

- INTERNATIONAL -

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Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III
for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

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 order 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 which the cry has resounded up to now, "Woe to the vanquished!", and which will soon hear the call, "Woe to the victors!", can not be set in order and at peace by the bourgeoisie. Germany's reparations task is the reconstruction of Soviet Russia. The ruins of Northern France, Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, Poland and Russia have not yet been cleared away. The capitalists of the victorious countries are seeking to burden one country with the costs of their reconstruction and the result is that Germany must collapse under the strain and will become a heap of ruins. And wherever the bourgeoisie takes up the work of reconstruction, it makes it the object of speculation and of exploitation which must inevitably lead to new conflicts.

Three years of imperialist war, followed by three years of armed intervention of the Allies in Soviet Russia, have turned

this granary of Europe into a desert in spite of all the heroic resistance of the Soviets. The drought last summer, which threatens 25,000,000 human beings with death by starvation, has made the question of the reconstruction of Russia a question of the life or death of millions of Russia workers and peasants. And more and more is it becoming clear even to the stupid bourgeoisie that neither the world economic crisis nor the great political tension between the different countries can be overcome even temporarily without the recognition of the undefeated 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 irremediable 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 be 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 one thing—that they realize how great the danger of war is and therefore are attempting to mutually restrain one another by the spider-web of an agreement from undertaking independent measures. They were not able to reduce land armaments, even on paper; the entire cry for naval disarmament ended in the elimination of obsolete ships and the limitation of the number of super-dreadnoughts, in order to arm in the air and under water. At the same time they are seeking for new poison gases which will be able to destroy entire peoples.

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 the hours of labor*. Capital has gone over to 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 governments do not dare to annul these debts. Somebody must pay them, and since the capitalists do not want to do so, they are attempting to lay the burden on the shoulders of the working-class. What are the government debts? They represent the right of the capitalist effortlessly to appropriate a part of the product of the labor of the proletariat without in any way participating in production. *The offensive of capital has as its aim the constraining of the workers to work more, to produce more, so that the war profiteers and peace speculators should obtain 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 hyenas 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 hoped that matters would become better, that the capitalists 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 look on while the coal barons reduced their 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 German industry, Stinnes and Co., are getting hold of all the productive forces of the land, while they prepare to get control of the railways, while they export the wealth of the country in order to deposit foreign currency in foreign banks to protect their property from seizure by the German people. *France* is today more than ever under the control of capital united in the war. In *America* the rule of the *Republican Party* means the *naked and unmasked sovereignty of the trusts*. Even the governmental subsidies for the cheapening of the price of bread are being abolished in all countries; whoever cannot afford the high price of bread can die of hunger. Post-war Democracy is nothing but the mask for the rule of the war speculators and the curtain behind which a brainless diplomacy forges plots against the peoples of the world. In a number of the capitalist countries the *White Terror* rages. In *India* and *Egypt* the British world oligarchy has turned this terror, which up to now it has only used against small groups, against the masses. In *America*, *Poland*, *Roumania* and *Jugoslavia*, the *fighters of the proletariat* have been outlawed. *The promises of the Second, 2½ and Amsterdam Trade Union International* have turned to water. All these international associations have demonstrated their incompetence to lead you in the struggle even if only for Democracy and reforms, because they have been condemned to helplessness through their *coalition* with the bourgeoisie and if they wish it or not must assist in the strengthening of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

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, beginning the work of reconstruction."

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 much great proletarian masses still fear defeats such as 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 isolated Russian proletariat received in its duel with the entire capitalist world. And therefore we say to you, "You are not yet ready to renew the struggle, you do not yet dare the armed conflict for power, for the dictatorship, you do not yet dare the great attack on the citadels of world reaction. Then at least joint forces for the struggle for a bare existence, for the struggle for a bit of bread and for peace. Join your forces in a battle front, unite as a proletarian class against the class of the exploiters and puagers of the world. Tear down the

walls which have been built up between you, take your place in the ranks,—whether Communist, Social Democrat, Anarchist or Syndicalist—for the battle against the misery of the hour."

