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The Revision of the German Indemnity, and International Indebtedness.

By *Karl Radek*.

The Bankruptcy of Germany.

The Allies will shortly again be confronted with the question of the revision of the economic sections of the Versailles Treaty. During the peace negotiations, responsible French statesmen in the course of their demands, mentioned sums so tremendous that they actually exceeded the French national treasury deposits. It appeared as though they had promised themselves to enrich France out of the proceeds of the German reparations payments. When the Allies finally sent Germany an ultimatum, in the Spring of 1921, the amount of the demands had reached 132 billions of gold marks. Naturally, this was an impossible amount. It represented the half of the national assets of Germany, and, even if divided into thirty annual payments, could not possibly be procured. Next came the proposal that Germany should pay two billion gold marks annually, as well as 26% of the value of her total exports. At that time, May 5, 1921, the dollar equalled 60 marks; thus, the required two billion gold marks equalled about 28 billion paper marks. Germany made the first payments, and German currency began rapidly to fall. In March of the present year, the Allies reduced the money payment for the year 1922 from two billion gold marks to 720 millions. But even this amount, reduced by more than half, was worth 51 billion paper marks. At the same time, the hope that foreign credit would be extended was shattered, as the American bankers were not willing to grant any loan unless the economic provisions of the Versailles Treaty were altered. This led to a new downward plunge of the mark: the dollar climbed up to the 349 mark, and, after Rathenau's murder, it rose to 540. (Since the writing of this article, the dollar has risen to over 800 marks.—Ed.) In June, the 720 million gold marks amounted to 80 billion paper marks, instead of 51 billions as in March. Thus we obtain the following pretty results: When, in the early part of the year, Germany was subjected to a tribute against which the whole country rebelled, it amounted to 28 billions paper marks. And then, when, a year later, the Allies charitably reduced the sum by more than one half, the amount of this "diminished" tribute rose to 80 billions. Germany paid again on the 15th of July. She is not in a condition to pay more. And, on August 15th, another payment is due.

Under Allied Control.

Germany desired a moratorium for three years. Before consenting to grant this respite, the Allies demanded that Germany abandon to them the control of her national finances. Germany assented. The Allies will have two financial commissioners in Berlin; one will control the income, and the other the expenses, of Germany. And at the same time as the budget is presented to the Reichstag, it must also be submitted to the Entente financial commissioners, not, of course, to provide them with entertaining reading, but so that they may order alterations. All the financial supplementary bills of the government, all financial laws, must pass the censorship of the Entente's agents. All statistical data must be given to them. They have the right of control over the expenses of the governing authorities, and the right to investigate as to whether these expenditures have actually been incurred. The German governmental press explains proudly that the state of Germany, in spite of all, cannot be compared with that of Turkey, as Turkey was compelled to place a certain portion of her national income at the disposition of foreign capital. Quite right! Between the position of Turkey and that of Germany there is an important difference. The highly civilized German people must submit to control over their entire public finances. The German situation is ten times worse than the Turkish. The German government has entered into a compromise which signifies the renunciation of Germany's financial independence, in the hope that, they would not only gain a breathing spell in the form of a respite of money payments, but that their submissiveness will aid them to secure international loans which will render possible the restoration to health of the German economy. Capitulation, however, has already taken place; but the respite is not yet granted; for this concession does not depend only upon the good will of England and France.

The Interallied Debts.

France finds herself in such a situation that she cannot forego the German cash payments. The French budget has developed such an enormous deficit, that not even the carrying out of the German payments would cancel it. At the outbreak

of the war, France was 29.8 billion francs in debt. Her war expenses amounted to 165 billion francs, of which 23 billions were covered by receipts. Therefore, France emerged from the war with debts amounting to 170 billions. During the three post-war years, her debt mounted to 350 billion francs. On October 1st, of this year, the French debt to England becomes due, and France should then start to pay her English debt of 584 billion pounds sterling. Her debt to America amount to \$2,950,800,000, and her debts to Japan are 133,000,000 yen. England demands from France, either that she pay her debt, or that she consent to revise her demands upon Germany and renounce an important part of them. The French imperialistic press bitterly defends the French position: "We made the greatest sacrifices; yet they demand from us the payment of our debts, and, ask that conquered Germany be granted a moratorium into the bargain. And, although, according to the Versailles Treaty, France is to receive 52% of the German cash payments, they only have one vote of the four on the Reparations Commission. The British imperialistic press answers this moan very cold-bloodedly: "Gentlemen, if you have gone bankrupt, be kind enough to state it openly; otherwise, you will be obliged to pay your debts, whether you receive any cash payments from Germany or not."

The English plan is quite simple. England informs America that she is quite ready to pay her debts to America which, with unpaid interest, amount to \$4,500,000,000, and only seeks to have them replaced by a consolidated debt. In her policy towards France, England wishes to proceed hand in hand with America. If France declares herself willing, not only to grant a respite to Germany, but also to strike out a part of the German indebtedness, then England will waive her claims for French payments. And then the American bankers will grant Germany a loan which will serve partly to cover certain German economic needs, and partly to lighten the French financial situation. Mr. Poincaré, who reproached Briand for his "softness" and complaisance, had to acknowledge openly the national bankruptcy, in his Senate speech on July 29. "By force of arms", said he, we can occupy a portion of German territory, and that has great educational importance. We could also get a small amount of goods and paper marks through this means. All this, however would not suffice to fill up the breach in our budget. In spite of the enquiries of Senator Jouvenal, Poincaré would not say what course he would advise. Poincaré's plans, however, may be easily deduced from the official French press. Above all, he desires that the Reparations Commission establish that the insolvency of Germany is her own fault, as the German capitalists have no faith in their own finances and have sunk enormous amounts in foreign currency in order to evade payment of taxes. Poincaré wishes this decision to be reached, because it will permit him to take forcible measures against Germany, at every favorable opportunity, on the grounds of the Versailles Treaty. Secondly, it will purchase England's renunciation of the French debt at the price of a moratorium only, without a postponement of the German payments. The British press states that England will by no means renounce the French debt at this price, as England is interested in the economic restoration of Germany, not only as an outlet-market for British goods, but also as a co-worker in Russian reconstruction.

In this way, the revision of the economic clauses of the Versailles Treaty is maturing. It is questionable whether it suits the Allies to permit Germany a breathing spell before it breaks down completely. In any case, this question will in the near future stand in the foreground of all the problems vexing the Allies, including also the Russian question. This was one of the causes of the breakdown of the Hague conference. The revision of the Versailles treaty is of very great importance to Soviet Russia. But of that we shall speak another time.

POLITICS

The Bloc National and the World Situation.

By Paul Louis (Paris).

