broke out between the striking workers and students organized into Volunteer Corps, and the police, forced the hands of the Government. All the prominent leaders of the Nationalist movement were arrested and convicted to from six months to two years' imprisonment, with the exception of Mr. Gandhi. In addition, about ten thousand Indian Volunteers lie rotting in jails, the majority of whom are culled from the ranks of the workers.

The month of December witnessed two significant Congresses in the history of India, one the Second All-Indian Trade Union Congress at Jharria, in which about 20,000 worker-delegates participated, and the other at Ahmedabad, was the 36th Session of the Indian National Congress, the political organ of the Nationalists, attended by 6,000 accredited delegates. Both were closely watched by the Government. Both passed almost identical demands. The Trade Union Congress, besides advancing an economic program for the redress of workers' grievances and the betterment of their miserable condition, declared that the only true cure for the workers' ills lay in the attainment of Swaraj, and that this would be won through the action of the Indian working-class within ten years. The National Congress, forgetting or ignoring the economic grievances of its principal mainstay, the Indian workers and peasants—promulgated the same vague political program as before; announced the adoption of non-violent civil disobedience to Government laws and orders as the immediate tactics to attain their demands, and elected Mr. Gandhi supreme arbiter of the national destinies, with power to name his successor in case of his arrest.

The recently announced arrest of Mr. Gandhi comes as no surprise to those watching the current of events in India. The campaign of Civil Disobedience led quickly to violence, as was to be expected. The impoverished peasantry refused to pay rent and taxes; police and militia were promptly called out by the Government to enforce collections, and passive resistance quickly transformed itself into sanguinary struggles between the police and the people. Gandhi, whose vacillating tactics have more than once led the Congress Party to ridicule and disaster, renounced the policy of Civil Disobedience as premature, and called upon the rioters to repent and offer themselves to justice. His change of front came just in time to stop the warrant for his arrest issued by the Government—another unfortunate blunder in tactics, since he laid himself open to the charge advanced against the A. B. Brothers, of trying to save himself. Again, as with the A. B. Brothers, to clear himself of this imputation, Gandhi swung again to the left and sanctioned individual civil disobedience, which brought down the wrath of the authorities upon his head and resulted in his incarceration. The moment was opportune and had long been waited for by the Government, which had given the Mahatma a very long rope in the hope that he would end by hanging himself. To have arrested him two months earlier would have been to risk an open revolution; coming when it did, the country chafed and there were minor uprisings in every part, but these were easily put down. The Government felt firm ground

beneath its feet before it gathered into jail the last Indian leader of national repute, who ranks undoubtedly first in actual influence and popularity among the masses. In spite of his "Himalayan mistakes", Gandhi can never be accused of cowardice. His worst faults are bad judgment and lack of political acumen. He failed to comprehend the social forces with which he was playing, and until these are understood, the Indian movement will continue, as in the past, to be a series of false advances and precipitate retreats before an enemy too strong and astute for Indian political babes-in-the-woods to cope with.

Nevertheless, the arrest of Gandhi marks a temporary setback to the progress of the revolution in India. However badly, he has steered the unwieldy mass of Indian energy and opinion into one broad channel of ceaseless agitation against the existing system during the last two years. If his leadership was confused, it was because the movement itself was a chaos which bred confusion; though he has made blunders of first magnitude, he at the same time groped a way for the people out of the blind alley of political stagnation and government repression into the roaring tide of a national upheaval. The Indian movement is ready for a new leader because it is becoming every day more clarified, its inherent contradictions are becoming palpable even to its component parts, but this very clarification spells disintegration, unless some new leaders are hurled into the breach. The more conservative right wing of moderate Indian opinion is growing tired of the political handspings of Gandhi and his followers. The extreme left wing, whose body consists of Indian labor, has seen its forces uselessly spent in a hopeless political contest with the bureaucracy for a Swaraj constantly postponed. In every affray with the armed forces of the Government, it has come off worsted; its best elements lie in jail. It too, grows tired of political rope-dancing, and will break away, unless some tangible economic program is advanced by the Congress leaders to rally labor in earnest to their cause. Like the Chartist Movement in England, which its Indian prototype in many ways resembles, what began as a great mass-movement towards political, social and economic revolution may end as a mediocre struggle of the disheartened workers to win, within the bonds of legalized trade-unionism, the right to a full meal a day and an old-age pension when Capitalism shall throw them on the scrapheap.

May there soon arise from the ranks of Indian labor, or from the intellectual proletariat at war with foreign rule, a class-conscious Gandhi who will crystallize the political confusion that reigns in the Indian movement by formulating a clear and definite program based upon the needs and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Indian people; by boldly raising the standard of the working-class, and by declaring that only through the energy and lives of the Indian proletariat and peasantry, can Swaraj ever be attained.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Telegram

To the Metal Workers' Unions of Württemberg (Stuttgart), Bavaria (Munich, Augsburg), Baden (Mannheim).

Moscow, April 22nd 1922.

The Central Committee of the All-Russian Metal Workers' Union addresses its warmest greetings to the metal workers' unions of Southern Germany who have entered a decisive struggle against the capitalists. The Central Committee hopes that the united front of all workers, based upon unity of revolutionary class consciousness, will lead our German comrades to victory over aggressive capital.

The Central Committee is watching with close attention the development of the struggle and is more and more convinced that only a fight on a broad basis, on a national as well as on an international scale, will compel the capitalists to limit the exploitation of the proletariat for the time which the bourgeois system is still to exist.

In order to render assistance to our German comrades as far as our forces permit, the Central Committee of the All-Russian Metal Workers' Union instructed all its local organizations to undertake collections for the German and the English metal workers.

The metal workers' congress of the Donetz Basin, which took place some days ago, decided to send its greetings to the militant German metal workers and to undertake collections for their support.

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!

The Executive of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Metal Workers' Union.

The Fifth All-Russian Congress of the Metal Workers' Union

by N. Jansen (Moscow).

** From the 3rd to the 8th of March of this year the 5th All-Russian Congress of the Metal Workers' Union took place in Moscow. In view of the important part which the metal industry plays in the economic life of our country and that of the whole world, it seems desirable to acquaint our foreign comrades with the proceedings of the Congress.

There were present at the Congress 318 delegates from 61 district areas representing 534,628 members. The delegates belonged to the following parties: Communists, 282; Non-Party, 35; Mensheviks, 1.

The report on the activities of the Central Committee occupied the limelight in the deliberations of the Congress. The newly introduced economic policy required thorough alterations in the tactics of the union; in what directions these alterations should take place could only be decided after practical experience. Up to the present this work had only been partly carried out and new methods of activity were being put to a practical test. The method of collective provision for labor introduced in regard to wages resulted in a considerable reduction of the total of working days lost, while at the same time the position of the workers also improved. In regard to trust formation great work had been accomplished, at present there are 27 trusts organized embracing 155 factories.

The speech following the report evoked lively discussion. At the conclusion of the same a resolution was adopted which approved of the work of the Central Committee and in particular emphasized that considerable improvement was to be seen in this work. This especially showed itself in the improved connections with the local branches as well as in the preparatory work which the Central Committee had done in order to realize in proper and practical form the new activities of the union.

Further the Congress received reports of the Economic Organization of the Soviet Government, namely: the Head Committee for the Metal Industry, the Council for War Industry, and the Head Committee for the Electrical Industry. The resolutions adopted with regard to these reports emphasized that the most important branches of these industries must remain under the control and direction of the State. The Congress also pointed out the necessity for drawing up and working out a plan for the adaptation of a part of the metal industry for the purpose of increasing, where possible, the production of necessary articles for the general population, and in particular for the peasant masses.

With regard to the new tasks of the union, the theses submitted by the chairman Comrade Lepse were adopted unanimously; the fundamental ideas of which are the following: The union seeks to bring its activity into perfect harmony with the activity of the proletarian State. In view of the setting up of undertakings by concessionaires and private capitalists the union transfers its chief activity from organizing production to the organizing of the proletariat in order to protect the interests of the workers against the hostile efforts of the capitalists. In the nationalized undertaking the union has always endeavored to remove the danger of strikes. In the concessionaire and private capitalist undertakings, however, it would, after every other possibility for settlement of conflict had been exhausted have recourse to the last weapon—the strike. In the most extreme cases a strike could take place in the State industries, as a means of defence against unjust and unpardonable conduct on the part of an individual manager, but in this event it would not bear the stamp of the class struggle. As the overwhelming majority of undertakings in the metal industry remained under the control of the proletarian State, it was the present duty of the Union to protect the metal industry in every way; hence the necessity for working hand in hand with the economic bodies of the State which managed these industries. The transformation in the functions of the union rendered it necessary to revise the constitution of the organization. The final end remains the same: to consolidate the union as much possible and to keep in closest touch with the whole apparatus of the union. The power of the working class depends upon the spontaneous activity of the masses and in the extent to which each individual member consciously pursued the tasks of the union. It is therefore, among other things, absolutely necessary to undertake a new registration of the whole membership whereby the principle of voluntary membership has to be maintained.

Besides the questions of organization and the fixing of scales of wages which are dealt with in their sections, the Congress accepted two reports on the Metal Workers' International: that of the General Secretary of the International Organization and Propaganda Committee of the Revolutionary Metal Workers' International in Luzerne. In the resolutions on these questions which were carried unanimously the Congress called attention to the important results which had been achieved in the development of revolutionary class consciousness amongst the mass of metal workers in Europe, and in their solidarity in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism. The 5th Congress later protested against the shameful conduct of the leaders of the International Metal Workers' Federation in regard to the question of the admittance of the All-Russian Union to the International Metal Workers' Congress. The Congress expressed its conviction that the policy of isolating the revolutionary proletariat of Soviet Russia from the working masses of Europe which is being pursued by the reformist leaders renders the setting up of the proletarian united front in the struggle against the international capital impossible. In view of this fact the Congress declared that the International Organization and Propaganda Committee will and shall carry on and extend its activity. Finally the Congress expressed its hope that the delegation of the Russian Soviet Republic will have the most active support of the international proletariat in its defense of the interests of the working masses of revolutionary Russia.

In accordance with the motion brought in by the Communist section of the Congress there were elected to the new Central Committee 23 Communists, and 2 non-party workers, one of these being an engineer. The list was accepted unanimously with the exception of three abstentions. The whole of the previous Central Committee was re-elected with the exception of one comrade who voluntarily resigned. The result of the election is worthy of notice as achieving a perfectly united front with all revolutionary non-party comrades and as an expression of that feeling of closest solidarity which characterizes the Communist metal workers as typically disciplined Communists. One must admit the fact that during the discussion in the meeting of the Communist caucus on the well-known declaration of the 22 members of the Communist Party of Russia to the Executive of the Communist International a lively debate took place. But the will of the majority is law for the Russian Communists and it is with these relations to our party that we create that revolutionary power which our numerous enemies in the bourgeois states of Europe are unable to crush.

The Congress received a great stimulus from the speech of Comrade Lenin which at the same time was a tremendous inspiration to every Communist (See "International Press Correspondence" Vol. 2, No. 23, March 24, 1922).

The general impression to be gathered from the Congress is that the Russian Metal Workers' Union is marching courageously and self-confidently forwards on the revolutionary road. It awaits the hour when the metal workers of the West will also tread the same way.

N. B. Those Trade Unions who wish to become further acquainted with the work of the Congress can obtain material (unfortunately only in the Russian language) from the Central Committee of our Union.

The Austrian Social Democrats Sabotaging the United Front.

by V. Stern (Vienna).

We call the attention of all editors to the following article because the Vienna International is a master in the art of camouflaging its true attitude towards the united front abroad.