The Communist International has always demanded that the workers who stand on the platform of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviets join together in independent parties. It retracts not a word of what it said at the time of the foundation and of the building of independent Communist parties. It is convinced that each day greater and greater masses will realize how much it was right in all its actions. But in spite of all that separates us, it calls, "*Working men and women of all countries, close your ranks in the battle for the cause that unites you, in the battle for that which all of you recognize as a common goal.*"

All workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats or Syndicalists, even if Christian or Liberal trade-unionists—do not desire to permit any further reduction of wages. They no longer desire to work while hungry and freezing, and therefore they must unite in a common front against the offensive of the employers.

All workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats or Syndicalists, Christian or Liberal trade-unionists—do not want to beg day in and day out from factory gate to factory gate for work; they all fear being thrown out of work. Therefore they must unite in the fight against everything which increases unemployment. And unemployment will be made perpetual in all industrial countries if the *German proletariat*, enslaved to the Entente and to German capital, will have to toil as international wage-reducers so that German capitalists will be able to flood the world market with German goods at coolie prices in order to pay the tribute of Versailles. Unemployment will grow if the capitalist world puts conditions of enslavement and subjugation to Soviet Russia and forces it to continue to starve or to defend itself with arms in its hands. Therefore unite in the struggle for the cancellation of war debts, for the recognition of Soviet Russia and its building up on the basis of conditions which are in accordance with the interests of the international proletariat.

Not only unemployment is oppressing the working-class. It is threatened by the anarchy of production and is threatened by the fact that the capitalists can produce and export whatever they desire. The impoverished world requires a methodical distribution of raw materials and their methodical utilization. It demands the control of prices. All that is impossible as long as the working-class does not conquer for itself control over production, as long as the organs elected by the workers have not the opportunity of checking the free rein of 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.

All workers, whether Communists, Social Democrats or Syndicalists and Christian or Liberal trade-unionists, are interested in preventing capitalist diplomacy from starting a new world conflagration, in depriving it of its occupation. Therefore, unite in the struggle against capitalist armaments, against capitalist intrigues.

Prepare the United Front in the Shops.

The Communist International demands of all Communist workers, demands of all sincere workers, everywhere, in the entire world, in the shop and in the meeting-hall that they unite in one family of workers, who will stand together against capital in all the questions of the day. *Create an iron will for proletarian unity, on which all attempts to separate the proletariat will shatter, come they from whatever side they may.* Only when you, proletarians, in shop and factory so unite, will all parties which rest upon the proletariat and wish to be heeded by it, be compelled to unite for a common defensive fight against capitalism. Only then will they be forced to break their alliance with the capitalist parties.

However, if the proletariat unites, it will then be able to utilize the *niggardly rights* granted it by capitalist pseudo-democracy in the struggle for the improvement of the condition of the proletariat and for the strengthening of its positions. We say to you, "The proletarian giant cannot stretch its limbs and cannot raise itself to its full stature under the roof of the capitalist chicken-coop. When you begin to fight you will see that you need the sword of the dictatorship in order to win. But we know that this dictatorship is only possible when the great majority of the proletariat arrives at it through its own experiences, and therefore the Communist International and the Communist parties will patiently and fraternally march together with all the rest of the proletariat, even when they fight on the battlefield of capitalist democracy. We know that when you have united your forces, when the entire proletariat advances together,

it will learn how great its forces 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*, *Leo Jogiches*, *Karl Liebknecht* and hundred of other unknown 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 plots!

