For the United Front of the Proletariat.

Working Men and Women of all Countries!

The Executives of the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International have in three joint sessions considered the international situation and the situation of the international working-class, and have come to the conclusion that this situation demands the union of all the forces of the international proletariat, the establishment of an united front of all the parties of the proletariat, regardless of the differences separating them, if they desire to fight in common for the immediate urgent needs of the working-class. The Executive of the Communist International has convoked a meeting for the 19th of February 1922 to which all the Communist parties are to send a delegation twice as large as usual. At the same time it calls the workers of all parties to do all in their power to induce their parties to take part in a common proletarian action.

Working Men and Women!

Three years have passed since the end of the great imperialist war in which you offered your lives for the interests of capital. For three years international capital has had a free hand to show whether it is capable of introducing an sort of human order which would assure the masses of the people the minimum of safety, the minimum of the conditions necessary for life.

The World’s Economic Chaos.

The result lies before you. Six million unemployed in America, two million in England, and increasing unemployment in the neutral countries enriched by the war, as the result of the disappearance of their export markets.

However, in the ruined countries of Central and Eastern Europe, in Russia, in the Balkans and in Turkey there prevails the greatest misery. They need billions of dollars’ worth of goods from the industrial countries in order to revive their production and again to be able to supply grain and raw materials to the industrial world. Hemmed in between East and West Germany is uninterruptedly at work and is flooding the world with quantities of goods at prices which crowd other countries out of the market. It has practically no unemployment but the workers of Germany are worse off than the workless of England. They are against their will reducing the wages of the workers of other countries. The housing shortage and the tax burden is continually growing. The world, cleft and torn apart, through the world economic crisis nor the great political tension between the different countries can be overcome even temporarily without the recognition of the defeated Soviet government and the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

If Russia does not again take its place in the world market as furnisher of raw materials and market for finished products there will be an irreparable gap in the world’s economy. And as long as Soviet Russia is not guaranteed against new attacks, it will have to keep the Red Army under arms and the danger will always be present that the world may again set on fire as the result of the military ventures of the watchdogs of World Capital—the Polish White Guards and the Roumanian Bojars. The World bourgeoisie refuses to aid the starving millions in Russia, for it expects that hunger will make them more accommodating to the demands of World Capital. These demands are that as the price of recognition, the Soviet government deliver Russia up to an international financial syndicate, which will administer Russia as it has done in China and Turkey.

The Russian people, which for four years defended itself with arms in its hands against the establishment of the rule of World Capital in Russia under the mask of the dictatorship of the Russian Whites, will, of course, defend itself with all its power against this “peaceful” attempt at its enslavement. The question of Russia’s return into the world’s economic system and the question of general peace will become the pivots of new conflicts.

The Washington Conference.

However, the relations of World Capital to Germany and to Soviet Russia are not the only sources of great new disturbances. The Conference, which attempted to solve the problem of the Far East, has not solved it. The great Chinese people of 400,000,000 human beings has remained the object of further haggling and of new conflicts. Feeling their impotence, their incapacity of either renouncing the exploitation of China or of carrying it through, the allied Powers have concluded the Four Power Treaty, which only manifests new attempts at its enslavement. The question of Russia’s return into the world’s economic system and the question of general peace will become the pivots of new conflicts.

Capital’s Offensive Against the Working Class.

Incompetent to unite for the reconstruction of the world, incompetent to assure it bread and peace, the capitalists of all countries are uniting for an attack on the working-class. They
are everywhere trying to reduce wages, which actually do not even give the workers what they obtained before the war—the prolongation of their miserable existence. In spite of unemployment they are everywhere attempting to lengthen hours of labor for the sake of the proletarians, to put the offensive against the working-class in the entire world, for it had to take the offensive. The war left behind it mountains of government debts and the imperialist peace increased them. The capitalist government has decided that they want to make a larger share, an ever increasing share of the product of proletarian efforts. The proletariat which, during the war, by its labor in the factories, by its obedience, enabled capital to shatter the world in pieces, now in peace is through hard work to enable the lyenas of the battle-field to lead a life of pleasure and luxury upon the ruins.

The Successes of Reformist Policies.

For three years in spite of all your experiences in the war, you, however, would have better, that the reformists would fulfill the promises they made during the war and that they would give you Democracy, Self-determination, Bread and Freedom. Your hopes have been deceived. Instead of the nationalization of coal, the English miners were compelled to work under conditions of the most degrading wages. The German workers believed that if they would submit to the rule of the bourgeoisie, they would obtain the socialization of industry in a peaceful manner. Today they must look on while the kings of Germany, Belgium, France, and Italy are trying to rob you of your courage by pointing to the wounds of the old. Not only unemployment is oppressing the working-class, but also of the broadest strata of the petty-bourgeoisie which groans under the capitalist dis­organizers. All workers must unite for the struggle, for this control of production which is not only in the interest of the proletariat but also of the broadest strata of the petty-bourgeoisie which groans under the Bacchanale of high prices.