The Editor.

** During the negotiations between the three Executives for the realization of an international united front the Vienna Social Democratic leaders, especially FRIEDRICH ADLER and OTTO BAUER have very ably posed as the most enthusiastic advocates of the idea of an international united battle front of the proletariat. Although everybody even remotely acquainted with these leaders should have known that they would only go the way to the united front as far as they were compelled by the pressure of the masses, it seemed that they were at any rate ready to create at least the preliminary conditions for a united front. It is generally known that Friedrich Adler evolved the idea of the conference, the invitations for which made it quite plain that the conference would not be allowed to fail through any conditions whatsoever, and that it was not merely a matter of formal unity but that the principal thing to be achieved was unity

for action, the joint drawing up of aims in order to enter without any loss of time upon joint actions for the attainment of these common aims. As long as it was merely a question of promises the attitude of the gentlemen left nothing to be desired. When, however, these promises are to be put into practice, Adler and Bauer waver and beat a retreat. This was already apparent at the Berlin Conference, when the Vienna International lent its moral support to, and justified the counter-revolutionary conditions of the sabotaging Second International. The gentlemen from Vienna at any rate endeavored in Berlin to avoid a complete failure of the Conference and to bring about joint if modest international action.

When, however, it became a question of realizing these actions, the picture changed. Although the Vienna Workers' Council decided to arrange a joint manifestation in Vienna which was to be organized by a joint committee, the Social Democratic majority declined to manifest the unity; it refused its signature under a joint appeal and refused to countenance speakers of all parties. The Social Democrats in the organization committee revealed the true reasons for this attitude, declaring that under no circumstances would they tolerate Communist speaking to their workers. However, they were so ashamed to demonstrate this characteristic cowardice that they declared it would be impossible to speak to such enormous masses "without endangering the proposed parade". They gave no reason whatsoever for the rejection of a joint proclamation. No less characteristic was their attitude towards the Communist proposals to supplement the slogans of the Berlin Conference in consideration of the particular Austrian conditions. Our comrades had proposed demonstrating for the fulfilment of the demands of the Austrian unemployed which had been recognised as justified by the trade-unions and further to demonstrate for the support of the workers of the metal, textile and chemical industries (who are engaged in a bitter struggle against the employers' offensive) by the entire working class, as well as for the joint struggle of the entire Austrian working class against the reduction of wages, against the price policy of the government and against the endangering of tenant protection by the Christian Socialists. These slogans were rejected, although Friedrich Adler who spoke on this point was not able to find a single excuse for such rejection.

The Communists had further suggested the proclamation of those slogans which in Berlin had been dropped only because of the resistance of the Second International, that is, demonstrating against the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain, since in Austria there is no Party belonging to the Second International. Friedrich Adler rejected that on the remarkable ground that it is not necessary to demonstrate for that because it is understood that we are all against these treaties of peace. He claimed that it is the duty of the French Communists to demonstrate against these treaties.

In spite of this unbelievable emasculation of the joint demonstration which even caused surprise among the Social Democratic workers, the Communists complied with the decisions of the majority. Not so with the Social Democrats. Regarding the decisions of the Vienna Workers' Council in which they have a majority, the Social Democratic Central Committee published a proclamation the very next day in which the expression "joint demonstration" was carefully avoided and the statement was made that the demonstrations on the 20th of April were being organized in the great industrial centres by the Social Democrats. The local organizations in other cities were either to organize the demonstrations on the 20th of April and the 1st of May themselves or to have them organized by the Workers' Councils. The Communists swallowed this as well and saw to it that in the Vienna demonstration (which in reality was organized by a joint committee) its joint and fighting character should be expressed outwardly in so far as it lay within their power.

After the joint demonstration in Vienna on the 20th of April, the Austrian Social Democrats believed that they had sufficiently demonstrated their affection for the united front and began an open sabotage of the demonstrations in the other sections of Austria, which was practically no different from the sabotage of the Second International. The greatest opposition to the joint demonstrations was offered in Vienna by the Right Wing and in the provinces by the subordinate leaders who could not agree to hold joint demonstrations with the Communists whom they had hitherto slandered and terrorized in the most unbelievable manner. The Vienna Central Committee offered a truly miserable opposition to this sabotage. Although at first it had ordered that demonstrations should be held everywhere in the sense of the Berlin decisions it later gave the organizations permission either to organize such demonstrations or to hold May 1st demonstrations as last year. The Social Democratic leaders in the provinces had already gone much further and had in

various cities declared that even in joint demonstrations no Communists were to speak. They were brazen enough to do this without even declaring, as had been done in Vienna, that "for technical reasons no speeches could be allowed". In a city where the factory councils had decided to hold a joint demonstration and to have speakers from both parties, the Social Democratic leader simply broke off the proposed demonstration.

The Vienna Central Committee then went even further and declared that in Austria the united front was already realized because the Communists were only insignificant splitters, and the Social Democratic Party was protected from a split. Furthermore, the Workers' Councils enabled them to make this united front even more effective in case of an attack of reaction or a capitalist offensive. In addition the Communists were only interested in the entire question of the united front in so far as it gave them the opportunity of having their speakers appeal to the Social Democratic masses. Therefore it was advisable to organize the May First demonstration in the provinces as in previous years. In Vienna Neustadt, the most important industrial city, the Social Democratic chairman illuminated this conception of the united front by declaring that he would be the first to strike a Communist who dared to speak in the demonstration. "He would have nothing to do with such scoundrels and dirty Jews as the Communist leaders". In Neunkirchen the Workers' Council, in which the Social Democrats have the majority, decided to hold a joint demonstration and to let one Social Democrat and one Communist speak. Thereupon the Social Democrats called a functionaries' meeting and resolved that only a Social Democrat should speak.

Thus work the Austrian Social Democrats for the establishment of the united front, even where it is only a question of demonstrating for this united front and for other joint aims. It can thus be imagined how the Social Democratic leaders will act when it comes to the realization of this united front, to fight for these aims, although here in Austria in view of the exploitation policy of the government and of the capitalists such a joint struggle is in the highest degree necessary.

After these experiences we begin to comprehend the action of the Vienna Social Democratic leaders during the negotiations of the three Executives which may have appeared to many as somewhat of a riddle. They were moved by two circumstances to demonstrate their alleged love for the united front so hypocritically in Berlin. They aimed, above all, to deceive the pauperized Austrian workers as to their treason in Austria itself and their avoidance of all struggle by attempting to appear as those who desire to establish the international battlefield for the establishment of which the Austrian workers are to wait without meanwhile beginning to fight themselves. At the same time they had to take into account the strongly developed sense of international solidarity of the Austrian working class against which it is difficult to keep the Austrian workers from a real International by means of the fragmentary Two-and-a-Half International. They only desired to create a blinding dazzle which was to work not only upon the Austrian workers but upon the workers of the whole world. They believe they have attained this and therefore attack all that does not appear to them as absolutely necessary for this purpose. They will, however, deceive themselves with this playing with two cards. They are already showing their true colors to the Austrian working class and to the entire International. And they will not be able to resist the powerful pressure from below and the historical necessity for the establishment of a real, united battle-front.

Trade Union Problems in Czecho-Slovakia

by A. K. (Prague).

** The main task of the Communists in the trade-unions is to win adherents among the masses of workmen organized in these unions for the revolutionary struggle having for its goal the dictatorship of the proletariat. This task is at the present time practically identical with the task of representing with unswerving energy the interests of the working class.

Taken concretely, this task assumes a threefold form. In the first place it is important to create a preponderance of the influence of revolutionary elements over the reformist bureaucracy in the trade-unions; secondly, the trade-unions are to be internationally united; and thirdly, the obsolete form of the craft-union as such is to be abandoned, where it still exists, in favor of the sole form adapted to the purpose in view, that is, the form of industrial and shop organizations.

In the building trades and clothing industry the organizations suffer especially from being split up into smaller bodies.

How great a hindrance this is to revolutionary development may be briefly demonstrated by the question of international unity. We agitate for the international unity of workmen employed in the building trades; we call upon the German members of this trade to enter the Prague central union, which is under Communist leadership. We are however encountered by the difficulty that, whilst the separatist German Building Trades Union comprises masons, joiners, painters, etc., the Prague central union is a masons' union, and various Czech unions of joiners, painters, etc., exist outside of it. Or if we attempt to unite the German shoemakers with the Czecho-Slovakian, we find that the Germans are already organized in a small and powerless union of the clothing industry. In these cases international unity will signify retrograde organization for the German workman. Nevertheless, even here our efforts are directed towards international unity, for the national schism is decidedly a much greater obstacle to revolutionary development than the lack of progress of the Czecho-Slovakian organization. At the same time we shall endeavor to overcome the petty obstacles blocking the way to amalgamation in large industrial unions. To all appearances we shall soon have tangible success in the building trades and in the clothing industry.

International amalgamation is one of the leading problems of the trade-union movement in Czecho-Slovakia. The national prejudices of a section of the working class are encouraged, artificially and intentionally, by the reformists. Whilst the German reformist furthers and nurses the aversion felt by the German workmen to the Czecho-Slovakian state, an aversion based on national sentiment, and thus lulls to sleep the social conscience of the masses, the Czecho-Slovakian reformist on the other hand misuses the hatred of the Czech working class against Old Austria in order to play the Czech workmen into the hands of the bourgeoisie and their state. The international amalgamation of the trade-unions would be a heavy blow to the reformists of both nations. For it would and must signify abandonment of the policy of the right of self-determination on the one hand and of state maintenance on the other, and in place of this, the joint class struggle.

It goes without saying that the international alliance of all unions is the goal of the Communists. But where the central unions are in the hands of the Social Democrats, this alliance cannot become actuality. The Czecho-Slovakian and German Socialists of the Right have recently been making agreements among themselves not to accept members from each other's unions. Mutual fear of the Communists, and of the coming alliance among the trade-unions, have already brought the gentlemen in Prague to a point at which they throw overboard the principle of: "one country—one union", and adopt in its place as sole motto: "No Communists among the leaders!" Where the leadership of the central unions is in the hands of the Communists, good progress is however being made in the German membership of the central unions, and consequently good progress towards unity. This is the case in the Union of Agricultural Laborers, and in the unions of the chemical, building, and wood workers' trades.

As long as the leadership of the great majority of trade-unions and of their central authorities is in the hands of the Socialists of the Right, it is not possible for a union headed by Communists to differ from the others except in point of the education it gives its members; in point of the attainment of greater success in its struggles it cannot differ. The great problem of to-day is the necessary transition from the small conflicts, limited to one trade, to the great revolutionary mass actions. An individual Communist union can do more than exercise influence towards realization of this transition, it cannot effectuate the transition. Here the Social Democrats espy a welcome opportunity of saying to the unenlightened workmen, "See, the Communists are doing just the same as we are". But the Communists would certainly be doing something very different if they had the control of the trade-unions possessed by the Social Democrats to-day. However, it may at least be safely maintained that the members of the Communist unions have a much firmer faith in their leaders than is the case in the unions of the Right Socialists, and that an opposition party is practically non-existent in the Communist unions, whilst the unions of the Right Socialists encounter a constantly increasing opposition.

The attitude adopted by the Union of Agricultural Laborers, the sole union under Communist leadership which dominates a vital branch of industry, is already creating a stir among the bourgeoisie, and the Czecho-Slovakian press is raising alarms about the alleged sabotage of spring labor by this union, which differs from the Czech and German Social

Democratic unions of agricultural laborers in refusing to consent to the imposition of new slavery laws for agricultural labor.