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 more worried by the fact that the rich islands in the Indian Ocean represent a doubtful and shaky possession which they will not be able to claim and hold when the great struggle for the control of the Pacific Ocean breaks out. The Dutch imperialists have already surrendered themselves body and soul to British imperialism for this future struggle. The great Petroleum Trust, "The Royal Dutch Shell", which, as is well known, is an English company and only Dutch in name, dictates to the Dutch government how to act. In spite of the protest of the United States, the vast oil-fields of Djambi were given over to the Royal Dutch Shell. The ruling clique in Holland has a great interest in petroleum. Without fear of serious contradiction, the Communist member of parliament, *van Ravesteijn* was able to make the following statement in Parliament: "The whole oang is bought!" Corruption has actually risen to the unbelievable.

In the meanwhile the natives, the Javanese, and with them the inhabitants of the other islands are the victims of this policy. The Dutch have always considered the East Indies only as an object of exploitation, and have never done anything for the natives. The existing economic system together with native culture and art was destroyed. Penal expeditions teach the natives who the master is. This was also taught to the brave population of *Ajeh*, which had fought the Dutch tyranny for nearly half a century. Those surviving are completely broken; a whole nation was driven to lunacy.

Central and Eastern Java contain the sugar industries. There European industry leases the ground from the Javanese peasants and plants sugar-cane. As a result there is a shortage of "padi" (rice) this means hunger and proletarianization. A whole nation of small peasants has already been transformed into a nation of expropriated coolies.

The Dutch East Indies are famine-stricken; epidemics like typhus, malaria, cholera and the plague are raging there; the housing situation is miserable; reading and writing are possessed

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 out of every thousand."—H. Maring in his report to the Second Congress in Moscow, No. 21 of the Library of the Communist International).

The young East Indian Communist Party is carrying on a bitter struggle. The Dutch exploiters do not camouflage their actions with "democratic" phrases. In the East Indies, the Communists are outlawed. If they happen to be Dutchmen they are deported and sent back to Holland; if they happen to be natives, they are sent to prison or are exiled to other islands and thus rendered harmless to the rule of the Dutch robbers. But in spite of persecutions the Communist as well as the "Sarekat Islam" movement are growing. The "Sarekat Islam" movement is religious in name only; in reality it is mainly an economic-political movement. The Dutch ruling class hopes to secure its rule through terror, but in the East Indies as in all the other eastern countries a new spirit has risen.

The Dutch Communists know that the Dutch bourgeoisie in the East Indies must be attacked, and they will therefore do everything within their power to bring about the revolution in the East Indies.

At the last convention of the Dutch C.P. the Communist Party of the East Indies was represented by comrade Darsono.

He pointed out the need of closer co-operation between the Dutch and East Indian Communists. The Congress decided to issue the following proclamation to the population of the East Indies. It was translated into the Javanese and Malay languages and reads as follows:

"On the occasion of its 12th anniversary, the Dutch Communist Party sends greetings to its sister party of the East Indies, which constitutes so small yet so brave a vanguard of a different race, and which has taken up the struggle against the colonial exploitation of the East Indian peoples by Dutch and international capitalism, as well as the fight for the final overthrow of race as well as class rule.

"The Dutch Communist Party will do everything in its power to inspire and reinforce this fighting vanguard, inasmuch as it will particularly seek to stir the Dutch proletariat wherever possible against the Dutch regime in these distant countries.

"The Dutch Communist Party expresses its sincerest sympathy not only with the suffering of the oppressed, but also with the beginning of a revivawakening and a revolt against capitalist rule, no matter in what form it may manifest itself among the masses of the East Indian peoples, in Java as well as in the rest of the East Indies, among the peasantry as well as among the proletariat. The Dutch Communist Party is conscious of an inner bond with the hopes and ideals of these masses which constitute a part of the whole International, embracing millions of workers and exploited.

"And we promise to use all means at our disposal to aid and reinforce these masses in their struggles and aims. One great aim in particular must be achieved.—The solidarity of the Dutch proletariat and of the millions of workers and peasants of the East Indies."

"Long live the East Indian Communist Party!"

"Long live the Communist International!"

"Long live the World Revolution!"