The United Front is Needed.

Your experiences up to now must have shown even the blind that the Communist International was right when it said, “The working-class can only free itself by breaking the power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the rule of the working-class, by clearing away the ruins of the war and, closely united internationally, fight on the battle-fronts of the world.” But we know how strong the chains of the past—the capitalist school, press and church—still are. We know how timid and afraid large proletarian masses still are to seize power and forge their own destiny. We know how great proletarian anarchy in the coal barons has defeated so far. Communist minorities have suffered in their struggle to free the masses from the fate of slaves. We know how the capitalist press of the entire world is trying to rob you of your courage by pointing to the wounds of the old. Not only unemployment is oppressing the working-class, but also of the broadest strata of the petty-bourgeoisie which groans under the Bacchanale of high prices. All workers must unite for the struggle, for this control of production which is not only in the interest of the proletariat, but also of the broadest strata of the petty-bourgeoisie which groans under the Bacchanale of high prices.

But we know that the Communist International was right when it said, “The working-class can only free itself by breaking the power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the rule of the working-class, by clearing away the ruins of the war and, closely united internationally, fight on the battle-fronts of the world.” But we know how strong the chains of the past—the capitalist school, press and church—still are. We know how timid and afraid large proletarian masses still are to seize power and forge their own destiny. We know how great proletarian anarchy in the coal barons has defeated so far. Communist minorities have suffered in their struggle to free the masses from the fate of slaves. We know how the capitalist press of the entire world is trying to rob you of your courage by pointing to the wounds of the old. Not only unemployment is oppressing the working-class, but also of the broadest strata of the petty-bourgeoisie which groans under the Bacchanale of high prices.
it will learn how great its fortes are, it will see that the bourgeoisie which feels itself the lord over the ruins of the world will become as nothing against you.

In the iron conviction that you will go the way that your elite have marked with their blood, the way for which hundreds of thousands of Russian workers, for which Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin, and all the revolutionary fighters have fallen, for which tens of thousands suffer in prisons in the firm conviction that the fighting proletariat will be compelled to follow the path of Communism, we call to you, "Workers of the world, unite!"

Long live the common battle front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie!

For the counter-attack against the offensive of capital! For the struggle for the control of production! Down with capitalist armaments and plott! Away with the chains of slavery for laboring Germany! Hand off Soviet Russia!

Bread and machines for the Russian proletariat!

Long live proletarian solidarity in every country and in the whole world!

The Executive of the Communist International.
The Executive of the Red Trade Union International.

Moscow, January 1st, 1922.

POLITICS

Dutch Imperialism in the East Indies

by Gerard vanter (Amsterdam).

As is well known the Dutch minister of foreign affairs, van Karnebeek, played an important part at the session of the League of Nation in Geneva; he even acted as chairman. In Washington he is not officially in the limelight; he is very active however behind the scenes. He plays his part not because he is such a clever diplomat, nor because he speaks French so beautifully, but rather because he is the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, that is, the representative of a great Asiatic power. The Dutch capitalists control not only little Holland, but also the peoples of the Indian archipelago, the East Indies.

There are 55 million brown-skinned natives there, who until now were willing subjects of exploitation, but who are gradually beginning to awake. For the present however the Dutch rulers are little disturbed by this phenomenon. They are however behind the scenes. He plays his part not because he is such a clever diplomat, nor because he speaks French so beautifully, but rather because he is the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, that is, the representative of a great Asiatic power. The Dutch capitalists control not only little Holland, but also the peoples of the Indian archipelago, the East Indies.

There are 55 million brown-skinned natives there, who until now were willing subjects of exploitation, but who are gradually beginning to awake. For the present however the Dutch rulers are little disturbed by this phenomenon. They are however behind the scenes. He plays his part not because he is such a clever diplomat, nor because he speaks French so beautifully, but rather because he is the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, that is, the representative of a great Asiatic power. The Dutch capitalists control not only little Holland, but also the peoples of the Indian archipelago, the East Indies.

The whole world will be compelled to follow the path of Communism, we call to you, "Workers of the world, unite!"

Long live the common battle front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie!

For the counter-attack against the offensive of capital! For the struggle for the control of production! Down with capitalist armaments and plott! Away with the chains of slavery for laboring Germany! Hand off Soviet Russia!

Bread and machines for the Russian proletariat!

Long live proletarian solidarity in every country and in the whole world!

The Executive of the Communist International.
The Executive of the Red Trade Union International.

Moscow, January 1st, 1922.