It is interesting to observe the attitude of the French ruling bourgeoisie at the beginning of this month. I have already pointed out the decomposition of the Bloc National; a section of the ruling class, scared by an occurrence which it could have most easily foreseen, now turns to the left. After attempting to crush the proletariat with its Clémenceaus and Poincarés, the bourgeoisie is trying to regain the votes of the proletariat with a new formula, or rather an old formula adopted for the circumstances, the formula of Waldeck-Rousseau and of Combes at the beginning of the century. The purpose remains the same: to prolong the reign of the middle-class.

The evolution of the world situation will see the defeat of the Bloc National. Somewhat too late, the petty-bourgeoisie is beginning to judge the policy of the leaders of that Bloc and it realizes that a militaristic France, the France of Poincaré, of Millerand, of Daudet, remains isolated, that its prestige is lowered, that it gathers against its diplomacy and its militarism most formidable hostilities, that the danger of a new war remains the same, and that a balanced budget is still a vain dream. Should the petty-bourgeoisie now turn against the Bloc National, we would have no reason to be surprised. As Marx showed us, it is the vacillating class par excellence, the social group most devoid of principle and of continuity of views.

The petty-bourgeoisie remained true to the Bloc National as long as it believed in its force and its external authority. The French peasantry, like all peasants, is a group decidedly opposed to war because it realizes the great losses which the last war has wrought in its ranks; but from 1918 to 1921 it continued to live in this dream, that Germany would pay, and that from her payment, not only would the devastated sections be rebuilt, but the taxes might be kept the same for a long time to come. Today, the peasant and more generally the petty-bourgeois are realizing that their dream had no foundation. The high taxes are still being raised. The world crisis affects the products of the earth as well as any other product. The menace of war appears distinctly on the horizon. And neither the cultivator of the Beauce, nor the wine-grower of the South East, nor the oil farmer of Provence is willing to fight again. A deeper anti-militarism reigns in the country than in the city.

The Program of the Bloc National consists merely in the thorough exploitation of our pseudo-victory. And this victory appears more and more as a fable. The defeat of our diplomats in the Supreme Council have opened the eyes of the least far-seeing; they are beginning to observe the situation.

The Entente is dead. Neither England nor Italy are ready to work in the service of Poincarism. Each governing class is preoccupied with its own egoistic interests. And the French, English, and Italian bourgeoisie, if they had ever been united in the past, now find themselves separated by gulfs which are growing wider and wider. East and West, they watch each other carefully, their jealousies clash, their interests diverge. The official press shows definitely where the change has taken place. An isolated France is powerless, and the conflict with our Allies is a telling defeat for our diplomats. Even the Small Entente formed under the protecting wing of French diplomacy, is asserting its independence, and follows less and less the directions of Mr. Poincaré. This is true of Roumania, of Czecho-Slovakia, and even of Poland.

But this is the most important point: When the Bloc National called M. Poincaré to power to take the place of Mr. Briand, they expected that Poincaré would force Germany to pay. The Bloc National had a financial as well as moral interest in the solution of the problem. And it is under Poincaré's Ministry that Germany demanded, first a provisory moratorium, then a prolonged moratorium. It is under Poincaré's Ministry that the Bankers' Committee, headed by the most qualified representatives of American Banking, demanded the reduction of the German indemnity, that is to say, declared itself against the Treaty of Versailles, and proposed its revision. What a shock and what an insult for the Bloc National and for its head!

Today the revision of the Treaty of Versailles is a necessity, and M. Poincaré is the first to recognize it as inevitable. Between the German demand for a moratorium and those of its English and American creditors, for payment, M. Poincaré has no choice left. If he persists in his demands, on the German government, London and Washington may send in their collecting agents. Not only cannot the Bloc National force any payments from Germany, not only can it not undertake any military sanction against Germany without having to fear a formidable coalition against France, not only has it placed France in the position of Germany in 1918, but it is forced to recognize that it has lost all moral credit in other countries. The people are beginning to laugh at their wordy pretentious diplomacy, which always suffers defeat.

Considering the Russian question, we see that neither the Genoa Conference, nor the Hague Conference have helped the Poincaré standpoint. Here as in the German question, France is considered as a troublemaker. The whole world wished to renew connections with Russia. And they will do without the help of Poincaré or of his successor from the Bloc National.

And so we see in the beginning of August, when so many important questions are going to be decided, the military imperialism of the Bloc National will mean for France so many decisive defeats. The revolutionary proletariat of France must keep a watchful eye, must redouble its activity, must subject itself to a greater discipline, to take all advantages of the defeats which will ensue therefrom for the bourgeoisie. Upon the proletariat depends whether that defeat of the Bloc National will be a victory, not for a Bloc of the Left, but for *our cause*.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Trade Union Movement in Austria.

By Ernest Haidt (Vienna).

The Austrian trade unions have since the Trade Union Congress of 1919 which decided on the creation of industrial unions, undergone a slow process of transformation. The number of local unions which come within the purview of the Austrian Trade Union Committee have been reduced to six; yet there still exists a great number of craft unions which resist the idea of organization according to industry. Instead of the maximum of 20 industrial groups there are at present still 50 organizations which extend their activities over the whole country. The reason for this slow process of development is to a considerable extent to be found in a craft guild point of view of the narrow occupational interests of the local executives of the organizations concerned. There is, however, far too little emphasis laid upon the question of industrial unions on the part of the Trade Union Committee, which is mostly concerned with showing the greatest possible number of organized workers. It would be a mistake to consider all those represented by the figures of the Trade Union Committee as class conscious workers. Within its affiliated bodies there are Police, Gendarmes and officials of various categories, who are ready to take part in every action hostile to the workers and to oppose the proletariat. It further contains definitely right wing elements which still stand with both feet in the camp of the bourgeoisie. As far as numbers are concerned, the trade unions show an increase, although in those callings which have an official character there is to be seen a certain falling off in favor of the existing yellow organizations. For the present one can accept the number of members represented in the Trade Union Committee as 1,100,000. The number in the respective groups is approximately as follows: Building Workers 50,000, Miners 35,000, Printers and Bookbinders 24,000, Chemical Workers 40,000, Railway Workers 100,000, Glas Workers 4,000, Trade and Transport Workers 60,000, Wood Workers 32,000, Hotel and Restaurant Employees 40,000, Clothing Workers 35,000, Agricultural Laborers and Foresters 7,000, Provision Trade Workers 40,000, Leather Workers 8,000, Locomotive and Firemen 7,000, Metal Workers 160,000, Textile Workers 40,000, Bank Clerks and Cashiers 21,000, Public Employees 14,000, Postal Employees 14,000, Telephone and Telegraph Workers 12,000, Industrial and Commercial Clerks 92,000, Military Unions 16,000. The remainder is divided into smaller branches which would be certain to enter the industrial organizations. The mental attitude of the organizations is reformist and their trade union activity restricts itself for the greater part to making such compromises with the employees that it is an easy matter for the latter to agree to them. This is especially pronounced in the case of the organizations catering for the state employees. In these latter every question of wages is an immediate political question and is only settled by negotiations of the leaders of the organizations, most of whom are political leaders, by means of voluntary concessions. What are brought forward as the demands of the employees and introduced with more or less fuss has all been agreed upon beforehand between the parties and the government and the "struggles" for these demands are nothing less than empty sword play. This activity of the trade unions of the industrial workers and the clerks in public and private employment, of necessity results in the lowering of the standard of living of the workers and clerks.