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 persecutorial, illegal Communists, for whom the Constitution does not apply, prove in every public test of strength with the pro-government "workers' parties" that the revolutionary movement which spontaneously arises from the needs of the masses is not to be rendered inarticulate by repressive measures.

The latest occurrence of this nature took place in arch-reactionary Posen, which since 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 citadel of reaction. The agrarian character of this province, the insufferable national 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.

However, the economic disintegration of Poland, accelerated by the war against Soviet Russia, gradually began to react upon the former Prussian provinces. The abolition of the customs boundary between these provinces and the rest of Poland brought about an unprecedented increase of prices, and in its wake an uninterrupted strike wave. Since the authorities intervened in a brutal manner, open conflicts often occurred (street battles in Posen in April 1920 and riots and bloodshed during the last strike of the agricultural workers). The general revolutionizing of the masses brought with it a rather rapid development of the social-patriotic P.P.S. in the provinces of Posen and West Prussia. On the other hand its organization was in this district very radical and came forward in the beginning of 1920 with a proposal for affiliation to the Third International. The energetic disciplinary intervention of the Warsaw Central Committee resulted in the secession of the entire Posen organization, which then openly made its appearance as Communist.

Since the P.P.S. was as good as done for, the main struggle of the Communists was directed against the National Workers' Party (N.P.R.). For decades this Party had been the only organization of the Posen workers. It is supported by the bourgeoisie and is under the patronage of Pilsudski, in whom it saw its natural ally in its struggle against the National Democratic Posen bourgeoisie. In a monster mass-meeting arranged by this Party in Posen in September 1921, the Communist deputy Dombal took the floor and won a complete victory, putting through a Communist motion. Armed students who attempted to break up the meeting were disarmed by workers and thrown out.

The Communist prospects (that is, the prospects for the slate of the red trade-unions) in the municipal elections appeared very unfavorable. The leaders of the Reds (Pornokiewicz, Warkocz and others) are imprisoned, the membership terrorized and the National Democrats have recently organized an armed Fascisti against the Communists. Under these circumstances the election results could not show the real strength of the Communists. Therefore, when the powerful National Workers' Party received 6,243 votes and obtained 7 seats while the Communists obtained only 4,272 votes and 5 seats, it can be comfortably said that the election would have been won by the Communists if not for the interference of the above outside influences. When it is added that the German Social Democrats (S.P.D. and U.S.P.D.) won only 2,232 votes and 2 seats and the P.P.S. 1,730 votes and 2 seats, it can be safely said again that the Communists are now the leading workers' party in the "citadel of Polish reaction" and that they are here on the way to become no longer a party, but the party of the Polish proletariat, as is already the case in Warsaw, in the coal-regions and in many other places. The reaction may rage as much as it likes and pass the most brutal extraordinary laws—the rise of the red tide will only assume a stormier form.

ECONOMICS

Russian Finances

by Joseph Schneider (Moscow).

The petty-bourgeois' flesh begins to creep when he reads of 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 standard to Russia, cannot of course conceive how it is at all possible to live in Russia under such conditions. If he be uninformed of the living conditions and the commercial system existing in Russia, he 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 idea of the present financial 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 exchange with the capitalist governments.

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 its state-banks as a means of exchange, 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 which are in the hands of the capitalists.

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 at the time a particularly unfavorable political crisis. The West Indian governments could easily have met 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 these republics lay in the hands of the capitalists 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 victore and with it—enormous booty, but time has shown that what happened was different from what was expected. We see to-day the result of this placing all on one card, when the value of the mark has dropped to 1½ gold pfennigs.

During the period when the proletariat is assuming power, the 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 natural treasures and the accumulated stores of goods, and declare these national property, but it cannot possibly ransack all the coffers of the bourgeoisie or go through the socks of the rich peasantry in search of hidden money. Moreover, we must take into consideration the fact that during the first period of transition of the social system, the remaining capitalist government are 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.