In accordance with the international decisions of the party, the Communists in Czecho-Slovakia have not made it their aim to create their own Communist unions, but have directed their efforts to the conquest of the trade-unions. This signifies, essentially, the education of the working classes by means of constant and energetic enlightenment based on every petty every-day event, and untiring guerilla war with greater and lesser trade-union bureaucrats. Whilst the Czecho-Slovakian organizations took their stand on "political neutrality", the Germans adopted from the commencement an attitude of open enmity to the Communists, although the December strike which broke out against the authority of the trade-unions found at least as many adherents in the ranks of the Czecho-Slovakian unions as in the German. In the Textile Workers' Union, a German union, the expulsion of the Communists led to a split. A split had naturally never been intended. But when the leaders of the unions began applying pressure on local officials and functionaries with a view to obtaining information against the Communists, if we had then preserved silence, we should have defeated our own aims; we should have lost the confidence of the workers. We had no alternative but to permit the expulsion of functionaries who refused to give explanations under pressure. It was equally impossible to call upon the workers to desert their expelled representatives. The workers followed the expelled, and the result was the union of expelled textile workers, now numbering 23,000 members. This union carries out the daily trade union duties for its members, and continues at the same time a ceaseless demand for the readmittance of all excluded members of the union of textile workers, and the amalgamation of the two national textile workers' unions in one.

Expulsions on a large scale have not occurred in any other trade union. The Textile Workers' Union has bought experience for all, and would doubtless be only too glad if the whole occurrence could be undone, but fears to lose prestige in acceding to the demands of the excluded. Only the pressure of the working masses will force concession. A small oppositional group in the Union of Czecho-Slovakian Communist Workers has also been expelled. This expelled group has also held together, and is publishing its own paper.

It may thus be seen that the conditions obtaining in the trade-union movement in Czecho-Slovakia are by no means simple. They are extremely complicated by the national conditions, by the still faulty discipline and experience of the Communist Party, by the great differences in development of various parts of the country, and in a high degree by the rapid changes taking place in the economic and social situation. The defeat of the trade-unions in the struggle against wage reductions has awakened the better part of the working class to revolutionary enlightenment, and driven another part to utter loss of faith in the whole organization. After such a defeat, it is the duty of the Communists to step into the breach with the tenets of revolution, and with the utmost endeavor to maintain the trade-union organization. The miners' struggle has greatly increased our influence.

When we have succeeded in establishing and strengthening discipline and patient work in our own ranks, when we continue untiringly to make clear to the working class the necessity and inevitability of the revolutionary struggle, when we have shown ourselves not only capable of protecting the daily interests of the workers, but also of taking the lead in this revolutionary struggle, then no obstacles can prevent the attainment of our goal: the formation of an international revolutionary front among the trade-unions of Czecho-Slovakia. The successes which we have already obtained, despite many faults and errors, are the best guarantee for the realization of this aim.

Comrade Saprionoff on the Present Situation of the Russian Trade Union Movement.

At Genoa the correspondent of the Italian Communist organ, "L'Ordine Nuovo", Comrade E. Peluso, interviewed Comrade T. Saprionoff, who is a member of the Soviet Delegation as representative of the All-Russian Trade Union Council. Comrade Saprionoff is one of the prominent personalities of the Russian labor and trade-union movement; as a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and the All-Russian Trade Union Council, he is a leader of the Russian working class.

In answer to the questions of Comrade Peluso, Comrade Saprionoff gave a short survey of the present state of the Russian trade-union movement. He declared:

"Our trade-unions have at present more than 6 million members. In many unions, as for instance the Typographical Union and the Chemical Workers' Union, the Mensheviks maintained their dominating influence until 1921. At present, however, the Communists have everywhere gained control and we are now endeavoring to bring our influence to bear upon the non-party workers. The Social Revolutionaries are at present excluded from the leadership of the trade-unions and no longer exercise any influence upon the workers. The same may be said of the Anarchists who were never very strong in Russia. The Social Revolutionaries, however, were formerly very strong, especially in the country. Thus they succeeded in building up a solid organization in Siberia. But the latest developments in economic policy have caused the masses to leave them. The power of the Social Revolutionaries which was considerable in 1919, has now disappeared nearly entirely.

"The trade-unions in Russia are not under the control of the Soviet Government. But as far as Russian Communists are at the lead of the trade-unions they are influenced by the Communist Party. At present no worker is compelled to join the trade-unions. Formerly, it was compulsory for every worker to pay dues to the trade-unions but this prescription was abolished some time ago. This has by no means caused a decrease of membership. On the contrary, thanks to the strenuous activities of our comrades, who are endeavoring to win over all non-party workers and adherents of other parties, our membership is increasing. It is not impossible, however, that on account of the great crisis which is at present prevailing in Russia, the number of members will decrease."

"In all other countries", said Comrade Saprionoff, "it is the present duty of the Communists to remain within the labor organizations, to start extensive activities there, so as to make the trade-unions the nuclei of the future society. It is true that in Russia conditions are some what different and our trade-unions are at present intending to get rid of various bad elements by means of a new registration of the membership."

In answer to Comrade Peluso's question, "What is the opinion of the Russian workers on the Genoa negotiations?" Comrade Saprionoff answered the following:

"The trade-unions approve these negotiations. However, assure the Italian Communists, and tell them that the Russian Communists though they are convinced of the necessity of these negotiations, will never agree to a retreat; we will never renounce our revolutionary acquisitions. In this moment our proletarian organizations fully approve the attitude of the Soviet Government. Everybody knows that the Russian proletariat is now passing through a very difficult period. The famine has been caused not only by the drought, but it is also a consequence of civil war, the devastations caused by the White Guards, the mercenaries of world capitalism. We will never forgive the bourgeoisie, which is in reality to blame for this catastrophe, and the yellow leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International who have betrayed the world proletariat.

"Despite famine and exhaustion, despite all the sacrifices and losses of the Russian working class, the Russian workers and peasants declare—and I can the, more energetically affirm it, as I personally attended many shop and peasants' meetings where such decisions were passed—that they consider Genoa a meeting place for the negotiations with the capitalists but not at all for renunciation of any acquisition of the Revolution. They will fight to the last drop of their blood for the maintenance of the conquests of the Revolution.

The Labor Movement in Luxemburg.

by George Schumann.

** Since the March Action in 1921 the proletarian organizations in Luxemburg have been constantly losing ground. Those March struggles were carried on against limitation of work and dismissal of workers. These struggles were led by the trade-unions. The bourgeoisie took to measures of force. Since the Luxemburg military did not seem reliable and as it was not sufficiently strong in number, the French military came to the aid of the Luxemburg bourgeoisie in order to suppress the workers. It occupied the works and mines, so that here and there skirmishes between the workers and the soldiers ensued. The workers were defeated which was to some extent

inevitable because the fight was carried on with the trade-union weapon only.

The trade-unions had had their boom under the slogan of "political neutrality". And since in those March days the politically neutral trade-union movement did not suffice to defeat the political force of the ruling-class, great disappointment was felt in the trade-unions. Moreover, a campaign against the Communists was carried on even after the March defeat by the bureaucracy of the trade-unions under the watchword of "political neutrality".

As a number of comrades, whose names were well-known among the Luxemburg workers, were among those expelled by the trade-union bureaucracy, the revolutionary section of the workers of the workers left the trade-unions with them.

The trade-union movement in Luxemburg, just as the political movement, is still very young. Only small organizations, such as the Typographical Union, are more than 10 years old. Under the pressure of the war, in 1916, the greatest Luxemburg trade-union was founded. The Union of Metal and Mineworkers in March 1921 had about 18,000 members. The trade-union organizations had in March a total membership of 25,000. The "Proletarian", the trade-union paper distributed among the members, had in March a circulation of 27,000. Today the trade-union organizations resemble a heap of ruins. The "Proletarian" is restricted to an issue of 6,000. The Esch industrial trade-union group, that in July still had 5,000 members, now has only 400 left.

Certainly, this decay has also been brought about by the victimizing of the Italian, German and French workmen, who had to emigrate. Nevertheless, there are thousands of Luxemburg workmen, employed in the mineral-works and mines, who are still outside any organization. Comrade Bukawak, leader of the mine-workers and vice-chairman of the Metal and Mine-workers' Union, who in May 1921 joined C.P.L. has been expelled from the trade-union together with Comrade Lippert. The president of the industrial group (Esch), Comrade Schiltz, was as a Communist dismissed from his post and excluded from the trade-unions for not standing by "political neutrality". The trade-union bureaucracy gave the members of the Esch local group no opportunity of forming and making their opinion count, and these members therefore preferred to turn their backs on this organization. What the conception of the bureaucracy as to political neutrality is, is made clear by the fact that the secretary of the Luxemburg trade-unions is the Socialist deputy Peter Krier. To be politically neutral thus means to belong to no other party but the Social Democratic Party.

Our comrades are working for the trade-unions in spite of this. Even the expelled comrades try to induce the workers to enter the trade-unions in their workshop meetings. And some of the trade-union leaders, having seen by now that the tactics of expelling all the Communists has led their organizations' ruin, are now trying, aided by our comrades, to restore the trade-union movement.

An equally catastrophic collapse has been experienced by the Social Democratic Party of Luxemburg. Whilst it still had 35,000 members in March of last year, the official report of the Party-Conference of the S.P.L. held on the 24th January 1922, in Esch, gives the total membership as 950. The reason for this decline seems to be the altogether undecided conduct of the S.P.L. It is afraid of the discipline of the Third International. At the same time it objects to being cast into the same "pot" with the Opportunists of the 2nd International. Thus it does not belong to any International, only sympathizing with the 2nd International.

It is equally undecided with regard to national politics. The S.P.L. has written against and violently objected in Parliament to the "economic agreement with Belgium" which agitated all of Luxemburg. In the decisive session, however, it abstained from voting! The organization and the parliamentary group of the S.P.L. is falling asunder. One of their members, Schaack, editor of the "Armer Teufel", a one time Socialistic-freethinking paper that is now in its 19th year, is now-a-days in the same camp with the Clericals. Other members of the Parliamentary group in the Chamber no longer belong to the Party, though they still speak as Socialists. When in Esch, the principal centre of the industrial districts, Paul Faure and Grumbach spoke, apart from the deputies, only 10 Esch workers attended from the whole party of the country. This shows that the S.P.L. has no influence whatever nor any attractive power among the Luxemburg population.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The May Demonstration in Moscow.

** The May First demonstration in Moscow was participated in by the entire population. In the Red Square Trotzky received the oath of allegiance of 40,000 Red Guards in the presence of representatives of the Communist International, the Red Trade Union International, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia and of Soviet officials. The Red Army swore to defend Soviet Russia and the World Revolution with the last drops of their blood.

It required six hours for the parade of the Moscow proletariat to pass the reviewing stand. Thousands of flags and banners were carried in the parade in which 500,000 people took part. Most of the slogans referred to the united front of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie.

Twenty airplanes flew over Red Square during the demonstration. All Moscow was decorated with red flags. The swearing of the oath of allegiance concluded with salvoes of artillery. The impression of this tremendous demonstration will be unforgettable for all the participants. O'Grady, who is at present in Moscow as representative of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and took part in the demonstration, declared it to have been the largest demonstration he had experienced in his life.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Declaration of the Delegation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

** At the commencement of the deliberations with representatives of the Executive Committees of the Second International and the International Working Union of Socialist Parties the delegation of the Communist International thinks it incumbent upon itself to make the following declaration:—

It is the first time since the last session of the International Socialist Bureau in July 1914 in Brussels which was followed by the world war and the collapse of the Second International, that representatives of all sections of the International Labour Movement which was once a homogeneous international unit sit down for joint conference. This cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed without our placing on record before the international proletariat the fact to which the present disunity of the working class in due, viz. that various strata of the working class entered into a temporary community of interests with the imperialist states, a fact which has been expressed in the anti-revolutionary position of many parties and organisations of the working class.