Some examples may illustrate this. The wages of a highly qualified metal worker at present amount to 80,000 crowns, i. e. 20 Swiss francs per week. The monthly income of a middle grade official amounts to 320,000 crowns, i. e. 80 Swiss francs. To this must be added the fact that the price of provisions and for all other articles of necessity are completely adapted to the world market prices and indeed, in many respects owing to unlimited profiteering even exceed them. It can therefore be taken that the real income of the workers and the majority of clerks to-day, scarcely amounts to more than a third of the pre-war income, and that the distress of the whole Austrian proletariat has increased extraordinarily. This is of great significance, as Austria has the highest percentage of organized workers and, compared with the Free Trade Unions very few workers are organized in the yellow unions. It is almost impossible to speak of educating the Austrian proletariat through the trade unions. They are only taught to pay their subscriptions, for the most part they lack the critical faculty for judging the actions of the trade union leaders, so that the fight for the revolutionizing of the trade unions has to be taken up under the most difficult conditions. Two years ago when we commenced the work of revolutionizing the trade unions, the reformist

leaders immediately recognized the danger which threatened them and sought by every means at their disposal to persuade the workers that our movement was a destructive and disruptive one. It needed extraordinary efforts to make clear to the working class the aim for which we are fighting. When our most strenuous efforts met with some success, the workers were subjected to the sharpest terror, and hand in hand with the employers, a purging of the workshops from all "radical elements" was undertaken. In spite of all this however, our movement is progressing. We have groups of revolutionary workers among the Building Workers, among the clerks, in private and public employment, among the miners, the printers, in the chemical industry, among the railway workers, the glass workers, trade and transport workers, hotel and restaurant employees, provision trade workers, the metal workers, in the military unions, among the leather workers and among the textile workers, a number of whom are working quite independently and are gaining increasing influence over the workers of their profession.

Every meeting and particularly every wage movement is being made use of to open the eyes of the workers and clerks to the necessity for the revolutionary struggle. Happily we are meeting with increased understanding so that we have already succeeded in certain cases in making our way to the head of the organization. Such was the case with the metal workers of Vienna in the Committee of Forty at the Conference of Shop Stewards. On the occasion of the movement of the state employees we succeeded in gathering at a meeting of the group of oppositional railway men, 5,000 state employees, whose demands in the face of the obstinacy of the government essentially contributed to the proclamation of the strike. If the strike was called off through the influence of the Social Democratic members of Parliament, as the government threatened to resign, we were able to make further progress by reason of the dissatisfaction resulting from it on the part of the employees who were driven back to their work, so that we are able to influence approaching events with augmented strength. The Vienna Street Car Workers, who, through their organizations were deemed to accept an agreement involving lesser working conditions and wages entered upon a strike which embraced all the drivers down to the last man. The strike lasted a whole week in spite of the resistance of the organization and of the whole of the party apparatus of the Social Democrats which came into operation because the strike was directed against the Social Democratic Municipality of Vienna. The strike ended with a considerable success for the Street Car Workers. At present we are busy gathering the fruits of the preceding two years of unostentatious work among the Street Car Workers and we shall succeed in getting the confidential posts filled with revolutionary street car workers. But things are also progressing in the remaining branches of industry so that we can claim that the revolutionizing of the trade unions of Austria is making headway.

The French Trade Union Movement in the Ranks of the International.

Taken from *Lutte de Classes*.

Since the cessation of the wholesale massacre in November 1918, the trade union movement in France, just as in all other countries of the world, has made great headway. Before the war it had a special place in the workers' international movement. There existed in France a special type of trade union movement, *Syndicalism*. Here was the birth-place of Syndicalism, it was from here that the syndicalist doctrines were promulgated over different countries, although the syndicalists claimed to have no doctrines at all, to see in action itself the purpose and the highest justification of the movement and to obtain from action suggestions for the theoretical control of the movement. Although Syndicalism also rather eagerly attempted to spread its teachings beyond the frontiers of France, it was not free from certain national limitations, even national arrogance. Its apostles asserted that Syndicalism was the highest and most perfect form of the international trade union movement. The world war has proved how unfounded this opinion was; French syndicalism in the war proved to be an inseparable limb of the international workers' movement with all its weaknesses accompanying it. In the same way as the trade union movement of all other countries, "revolutionary" French Syndicalism also split itself into two camps: the reformist, patriotic, social imperialist majority which placed itself at the service of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and the actual revolutionary minority which opposed this prostitution of the workers' movement and attempted to bring it back to the path of uncompromising class war.

The struggle which was conducted until the end of 1921 within the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (C.G.T.) ended

in a split. Unfortunately this did not create a clear situation: on the one side was the reformist, on the other the revolutionary camp, here Amsterdam and London, there Moscow. A part of the pioneers of the revolutionary section developed into Communists. For these comrades there existed no doubt that although owing to practical reasons it is necessary to have two special organizations in the workers' movement for a certain period, the political and the economic, they must become *one* in their aims and endeavours if they are revolutionary. These comrades laid it down in their resolutions during the years 1919, 1920, 1921, that for the revolutionary trade union organization, there was, there is and there can be only *one* International and that is the Third, the Communist, the Red Labor Union, the *Moscow* International. But in the revolutionary Syndicalist movement there are still people who today, after the world war and after the Russian Revolution, believe that the anarcho-syndicalist doctrine, which in spite of the assertion of its adherents is only a doctrine and a *sectarian doctrine*, is the highest expression of revolutionary virtue and wisdom. These comrades believe that the trade union movement must at all costs, even at the cost of defeat, of the revolution, be "independent" from the political "party" movement. They have the direction of the new "united" trade union organization, the C.G.T.U. in their hands, although it is very doubtful whether they have the majority of the organized working masses behind them. The conflict which by reason of this originated within the C.G.T.U. with regard to the most fundamental question of the national and international outlook, is well described in the following article in the Paris organ of the Red International of Labor Unions, *La Lutte de Classes*, which appeared in its recent issue of June 5th. We thus see that the *inner clarification process* in France is still going on, whilst in many other countries, the revolutionary trade union movement is already engaged in a direct struggle against our actual enemies.

"The draft of the constitution of the C.G.T.U. is silent with regard to the question of the International.

Why?

It is a question of great importance, a question towards which the trade union organizations must define their attitude and give instructions to their delegates to the Congress of St. Etienne.