In the belief that in a Communist state the very first thing to be done away with is money, the Russian Soviet government has contributed a great deal to the depreciation of the paper money in circulation. First of all we must point to the fact that from the very first, when the Soviet government seized power, it at once made known its refusal to pay the gold value of the Czar's certificates, and declared that it would recognize 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 mainly as a means of enabling the population to pay its government 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 the gold ruble rose first to 10, then 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 with these figures. Dr. Stadler, the itinerant anti-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 did 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, whereas to-day it is from 300,000—500,000 rubles. But the Soviet worker therefore receives his Pyok 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 bread and clothing. Moreover, the distribution of Pyoks is 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 bourgeois will rather sell the shirt off his back and loiter in the streets freezing and famished rather than condescend 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 market place trying to sell her very 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 bourgeois is not given the opportunity to earn a living through 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 free trade compelled the Soviet government to reconstruct its entire financial organization by establishing a state bank 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 purpose 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 back its new currency with gold. With the continual depreciation of the Soviet ruble 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 of foreign currency. The main function of the bank, however, will be to improve domestic industry by means of loans and savings 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 yet been able to pull itself together and aid proletarian 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 now 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, the Trade Union International went to pieces, and together 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 arose within the old organization.

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 convention of the Russian trade-unions (June 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 same time the Congress of the Russian trade-unions issued an appeal to all revolutionary unions of other countries to follow the Russian example. This decision of the Russian unions formed a line of demarcation between the Amsterdam Trade Union International then already organized and the revolutionary unions of all countries. The appeal of the Russian unions was answered this time by the French syndicalists and the trade-unions of Italy, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as well as by certain trade-union groups of England. An organized differentiation of the revolutionary elements in the trade-unions movement began at this point. The strong need for the creation of a central organization led the representatives of the revolutionary unions to Russia, where, on the eve of the Second Congress of the Communist International, they laid the foundation stone of the Red Trade Union International. Taking part in the discussions of the Conference 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, from the Spanish National Federation of Labor, from the Bulgarian General Trade Union Federation, from the French Revolutionary Syndicalists and Minority from the Yugoslavian 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 capitalist imperialism during the tragic years of war, and therein played a sinister role; that they checked the workers' movement for complete emancipation; that the duty of the working-class is to gather all trade-union forces into a powerful revolutionary class organization that would march forward hand in hand with the international political organization of the international Communist proletariat in order to win, in union with it, the final victory of the Social Revolution and the establishment of the World Soviet Republic . . ."

"that the program and tactics of the Amsterdam Trade Union International are incapable of leading to triumph the principle before mentioned, and of assuring the victory of the proletariat in all countries".

Proceeding from these considerations the representatives of the countries mentioned organized a provisional international fighting organization for the conquest of the trade-union movement. The work of this provisional body in the first eleven months consisted chiefly in forcing the trade-union movement of all countries to the expression of a clear attitude to the new International, in the preparation of a constituent congress of the new R.T.U.I. and in spreading the idea of revolutionary trade-unionism.

During the organization of the provisional Council certain differences of opinion appeared in the left wing of the trade-union movement which are to be explained by the fact that the one part of the revolutionary trade-unions received a Communist, another part a Syndicalist or Anarchist training. The Anarchists sought to impose upon the new international organization a negative attitude towards the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, and to prevent the Trade Union International from all collaboration with the Communist International; the left reformists on the other hand, represented by the Italian General Federation of Labor, were leaning towards Amsterdam. Only the 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), in which 380 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 means and methods of struggle, worked out the statutes, defined its attitude towards the Communist International—in brief, the Red Trade Union International assumed the clear form of a full grown organization with definite tactics. And though there appeared, in the course of this Congress, certain differences of opinion, they were the same that had existed since the organization of the Provisional International Council. On one hand there was the standpoint that sought "to bring into accord" Moscow and Amsterdam; this was represented by the Italian Federation of Labor. On the other hand, there was the attempt to separate at all costs the Red Trade Union International from the Comintern as from a political organization, and to build between the two an insurmountable wall. In spite of wide divergences of opinion and ardent debates the Communists and Syndicalists found a common meeting ground and the Congress succeeded in drawing up definite guiding lines for revolutionary trade-unions of all countries. With the holding of the first Congress the period of organized preparation for the struggle and gathering of forces came to an end. The R.T.U.I., which had now actually become an international organization, from now on could extend its activity on a world wide scale, on the ground of its principles and tactical resolutions elaborated even in their details.