Until labour bands together for common struggle for its interests against international capital, until labour breaks with the policy of coalition with capital, until labour arises to fight for political power, there will always be disunity within its ranks, which is one of the principal sources of capital's strength. No lamentations can alter this fact. And because the working class has not yet summoned sufficient energy for this struggle, because it has not yet learned in this struggle that capitalism can only be overcome when the great majority of the proletariat seizes power in revolutionary battle and establishes the dictatorship of the working people, we declare that the organic unity of the present international organisations of the proletariat, differing as to orientation in principle, is entirely utopian and injurious. But this opinion does not prevent us from realising that the whole world situation urgently demands that the working class, in spite of all the profound differences cleaving it, must unite for a defensive struggle against the offensive of world capital.

After the end of the war, as the armed and aroused working masses returned home, in order to learn that the Democracy and the welfare of the peoples for which they had allegedly shed their blood were nothing but capitalist lies designed to conceal and veil the fact that the war was a struggle for the profit interests of Capital, it was then possible to overwhelm the capitalist world. But the indecision of the

masses of the working class, the democratic illusions which were spread among them and had been methodically fed by the reformist parties, and the open and concealed coalition of the latter with the bourgeoisie prevented the majority of the working class from following the glorious example of the Russian October Revolution. Instead of that they helped world capital to repel the first attack of the proletariat. The working masses of the whole world can now feel the effects of this policy on their own bodies. The international bourgeoisie is incapable of setting the world in order even upon the basis of the capitalist system, is incapable of assuring the proletariat even the pre-war standard of living. The capitalist world, shaken to its deepest foundations, has none the less sufficient strength left in order to attempt to saddle the proletariat with the costs of war.

The world bourgeoisie has not yet given hope of obtaining a large part of the costs of the war by increasing the exploitation of the German proletariat by means of reparation burdens, and of the entire Russian people by means of the peaceful penetration of Soviet Russia, which they were not able to overthrow by military force, by means of exploitation of the newly created states which are being employed as tools of the militarist and imperialist policy of the great powers; by means of the increased exploitation and suppression of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples (China, Persia and Turkey). But even the circles of the international bourgeoisie who have not realized that it is of no avail to attempt to extort hundreds of millions from the exhausted masses of the defeated countries and Soviet Russia and the colonies—even they understand that even if they would be able to do this—this tremendous pillage would not be sufficient to obtain the funds necessary for capitalist reconstruction. Therefore the bourgeoisie is taking up an offensive against the working class all over the world. Therefore it is attempting to lengthen the working hours of labour in spite of unemployment. Therefore it is attempting to cut down wages. The international working class is to cover all the costs of the war, and more than that, furnish the means for strengthening the capitalist world system.

This situation places the international working class before momentous decisions. It will either now unite for the defensive struggle against all the attacks of international capital, it will either proceed unitedly against the attempts at the economic pillage of the defeated countries, of Soviet Russia and the colonies, as well as against the wave of lockouts, it will either arise for the struggle, for the abolition of the Treaty of Versailles, for the recognition of Soviet Russia and its economic reconstruction, for the control of production in all countries, or it will pay with its blood and health for the costs of the peace as it had to pay for the war.

The Communist International appeals to the working masses to unite for the struggle against the present offensive of capital and to carry on that struggle in the most energetic manner without considerations as to their differences of opinion upon the way leading to the final victory and the means of assuming this way. The Communist International has therefore proclaimed the slogan of the united proletarian front for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and welcomes the proposal of the Vienna Working Union for the convocation of an international labor congress. It considers this proposed international labor congress a means for the uniting of the coming labor struggles.

In order to make this congress a success, the Communist International moves the invitation of all proletarian trade-union organisations. The trade-unions contain the majority of the proletariat. They comprise this majority without consideration of political differences. They represent the working masses in their daily needs and struggles. If the international labor congress is to be no empty demonstration but is to unite the international action of the proletariat, the trade-unions must participate in it. The splitting of the leading organisations of the proletariat and even of its mass organisations in various countries constitutes no argument against, but, on the contrary, for the invitation of the trade-unions. Just because the trade-unions are grouped around two centres, an agreement as to action is necessary. We move the invitation of the Amsterdam Trade-Union International and the Red Trade-Union International as well as the independent Syndicalist organizations, the American Federation of Labour and various other independent unions.

As for the proletarian parties, we propose that those parties and party groups, outside of the international organisations, be invited alongside of representatives of the parties affiliated to the three international Executives. In this connection the most important are the Anarchist and Syndicalist organisa-

tions. They are not great in numbers, but they comprise certain sincere revolutionary proletarian elements who must be enrolled in the general battlefront of the working class. Very sharp differences separate us from these groups. We hold it to be our duty to attempt to come to an agreement with them in questions of action and at the instant where the situation renders it necessary to come also to an understanding with the reformist parties whose policy, directed against the interests of the working class, promotes the errors of these left elements. We consider the convocation of the international labor conference absolutely necessary. The Genoa Conference represents an attempt of world capital to commence a new partition of the world, a new capitalist world order, after their Versailles policy has suffered shipwreck on the hard rocks of facts. The international working class was irresolute and incompetent of action during the Versailles Conference. Only Soviet Russia took up arms against the attempt of Entente capital to enslave the entire world. Today, after three years of capitalist chaos, of continuing capitalist decay, Soviet Russia stands unshaken and victorious. It is, however, the object of powerful, so-called "peaceful" attacks of world capital. The first state which was created by the first wave of the world revolution, must be aided against the attempt to coerce its social capitulation. The German proletariat has become the reducer of the wages of the proletariat of the world owing to the complete capitulation of the German bourgeoisie before the Entente and in spite of the workers' resistance. The struggle against the reparations policy of the Allies is a battle for the living standard of the working masses in the Entente countries and America.

If the international proletariat does not exert all its energy against the Treaty of Versailles, the attempts at the economic strangulation of Soviet Russia, against the exploitation of the colonies and of the population in the newly created small states, the elimination of unemployment and of the world-wide economic crisis is a thing not to be thought of. The international working class must therefore raise its voice even during the Genoa Conference. It must endeavour to compel that conference whose task is allegedly the reconstruction of world economy, to deal with the labour question, with unemployment and the eight hour day. Not as in Versailles, where representatives of various labour organisations who were not backed up by struggling masses, stood hat in hand before the Entente and asked it to consider the interests of the proletariat, but supported by fighting masses, the international representatives of the working class must demand an account from the spokesmen of world capital assembled in Genoa for their promises broken so shamelessly.

The delegation of the Communist International is ready to do all in its power for the united struggle of the international proletariat without concealing for a moment what separates it from the reformist and semi-reformist parties. It can do that all the more easily because it is convinced that each day of struggle and each experience will hammer into the proletariat of all countries that no compromise with capital is able to assure the world peace and the proletariat a decent existence, but that the victory of the proletariat is the preliminary condition for that. It must take the establishment and order of the world in its strong victorious hands in order to rebuild it, in accordance with the interests of the overwhelming majority of humanity.

The delegation of the Communist International, moved by all these considerations, proposes that this international conference only deal with such questions as concern the immediate practical united action of the working masses, questions which do not divide it but unite it. The delegation of the Communist International therefore proposes the following order of business for the international conference. —

- 1—Defence against the capitalist offensive.
- 2—Struggle against reaction.
- 3—Preparation of the fight against new imperialist wars.
- 4—Assistance in the reconstruction of the Russian Soviet Republic.
- 5—The Treaty of Versailles and the reconstruction of the devastated regions.

Berlin, April 2nd, 1922.

The Delegation of the Executive of the Communist International.

The Executive Committee on the Berlin Conference.

** The Executive Committee of the Communist International has approved of the following motion submitted by the Presidium:—

"After examination of the reports and the minutes of the session of the Delegation and of the minutes of the Berlin Conference, the Executive of the Communist International ratifies the Berlin agreements and appoints Comrades Zetkin, Frossard and Radek as its delegates in the Organizational Committee for the Convocation of a Proletarian World Congress while it names Comrades Bukharin and Heckert as its representatives. The Presidium proposes that the delegation publish its reports in French and German and send the reports of the sessions of the delegation to all National Executive Committees."

In carrying out its instructions, the representatives of the Executive Committee addressed the following letter to the Executive Committees of the Second and the Vienna International:—

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International has accepted the decisions of the Berlin Conference; it has agreed to the formation of the Commission of Nine and appointed as its representatives therein Frossard, Zetkin and Radek. Instructed by our Executive, we propose that the Commission of Nine be called together immediately in order to define its attitude towards the situation created in Genoa. The bland refusal to discuss disarmament, the demand of the Allies that all the social gains of the Russian Revolution be annulled, the treatment meted out by the Allies to Germany in connection with the Russo-German agreement—all these events tend to show how the further postponement of the Proletarian World Congress would imperil proletarian interests. The demand for disarmament has not only been raised by the Second and Vienna International but also at numerous trade-union congresses. The Berlin Conference called upon the workers to render aid to the Russian Revolution which is now being threatened in the fullest sense of the word by capitalist diplomacy. To lose even a week's time in a situation such as this, is committing a grave crime against the interests of the international working class. We ask that this formal request for the immediate convocation of the Commission of Nine be answered within 48 hours."

The Consolidation of the Party and its New Tasks.

Theses of comrade G. Zinoviev delivered at the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party and confirmed by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

1—The last few years' work of the Party have clearly shown with what difficulties a proletarian party has to contend after capturing power, especially in a country the majority of whose population is non-proletarian. In the last 4½ revolutionary years the party has done a tremendous amount of work and accomplished heroic deeds in the civil war. At the same time the Party is now faced with enormous difficulties with which it was previously unacquainted.

2—Since the party became the government party, there have begun to creep into it strange careerist elements. (An unavoidable occurrence.) These elements for the greater part, consist of those expelled in the last All-Russian Party purification. In order to guard itself against such sneaking elements in the future, the party will also in future take similar purifying measures.

3—At the same time, however, Communists must consider the following circumstances. In order to ensure the victory of the proletariat, and to maintain its dictatorship during the bitterest civil war, the advance guard of the proletariat was obliged to withdraw the right of organization from all political groups which were antagonistic to the Soviet government. The Russian Communist Party became the sole legal political party of the country. This was of course a very advantageous circumstance for the working-class and its party. It has on the other hand produced other results which greatly complicate the work of the party. Such bodies and groups who under other conditions would not have belonged to the Communist Party, but to the Social Democratic Party or some other variety of petty-bourgeois Socialism, naturally entered the only legal political party, in order to make use of their strength. These elements which at

times hold a sincere belief in Communism remain in actuality petty-bourgeois and bring their petty-bourgeois psychology and ideology into the party.

4—As a result of the trying years of the imperialist and civil wars the number of workers in Russia became considerably reduced. The hard conditions of the last years or so have led to a considerable dilution of the proletarian class. This is only a temporary phenomenon but it has been perceptible during the last years. Some of the workers have scattered themselves over the countryside; a part have entered the Red Army. Many previous industrial workers can now hardly maintain themselves and often change their occupation and residence. . . . The State apparatus absorbs many thousands of the best workers who in this way are withdrawn from the factories and workshops. As a result of all these factors the structure of the Party has of recent years become less homogeneous.

5—Although the Russian Communist Party is a proletarian party it cannot refuse to accept peasants and clerks. A considerable number of half-peasants and half-workers regularly enter the Party through the Red Army. Nor can the Party refuse entrance to these elements. It must, however, pay close and continual regard to its social composition and take every means to ensure the execution of a proletarian policy not merely in words but in fact.