It is very strange that the Executive Committee of the C.G.T.U. which did not hesitate to proceed with a complete reversal in the organization of the Federation of Labor did not consider it opportune to say anything with regard to this.

Nobody knows what the Executive Committee is doing, what it is preparing until the day when it will already have adopted the resolution to inform the members. In this way discussions arise which it is true, are very useful but they are of great advantage if they are held before the decisions are adopted.

It has happened several times already and now it threatens a repetition with regard to the question of the International.

In fact we are learning quite by chance from a foreign paper that an International Syndicalist Conference will take place between the 16th and 18th of June, and it is said that the C.G.T.U. will be represented at this conference.

Why this conference on the eve of the Congress of St. Etienne and why is the C.G.T.U. taking part in it?

In view of the circumstances under which the provisional committee was nominated many things lead one to the opinion that this committee does not exactly express the point of view adopted by the great majority of the workers organized in the C.G.T.U. It seems that under these conditions the Executive Committee had to consider as its chief task the preparation of the work of the Congress which was of the greatest importance; the Committee had to leave to the Congress the responsibility of deciding upon the fundamental questions.

The opinion of the Committee however appeared to be a different one. It wanted to decide everything itself before the congress whilst it pursued some nebulous ideas which in themselves constituted a negation of syndicalism.

We have already pointed out the danger into which this state of mind is bringing the development and the future of the C.G.T.U. as well as the workers movement as a whole; we called attention to this danger when we investigated the alterations which were intended to be brought about in the structure of the Federation of Labor.

Behind the mask of federation it was decided to propose in respect of all questions the contrary of what the actual circumstances demanded.

At a time when all sectional movements were doomed before-hand to defeat, when different industrial groups which take up the struggle are consecutively defeated, when in order to secure victory it is necessary to extend the front of the struggle and to bring into it those industries the stoppage of which

paralyzes the capitalist mechanism, when it is therefore absolutely necessary to have a centralized organization well equipped and capable of co-ordinating all efforts, they find nothing better to do than to destroy the actual existing central organization, to leave various industries to themselves, to cut up districts and to break up the forces of the working class into separate atoms.

A similar state of mind is manifest with regard to the International question. Those syndicalists who will assemble on the 16th of June are in no way all revolutionary syndicalists; these are only those who have a common platform, in opposition to Moscow, to the Russian Revolution, to the Red International of Labor Unions. The sincere syndicalists who participate in this opposition claim that it is useful and necessary to constitute this syndicalist block before coming to Moscow.

How does it come about that they do not notice that in this respect they are adopting exactly the same attitude with regard to international questions as the French bourgeoisie.

The French bourgeoisie is always isolated, it does not like international conferences. It does not wish to discuss. It attempts to sabotage the conferences and in order not to remain isolated it is compelled to mobilize the Little Entente. But even in this respect it only experiences disappointment. The French syndicalists who are adopting a similar attitude will have to experience still greater disappointments.

They will have to state that in two great countries, in England and the United States, the best trade union leaders who before the war have always worked in agreement with the C.G.T. have fully adopted the two great principles established by Moscow: the realization of the unity of the working class in the trade unions and the linking up of all revolutionary trade union forces in the Red International of Labor Unions. In Spain our comrades are at the moment occupied with the reconstruction of the organizations destroyed by the savage capitalists and the government. And in spite of it the last official resolution of the Trade Union Federation contains the approval of the attitude of its delegates to the first Congress of the R.I.L.U. In Italy the declarations of our friends *Vecchi* and *Mari* prove that an important section of the Italian Trade Union Federation is energetically supporting the program of the unity of the working class within the national limits and affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions. What remains now to constitute a syndicalist block? Some organizations, or rather, some fragments of organizations which are only nominally syndicalist and which have therefore no great difficulty in uniting with one another.

With regard to ourselves, the international question is very simple for us and we cannot understand how one can see a complicated problem in it. The solution which we propose is completely in agreement with the attitude repeatedly adopted by the revolutionary syndicalist minority at the former conferences of the Federation of Labor.

It is sufficient for this purpose to quote the relative clauses of the resolutions submitted to the congresses of Lyons, Orleans and Lille.

Before the Congress of Lyons the Railway Federation of the Paris branch of the State Railways adopted the following decisions:

"The Federation demands that the Trade Union Congress bring the C.G.T. back to the path which it ought never to have abandoned, that is, the path of the class war which leads to social revolution and the emancipation of the world proletariat; it is of the opinion that it is a great illusion to expect anything from the League of Nations which has been established by the various governments; just as little can be expected from the national and anti-revolutionary internationals which have recently been reconstructed in Amsterdam. There is only one International of the revolution, the *Third Moscow international*. The C.G.T. is in honor bound to affiliate."

At Orleans the revolutionary minority drew up the following draft:

"Taking into consideration that a trade union movement based on the class war and internationalism cannot take its place within the nationalist Amsterdam International, whose Chairman Mr. Appleton and Vice Chairmen Jouhaux and Martens were, during the whole of the world war, the apostles of "war to the bitter end" and of the wholesale slaughter of the workers, and whose presence at the head of an International implies the survival of the old national hatred, the Orleans Congress of the Federation of Labor decides that the C.G.T. affiliate to the Red International of Moscow.

"The Congress declares that affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions can in no way be considered as a violation of the Charter of Amiens, that on the contrary,

it constitutes the obvious duty of the C.G.T. It is bound in honor to itself to join Moscow in the same way as it was bound in 1915 to go to Zimmerwald. There exists only one *International of the Revolution*, — the Third Moscow International; the C.G.T., after having again become faithful to the revolutionary spirit is bound to affiliate to this International. It declares itself prepared to cooperate with any political organization which will prove by its deeds that it is revolutionary and in which the C.G.T. itself will retain its complete independence as an economic organization."

Finally in Lille, in 1921, a revolutionary minority submitted the following motion to the congress:

"In consideration of the fact that the place of the Trade Union Organization based on the class war and Internationalism cannot be within the Amsterdam International which is closely connected with the International Labor Office subsidized by the capitalist governments, the congress declares that the French C.G.T. must withdraw from this organization which is working in unity with the capitalists and must affiliate with the Moscow International of Labor Unions without violating the resolution of Amiens, under the express condition that its constitution must permit the autonomy of the trade union movement."

Already several organizations, the workers of the City Railways, the miners and metal workers of Alsace Lorraine, have decided upon unconditional affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions. This is the point of view we adopt.

There is another point of view which advocates voting for affiliation and at the same time giving instructions to the delegates sent to the Second Congress, to demand the autonomy and independence of the trade union movement. We have already said that we look upon the apprehensions expressed in this connection as unfounded. But we can appreciate this point of view which demands assurances considered necessary; for we are convinced that if unity is sincerely sought after it will be reached.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

On the Development of a Communist Party.

By Jacob Herzog, (Zurich).