A New Communist Success in Poland

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

The Polish White Terror is continually demonstrating that it is powerless to stem the rising red tide. The persecutions, and even the murder of Socialists from the pro-government "workers' parties" that the revolutionary movement which spontaneously arises from the needs of the masses is not to be rendered inartistic by repressive measures.

The latest occurrence of this nature took place in arch-reactionary Posen, where the establishment of the German Empire in 1917 had never given a Socialist candidate more than an infinitesimal vote. The entire province of Posen was always a classic and real rearguard of the reaction. The insufferable suppression by the German Government which limited the mental development of the people and the struggle in the East between the various nationalities made the development of class-consciousness in the masses almost an impossibility. During the first election to the Sejm even the social-patriots were unable to hold public meetings. Moraczewski's single election meeting ended in a riot and the speaker was severely beaten. An outspoken Communist could not show himself at all; a "Bolshevik" ran the risk of being lynched in the streets.

by only very few. ("In 1917 the number of adult men in Java, who could read or write to some extent amounted to no more than 15% of every thousand."--H. Mairanii in his report to the Second Congress in Moscow, No. 21 of the Library of the Communist International).
ECONOMICS

Russian Finances by Joseph Schneider (Moscow).

The petty-bourgeois' flesh begins to creep when he reads the prices of all sorts of goods in Russia. The anti-Bolshevik press is particularly interested in publishing bare figures without commenting upon them. The readers, applying the capitalist system existing in Russia, must after considering the matter come to the conclusion that according to the anti-Bolshevik newspapers and their bare reports all the inhabitants of Russia must long ago have died of hunger. If we wish to form an accurate concept of our situation in Russia, we must therefore be well informed of the financial affairs of a Socialist government during the period of transition from the capitalist of the Socialist order as well as during the later period of commercial relations with the bourgeois order.

The idea has been widely circulated among laymen that the rate of exchange of a country is the barometer of the wealth of that country. This idea is fundamentally an erroneous one. The paper money, which is set into circulation by a government or a government authority, is nothing more than a series of government I.O.U.'s, for which, under normal financial conditions, the government gives security. The government must therefore back every paper certificate it issues before this certificate or I.O.U. has any real value. Accordingly the rate of exchange does indicate the riches or political stability of a country, but it could never serve as a criterion for the riches or political stability of a country.

In 1905, several small West Indian republics had a rate of exchange similar to that of the German mark to-day. Nevertheless, it was these very countries which contained immense riches and mineral resources; neither was there the time and space for not using their riches. Hence we may infer that the West Indian authorities would have had to meet all their obligations, if only the possessors of these riches had been compelled to give up part of their possessions to the state. But just because the power of the capitalist principalities of the state remained poor and the speculations of the stock exchange brokers went as far as to ruin the state altogether. Of course the capitalists grew rich at the state's expense, because the great export trade was paid for in foreign currency; the burden fell only upon the masses.

In 1916, when the fourth war-loan was issued, a high German financial official said that with this loan Germany had committed criminal bankruptcy. He thus hit the nail on the head because in spending this war-loan, the government committed a common fraud by setting I.O.U.'s into circulation which it could not possibly back. Of course, what was then still expected was a German victory and with it—enormous booty, but time has shown that what happened was exactly the opposite of what was expected. We see to-day the result of placing all on one card, when the value of the mark has dropped to ½ gold pfennig.

During the period when the proletariat was assuming power, a Socialist state is particularly interested that the money in circulation depreciate as much as possible. The workers' government is enabled to seize the means of production, the national treasures and the accumulated stores of goods, and declare these national property, but it is extremely careful in resuming trade relations. The value of money must therefore rapidly fall of itself. We had this experience not only in the Russian Revolution, but also in all other revolutions, particularly under the regime of the French Commune, which was far from being a Socialist one. Socialism is characterized by the fact that from the very first, when the Soviet government seized the government treasury, it did not recognize as of Russian government money only as a means of exchange in domestic trade. The Soviet rubles which have been issued also serve as a means of exchanging goods, but more particularly to pay the state taxes, i.e., its tax in kind with money, when there is no other way possible. The Soviet government is therefore not over-interested in the stability of its exchange. The process was merely one of adding zeros; the value of all the rubles rose from 10 to 100, 1000 and more Soviet rubles.