6—The new economic policy brings many new difficulties to the Party. The transition from those conditions which existed while Communism was conducting a war to the work under the new conditions creates a quite new and varied set of relationships. A Workers' Party realized through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat cannot permit the organization of forces inimical to the proletarian revolution. The fact that the Party considers the partial restoration of Capitalism as unavoidable makes it necessary that it should at the same time take the most active part in controlling the relationships arising therefrom. At the same time two things are required from the members of the Party: to learn to trade, buy and sell advantageously for the state, and also not to lose touch with the masses. On the one hand the most active portion of the Party membership must devote itself to the economic and commercial questions which at present are unsolved in the capitalist problem. On the other hand the same most active members must fight most energetically against the capitalistic conditions, show the masses the real way to Socialism, and undertake the most self-sacrificing work for its realization.

The work of the Party under the conditions of the new economic policy produces new and complicated results. A part of the "Communist" peasants with petty-bourgeois psychology begin to leave the Party as the Party hampers them in their capacity of small producers. The petty-bourgeois wave carries certain other elements, and even vacillating workers along with it. Thanks to these secessions the Party will undergo a second purifying process which will complete the process which the Party itself inaugurated. Provided the nucleus of the Party adopts the right conduct, the new economic policy becomes not less homogeneous and proletarian, but on the contrary more homogeneous and proletarian.

7—Agitation and propaganda were the chief tasks of the proletarian Party before the attainment of power. One can almost say that up to the October Revolution our whole Party had the same functions as its present Party Agitation Bureau. Because our Party at present conducts the political and economic life of the whole country every Party organization is obliged in some form or other to participate energetically in the whole manifold economic, administrative, educational, and political life of the transition period. In consequence there is a systematic growth of the Party apparatus which serves the Party organization. This apparatus gradually grew, became a little bureaucratic and absorbed a tremendous quantity of energy. To reduce this portion of the Party apparatus considerably is one of the most important tasks of our Party, a task which the Central Committee and the organizations already have in hand.

8—The conditions of the Party organizations in different parts of our country vary entirely according to the social structure of the population and so forth. In analyzing the inner condition of the Party one must always bear in mind that the position of the party organizations, for example, in Moscow, Petrograd and Ivanovo-Voznesensk differ considerably from those, for instance of Siberia where the peasants possess a tremendous influence even among the Communists, or in the Border Republics, etc. It is one of the tasks of the Party to differentiate the work and to take into consideration the difference between the organizations in which the industrial city workers preponderate and the remainder.

9—Such a differentiation of the conditions of the work of the Party in the various districts of Russia in no wise contradicts the principle of centralization. Without the strictest carrying out of a centralizing process it will not be possible for the Party to govern an area comprising almost a sixth of the Earth's surface.

10—The first All-Russian Party purging process has in general proceeded satisfactorily. The Party must, however, be fully aware that a great deal of work is yet necessary in order to surmount the dangers which threaten it. The conditions of the transition period doubtless contain the potential possibility of the deterioration of the Party's social composition and of its becoming tainted with petty-bourgeois influence. The proletarian nucleus of the Party must always be alive to this danger and take all the requisite measures against it.

11—For the next few years the chief aim of the Communist Party of Russia must be not the quantitative increase of its membership, but its qualitative improvement. The unremitting labor of improving the Party membership is the most important task of the next year or so. The stormy years of the civil war made it impossible to pay sufficient attention to the betterment of the Marxist education and the raising of the cultural level of the average member. The next few years must be equally devoted to this most important task. The Party nucleus must set itself the task of not merely raising the standard of theoretical knowledge of the Party members but of helping them to become qualified in an economic capacity. With this end—the attainment of economic capability — in view the Party will group its members in the economic organizations, in the trade-unions and in the communist Youth organizations. The entire work is to be so conducted, as to enable the highest possible number of members materially to improve their allotted activity, to acquire detailed and special knowledge in their branch and gradually to deepen it. After the conclusion of the mass purging, which has rid the Party of the careerist and selfish elements, there will take place a gradual selection of the best members of the Party according to their capacity for the work of raising the level of national economy, for fighting bureaucracy, etc.

With a view to the gradual realization of the objects exposed above, the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party resolves:—

1—To ratify the Resolution of the All-Russian Party Conference of 1921 on the question of the consolidation of the Party, with due regard to making best use of the experiences and the testing of the personnel of the Party.

2—To confirm the resolutions and decisions of the Conference of Secretaries of District Committees, the District Bureaus and Provincial Committees of the Russian Communist Party from 27th to 29th December 1921.

3—The Congress especially emphasizes and confirms that portion of these resolutions, which demand the following:

The organization of Marxist classes of a higher type, particularly workers' classes, organization of Marxist Clubs and Associations for the discussion of current topics and above all the carrying out of the organization of Party Schools of the intermediate and highest types, energetic, attentive and comprehensive work on behalf of the Youth and the organizing of classes for self-culture for the benefit of the non-party workers.

4—To effect a change of conditions for admission to the Russian Communist Party in order to check the entrance of not purely proletarian and unprepared elements into the Party. The clause in the Party Statutes dealing with this (Paragraph 2, Section 6) is changed as follows: during the year 1922 up to the 12th Party Congress, workers, peasants and members of the Red Army will only be admitted into the Communist Party of Russia upon the recommendation of three members of the Party who have belonged to the Party for at least three years and with the confirmation of the Provincial Committee. Officials, etc., will only be admitted to the Party for at least five years, and only with the confirmation of the Provincial Committee.

5—The institution for Candidates or for sympathizers is to receive closer attention. By rendering the conditions of entrance into the party more stringent the importance of the Candidates' Institution will increase.

The clause of the Party Statutes dealing therewith (Paragraph 2, Section 7) is changed as follows: The 11th Congress decides that in the case of workers and peasants the period of Candidature for Party membership shall be at least 6 months and in all other cases a year. Paragraph 2, Sections 8 and 9, of the Party Statutes with regard to the payment of membership fees by Candidates and with regard to their right to attend

open general meetings of the Party with a voice but no vote remains in force.

6—The Party groups in factories and workshops must safeguard the interests of production and at the same time represent the daily interests of the workers. They must through the personal behavior and conduct of their members provide an example of careful and eager attention to general economic interests. They shall reduce the commandeering of their members to a minimum. They shall do their best to ensure that all members of the group are engaged in actual production and that in general non-party workers be commandeered. They are to assist the management of factories and works in cases where it is actually in the interests of the general welfare. They shall not allow the masters, etc., to shelter themselves behind the Party group in the not very rare instances where the management treats the working men and women according to the old pre-revolutionary methods.

The Congress agrees in principle with the idea of the dissolution of the special Party groups in the Soviet institutions and the transfer of their members to the workers' organizations. The Congress entrusts the Central Committee with the carrying out of this decision in accordance with local conditions and in collaboration with the various Provincial Committees.

7—The chief activities of the Party shall be devoted to the working class. We must at all costs put an end to those conditions where the number of the members of our Party groups in large factories and important industrial villages is very small. The data of the All-Russian Census will inform us of the exact state of affairs. The Central and the Government Committees shall return a number of Communist workers from government institutions, etc., to the workshops. The 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia categorically charges the local Organizations and the Central Committee with the carrying out at all costs of this decision.

8—The Congress desires a suitable distribution of work for the most active members of the Party. They should be granted the possibility of carefully acquiring a knowledge of one or another branch of Party, trade-union, Soviet and economic work. The transfer of Party workers from one position to another must be reduced to a minimum. A better training in business and a more expert specialization than has obtained hitherto are among the most important tasks of our Party. The Congress instructs the Central Committee to make the solution of this problem a special object. The completion of the All-Russian Party membership census will in a relatively short time contribute toward the solution of this problem.

It is necessary to carry out a distribution of work — be it in a most crude and elementary form — for the members of the Provincial Committees and their Executives, and for all the highest Party and State Organs.

9—Especially hard is the material situation of the average member of the Party, particularly those active party comrades who cannot work in the workshops because their work for the Party keeps them from it. As a result of the new economic policy these conditions will become untenable. The Congress instructs the Central Committee to adopt all measures in order to provide this inner group which undertakes the chief work of the Party and in the work of the Party plays the same role as the non-commissioned officers in the Red Army. The Party cannot ask for privileges for its members. It is however its right and duty to ensure bread and tolerable conditions of life to those whose energies are completely absorbed in the hard, soulwearying but very valuable organizing and other work in the local party organizations, in the cities, provinces, and districts. It is imperatively necessary that the institution of mutual help be put on a more rational basis.

The local branches and the Central Committee must demand that in the event of inevitable mobilizations and commandeering of particular comrades and groups of members proper care is taken of the families left behind by the mobilized comrades, at least to a reasonable extent. Special attention must be paid to the comrades demobilized from the Army, who after their return from the front find themselves in a very difficult situation.

10—The Party must be fully conscious of the dangers bound up with the new economic policy. It should fight most energetically against all attempts to use the new economic policy as a means of planting bourgeois morality within the Party. The attempts of the "Communist" directors of State or economic bureaus to enrich themselves must be ruthlessly repressed. To this end the activities of the Provincial and All-Russian Control

Commissions should be perfected. These Commissions should be composed of experienced comrades. Party quarrels and "fraction-forming" which perfectly paralyzes the Party at many points should be ruthlessly suppressed. The Congress instructs the Central Committee in its fight against such "fraction-forming" to have recourse to the means of Party expulsion.

11—The correct division of work between the Party and the Soviet institutions, the exact definition of the rights and duties of this and that, is the most important problem of the Party at the present time. The 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party stated in its resolution on the Organization Problem (See paragraph "The mutual relationships between the Party and the Soviets") that:

"The functions of the Party organs shall be strictly separated from the functions of the Soviets, which are State organs. A confusion of functions would have very harmful results, especially in the military sphere.... The Party is endeavoring to direct the activity of the Soviets but not to replace it.

The 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party confirms this declaration and lays especial emphasis upon it. Before us stands the huge problem of restoring economic life, which will require years of unremitting effort. This problem can only be solved provided there exist proper and healthy relationships between the Party organizations and the economic organizations. As the Party in 1919 declared that the confusion of functions would be harmful for military affairs, so in 1922 it declares that such confusion of functions would be harmful in economic affairs.

The Party organizations must never interfere in the daily current work of the economic organs. They are obliged to abstain from making administrative dispositions within the area of Soviet work. The Party organizations shall direct the activities of the economic organs but in no way attempt to replace these or to transform their machinery. The lack of strict demarcation of functions and the meddling by incompetent officials have resulted in the failure of each individual being strictly and definitely responsible for the tasks allotted to him. This leads to an increase of bureaucracy in the Party organs themselves, which do everything and nothing. It hinders the earnest specialization of the economic worker, the mastering of problems in all details, and the acquirement of real expert knowledge. In one word, it hinders the proper organization of work.

The Party organizations should concern themselves with the definite guidance of the Soviet and economic organs. They shall select the leading prominent workers and raise all the Party members working in these organs. The Party organization must explain to the working masses the significance of the new economic policy, especially the importance and significance of the commercial operations which under the conditions obtaining in Soviet Russia have become a means to setting up the Socialist structure. The Party organizations must fight against prejudices which hinder the proper development of economic activity.

The Party organizations carry on their agitation not in the abstract but adopt it to the economic problems of a given time at a given place. Party organizations shall in no wise limit themselves to those stereotyped forms of agitation connected with this or that particular "Agitation Week" which happens to be going on. They shall through their members awaken and develop a real and earnest interest for economic problems. The Party organizations are to select their best workers for the immediate work in the economic organs. The Party organizations themselves will only solve the economic problems when they actually carry through the principal decisions of the Party.