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 movement. The revolutionary trade-union movement is showing 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 countries 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. encounters thereat lie not only in the impossibility 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 conditions and against a powerful and splendidly organized bureaucracy, 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 majority of the Czecho-Slovak trade-unions have ranged themselves on our side. In Italy about one-third of the Labor Confederation is for us. In Norway, the representatives of the Local Trades Councils unanimously declared themselves for us. In France, the Revolutionary Syndicalists have not joined us formally, but their practical activity is in accordance with the lines of action set down by the Moscow Congress. In America a left bloc is in the process of being organized. In England, the number of followers of the R.T.U.I. is growing perceptibly.

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 trade-unions, that is, such an organization as 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 proletariat. Whereas the Amsterdam T.U.I. stops short before these national boundary lines and considers them unbreakable, 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 R.T.U.I. can stand as an unshakable international organization. This presupposes the conquest of the countries trade-union organizations of the most important. The international situation is favorable to us. When, for instance, the A.D.G.B. (German Trade Union Federation) comes forward with its famous ten demands, the carrying out of which would undermine the rule of the bourgeoisie, that means that the Amsterdam International is standing on a volcano.

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 we are still in the minority. But the Amsterdam International is rolling downhill whereas 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 hurled with irresistible force against their class-enemies, in proportion as capitalist pressure pushes 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 Amsterdam would also be victorious over Moscow. But as it is not a matter of the strengthening of capitalism, but of its decomposition (and even farsighted bourgeois thinkers do not doubt this), victory must fall to the Red Trade Union International. Social Reaction or Social Revolution, Capitalism or Communism—thus stands the question on an international scale. This question must be answered in our favor. For the spirit of Communism broods over the entire world.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Marseilles Congress of the French Communist Party.

by Heiny Neumann (Berlin).

The Communist Party of France held its first National Congress in Marseilles during Christmas week 1921. After the departure of Longuet and Renaudel in Tours in December 1920, the young party had devoted 12 months to its establishment on a firm basis and had accumulated its first experiences.

After Tours it was faced by enormous tasks of organization, as the report of the *Comité Directeur* to the Marseilles Congress interestingly shows. Together with Longuet and Renaudel the majority of the deputies and propagandists, many intellectuals and officials of the party went over to the Dissidents. They took the cash, the archives, the newspapers and a considerable portion of the organization apparatus with them. These deficiencies had to be repaired by intensive detail work.

In Marseilles there were 350 delegates who represented 94 district federations with 120,000 members. The party is by far the strongest in France; it groups about itself the nucleus of the working masses of the country. Alongside it, the two unimportant groups of the Socialists (tendency 2½) and the "French Socialists" belonging to the Second International play practically no part.

Although the organic building up of the party has gone very far, it is still in the process of political transformation, of crystallization to a clear and serried section of the Third International. The Marseilles Congress was a stage in this process in which the party took up various problems placed before it by the present situation. In the debates at Marseilles the various tendencies within the party attempted to form a common platform, a basis for work in the future. The discussions were often of a very lively nature. Differences of opinion on various subjects clashed. However, the general impression was such as to remove completely any thought of a serious endangering of unity—a split in the Party. Only isolated comrades and small groups such as that of the "Journal du Peuple" are in fundamental opposition to the Party. The Congress rejected all of the propositions put for it by these groups. *Frossard* declared, "Those who combat the policy of the Party thereby automatically exclude themselves from the Party". *Loriot* on the other hand, criticized the irresolute policy of the Party Executive against such Right tendencies and reproached it with the fact that a sheet such as the "Journal du Peuple" could appear with the collaboration of prominent members of the Communist Party.