In every country the Communist movement has to contend in its development with enormous difficulties and powerful obstacles. It is true that the daily increasing want beats with painful blows into the heads of the proletariat of Europe and America the noxiousness of the capitalistic economic system; that they feel daily upon their backs the slaver's whip of reaction and experience the bitter betrayal of many of their once idealized leaders. These facts open the eyes of many workers and push them into our ranks. But in spite of all this, our movement progresses very slowly, and does not seem to advance beyond the stage of the growth crises. The Communist Party of Switzerland offers us an excellent example.

The field of action of our Party is extremely favorable to growth. The majority of the Swiss people are composed of the industrial, commercial, and agrarian proletariat who are long acquainted with Socialist ideas, and spring from a people with a thoroughly revolutionary tradition. In the most important industrial cities, the Communist Party, which is conducting its work openly, can rely on the support of a large number of trade unions. The Central Committee of many industrial unions are composed of revolutionary and communistically inclined comrades. An economic crisis rages with elemental fury in the country and condemns a hundred thousand workers to starvation. The employing class takes brutal advantage of the crisis to lower wages, prolong working hours, rob the workers of their political rights. Our Social Democracy is ruled by a leaden inertia. They betray the working-class in order not to impair capitalistic reconstruction, and attack all the more viciously the Communists. They confuse the proletariat with pacifistic phrases, with false anti-Bolshevistic news, and apparent political combats. In spite of all these conditions, so favorable to the development of a Communist movement, the Communist Party of Switzerland is undergoing one crisis after another, and is developing but slowly to a real Communist Party.

Its propaganda among the industrial proletarians is still very weak; among the rural proletariat and the small peasantry it is practically nihil. As yet, the Party forms no inner, compact whole, and is only slowly recovering from the centrist sickness. The reason is easily grasped. Although at the time of the split our Party stood very far to the left, there were admitted, together with the 5000 workers who joined us, a number of vacillating,

half, and even wholly centrist leaders. A basic transformation of the old party functionaries, such as is most necessary today in the interest of the Communist movement, was not to be expected. On the other hand, the old Communist Party of Switzerland had not brought sufficient forces into the new United Communist Party to influence decisively its tactics. Add to this the influence of a strong anti-centralistic, federalistic movement, called here the *Kantöni Spirit*. This movement is strongest in Zurich where it has often engendered rebellions against the Party Executive which has its seat in Basel.

The Central Committee in power before the last Pentecost Convention, which consisted of representatives from the most important sections of the movement, gave itself all possible pains to form the United Communist Party into a compact and strongly centralized organization. But in all their attempts they met with the open or concealed resistance of a part of the membership, especially from Zurich.

The prime requirement of a unified party was a strongly centralized press. Zurich, however, opposed the will of the Central Committee in the matter, solved the question to its own satisfaction, and even came into conflict with the Communist International. A still worse form of separatism appeared in the question of trade union tactics. The clear, unequivocal statement of the Second Congress of the Comintern and the Unification Congress of our Party which required the membership to conduct their work in the unions as Communist fractions, was openly, sabotaged by many comrades, especially among the union functionaries who declared publicly that these Communist fractions would lead to a break in the unions. As a result of their efforts, several trade unions adopted resolutions which forbade fractional activities.

Nothing was left undone from that side to confuse the membership of the Party and to undermine the authority of the Central Executive.

When the Central Committee of the Party sounded the slogans of the proletarian United Front against the Reaction and entered into negotiation with the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions to carry out that policy, Fritz Schneider, as leader of a group of union officials in Basel, claimed the Party did not take its declaration seriously; that it wished only to repeat the "criminal" March action of the German Communist Party and to arouse the masses to another bloody *putch*. Schneider's position and his open rejection of fractional tactics led to a sharp conflict in the Basel section of the Communist Party, which resulted in his quitting the Party, together with a good dozen other comrades.

In Zurich the opponents of the Communist trade union tactics were much stronger. Zurich is the seat of a number of train union executives which are led by members of the Communist Party of Switzerland and by left Social Democrats. The resistance came from these leaders. They did not want to disturb the peace in the trade unions by sharp conflicts between Communists and Social Democrats. At first, these Central Federations obeyed the call of the Communist Party Executive to form a united front against the reaction, and united with the party in Trimbach to form a Committee of Common Action which was to force the calling of a Swiss Trade Union Congress. But when the reformists refused to agree to our proposition and took up the fight against the Communists instead, not even afraid to break up the trade unions in their action, the radical Central Committee took fear. To the call of the Central Executive of the Communist Party for united action against the reaction, and for the union of the revolutionary trade unions in an organization of combat, the representatives of the unions answered with the liquidation of the Trimbach Committee. In fact, they changed their course so far as to fraternize openly with the reformists at the May Congress of the Swiss Federation of Labor, voting, and speaking for their resolutions and against the Communist resolution of the Basel section. And when the Party Executive in accordance with its statutory right sent a comrade to take over the edition of the Zurich Party organ as a sanitation measure, these right wing comrades supported by the vacillating centrist group of the Zurich Party, rebelled against the Party Executive, and named as editor a comrade acceptable to the right wing.

Such was the situation in the Party before the Pentecost Congress of 1922. In two and a half days all these conflicts were to be solved. The question of trade union tactics was naturally the most important one. Zurich presented resolutions, condemning the tactics of the Executive, and tried to remove from the Party program all those resolutions which demanded fractional activity within the trade unions. In the discussion which followed, the majority of the Zurich representatives withdrew their removal demands and voted with a great majority for the theses of the Executive. In general the tactics of the Central Executive, in the question of the united front as well

as in its measures towards the Zurich comrades, were approved by a great majority.

Two months have passed since the last Party Congress without any important change taking place within the Party. A few outspoken centrists left the Party, a few more will follow. Zurich declared it would submit to the decisions of the Party Congress. We cannot tell, how far this movement towards betterment will proceed. One thing must be clearly stated: As long as the Party does not rid itself of the *Kantönlí spirit* and its inherited centristic disease, no great progress will be possible nor will it gain an important position in the workers' movement. The Party will not be able to put through its program by compromising with the Social Democrats. It is the task of the Communist Party of Switzerland to form rapidly a united and disciplined organization. The sooner this process will be accomplished, the sooner will the Communist Party of Switzerland be capable of assuming its historical role in the fight for liberation of the Swiss proletariat.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Russian Famine.

By Pierre Pascal.

All Russia is awaiting with the greatest anxiety the result of the new harvest. The results already known indicate that cereal production shows a marked increase over the preceding years. Although the North West and Central provinces report a slight decrease, those of the West and South, including the Ukraine, the most cultivated regions, show considerable progress. Even the famine-stricken regions, thanks to the aid given them, have succeeded in sowing a great part of their lands and expect an abundant harvest. That is a general picture of the agricultural situation; the cultivated area has increased, the Spring rains have rendered fertile once more the parched soil of last summer; in short, the crop, taken as a whole, will be sufficient. The powerful decisive influence wielded by the harvest, even in times of peace, on all branches of Russian economy, is well-known. The harvest determined the prosperity or depression of industry, the extension or reduction of foreign trade, the state of finance and transportation; the harvest determined everything even to foreign policy.