An Unanswered Letter to Berkman from a Former Anarchist.

Dear Berkman:

Before I leave Moscow for good I should like to see you. We can afford to be frank. You know what I want to discuss. You know that I believe that you are mistaken in your appraisal of the values of the Revolution. You know also that I know what your general view is, as I discussed it with you at a time when I held that same general view myself.

I wrote you from America that I believed that a close study of Lenin's views as to the necessity of an armed workers' dictatorship—a State—would convince you that he is right, and that the inevitable accompaniments of dictatorship—disagreeable as they are—would have to be endured and minimized by any true revolutionist. I told you that I believed that the only way a revolutionist can be an effective factor in the revolution is to participate in that dictatorship. That the only way a revolutionist can give his strength to the Revolution is as a member of the single

gigantic revolutionary group: the Communist Party, Section, of the Communist International.

I still believe that if you were to give a clear, unbiased mind to this you would be convinced. Whether you will give a clear, unbiased mind to it, is another question. True, for Berkman to lose the flexibility of his mind would be a strange thing, but stranger things than that have happened. Kropotkin lost his. We have to learn to expect such things in the volcano of revolution. Some of the men and women who were best in the early days are found in the later days to be side-tracked in the empty name of a philosophy, while the revolution goes past them under another name. They cling to the old name and to the personalities of old association, and do not recognize the big, teeming, world-wide body of the thing they loved and suffered for and which is at last born.

What I am afraid of is that you have gotten so intimately wound about with the personal associations and with concern for the tragic personal dangers of those whom you have loved as revolutionary figures, that your concern for these close-at-hand values will blind you to the great World Revolution that is marching on without you, and as I believe, without them.

I know that you look with horror and disappointment upon my comparative unconcern with the fate of the men I knew in the past as revolutionists and who are now threatened with being crushed by the revolution's trend which they oppose. You will not look out and see that a hundred times as many as they, better men than they, die in a single day of the revolution; and you will not see that their opposition costs the revolution a hundred times as many lives as theirs. I know that they are sincere. So were the Left S.R.'s So was Kerensky; so was Babushka (Breshkovskaya). For the fate of sincere people I too have regard; but I can only give them a glance or a minute while the revolution is going on, and when the revolution is threatened I cannot even give them that. I know ten times as many as they, who are as sincere as they and who are dying day by day in the revolution. The follies of those first mentioned are costing the lives of the better men—better in the sense that they serve the Revolution better. I am not moralizing; no man is "better" than another in the abstract. One is better than another only for a specific purpose; and during the Revolution, the Revolution is the only purpose that I can value things for.

And the Revolution is "Bolshevism". History has written it, and you or any man cannot unwrite it. The world is split into two divisions now, for battle, for war. In war, dictatorship wins and nothing else can win. Dictatorship is bad; so are gut-ripping bayonets bad, but dictatorship and bayonets win for one side or the other, and there are only two sides. From now on there can only be dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat until the bourgeoisie is exterminated (as a class). You can call it the "dictatorship of Communist politicians" if you like, and that won't alter the case in the least; the Revolution is going to proceed and the dictatorship of the proletariat is going to exterminate by brute force, and with what you may call "injustice", the property-owning class as a class, and all that unconsciously serves the property-owning class by opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When it is all over with, shall you say that you have not taken part in the great, final struggle because you did not like the way life decreed that the struggle should be? Or do you imagine that the Revolution is going to take some other form than the dictatorship of the proletariat against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie?

Very few people knew in the past few years that the Revolution would come with the rapidity that it has. They were short-sighted and too habituated to the hum-drum of capitalism to believe that it could be disrupted so soon, and they called you and me, when we said in the "Blast" and elsewhere that the Revolution would burst through the war, wild dreamers. And now that the Revolution in Russia has come, the shortsighted persons accept it so far as it has come, and say, "Ah, the Russian Revolution has come; that is all there is to it, and, oh, well, we will go on living in a capitalist country". Such people, who see the Russian Revolution only as a revolution in Russia, I can't blame in the least for not liking the form that it has taken. Russia is an armed camp of desperate hardship and brutal discipline, and those who don't know what the fight is for can't be expected to like the camp. They who think it is a place for living can point out many better places for living. And if they sit on the fence, not participating and see the terrible concessions and retreats made, they can find much breath for saying: "Why, what are the sacrifices for?" Some of the concessions made now are almost as bad as Brest-Litovsk. What are they for? They are for the World Revolution.

No one can fully know what the fight in Russia is for unless he attended or gave the whole of his brain to the study of the Third Congress of the Communist International. You were not there. The greatest event of revolutionary history, except the October Revolution, took place here in the city where you were, and you did not look upon it. Are you still Berkman? The most important plans laid by men, the vast, the world-wide, concrete arrangements for overthrowing a world-ful of governments, were made. Where was Berkman? The same Berkman who, more nearly than most men, forecasted these events, immersed in the narrow, individual, personal safeties of a small handful of comrades whose dogmatism has made them run counter to the fabric of the Revolution—too immersed in the otherwise admirable but comparatively petty loyalties to old faction comrades, to give himself to this plan for the overthrow of the world's governments.

I repeat to you what I said before, that it was a crime for you not to participate in that Congress. And I remember what your answer was. Your answer served like a mirror to show just what was the matter. You sarcastically replied, in substance, that it appears that the possession of a piece of cardboard from a Communist Party makes a man into a revolutionist now, and nothing else counts, no matter what standing a man has otherwise as a revolutionist. Nothing could show more clearly than this remark of yours, what the trouble is. You seem to approach everything from the intimate-group conception of revolutionary activities, with persons vouching for persons on the basis of personal acquaintance, with individual autonomy of action and with subjective moral integrity as the criterion of trustworthiness. It would seem as though you had overlooked the fact that the world is in motion now, with strange millions functioning. No longer can we be personally acquainted with those with whom we die; subjective integrity does not count by itself; the little intimate groups do not count anymore; and subjective morality alone isn't worth a damn—the thing that counts is whether a man is functioning within the program. And our rough attempt at knowing all the strange millions is by giving cards to those that are functioning within the program.... But you come with your old intimate group conception, as though you thought we could rely upon the old basis of verbal couching, which would no longer serve even for a medium sized village commune. But of course that objection to our technical, card-index way of roughly sorting our adherents, is really but a figurative manner of stating your objection to something more fundamental—our whole policy of centralization and non-recognition of any but the single revolutionary organization.... Why should not So-and-so, the well known and undoubtedly sincere advocate of Revolution, be admitted to participation in the international revolutionary congress? Simply because So-and-so is not going to accept the discipline of the body formed by the Congress, does not accept the fundamental principles upon which it is based, and is not going to work with it in clockwork response to its orders.

No, comrade So-and-so insists on his right of independent decision and action. Very well, he automatically shuts himself out of the single, world-wide revolutionary organization. The International cannot function in two conflicting ways at once. It cannot have two plans. Loyalty is measured by life-and-death obedience to the single plan, once it is agreed upon, right or wrong. It is not measured by the heart's willingness to what the individual head may think is best for the cause at a given moment. With individual heads doing this we have no organization, no concerted action. You ought to know this. In a strike, is each individual allowed to decide for himself? No, he obeys the decisions of the strike committee. If he does not, he breaks up the strike; or he gets roughly handled by the strikers. The Russian Revolution is a gigantic strike. The Communist International is the same thing projected into world dimensions. It is the biggest revolutionary movement in all history, and it bears fair promise of drawing the fight to a conclusion with the crushing of the capitalist governments of the world. It has at last realized the dream of a gigantic, closely coordinated machine of direct action assault upon the capitalist police and troops. And you are not in it. You object to its discipline. Yet its discipline is its very co-ordinated force! Without its discipline it could not exist—no such force could exist.

A good sample of "revolutionary individual initiative" is the Kronstadt affair. I have given it a little study since I saw you last. There is no question but that if the Kronstadt affair had not been wiped out, it would have resulted in the downfall of the Soviet Power. There is no doubt that many of the participants who called themselves Anarchists and S. R.'s were sincere in their notions. Subjectively they were doubtless highly moral revolutionists. But objectively it was a filthy

counter-revolution. I don't give a damn for the moral values. The counter-revolutionary officers came over from Finland (protected by the Finnish government), and joined the Anarchists and the S.R.'s and the Mensheviks. The French navy lay outside of the frozen area, waiting for the "Anarchists" (who could compromise enough to associate with Cadet officers) to hold Kronstadt until the ice would break and let the French and British battleships fight for "Soviets without Bolsheviks"! Yes, that is a fine example of free and easy "revolution" without discipline. The fellows that did this crazy thing, killed thousands of the best and youngest and bravest of the soldiers that the Revolution had. And yet there are people who call themselves "Anarchists" and ask me to pity the fellows who were responsible for the Kronstadt affair. Monks that ponder in their cells on the misfortunes of man in general, can pity them; I have no time to pity such men.

There are people calling themselves "Anarchists" that are now saying that Kronstadt was "the real revolution". If such people were to be allowed to operate with "free speech" and "free demonstration" within the circle that is held by the bayonets of the Red Army, the revolution would be dead now, and here would reign the "democratic freedom" and pogroms of capitalistic Hungary, with Wrangel, Semionoff, Pilsudski, Harding, Briand and Lloyd George guaranteeing you your "freedom of revolutionary initiative".

I have naturally wanted to impress upon you my views about this, and even went so far as to try to get into contact with you across three thousand miles of sea. Lenin has said the thing better than I, and therefore I tried to get you to give your attention to what he had written. I don't believe that you have given any attention to the particular writings that I spoke of. I know that you said, in a perfunctory way, that you read "State and Revolution". But the way you said it was indicative that you read it "à la mode américaine", — that is, by glancing through it; and your next remark confirmed me in my opinion. What could be more superficial than to speak of the explanation of the revolution's motives by the chief leader of it, as "only books"? And then, to speak of "Life as the better teacher" (in the way that you spoke, i. e. "life" as opposed to giving any earnest attention to the revolutionary pamphleteers and leaders in action) is about the extreme of intellectual poverty. There is hardly a boulevard dandy in Moscow that has not seen more of street "life" during the revolution than Lenin has, or you, or I.

That Berkman is letting the Revolution pass by him without mobilizing his every faculty to study the intellectual expression of it, without learning what the theory of the gigantic machine that is running it, is my conviction. That is the tragedy. That you are not giving your hand to help in this machine, is the consequence.

I am often reminded of a passage of your book of prison memoirs, in which you describe your psychological experiences upon emerging from the penitentiary. You were confused, bewildered, and desperately depressed. Then you found out why. It was because the movement that you had known in its infant stage, had grown larger, had spread and grown until you did not readily recognize it, since it had none of its former intimate quality. Now, Berkman, the Revolution that you loved has grown to ten thousand times the size, and again you do not recognize it. Again you look for its small, intimate quality, and the intimate quality is not there. It is no longer a baby at the breast, it is a million-headed giant, which in theory you wanted it to be, but as which, in fact, you cannot recognize it. And you turn aside from it, or unconsciously, unintentionally drive against it. If you fail to recognize it, if you fail to live with it, in it, fighting as a part of it, you lose the only purpose that I know your life has.... The Revolution can do without you, but you cannot do without the Revolution....

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Red Trade Union International.

The following is a report on the course of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the R.T.U.I. which took place on the 17th of February in Moscow.