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 prevailing overburdening of the members of the Central Committee with technical and administrative tasks. *Rappoport* and other comrades attacked this motion of *Loriot*. They accused him of desiring an oligarchical centralism. As a substitute motion a motion of *Frossard* was adopted which in 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 Communists 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 "neutrality" and "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's members realized that this situation 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. *Mayoux*, *Lafont* and others attacked the claim of the Party to establish close political connection with 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 3963 against 372.

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 into the front of the class-struggle against the Capitalist Republic. In the theses on the agrarian question drawn up by *Renaud Jean* the old idea of *Guesde* is again brought forward, that 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' property in the transition period. Provincial delegates from the agricultural provinces made important statements as to the situation among the French peasant masses. The representative of one of the départements stated, "Our peasants are by instinct revolutionary, but they are insufficiently educated. The revolution cannot be made without them. One must have seen with what interest the peasants attend our propaganda 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 alcohol and who eke out a beggarly existence on a starvation wage. 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 numerous examples of the difficulties with which the French peasant has to contend. The mortgage burden is continually grown. Taxes are increasing. *Rappoport* and various others protested against the passage in the theses which speaks of the granting of "perpetual 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."

The debates on national defense, election tactics and the other points on the order of 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 *Rappoport* 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 Comrade *Souvarine*, 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 in this vote not as personal, but as political in their nature, and therefore declined to accept reelection. 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 resignations signify a crisis in the Party, the political 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 courts of injustice have cold-bloodedly condemned them to death only because of their steadfast loyalty to the working class. And loyalty to the working class is the blackest crime in the eyes of capitalists.

The Communist Party of America heartily welcomes the great demonstrations you have organized. Your magnificent show of international solidarity has thrilled the American workers and struck terror in the hearts of their exploiters and oppressors. Our Russian Comrades have saved innocent Tom Mooney from the gallows. We are confident that, with your help, Sacco and Vanzetti will be snatched from the jaws of death.

Your splendid aid in this hour of need, when our working class is being crushed under the iron heel of a brutal bourgeois dictatorship, shows that the American capitalists can no longer deceive the laboring masses of the world with the colossal humbug of "democracy." The mighty protests now resounding in the streets of Paris, Buenos Ayres, Rome, Berlin and throughout all Europe will go a long way toward awakening the American workers out of their present apathy.

And while our capitalist press is feverishly at work spreading malicious lies about bombs and other acts of terrorism, the Communist Party of America will do all in its power to counteract these dastardly lies and to enlighten our workers as to the fact that the Communist Parties of the world aim to overthrow the exploiters and oppressors not by means of impotent acts of individual terrorism, but by means of the organized revolutionary mass action of the workers.

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 hangmen!
Long live the international solidarity of the working class!
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, dried fruit, etc.—which are being sent to the National Warehouse at New York for transshipment to the steamers waiting 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.) should 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, \$446.00; Canton \$400.00. Mining towns in Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Montana are being organized for relief. The United Mine Workers of Round Up, Montana (a small mining town) have collected \$210.00.

In one month, 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 have the greatest confidence in the Soviet 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 Nicolán 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 M. Dato as a democratic friend of the workers who could not have been the victim of a political crime, and which also represents Nicolán Fort as his fortieth murderer (whereas Ramon Casamellas the only incontestable executioner of Dato, is at the present moment a refugee in Moscow). It is therefore our duty to call again with all our force for the rescue of these comrades, for the inviolability of the right of asylum which is being menaced. The international police has been hesitating for weeks before the impetuous protests of the German Communists, but it is being emboldened by the silence, the indifference or the passiveness of the international proletariat and even of its advance guards towards the daily crimes of the Spanish White Terror. It is still possible to save the victims claimed by the hangmen of Montjuich; but a real, international effort is necessary. Ought not the labor press which has given whole columns to the Landru affair, without any distinction of party or tendency, repeat tirelessly every day: "The proletarians of Spain are being assassinated, and the international police is the accomplice of their assassins!"