What then will be the effect of a good harvest today, when in the general crisis, the whole economic system is in a state of extreme sensibility? We can say that these favorable agricultural prospects promise the Soviet Republic, great possibilities of reconstruction and progress.

Unfortunately, although the picture as a whole is so favorable, it would be wrong to conclude that the famine and its consequences are at an end. On the contrary, the Russian press unceasingly points out the terrible, far-reaching effects, the irreparable losses to be suffered for many years to come, that the last terrible year has left behind it. The Russian Government, after having directed the collection, transportation and distribution of grain, whilst giving every possible relief to the afflicted, is now engaged in fighting the terrible effects of the scourge. The Commissariat for Agriculture is holding regional conferences to which it sends its delegates. Kalinin is just finishing a tour of the stricken provinces of the Ukraine and Crimea. From information and reports thus collected, it is found that the effects of the famine are far from being at an end and that the famine regions are still in imperative need of outside aid. The calamity was too great, the difficulties too enormous, to be overcome immediately.

A conference was lately held at Samara, the center of the famine area. It was attended by Moscow workers and representatives of the Crimea, the Kalmuck and Mari territories, the Tartar, Kirghiz and Bashkir Republics and the provinces of Tioumen, Viatka and Perm. A member of this conference, who himself visited several of the stricken areas, reported in the "Izvestia" of July 20th, the conclusions he and his colleagues had arrived at.

An extraordinary story which has already been told, and is worthy of further repetition, is the heroism of the cultivators. The starving peasants did not eat the seed given them. They preferred to suffer hunger, to see their families suffering; but they saved the grain necessary for the sacred duty of sowing the crop. It is estimated that altogether only 6 to 7 per cent of the seed provided was eaten. Even in the most stricken areas, where the peasants were nearly driven to eat the dead, this proportion is not higher than 10 to 12 per cent. Those evil prophets who predicted a complete catastrophe and the impossibility of such foresight on the part of the starving peasantry must now acknowledge their error and bow in homage

before the Russian peasant, who sacrificed himself for the future of his country and his race.

Better still, the peasant knew that in the spring, he would not have the strength for heavy labor in the fields. So the greater part of the land was worked in the Autumn, which fact constitutes at the same time an enormous agricultural progress. The Soviet Government, through the medium of its paper, *The Bednota*, its experts and its Communist propaganda has spared no efforts in popularizing this method. Today, there remains but a third or a fourth of the former total number of horses. On the road to Simbirsk, files of six or seven men can be seen pulling wagons laden with provisions and grain. . . . This method of transportation is very common in the Simbirsk Province. The peasants have even adopted their ploughs to this end." This is an evil that will take a long time to remedy and which unfortunately renders the heroism of the peasants ineffective.

It is known at what an enormous cost the collection and transportation of grain was effected. The question of quantity was of vital importance, and the program formulated was brilliantly realized. What the state could not provide, was bought by the peasants and the Cooperative Society, or was imported from abroad. But what immense fertile tracts of land remained uncultivated, thus diminishing production!

The pre-war area under cultivation is far from being realized. How many ploughs and how much agricultural machinery, how many horses and tractors are needed to achieve this! Besides, in 12 to 15 of the stricken provinces, there is a great diversity of soils, each one of which can only give a maximum yield through a definite quality of seed. Moreover, not only was it impossible to provide each district with the precise quality of grain desired, but it would have been quite impossible to procure it either in Russia or abroad. As a result, the seed which was unsuited to local conditions and to the climate has not given the normal yield.

The areas under cultivation also present a very unequal aspect. Thus, the Samara province received from the Ukraine autumn seed instead of spring seed; varieties of corn have been sown which will not ripen in these regions; and spring seed grain is not suitable to the Volga climate. All this was perhaps inevitable, but none the less it contributes to the prolongation of the effects of the famine.

In these remarks no exaggeration has been made. The stricken provinces are on the way to recovery; their convalescence still needs help, and in this field much can be done by the working-class of Western Europe. But this help must change its character. During the crisis it consisted mostly in providing food, and bore a more or less humanitarian character. Today, in general, relief work is not concerned in feeding the starving peasants condemned to a terrible death, or saving abandoned children dying of hunger in the streets. The work which remains to be done is greater, of a vaster extent and more fruitful. Its task is to prevent the recurrence of a similar catastrophe, and to aid the Russian Government in its efforts to develop agricultural production. To restore agriculture, that is to say, raise it to its pre-war standard, is today a very difficult task, as production has fallen to nearly half of what it was before the war. But even this would be insufficient, for under the Czar, Russia suffered from a partial shortage every five years and from a famine every ten years. The Soviet Government has worked out a scheme, through a commission of experts, for the irrigation of the parched lands of the South-East (by means of canals, artificial lakes, etc.), for the drainage of the marshy lands of the North, reforestation, mechanical tillage, etc. A large part of the credits asked for at the Hague were intended for use in this work, by which not only Russia, but the whole world would profit. The capitalist states have refused these credits. It remains for the workers of all countries to find the means of coming to the aid of those who are the sole obstacle to capitalist and militarist reaction. The American workers have raised a million dollars to reconstruct the clothing industry in Russia. Why should not the workers of all the countries collect millions of pounds, francs, lira and marks to supply ploughs, tractors, selected seeds, grain, and breeding stock for Russian agriculture? It is in this direction that the various relief committees should conduct their work. Russia has less need than ever of charity; what she desires is a fruitful cooperation for the benefit of all parties. She is working hard, she never lost courage even during the horrors of the famine; and today she is filled with the hope of a favorable harvest and she is convinced that even though she may be weak for a time, she can work with those who wish to help her and will recompense them for their pains. Indeed, from a peasantry which was literally reduced to destitution, and yet refrained from eating the grain destined for sowing, we may expect anything. Kalinin, said that in the Crimea 14,500 people died in February, 20,000 in

March, 12,750 in May. Hardly a fifth of the arable area has been sown and the harvest prospects are none too bright. And yet, facing the most unfavorable conditions, practically isolated, the population has not lost courage, political life is not dead, they are interested in the international conferences at the Hague and in Genoa, they struggle energetically, and with the greatest ingeniousness they have rid themselves of the insects that attack the crops. Kalinin was astounded to see people whose every thought was concentrated on how to get their daily bread which they often went without, could display such energy. And it is with justification that he explains that this hope and bravery is the result of the confidence inspired by the Soviet Government in the efficacy of its aid.