The anti-Bolshevik press never fails to bring into its reports of Russian finances the wages earned by a Soviet worker or official; they do this in order to emphasize their point. And it is just this which undoubtedly startles the reader. If 1 pound of bread, for instance, costs 4,000 rubles, and a pair of shoes 200,000 rubles, and the monthly wage of a worker is 500,000 rubles, then it must make every one suspect that something is wrong. The government of the Russian Republic, the Bolshevik prophet, of the “League for the Protection (Corruption) of German Culture” always brought up these terrifying facts as proof that the Soviet system is far from desirable even for the worker. We do not dispute the fact that all of these figures are correct. A pound of bread cost 4,000 rubles, and now costs as much as 7,000 rubles; a pair of shoes are to-day not to be gotten under half a million. The wage of a worker also amounted at the time to 15,000—30,000 rubles. But the Soviet government therefore receives his Pyoks with it, i.e., his food and his clothing. He is thus not at all affected by the high prices. Even though at present the apportioned food is scarce, still, the worker needs not spend his money on food and cloth. The capitalist does; being more and more done away with, but the wages of the worker are therefore considerably increased, so that workers who do not receive Pyoks earn an average of 2,000,000 rubles per month, and are thus enabled to obtain the necessities of life.
It is different with the bourgeoisie. It is a simple fact that the Russian bourgeoisie will rather sell the shirt off his back and loot in the streets freezing and famished rather than CONCEDE to manual labor. The picture in the Berlin "Woche", showing a Russian princess selling her cheap finery in the market place, is intended to rouse the reader's sympathy for this class of society in Russia. I believe, however, that the effect will be just the opposite. A person who for hours stands in the street facing the battle, and sees the last possessions only not to have to work, will rouse the contempt of every right-thinking person, and sink in his eyes to the level of parasites feeding on the people. The objection may be raised that perhaps the bourgeoisie is a right-thinking people, and that the Russian trade unions are defeated and are not a part of his own labor. This is not true; even in the largest cities it is possible for each one to earn as much as he needs. But this species of people would rather sell its last shirt or beg for hours on the streets rather than as much as pretend to chop its own firewood.

Due to the impossibility of Russia existing without trading with the capitalist governments, its finances will also have to be transformed. It is only a question of time before the capitalist governments will be compelled to recognize Soviet Russia as a legal government, if they do not wish to let an opportunity for making enormous profits slip by. The recognition of the Russian debt brings that period within reach. The granting of concessions to foreign capitalists as well as the establishment of foreign offices, are in the hands of the Soviet power, and are part of the entire financial organization by establishing a state fund and by resuming banking activities. If the capitalist governments intend to benefit by the recognition of the Czar's debts, they will be compelled to recognize the Soviet government's paper money. Upon this basis a modified regulation of the money circulation has been decided upon. This move was necessitated by the function of the government as a buyer and seller. At the same time goods exchanges will have to be created for the purposes of organizing the small trade. Due to the great difficulties in the way of accumulating great capital within Russia, attempts must be made to draw upon foreign capital in the form of a loan. New paper money is being printed which will be set into circulation together with the old paper money. On the new money certificates the many zeros will be omitted, so that a new Soviet ruble will be the equivalent of the 10,000 ruble note now in circulation. The Soviet government will strive to bring the new currency to a par with gold. With the continual depreciation of the Russian currency, many difficulties have naturally arisen in trade. These difficulties consist of the continual rise in prices which are reaching immeasurable figures, and are directly due to the depreciation of the currency. The official value of the paper ruble will be fixed periodically, according as the State bank will be in a position to undertake the purchase and sale of gold and foreign currency. The main function of the bank, however, will be to improve domestic industry by means of loans and saving deposits.

From a Communist viewpoint the transformation of the present financial system into one of a purely capitalist nature, cannot be very desirable. But the fault lies not with the Russian politicians but chiefly with the foreign proletariat which has not been able to understand and aid in the transformation of Soviet Russia by doing away with their own capitalist regime. What happened was that the Russian proletariat had overestimated the courage and conviction of the foreign workers' parties, and it must wait for the time when the world proletariat will realize that the working-class can only be liberated by unified revolutionary will.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Main Stages in the Evolution of the R.T.U.I.

by A. Lozovsky

With the beginning of the war all ties that kept the trade-unions of various countries together were torn asunder. The Trade Union International went to pieces, and with it also the international professional and trade secretariats. The incredible treason in the leading trade-union circles of all countries during the first years of war put the entire labor movement of opposition into a state of confusion and disorganization.

The patriots of various countries were constructing their "International" organizations on the pattern of the existing political coalitions; the revolutionary international opposition was, however, for a long time without any international cohesion.

After the March Revolution, the Russian trade-unions raised the question of organizing a true Trade Union International. This was proposed for the first time at the third congress of the Russian Trade Union International Committee (November 20-28, 1917). Then the question came up once more, during the first congress of the Russian revolutionary trade-unions held after the October Revolution in 1918.

However, the initiative of the Russian trade-unions was barren of success until 1920. When the Russian trade-unions, during their Second Congress, appealed once again for an international affiliation of all revolutionary trade-unions, their appeal met with a like failure. The same is true also of the appeal issued by the Labor Conference of the All-Russian Central Committee of the Trade Unions during the Washington Labor Conference. In this appeal the Russian Central Committee raises its protest against the Washington comedy and calls upon all revolutionary organizations to establish relations with it for the purpose of creating by a common effort an international revolutionary organization.