Never have bourgeois governments given up even the least contested perpetrators of political crimes. Ruthenberg, who executed Father Gapon was permitted to live undisturbed in Paris. Savinkov could live freely in Berlin, Paris and Nice, at the time when he applied himself professionally to terrorism against the Russian autocracy. These facts are well known. The Spanish-German treaty is precise. It calls for the extradition only of perpetrators of crimes against the reigning family (indeed the Kaiser owed that to King Alphonso). The extradition of Fort and his companion would mean that the international police, defying the protests of the workers would openly infringe upon the international law of the capitalist governments themselves and the precedent will be grave, because nothing would prevent Horthy, as well, from claiming the extradition of the Hungarian Communists. Nothing would prevent to-morrow the victorious reaction in every corner of the globe from claiming everywhere the refugees "from its

law", in order afterwards to kill them. The right of asylum must be defended. Progressive men of the entire world have made use of this right in order to remain alive. If it were not for the right of asylum, the Communards of Paris would have been given up to Gallifet, Kropotkin would have long ago been dead in some jail of the Czar, Malatesta would have been imprisoned or shot in Italy, Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Radek and all the men who have led the Russian revolution would have been dead twenty years ago under the boot of the Russian gendarmes. To the rescue of these comrades and the right of asylum!

The German trade-unions have done nothing in their defense. Moreover, nowhere have the great trade-union organizations done anything for the Spanish proletarians. If crimes are committed the responsibility for them will be heavy. As a contrast, there is Soviet Russia which would gladly receive Nicolán and his companion as it has already received Casanellas, the refugees from Hungary, Estonia, Finland etc. When the revolutionaries of all countries are pursued they have an assured fraternal place of refuge in Red Russia.

It seems evident that there is no question, even of the extradition of Andrés Nin. But this militant is still detained in Berlin. Why? In the name of what? We should remember that Andrés Nin belongs to the bureau of the International of Red Trade Unions. Is it then possible that a militant who holds a responsible position in an international labor organization can be detained for weeks and months in prison without an explanation or a pretext? Is it possible to detain them without a move by the functionaries of official trade-unionism, without stirring the labor-press, whatever may be its tendency? Will this odious detention continue?

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.

In the same way, the organization of the sending of the material of your women's organizations to the International Women's Secretariat.

2. In accordance with the Theses of the Second World Congress of the Communist International, the assignment of one of the members of your Central Committee with the direction of the work among the women. In case it is impossible to appoint a member of the Central Committee for this work, a representative of the women's central organization should be admitted to the Central Committee with advisory voice.

3. Where possible, the reserving of special section of your press (papers, periodicals and bulletins) for articles and material on the women's movement. The employment of the same facilities for the issue of periodicals and books dealing with the proletarian women's movement.

4. In order to establish a regular service between the various countries and the I.W.S., it is necessary that the Party make use of all the resources of the party apparatus, such as couriers, agents and plenipotentiaries, etc., as well as of comrades entrusted with special and important missions by the women's organizations and by the I.W.S.

5. The convocation of conferences and of those working among the working women, as well as congresses of Communist women and of women unemployed of your country, in accordance with the decisions of the Third World Congress.

6. The organization of special courses for party agitators and organizers in the Party Schools, who are to carry on work among the women, either in the form of special courses or in the introduction of special lectures in the general course. Women must also be admitted in no less a percentage than 10% of the total number of students, in accordance with the decisions of the Third World Congress.

With Communist greetings,
The Secretariat of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International.