The famine proper may be said to be nearing its end; but its effects remain disastrous. Thanks to its energy, organized and sustained by its government, Russia has emerged victorious from this new trial. Foreign aid has relieved much suffering and saved many lives. Today, Russia is convalescing and will soon stand powerful before international capital. But for the present it still needs the assistance of all its friends. Far from coming to an end, the movement of proletarian solidarity must continue with increased energy. It has known how to fight the various forms of intervention, the economic blockade and the famine. It will find a practical means of collaborating in the rebirth of the economic prosperity of the first State born of the Social Revolution.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

The Proletariat Continues its Support of Starving Russia.

By Willy Münzenberg.

With regard to the grave damages sustained by the economic life of Russia through the famine, the International Famine relief Congress in Berlin has made known its decision to continue its aid for the Russian famine and the reconstruction of economic life, without abatement. Upon their return to their native lands, the various delegates have immediately acted upon this decision by initiating a new and energetic propaganda in favor of assistance for the famine regions and economic reconstruction. In nearly all countries, efforts are being continued to bring help to the workers and peasants of Russia. Thanks to the untiring sacrifices and vigorous solidarity of the workers, it was possible for the Workers' Relief Committee, in the last few weeks, to arrange for the sending of several ships, laden with foodstuffs and other necessities, to Russia. Petrograd has recently telegraphed that a few days ago, the Swedish steamer, *Sölwig*, with foodstuffs, clothing, shoes and tools, to the value of 24,000 Swedish crowns, has arrived in that port. At about the same time, the large American steamer, the *Belvedere*, arrived in Petrograd with 1100 tons of flour, sent by the *Friends of Soviet Russia* to be distributed among the famine sufferers through the agency of the International Workers' Relief Committee. The steamer, *Tarrudant*, from Marseilles on July 30th, brought to Odessa 1200 tons of rice, as a gift from the French workers to their Russian brothers. The steamer, *Rockaway Park*, left America on the 19th of July, with food, clothes and shoes for the Workers' Relief. As soon as the Seamen's strike in Stettin is ended, or as soon as the strike committee there decides not to consider relief cargoes for their starving brothers in Russia as capitalist merchandise, the steamer, *Bürgermeister Hagen*, will sail for Petrograd with 400 tons of flour, 10,000 Kilograms of fat, with the French Relief Train's contribution of 140 carloads of flour, fats, grain, other foodstuffs, shoes, clothes, tools, etc., and 100 more tons of machinery, tools, motor cars, etc.

At the Hague, the capitalists have once again declined to extend credits and trading facilities to Russia. The common exertions of the international proletariat must and will see to it that the ships which have arrived in Russia, or which are on their way there, should soon be again en route for Russia with relief materials of all kinds.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

How Japan Steals.

By I. A. Kostolansky (Moscow).

While imperialistic Europe is compelled by the force of circumstances to recognize the sovereignty of Soviet Russia, imperialistic Japan continues its shameless robbery, and proceeds openly to steal Russian territory, Russian treasures and Russian property.

When the Japanese robbers began to feel that it no longer paid to hide behind the Spanish wall of the Dairen negotiations, and after they had zealously listened to many encouraging words of their French "guest", Marshall Joffres, they began to reveal their true face.

The president of the Japanese Delegation in Dairen, Matusima, who had repeatedly told the Russian delegation that he considered it time that the Japanese troops be withdrawn from the Far East, now declared that such an evacuation was impossible, because the lives and property of 8,000 Japanese residents would thereby be endangered. He furthermore finds it necessary to reinforce the Japanese troops that are now on Russian soil. Another member of the Japanese delegation in Dairen, Obrist Tokinory, left for Vladivostok, charged with the commission of reconciling the robber of government treasuries, Merkuloff, with the other groups of the Right and with the rest of the Kapellians, in the effort to organize a Russian Government of their own, whereby Japan would guarantee to this new government the inviolability of the person, and would provide it with cash, weapons and any other means of support.

All of these statements made by responsible persons of the Japanese staff and diplomatic circles, are the best proof of Japan's real intentions as regards the Far East Republic.

The statement made by Count Shidechar, the Japanese delegate at the Washington Conference, wherein he declared that Japan respects the sovereignty of Russia, and that it does not seek any special privileges in the Far East, was to serve the purpose of lulling the working-masses of the Far East into security, in order the better to be able to carry out the annexation plans of imperialistic Japan. After breaking off the Dairen negotiations, Japan concluded a series of agreements with its mercenary, Spiridon Merkuloff. The main stipulation in this agreement is Merkuloff's obligation to sell goods and other valuables only to Japanese. If we take into consideration the fact that according to the statement of accounts of the Vladivostok Customs Office, there were on the 1st of April more than six million pounds of iron, rubber, copper, steel etc. in the port, it becomes apparent why the Japanese Samurays had to bargain for such privileges. The systematic plundering of national property is being carried on by the Japanese in the most open and shameless manner. Merkuloff has begun to sell out the torpedo-boats and the merchant-marine. Thus, the torpedo-boat *Kamtchadal* which in peace times cost 200,000 yen, was sold for 3000 yen. Even the groups of the right accused Merkuloff of simply having been bribed by the Japanese, and that the official sales were only a matter of form.

The sale of valuable cargoes usually proceeds as follows: For a day or two the Japanese imperialistic press makes a great noise about the planned evacuation of Japanese troops. Then Merkuloff proceeds in a very feverish manner to convene his cabinet and decides to give up this or that cargo for a song. In this wise, the iron, the steel and the copper were sold. But since the plundering of goods does not suffice for the Japanese, they are trying their utmost to effect the legalization of the annexation of the Sutchan mines and the Ussuri Railroad. They are now formulating a lease project affecting the railroads, the mines, the Far Eastern wharf in Vladivostok and other government undertakings. Merkuloff empowered the Engineer Katzuyenko to carry on the negotiations.

This step was decided upon by Japan as early as December 1921, at the time when the Kapellians were "victorious", but under the influence of these "victories" Merkuloff sought to extricate himself from this common treason. But now, that he sees that nothing is to be lost, he is ready to sign anything.

One of the directors of the South Manchurian Railroad, Baron Okura, started negotiations on January, during his stay in Vladivostok. But now these negotiations have apparently progressed beyond the preparatory stage and is assuming concrete form. The Japanese delegation set out for Nikolsk to examine the railroad.

The Japanese engineers and railroad experts have started a very careful examination of all the government institutions that bear any direct or indirect relation to the railroad. A stenographic report of the negotiations between the representative of the Merkuloff Government, Anderson, and the representative of the South Manchurian Railroad, Okura, has been published and from that one learns that the Merkuloff Government has let the Ussuri Railroad to the Japanese for 9 million yen. It was for a good reason then, that the Japanese robbers obstinately insisted that in the treaty of Dairen a clause be inserted, that bound the Far East Republic to fulfil all the contracts concluded by Japan with all the preceding Russian Governments.