At the Third Congress (March 1920) the Russian trade-unions decided to join the Third International on the ground that the struggles of the international proletariat do not aim at the reform, but at the complete destruction of capitalism, and that in the political struggles all class conscious revolutionary elements are constantly joining the ranks of the Third International as the organization embodying the world revolution. At the Third Congress the Russian unions issued a declaration once more for organizing a true Trade Union International. This was followed by a modified regulation of the money circulation. The work of this provisional body was ended.

The declaration asserted: "that in most countries which took part in the war, the majority of the trade-unions held a position of neutrality, became lackeys of the bourgeoisie, or tried to establish a semblance of a Trade Union International which has not yet been able to pull itself together and aid the proletariat." The declaration continued: "The present financial system which has been set up in Russia, has led to the workers' movement for emancipation; that the duty of the working-class is to join the Third International, and the establishment of the World Trade Union International are incapable of meeting the humanitarian conditions of the workers. The formation of the international trade-unions is only a question of time before the capitalist governments will be compelled to recognize the Soviet trade-unions, and to establish a new Trade Union International. The working class must now wait for the reappearance of the trade-unions and take the initiative in the world trade union movement. The working-class movement in Russia is in a state of confusion. The workers are not able to understand the role; that they checked the workers' movement for complete emancipation; that the duty of the working-class is to form a new Trade Union International, and to establish the World Trade Union International.

The declaration of the Russian trade unions was answered this time by the French syndicalists and the trade-unions of Italy, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia as well as by certain trade-union groups of England. An organized differentiation of the trade-unions existing in Russia received a further boost at this Congress. The strong need for the creation of a central organization led the representatives of the revolutionary trade-unions to Russia, where, on the eve of the Second Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist International, they laid the foundation stone of the Red Trade Union International. Taking part in the discussions of the Congress there were several representatives of the English trade-unions, delegates from the All-Russian Trade Union Central Committee, from the Italian General Federation of Labor, delegates from the Bulgarian General Trade Union Federation, from the French Revolutionary Syndicalists and Minority from the Jugoslav General Federation of Labor. These discussions led to the voting of a declaration on the 15th of July, that served as the point of departure and basis for the further recruiting of revolutionary forces.

The declaration asserted: "that in most countries which took part in the war, the majority of the trade-unions held a position of neutrality, became lackeys of the bourgeoisie, or tried to establish a semblance of a Trade Union International which has not yet been able to pull itself together and aid the proletariat." The declaration continued: "The present financial system which has been set up in Russia, has led to the workers' movement for emancipation; that the duty of the working-class is to join the Third International, and the establishment of the World Trade Union International are incapable of meeting the humanitarian conditions of the workers. The formation of the international trade-unions is only a question of time before the capitalist governments will be compelled to recognize the Soviet trade-unions, and to establish a new Trade Union International. The working class must now wait for the reappearance of the trade-unions and take the initiative in the world trade union movement. The working-class movement in Russia is in a state of confusion. The workers are not able to understand the role; that they checked the workers' movement for complete emancipation; that the duty of the working-class is to form a new Trade Union International, and to establish the World Trade Union International.

The declaration of the Russian trade unions was answered this time by the French syndicalists and the trade-unions of Italy, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia as well as by certain trade-union groups of England. An organized differentiation of the trade-unions existing in Russia received a further boost at this Congress. The strong need for the creation of a central organization led the representatives of the revolutionary trade-unions to Russia, where, on the eve of the Second Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist International, they laid the foundation stone of the Red Trade Union International. Taking part in the discussions of the Congress there were several representatives of the English trade-unions, delegates from the All-Russian Trade Union Central Committee, from the Italian General Federation of Labor, delegates from the Bulgarian General Trade Union Federation, from the French Revolutionary Syndicalists and Minority from the Jugoslav General Federation of Labor. These discussions led to the voting of a declaration on the 15th of July, that served as the point of departure and basis for the further recruiting of revolutionary forces.
Letariat, and to prevent the Trade Union International from all collaboration with the Communist International; the left
formists on the other hand, represented by the Italian Gencini and members of the leadership of the Amsterdam
Communists and Syndicalists bore the burden of the struggle, from July 1920 till July 1921, even though they also
were not in complete accord.

The First Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions (July 13-19, 1921) at which 389 delegates representing 14
countries participated, laid down the theoretical and practical foundation for the new structure of revolutionary trade-unionism. It
drew up a clear program of action, formulated the essential
criticism of the Moscow and Amsterdam; this
draws up a clear program of action, formulated the essential
Red Trade
organization for the new structure of revolutionary trade-unionism. It
means and
and against a
Organization of Labor.