34 representatives from various countries, having a full vote and 5 guests with an advisory voice took part. The following countries were represented: Russia, Austria, England, Bul-

garia, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Italy, Spain, Luxemburg, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia and France; the non-European countries represented were North America, Japan, China, Australia, Dutch East Indies, Korea and the Far Eastern Republic.

After a detailed report by the General Secretary, Comrade Lozovsky, dealing with the activities of the Executive Bureau during the last six months, and after an exhaustive debate in which the representatives of the following countries and organizations took part: Switzerland, Germany ("Union" and Trade Union Opposition), Holland (Syndicalists), Upper Silesia (Union), India, Spain, Austria (Youth International), Poland, Russia and Czechoslovakia, several resolutions dealing with the past and future activities of the R.T.U.I. were passed.

In its resolution on the report of the Executive Bureau, the Central Committee voiced its approval of the activity of the Bureau. The Committee expressed its satisfaction at the fact that in spite of the many difficulties that had to be overcome, it succeeded in approaching its main goal, namely, that of revolutionizing the trade-union organizations of the whole world and of making the Red Trade Union International the central force in the revolutionary class-struggle of the proletariat. The Central Committee furthermore approved all the measures taken by the Executive Bureau for the creation of a united proletarian front; it also approved of the proposals made by the Executive Bureau to the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation.

The Central Committee also approved of the Executive Bureau's policy concerning the entrance of the single revolutionary trade-unions into their respective international trade and industrial organizations. The Central Committee put the sections of the various countries under the obligation to work for the R.T.U.I. with still greater energy than heretofore at every step and at every meeting, and to maintain the closest connection with the Executive Bureau in their work. Particular attention is to be paid to the East which is very rapidly becoming industrialized, and where the danger of national division and of the transformation of the trade-unions in a reformist-imperialist spirit should be very carefully guarded against. The measures taken by the Executive Bureau for the creation of a closer contact between the Red Trade Union International and the Youth International were also approved. The resolution deals finally with the question of agitation and propaganda by the R.T.U.I., in which many suggestions and recommendations made by the representatives of the Youth International, the Swiss Trade Union Opposition and of the Union of Hand and Brain Workers of Germany, were taken into consideration.

On the second question on the order of the day—*The Capitalistic Offensive and the United Proletarian Front*—theses were presented by comrades Lozovsky and Brandler, and after a discussion accepted. These theses agree in general with the past policy of the Executive Bureau on this question.

Comrade Rosmer reported on the *Splitting Policy of Amsterdam*. In the introduction to the resolution covering this question it is pointed out that the reformist trade-union leaders still attempt to carry on their pre- and post-war policy of cooperation with the bourgeoisie, even in the present period of the most acute world-crisis and the general capitalist offensive. They are not only abandoning the revolutionary aims of the proletariat, but are also opposing the working-class even in questions which are wage struggles pure and simple. This throws the reformist leaders into an ever-growing conflict with the working masses. In order to deaden the influence of the revolutionary vanguard, in order to prevent the organization of an united defensive front which the workers demand against the ever-growing insolence of the bourgeoisie, and in order to be able to maintain their cooperation with the exploiters, the Amsterdamers quite unscrupulously resort to splitting and destroying the trade-union mass-organizations. In doing this they are guilty of the most flagrant violation of the principles of democracy, of which they are the loudest defenders when the question is one of sharing political power with the bourgeoisie. These tactics of the Amsterdam trade-union leaders are pregnant with the most fatal consequences for the trade-union movement. The Central Council of the Red Trade Union International appeals to the class-conscious members of the trade-unions in all countries, to remain in their respective trade-union organizations, to carry on their revolutionary activities within them, and to work persistently for the transformation of these organizations into actual fighting organs. Where the reformist bureaucrats proceed to expel individual members or to dissolve sections, locals or groups, it is the duty of the revolutionary members of all trade-unions to start an immediate protest movement against the splitters, and categorically demand the recall of the various expulsions and dissolutions. The ex-

pelled members as well as the dissolved locals must seize upon all the means at their disposal to effect their readmission into the main organization. In the meantime the expelled locals are to fulfill the obligations prescribed for the whole organization. If more than one local is expelled from a union or more than one union in a country, it is the duty of the R.T.U.I. adherents to unite the expelled locals or unions and to establish the closest contact between the groups expelled and those organizations that are already part of the Red Trade Union International. There again, the revolutionary unions of other trades and industries are to admit the expelled sections and groups into their organization, of course at the same time safeguarding the rights of the old union members. In cases where whole unions are expelled from the national organization, or where the readmission of the expelled locals by their respective unions cannot be effected, the national headquarters should be appealed to. Where the tactics of Amsterdam have effected splits all along the line, the revolutionary organizations are still not to abandon the struggle for reunion, but are to carry it on on the basis of free discussion and through proportional representation in all instances. But the broad masses should be drawn into this struggle for unity in the trade-union movement, and the Amsterdamers must all the time be challenged to show their colors. In regard to the slanders and calumnies spread by Amsterdam, the Central Committee of the R.T.U.I. emphatically declared that the adherents of the Red Trade Union International within the trade-union organizations will always respect and voice the majority will of the working-class, and will never resort to force against it.

On the question of relations between the Revolutionary Syndicalists and the Red Trade Union International, the Central Committee, after a discussion by comrades Niu and Andrejichine, realised that in certain Syndicalistic circles, the resolution of the First Congress of the R.T.U.I. concerning relations with the Communist International has created a misunderstanding and even caused considerable confusion.

On this point the Central Committee of the Red Trade Union International expressly declared that the resolution in question in no way means the subordination of the trade-unions to the Communist Parties or the subordination of the R.T.U.I. to the Communist International; it means nothing but the concentration of all organized forces of the working-class for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist regime.

As to the fact that the German Syndicalists at their Congress in Düsseldorf, attempted to found a "Syndicalist" International, the Central Committee of the Red Trade Union International was compelled to warn revolutionary organizations against such a splitting-step and to protest against this stab-in-the-back to proletarian unity. It furthermore pointed out that such a sectional international would be doomed to impotence from the very beginning.

In the conviction that the attempt to lay a sound foundation upon which the structure of all revolutionary forces of the world can be solidly built, will meet with success, the Central Committee addressed an urgent appeal to all revolutionary trade-unions, including those which have already declared against joining the Red Trade Union International, to take part in the Second Congress of the R.T.U.I.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

500,000,000 Marks Collected by Foreign Committee for the Famine Stricken in Russia.

** Up to the 1st of April, the Workers' Relief Committees affiliated to the Foreign Committee (Berlin) for the Organisation of Workers Relief for the Famine Stricken in Russia had collected 447,787,000 Marks in cash and goods. To this there is to be added 150 to 180 million Marks granted by trade-unions, cooperative societies, and private and parliamentary donations upon the motions of Workers' Relief Committees, Communist groups and fractions. This latter sum is not included in the 447,787,000 Marks because this money has not been placed at the disposal of the Foreign Committee, but sent to the International Trade Union Federation, various Red Cross organizations, or to the Nansen Committee. All in all there has been brought in up to the 1st April last through the activity of the organisations of the Foreign Committee for the starving workers and peasants in Russia the very respectable sum of over 500,000,000 Marks. To this total the various countries have contributed as follows:

Norway (Workers' Relief Committee)	300,000 Kr.	16,500,000 Mks.
Denmark (C.P. of Denmark)	150,000 Kr.	9,750,000 "
France (Workers' Relief Committee, C.P. of France and Syndicalists)	1,700,000 Fr.	47,600,000 "
Switzerland (Relief Committee of the C.P. of Switzerland)	190,000 Fr.	11,020,000 "
Czechoslovakia (Relief Committee of the C.P. after the Splitting of the Joint Committee)	250,000	15,000,000 "
Germany (Workers' Relief Committee)		6,000,000 "
England (Relief Committee of the C.P.G.B.)	£6,000	7,800,000 "
South Africa (C.P.S.A.)	£1,500	1,950,000 "
Greece (C.P. Greece)	10,000 Dr.	400,000 "
Sweden (C.P. Sweden)	160,000 Kr.	12,480,000 "
Holland (Workers' Relief Committee)	180,000 Fl.	20,700,000 "
Italy (Relief Committee)	1,600,000 Lire	25,600,000 "
Bulgaria (C.P.B.)	3,000,000 Leva	6,300,000 "
Belgium (C.P. Belgium)	200,000 Fr.	5,000,000 "
Argentine Republic (C.P.A.)	40,000 Pes.	4,200,000 "
Luxemburg (C.P.L.)		50,000 "
Roumania (Social Rev.) Brasno Wood-Workers' Federation of Siebenburgen	14,000 Lei	30,000 "
Brazil (K.P.B.)	10,000 Lei	25,000 "
Spain (Trade Unions)	9,000 Mil.	360,000 "
Communist Party	25,000 Pes.	1,125,000 "
Austria (C.P.A.)	2,225 Pes.	100,000 "
Poland (Workers' Relief Committee)	2,000,000 Kr.	105,000 "
Confiscated by the Government		370,000 "
America (Friends of Soviet Russia)	\$850,000	255,000,000 "
From the Japanese Relief Committee in Europe		60,000 "
From some Korean Students		12,000 "
Various Contributions		250,000 "
		Total 447,787,000 Mks.

The International Trade Union Federation which keeps its collections separate from those of the Foreign Committee, up to the 15th January has given receipts for the following contributions:

Austria	£1,520
Belgium	6,100
Czechoslovakia	20,780
Denmark	3,820
France	12,230
Germany	7,160
Great Britain	7,730
Holland	5,360
Italy	33,420
Lettland	160
Luxemburg	180
Poland	250
Spain	1,210
Sweden	8,380
Switzerland	3,820
International Transport Workers' Federation	170
Various Gifts	220
	Total £112,510
	= Mks. 146,265,000

From the collections of the Foreign Committee and its organisations alone, 20,000,000 kilograms of provisions and materials were purchased, the greater part of which has already arrived in Russia. A part is now en route. This is will several hundred thousand human beings up to the time of the next harvest and thus save them from what would have otherwise been certain death from starvation. This is a proof that help is possible from the international working class. The growing famine in Russia renders it the first duty of every proletarian not to slacken in his efforts to help. It is necessary to carry on relief activity with all persistence and perseverance until the difficult crisis is past. A particularly appropriate day for fresh endeavors and for further collections is the 1st of May. Workers, Comrades, make use of it. We must neither rest until we have succeeded in collecting one billion for our starving brothers in Russia.

The Secretary

Willy Münzenberg.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Russian Social Revolutionaries as Robbers.

** The following extracts from the pamphlet "Military Work and Struggle of the Social Revolutionary Party in the years 1917-18" by Semenov, the leader of the "fighting section" of the Social Revolutionary Party, throw a glaring light on the criminal activity of the S.R.'s.

Semenov writes on page 28 of his pamphlet:

"The question of expropriations was placed before the Central Committee (C.C.) for discussion. Although the C.C. was in principle opposed to the application of expropriations it declared it admissible to apply expropriations to the organs of the Soviet Government. The C.C. did this out on account of the situation of the party, that is, the complete lack of money for further work. The C.C. was, however, of the opinion that it was entirely impossible to carry on the expropriations in the name of the party. Our "fighters" were to carry on the expropriations in such a manner that not the slightest connection should exist between these and the party. In case of seizure, our "fighters" were to declare themselves to be criminals. The military commission supported this view of the C.C. (About April 1918).

"For technical reasons, the expropriations proposed by us were not carried out at first.

"The first expropriation was applied to a rich merchant in Sesnoye. It was carried on by Gvosd, (worker); Kolchovskiy (intellectual), Usov (worker) and a fourth man, who pretended that they were searching the house. I was sick and could not participate. The result of the expropriation was negligible (15,000-20,000 roubles). The expropriation created a very bad impression upon the "fighters" that had taken part. The C.C. knew that we had carried out an expropriation. Because of the negligible result I did not inform it where and by whom it had taken place.