In this wise the Japanese Samurays are playing a double robber game. In Vladivostok they are stealing all the valuable goods and all the riches that are to be found there, and at the same time they are striving to gain for themselves a solid economic base on the coast, through a series of treaties and

agreements. This base is to serve them as a base of operation for further imperialistic penetration and future annexations of coast territory, on the Amur and in the Transbalkans.

But the hope of the Japanese marauders, to accomplish anything through such combinations is a vain one.

No matter how many agreements, concessionary contracts, treaties and leases Japan may conclude with her mercenary and lackey, the Russian people consider all of these as robbery, as a shameless grab of the property and possessions of the Russian working masses of the Far East, and when the time comes, the Russian people will settle its account with every one of the Matzumas, Schnodes, Okuraz and other robbers of Russian territory and Russian riches.

Discussions und Polemics

The Free Man and Our Party.

By R. Albert.

"I never desired to belong to this Party, nor to any party. There is no place in it for a free man."

These are the words used by Romain Rolland in a letter just published in France. The Party in question is ours, of course,—the Communist Party. In rendering this severe opinion to the press (and God knows, there is no appealing this opinion, for who, is to censure you,—Romain Rolland, who represent the free intelligentsia of Europe) the author of *Au-Dessus de la Mêlée* descends into the mêlée to join his voice with those of the men and old parties who in their fight against revolutionary action, oppose Communism with "Liberty". No doubt, Romain Rolland, there is no room for a free man in the old parties which are nothing more than coalitions of appetite, interest, ambition and vanity. No doubt, there is no room for a free man in the parties which are bereft of all living ideas, and all idealism, and which repeat ancient formulas whose emptiness we know only well: *laissez faire*, *collaboration of classes*, democratic reforms, republic, liberty, equality, fraternity, property

Those parties belong to a society which is condemned to death by history. They exploit and defend it. All of them (conservative, radical and Socialist) exercise an hypocritical but implacable dictatorship against the working-class. It is these parties which through their governmental actions create that atmosphere of cruel and codified violence which we have breathed for so long a time that we do not perceive it any more. Their ambiguous and false ideologies are poisoning the intellectual lives of whole peoples. The prostituting process which public opinion has suffered at the hands of their press is only too notorious.

How right you are, Romain Rolland, if you speak only of these parties!

But no! You speak of our Party too; you speak of it as if you did not know that in its origin, its make-up and its aims, ours is a *Party of Liberty*; as if you did not know that its militants are, in their discipline, in their intransigence, and in their voluntary sacrifice of the little personal liberty they do possess, *men of liberty*.

What is the Communist Party? What is its origin?

The Communist Party is the product of a victorious revolution. It embodies the revolt against the watered Socialism of the phrase jugglers, the professional promise makers, the slap-stick comedians, in a word,—the reformists. What are the aims of the Communist Party? The complete liberation of the workers, that is, of society, that is, of man within society, by abolishing classes, wages and the state. What does this Party expect of its adherents? Conscientiousness, which is *the act of a free man*, and which continues to be a free man's acts as long as it is practiced. Nothing is gained by being a Communist. Only risks. How many Communists subjected to misery. How many languishing in prisons!

One comes to this Party voluntarily, as a free man; one comes to fight. One remains in it to fight, as a free man. To fight in the great battle of the classes; the battle that in the course of this century will decide the fate of humanity and civilization. One joins the Communist Party to fight everything that shackles our class, everything that shackles all men. If, Romain Rolland, this class war should end in the defeat of the working-class, what would then become of Europe and of the Intelligentsia?

The working-class must not be vanquished. It must be rendered strong through unity, through organization, and through discipline. Never, since the time of the builders of the pyramids, perhaps, was society a more formidable machine for oppression. The proletariat is rising at a time when trusts, world imperialism and powerful industrial states are ruling the world. Today, men of action cannot be

satisfied with fighting these concrete forces with the admirable generosity of abstract principles or with the vain martyrdom of an elite few. It is necessary that they be strong.

For this reason they bring all their energy, their will, their intelligence, all they possess, all that are, *voluntarily, as free men*, to the great organization of struggle, the Party. These free men accept discipline. In doing so, they often have to subject themselves to great suffering? But they remain free spirits. Their method of thought is based upon free examination; their permanent alliance, upon voluntary adhesion. Their discipline is based upon the supreme necessity of action.

Communists renounce the individualism of rhetoricians who are satisfied with mere phrases. For it easy to give oneself the appearance of liberty when one writes dissertations on culture or philosophy, or when one is a journalist. But in the interests of a truer liberty the revolutionaries voluntarily renounce these shams in order to lead the red armies of the Russian Commune against the world reaction, in order to mobilize the working masses of Germany against the reaction and to conduct the great strikes and insurrections.

Do you or do you not admit, Romain Rolland, that the freest man is he, who, according to the ancient stoics *accepts necessity*? Thus, the Communists, contribute sufficiently to the instruments of action: organization and discipline.

*

"There is no place in it for a free man . . ."

But, Romain Rolland, will you please point out the place for the free man outside of parties?

Will you please acquaint us with that fortunate island where the free man does not wear a military uniform, does not pay taxes, is not paid wages, is not an elector or subject to law? Acquaint us, if you please, with that free spirit who lives above the mêlée of parties, whose peaceful labor is not remunerated (indirectly enough, it is true, but what of it?) by the misery and suffering of several dozen slaves? When you approach the window of your library, do you not notice, there, on the square below you, the policeman guarding your abode of a free man against unbidden nightwanderers?

You, Romain Rolland, have the courage to be "a heretic from nature who laughs at every church". But these are times when churches no longer burn those heretics who are satisfied with laughing and writing. Your talent opens to you doors of privilege which are closed to most of us. Unable, unwilling to fight with the pen alone, we belong to that class of heretics which is hunted down, which is starved, which is imprisoned and which is shot down now and then. How unjust it is of you to ignore the necessities which we accept and the spirit which drives us to action!

Notices

To All the Organizations Affiliated With the Red International of Labor Unions.

Comrades!

At the request of the Central Executive of the Russian Trade Unions and of numerous other organizations, as well as because of the great preparatory work necessitated by the Congress, the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. has decided to postpone the Second International Congress from the 24th of October to the 20th of November following.

The Executive Bureau requests all the organizations to send all detailed reports on the situation of the trade union movement and of their organizations, as well as all suggestions for the order of business, not later than the 20th of September, so that all these reports and suggestions may be published in time.

Since there will be held, simultaneously with the Second Congress, a series of conferences of the separate industries, it would be desirable that the delegations be composed of members of the most important federations. The norm of representation is determined by our statutes.

The Second International Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions will be inaugurated in Moscow on the 20th of November. We beg to avoid all delays, since the work of the Congress will begin definitely on the set date.

Fraternal greetings,
Lozovsky (General Secretary).