The First Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions (July 13-19, 1921) at which 389 delegates representing 14
countries participated, laid down the theoretical and practical foundation for the new structure of revolutionary trade-unionism. It
drew up a clear program of action, formulated the essential
criticism of the Moscow and Amsterdam; this

draws up a clear program of action, formulated the essential
Red Trade
organization for the new structure of revolutionary trade-unionism. It
means and
and against a
Organization of Labor.

The First Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions (July 13-19, 1921) at which 389 delegates representing 14
countries participated, laid down the theoretical and practical foundation for the new structure of revolutionary trade-unionism. It
drew up a clear program of action, formulated the essential
criticism of the Moscow and Amsterdam; this

draws up a clear program of action, formulated the essential
Red Trade
organization for the new structure of revolutionary trade-unionism. It
means and
and against a
Organization of Labor.

The First Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions (July 13-19, 1921) at which 389 delegates representing 14
countries participated, laid down the theoretical and practical foundation for the new structure of revolutionary trade-unionism. It
drew up a clear program of action, formulated the essential
criticism of the Moscow and Amsterdam; this

draws up a clear program of action, formulated the essential
Red Trade
organization for the new structure of revolutionary trade-unionism. It
means and
and against a
Organization of Labor.

The period of the present will be marked by a systematic
activity of organization of the R.T.U.I. in all countries. The work
of agitation and propaganda is now tied up inseparably with the
work of organization of the revolutionary trade-union move-
ment. The revolutionary movement is steady if slow growth. The R.T.U.I. carries on its activity in some lands through units which have been systematically built-up and which are independent organizations, whereas in other coun-
tries only the organized and also the unorganized opposition in the old trade-unions have joined it. In this way, the R.T.U.I.
possesses a rather unique character as an organization. From this arise also the enormous difficulties which stand in the way
of its activity. The R.T.U.I. at its congress adopted the slogan
"Conquest of the Trade Unions" as opposed to the slogan of
some impatient German comrades who favor the destruction of
the old organizations. Of course, the conquest of the old organizations means hard work, and the difficulties which the R.T.U.I. encountered on the way to its organization are in the
line of establishing the actual membership of the R.T.U.I., but
especially in this, that the minority groups are deprived of their
freedom of movement by the organizations to which they belong.
They have to carry on the fight under exceedingly difficult con-
ditions and against a powerful and splendidly organized bureau-
cracy, which is not without its influence on the tempo of our
advance in the way of organization.

In spite of that we see a continuous increase of the number
of adherents to the R.T.U.I. in all countries. Since the Congress
the trade-unions of Portugal have joined and likewise the ma-
Jority of the Czecho-Slovak trade-unions have ranged themselves
on our side. In Italy about one-third of the Labor Confederation
of adherents to the R.T.U.I. have ranged themselves. In France,
the majority of the Czecho-Slovak trade-unions have ranged themselves
in the Party. In the Party.

If the R.T.U.I. would content itself with the same tasks as
the Amsterdam International it could consider its work as
90 % completed. But it cannot and will not be content with the
role of an information and registration bureau. It is striving to
found a truly international organization of the workers, such
an organization would be able to unite and direct the
revolutionary struggle in all countries. The building up of such
an organization will naturally take a long time, as national
isolation is still uppermost in the minds of large sections of the
press. In the meantime the Amsterdam International is growing
perceptibly, we emphatically stress the necessity of breaking down the walls between the workers of the different countries. And these walls
can be destroyed only with the help of international action. The
way which the R.T.U.I. has to traverse is long and difficult; it
will take a long time before the left bloc is in the process of Revolutionary Trade Union

We are not basing our tactics on the subjective efforts of
single persons, but on the objective development of the movement. The tactics of the R.T.U.I. are being built on the lessons learnt from the revolutionary movement in all countries. At the present
moment we are still behind Amsterdam as regards numbers; the
powerful English and German unions belong to it, and in these
w's are still in the minority. But the Amsterdam International is
rolling down hill with the R.T.U.I. is going up. In proportion
as the differences grow within the old organizations and in proportion as the laboring-masses are huddled with irresistible force against their class-enemies, in proportion as capitalist pressure
presses the laboring-masses more and more to the ground, and thereby engenders a powerful wave of dissatisfaction and hatred, the R.T.U.I. becomes stronger from day to day. If capitalism should succeed in strengthening itself and in winning a victory on an international scale, then the Amsterdam
International might become a factor of struggle in the world, but as it is not a matter of the stren-
thening of capitalism, but of its decomposition (and even
farsighted bourgeois thinkers do not doubt this), victory must fail to the Red Trade Union International. So the question of
Reconstruction or Destruction of Capitalism is not a question of
organization but a question of an international scale. This question must be answered in our favor. For the spirit of Communism broods over the entire world.
On the very first day during the discussion on the report of the Executive Committee of the Party, there ensued a long and in part angry debate on the interior situation of the Party and the reorganization of the Central Committee. Loriot introduced a resolution which proposed the transformation of the Comité Directeur in the direction of increased centralization. A presidium of 5 members was to be formed from among the 24 members of the Committee which should have charge of the political leadership in order to do away with the hitherto prevalent peripherization of the membership of the Central Committee with technical and administrative tasks. Rappaport and other comrades attacked this motion of Loriot. They accused him of desiring an oligarchic centralism. As a substitute motion a motion of Frossard was adopted of a large degree curtails the powers of the Committee of Five.