"I delivered the money to Rakov, member of the C.C.

"The second expropriation was carried out as follows: A member of the Commissariat for Food Supplies, who was a S.R., informed us that he would ride on a certain day to Saratov for the purpose of buying food with one million roubles under the protection of 4 armed guards, Gvosd, Sergeiev, Usov, Selekov and Seslenko got into the train. During the night we threatened the guards with revolvers, took away the money, stopped the train by a false signal and fled.

"In Moscow the Eighth Party Congress was convening at that time. I reported on the incident and delivered the money to the party funds. The money was very much needed then. The Party Congress intended to move its field of activities to the border districts and to organize an insurrection there. It was intended to send a group of party workers with Volsky at the head into the Volga district for this purpose, and for that money was needed."

On page 42 of his pamphlet Semenov writes:

"I decided to carry on the acts of terror with the aid of those "fighters" who were in favor of continuing them and to send the rest of the "fighters" to the Whites. For both purposes money was necessary. There were no party funds. We decided to carry out some expropriations.

"The C.C. agreed to this.

"We intended to expropriate the funds of the Food Committee of the Gubernia. The money was kept in a fireproof safe. We decided to come during the night, with an appropriate apparatus for cutting the lock of the safe. We had secured the torch especially for this purpose from a criminal who had been recommended to us by Pepeyaiev. (Donskoi, member of the C.C. knew of all this and gave us the money for the purchase of the apparatus.) We had made an agreement with the guard of the Gubernia Food Committee and with its commander. The guard was to receive two million roubles and passports. The commander led two of us, Federov and Suchan, to the safe. Six armed "fighters", I, Korolyev, Selekov, Leon, Konopleva and Ivanova, stood at the entrance. We cut half through the lock, but had to stop the work because the supply of oxygen in the torch gave out. Nothing came of the matter. (The guards were arrested the next day).

"From the same criminal we found out that a rich speculator, who was supposed to have large sums of money in his house, lived along the Saratovskaya railroad, about 20 versts from Moscow. I, Usov, Selekov, Pepeyaiev and Fedorov carried out the expropriation. We went during the night on the pretence of a house search. The door was not opened. We broke

into the house. *The merchant died of apoplexy.* We took about 20,000 roubles. It turned out that the rest of the money was in the bank. (We saw the book). I made no report concerning this expropriation as the proceeds were too small. The money was kept for the purpose of covering the expenses of the "fighting organization".

"Pepelyaiev was informed by the postmaster at the corner of Kamergeraki, Alky and Tverskaya Street that there were about 200,000-300,000 roubles in the post-office there. I looked over the post-office and decided that the expropriation was technically possible. In the morning, shortly after the opening of the post-office, I, Korolyev, Seleukov, Subkov and one of the "fighters" from the Nevsko-Samovskiy municipal district appeared there. We were armed with Mausers and Brownings and had two bombs. In the post-office there were 8 or 9 customers besides the officials. We closed the entrance door, so that the arriving public had the impression that the post-office was still closed. We ordered: "Hands up!" Everyone obeyed the order. We disarmed one official who had a revolver. Everyone was frightened. No resistance was offered. We took the money from the safe, about 100,000 roubles, and fled through the back door. According to the agreement with Donskoi we kept this money for the "fighting organization". (This happened about the beginning of August 1918). After these expropriations I gave a furlough to a portion of the "fighters" until their intended transfer to the White front.

At that time there was being organized the delivery of a portion of the money reserves to Germany in accordance with the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk. I decided to expropriate this money and to undertake an attempt upon the train in which the money was being transported. (I did not recognize the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk; the delivery of gold was in my eyes a plundering of the national wealth). The gold was to be sent by the Alexandrovskaya railroad. An employee of the management of the Alexandrovskaya railroad, who was a S.R., was to tell me the day of the departure of the train. (The management had to know the day). I investigated the tracks of the Alexandrovskaya railroad in the neighborhood of Moscow and found a suitable place. A chauffeur, who sympathized with the Party and who worked in some cooperative, was to come with an auto to the place and carry away the gold.

I also planned an expropriation in the Sugar Central Office (on the Pokrovsky Boulevard). I found out that the Sugar Central Office was to receive ten million roubles. After looking over the offices, it was clear to me that the expropriation could not be carried out in the offices themselves; the guard was too strong and the public too numerous. I wanted to carry out the expropriation while the gold was being transported to the Sugar Central Office. These latter plans, however, were not carried out."

THE WHITE TERROR

The White Terror in the Polish Prisons.

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

The Polish prisons have of late become a stage whereon is being enacted a bitter struggle between the defenseless political prisoners and the prison authorities. In Lemberg and Cracow hunger-strikes on the part of the imprisoned comrades are the order of the day. The bitterest struggle is proceeding in the capital (Warsaw) in the prison for those awaiting trial known as Pawiak. Six hunger-strikes have taken place in the course of four months.

The last hunger-strike especially finished a revelation of the terrible condition of the political prisoners in Warsaw (in the provinces it is of course still worse, only there the political prisoners do not have recourse to the hunger-strike so often, because they feel their powerlessness much more keenly). This hunger-strike lasted for no less than 11 to 12 days, and there took part in it over 40 prisoners including Deputy Dombal. All the hunger-strikers were forcibly fed, and with such brutality that many of them suffered considerable injury. The question involved in this struggle was that of privileges which the political prisoners in the Czarist prisons engaged and which up to now the Polish republic had also allowed. These privileges include among others the right of the political prisoners not to be mixed with ordinary criminals.

It was not until after 11 days of this hunger-strike that the representatives of the authorities saw fit to come to the prison in order to explain to the hunger-strikers that they intended to regulate their conditions by means of a written set of regulations.

What will happen further, however, and in what way the conditions of the political prisoners will be regulated is a question for the solution to which one must wait for many months.

One hears little of the barbarous treatment of the political prisoners in the provinces simply because they can there be more easily rendered silent. How very bad conditions are is proved from the communication from the torture chamber of the Bromberg Police Detention House. There the prisoners, political and criminal alike are chained to the wall and beaten with clubs or rubber hose in order to extort confessions from them. And that happens with the connivance of the higher officials and without any protest on the part of the Parliamentary representatives of the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party) and the National Labor Party of the Sejm.

Such trifles as the endless detention of political "criminals" who are kept waiting for months for trial are in no wise counted. The leader of the Posen Red Trade Union, Porankiewicz, against whom they can bring no charge, has been detained for seven months in Wronke in the *Untersuchungshaft* (prison for those awaiting trial). Although he is ill he is not allowed to have medical treatment even at his own expense, because they obviously hope by this means to get rid of him. The comrades arrested at the Lemberg Party Conference have been kept in the trial prison for 5 months under terrible conditions, and it is reported that their sentences cannot be expected before September. What punishment they can anticipate can best be inferred from the fact that only lately a woman student in Lodz was condemned to 4 (four) years imprisonment at hard labor, on account of "Communist agitation".

And the social patriots of the P.P.S. seem to regard these oracles of the White Terror as a matter of course. It is true, their Warsaw organ "Robotnik" has uttered many a rebuke against the torture of political prisoners. But this attitude is simply due to the temper of the workers of Warsaw which the social patriots are obliged to take into account. The provincial organs deport themselves quite differently and the Cracow Party organ quite openly denounces these Communist "creatures". The conduct of social patriotic deputies in Parliament gives the lie to the "Robotnik's" simulated defense of the prisoners as they do not trouble to say hardly a word in Parliament on the matter.

It becomes therefore the more imperative duty of the international proletariat to raise its voice on behalf of the suffering Polish comrades and to expose before all the world the unbridled dictatorship of the police and the torturer in the Polish "Democratic Republic".

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The World Economic Situation in the First Quarter of 1922.

By Eugen Varga.

General World Economic Survey.

Although all the material necessary for the estimation of the development of world economy in the first quarter of 1921 is not at hand, the fundamental tendencies of this development may already be clearly perceived. One thing must be emphasized in this connection: *The economic boom expected by the capitalists in the first quarter of 1921 has not developed.*

The general situation is characterized in the February report of the National City Bank as follows:—

"Society the world over is in a state of disorganization and confusion. Millions of workers are without employment or regular income, and their dependent families are in distress. In the United States the crops of foodstuffs have been ample, but the producers are unable to dispose of them at remunerative prices because the would-be consumers are unable to buy. That this state of affairs is deplorable all are agreed. Nobody desires it to continue, but there is lack of agreement as to what may be done to remedy the situation."

This picture of the situation contradicts the optimistic hopes expressed by the leaders of the American economic life last autumn. The following are some of the most important of these statements, according to the *Wirtschaftsdienst* of February 3rd, 1922:—

Coolidge, the Vice-President of the United States, says in a communication to the *New York Journal of Commerce*:—

"There are many signs that our land is at the beginning of a greatly increased economic boom. A thorough deflation in all markets has taken place and now appears to have been concluded. All appearances seem to indicate that business life has obtained a firm foundation."

Hoover, Secretary of Commerce in the present Cabinet, states:—

"We have experienced the steepest fall of prices in the history of our country, and are still awaiting to a certain degree Europe's reconvalescence, but we are in a better position than all the others and our prospect for the future are relatively better. We have gone through a great change in 1921 and are now in a good position to better our situation in 1922."

William C. Redfield, former Secretary of Commerce, declares:—

"We are out of the mud and are now climbing up the slope. We are not yet out of the woods and have still very far to go before we arrive at normal conditions. But none the less, we must say that our progress is evident."

Witchell, President of the New York National City Bank, concluded a speech on the economic situation with the following words:—

"The worst lies behind us. The liquidation of stocks in various branches of business which took place during 1921 and led to the thawing of frozen credits has gone as far as possible; businessmen must now look around for new possibilities for profit under the conditions of sharper competition. We cannot speak of complete economic prosperity of our country until the foreign market is again able to absorb our products. The return of a balanced foreign trade and the gradual realization of economic laws require time. In comparison with various leading countries which I visited recently we are at the present time in a period of comparative economic prosperity and are the most favored of all nations."

Charles M. Schwab, President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, says:

"We appear to be around the corner and are on the way to a new period of prosperity. We have reason to believe that the worst period of deflation is passed and that gradually adjusting our business to new conditions we will soon be back to normal times. The necessary adjustment of prices and wages may require one or two years or more, but I believe that we will experience a return to great prosperity when we realize that all of us must bear today's burdens."

On the other hand we must admit, that the slight tendency toward the improvement of the economic situation which was already noticeable in the last quarter of 1921 has continued through the first quarter of 1922. This improvement is not apparent all over the world. It is confined mainly to the capitalist powers—the United States, England and Japan—while the situation in Central Europe in general has not improved but has in various regions grown decisively worse. Among the latter is Italy, where unemployment has been growing uninterruptedly for the last six months and where there are at present 600,000 unemployed, Czecho-Slovakia where in the last few months the crisis has been greatly intensified, while in Germany, in the Succession States of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and in the Balkans the situation can be characterized as bad but unchanged.

When we investigate the signs of improvement of the economic situation in the leading capitalist countries, we ascertain that this is a result of the inherent tendencies of development of capitalist economy and has not been brought about by conscious politico-economic innovations. The most important events in the economy of the last three months are the following:—

Rise in Grain Prices on the World Market.

The rise is rather important. Wheat which in November 1921 cost \$1.01 per bushel in Chicago, rose in the course of the first quarter of 1922 to \$1.48 per bushel and although in the