The most important question before the Congress was that of the trade-unions. The Congress was to decide whether Communist organized in the trade-unions are obliged to spread Communist propaganda, to be active for the Communist goal and to diffuse the influence of the Communist Party among the workers organized in the unions. This problem, which perhaps exists in no other country in the world has been brought up by the unique character of the French trade-union movement. The organized workers are very distrustful of all political parties as a result of the reformist past of the Socialist Party. They obstinately adhere to the Amiens resolution which "proclaims the " autonomy" of the trade-unions and their independence of all political parties. Far be it from the French Communists to infringe upon the independence of the trade-unions or to thrust them under the sovereignty of the Party, as the Party's enemies falsely maintain. However, an increasing number of the Party members realized that it cannot go on indefinitely and that the inactivity of the Communists organized in the trade-unions, their timidity to work for the Communist goal must come to an end. The Comité Directeur laid before the Congress theses on this problem which had been prepared by Comrade Dunois. Although these theses allow very much for the historical traditions of the trade-union movement and its desire for independence, they were severely attacked at the Marseilles Congress. Mauvot, Loriot and others attacked the conclusion that the situation of the revolutionary workers in the trade-unions. Subsequently the theses of the Comité Directeur—after they had been considerably amended in Committee in favor of the "autonomy" wing—were adopted by a vote of 9063 against 3.

As a result of the fact that France is largely of a peasant structure, the discussion on land propaganda was of very great importance. As a whole, unanimity prevailed as to the necessity of drawing the small peasants together with the workers in the class-struggle against the Capitalist Republic. In the theses of the Amiens resolution which is again brought forward, it is necessary to maintain intact in the Party's program alongside the measures necessary for the seizure of power, the usufruct of the small peasants as an aid to the working class. In the theses of the Central Committee, the delegates from the agricultural provinces made important statements as to the situation among the French peasant masses. The representatives of one of the départements stated, Our peasants are by instinct poor, but they are not educated. The revolution cannot be made without them. One must have seen with what interest the peasants attend our meetings. However, our rural propaganda is not easy. Today the peasant have become well-to-do land owners. After the war there set in a period of enrichment which made our work more difficult. In opposing these statements, Vaillant-Couturier pointed out the miserable condition of the rural wage-laborers, who live in wretched hovels, are systematically poisoned by the prisons and who are the victims of "persecution of the usurer," of the terror. We must fight for the eight hour day for these workers. Vaillant-Couturier sharply attacked Blanc's statements. He stated that the legends of the enrichment of the peasants are of the same nature as the other legends of the enormous wages in the cities. He gave numbers which show that in the direction in which the French peasant has to contend. The mortgage burden is continually grown. Taxes are increasing. Rappaport and various others protested against the passage in the theses which speak of the growth of a "persecution of the usufruct" to the small peasants. Unity was obtained on the following:

"The usufruct of the soil will be guaranteed to the peasants until they renounce the parcelling out of the soil as a result of their experience with collective ownership on large estates. Comrade Loriot in his national triumph speech had mentioned that the other points on the order ob business were of less importance. Aside from the pacifist petty-bourgeois ideas of George Pioch who attacked "Red Militarism", the Congress unconditionally approved the statements of Cachin and Rappaport that in case of war or even of danger of war the Party should lead the masses to resistance with all the resources at their disposal, going as far as general strike and armed uprising. This resolution is of extreme interest for the international working-class when it is considered that France is the land of the strongest militarism.

In the evening session of the last day of the Congress there occurred a party-crisis which was entirely unexpected. In the election of the new Comité Directeur of the Party, against whom bitter attacks had been made in the previous sessions, was not reelected. Thereupon Loriot, Treint, Vaillant-Couturier and Dunois declared that they considered the differences expressed between them and Comrade Loriot, as expressed in this vote not as personal, but as political in their nature, and therefore declined to accept re-election. An attempt of Kers, Bestel and Tommasi to have these comrades withdraw their resignation did not succeed. Four others were elected in their place and curiously enough Souvarine among them. Doubtless these results signified not only a victory in the ideological struggle, but also in the significance of which must not be underestimated. However, it in no way endangers the unity of the Party. No one thinks even of the possibility of a split, as was clearly shown at the Congress. Through a thorough and sincere discussion of the differences of opinion, which center about the question of the centralized development of the Party and its subordination to the Communist International, the inner strength of the Communist Party of France will only be served.

The Communist Party of America to the Communist Parties of the World!

Comrades:

The Communist Party of America greets with joy your aid in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, whom the capitalists are preparing to murder. The American workers and the whole American people protest against these cowardly crimes of the capitalists. They demand the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. We all know that these comrades were not guilty in the eyes of the capitalist judges. They did not commit the crimes of which they were accused. They were condemned only because the capitalist class is being crushed under the iron heel of a brutal bourgeoisie dictatorships. The American Comrades are determined to fight for the freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti and to do everything in their power to have these comrades withdrawn their names from the charge of murder.

The Communist Party of America pledges itself to fight shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers of Europe in the war against our common enemy. We pledge ourselves to do our all to overthrow the citadel of world plunder and reaction—American capitalism.

On with the Communist struggle! On with the Communist task! Down with the capitalist hangman!

Long live the Communist International!

Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

Recent Achievements of the American Working Class.

The central American organization for workers' relief to Soviet Russia, "The Friends of Soviet Russia", although only
organized August 9th, 1921, has already 125 branches in all sections of the United States. These local branches have thousands of affiliated labor unions and organizations, which are splendidly cooperating in the work of awakening the American working-class to the plight of its Russian brothers.

Each city is getting up carloads of food—grain, bacon, flour, whiskey, etc., which is being sent to the National Warehouse at New York for transshipment to the starving countries in order to carry it to Petrograd, Riga or Odessa. Four ships have already been dispatched and many more are to follow. The Committee in its instructions to its local bodies states that only carloads (30,000 kg. would be sent, as smaller lots do not pay. Among the latest cities to record large collections are Detroit, $200.00; Boston, $800.00; Minneapolis, $760.00; San Francisco, $600.00; Los Angeles, $600.00; Lynn, $452.00; Milwaukee, $440.00; Cleveland, $620.00; Chicago, $1,000.00. Pennsylvania and Montana are being organized for relief. The United Mine Workers of Round Up, Montana (a small mining town) have collected $210.00.

In October, October 1921, "The Friends of Soviet Russia" collected the huge sum of $93,538.25.

Many bourgeois observers back from Russia are aiding the campaign by counteracting the detestable campaign of lies carried on by the capitalist press. They, almost without exception, all state that no other government is even thinkable in Russia, that the people are free the capitalistic government and that the capitalist governments of the West are really responsible for the Russian Famine, insofar as it is not the result of an unprecedented drought.

The workers of America have awakened to the fact that it is they who must carry the burden of Russian Relief, as impoverished Europe is physically unable to feed the famine-stricken. Russia may rest assured that the American proletariat will not fail its Russian brothers in their hour of need.

[The White Terror]

To the Rescue of the Spaniards

by R. Albert.

Disturbing rumors have been going round in the last few days concerning the Spanish Syndicalists imprisoned in Berlin.

There is current talk of the approaching extradition of Luis Nicolau Fort and his companion who are to be handed over to the Spanish government, that is to say to Inquisitors without faith and without law. There is a readiness to accept the argument of the Madrid government which represents the late Spanish King and his family and which has been the victim of a political crime, and which also represents the detestable campaign of lies, and which also represents the detestable campaign of lies, which also represents the detestable campaign of lies, which also represents the detestable campaign of lies.

The White Terror

Notices of Executive

To the Central Committees of the Communist Parties

Dear Comrades!

In accordance with a proposal of the International Women's Secretariat the Executive Committee of the Communist International expresses the desire that you carry out the following measures in order to further the work of the I.W.S. as much as possible.

1. Organization of precise and expeditious delivery of all material on, such as information reports, literature for work among women, instruction circulars, and the like, sent to the women's organization by the International Women's Secretariat through your party.

2. Where possible, the reserving of special sections of your periodicals for articles and material on the women's movement. The employment of the same facilities as for the Spanish proletariat for the issue of periodicals and books dealing with the proletarian women's movement.

3. Where possible, the reserving of special section of your press (papers, periodicals and bulletins) for articles and material on the women's movement.

4. That your press (papers, periodicals and bulletins) for articles and material on the women's movement.

5. That your press (papers, periodicals and bulletins) for articles and material on the women's movement.

6. That your press (papers, periodicals and bulletins) for articles and material on the women's movement.

With Communist greetings,

The Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.