

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2. No. 14

21<sup>th</sup> Febr. 1922

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## POLITICS

### Manifesto of the Congress of the Laboring Masses of the Far East.

\*\* In January a Congress of the peoples of the Far East was held in Moscow. We shall later have occasion to deal with this Congress in more detail. The Congress addressed the following appeal to the peoples of the Far East:

**Laboring Masses of the Far East! Workers and Peasants of China, Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies and of the Islands of the Pacific Ocean!**

#### Enslaved Peoples of the Far East!

For many decades you have to suffer the brutality and greed of European, American and Japanese buccaneers. Under Japanese rule Korea's soil has been soaked with the blood of its best sons. Japanese, American, French and English plunderers have exploited the four hundred millions of the Chinese population and drawn their profits from the blood and the tears of the Chinese people. They do not consider suppressed peoples as human beings. They are merely looking for glittering gold, for profits; and if they crave an increase in profits, hundreds of millions of human beings are as nothing in their eyes. In the white quarters of Pekin, Shanghai, Hongkong, Tchemulpo Chinese and Koreans are forbidden like dogs to enter gardens and public buildings. In these quarters of the towns the bourgeoisie, which has grown rich on the blood and sweat of our people, rides about in rikshas to which men are harnessed and spurred to a faster gait by a rain of blows. The Chinese coolies, who are the most exploited and suppressed slaves, are being tormented to death by these parasites. The Chinese peasants work 16 to 18 hours a day, but the fruits of their toil are transferred to the pockets of the foreign usurers and their mercenaries. The Korean peasants possess no land for the growing of their grain. The land is in the possession of Japanese capitalists and farmers, who are forcing the peasants to work by means of bayonets and bullets. Every word of protest, every groan of despair is being suppressed by mass executions, as has recently been the case in the Philippine Islands, on Formosa, in Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies. The same state of affairs prevails in adjacent British India which has for a long time been a terrible dungeon for three hundred millions of people laboring on rice, cotton, coffee and other plantations. Mongolia has only recently been liberated from the grip of the Japanese White Guards.

In Japan where the governing class has been given the nickname "the Hangman of the Far East" the workers in the factories and the agricultural workers are worse off than the domestic animals. The sighs and groans of one hundred million slaves grow louder day by day. The oppressors shut their ears to all demands for human rights on the part of the oppressed nations. Only recently they met in the shade of the American Stock Exchange, at Washington, in order to discuss the further exploitation of the peoples of the Far East. Here the Treaty of the Four Vampires became an accomplished fact. Korea, the Russian Far East and Mandchuria were delivered over to Japanese plundering while the powers granted each other equal

rights in the exploitation of China. The American capitalists played the leading part in this crime. The Consortium proposed by America in 1918 intended to make China an American vassal state. In this case the Chinese peasants would have been forced to pay a tax on real estate to the American bankers while Chinese industry would have been transformed into an American workshop. This plan was prevented, however, by the differences between the usurpers and by the united protest of the Chinese masses.

Imperialism is now attempting to form another Consortium, an international association for the military, financial and industrial exploitation of China. Japan, America, Great Britain and France have for some time postponed the war for the domination of the Pacific Ocean. They have only postponed it, but not given it up. They have postponed it in order to rob in company for a short time. The world war has undermined their power. In Europe where their crimes had been committed, they were threatened by the proletarian revolution. For four years they waged war against the Soviet Republic and now they are obliged to recognize both the Soviet Government and their own stupidity.

They are now attempting to strengthen their tottering power in the Far East at the expense of our lives, our blood and our labor. They are determined to intensify our slavery. This must not and will not happen. We must be masters of our fate and no longer remain instruments of the greed of the imperialists. The Communist International has addressed a powerful appeal to the proletariat of all countries and to the oppressed peoples throughout the world. We shall give voice to this appeal in our wretched villages, among the enslaved workers on the plantations, in our schools and barracks. We have come to the capital of the Soviet Republic in order to raise our voice from this conspicuous tribune against the hangmen of the world, against the Washington Treaty of the Four Vampires. We, the representatives of the oppressed laboring masses of imperialist Japan, of Korea which is perishing under the Japanese yoke, of liberated Mongolia, of the toiling masses of the Dutch East Indies who are oppressed by English, American and Dutch imperialists, demand freedom, equality and independence. We call to this just struggle all those who have not betrayed their people, who stand for the interests of the oppressed, who are slaves but do not want to remain slaves. We know that we will not receive freedom as a present from the hands of our enemies; we know that the battle for our liberation will be hard and arduous. Yet, we want to live, and we shall take by means of force what belongs to us. We are the majority, we are hundreds of millions; our unity is our strength. We proclaim a life and death struggle against Japanese, American, English and French Imperialism.

We shall fight the battle against the venal authorities, the lackeys of the oppressors of China, Japanese militarism and plutocracy, hypocritic American imperialism and the greedy English usurpers to the bitter finish. The sword of American imperialism will break in the hands of the Japanese proletariat. We are here binding an insoluble alliance of the laboring masses of the Far East under the banner of the Communist International. We shall struggle for our freedom. We shall overthrow our oppressors and establish a just system of labor. We shall take the land away from the idle and place the power into the hands of our workers and peasants. Organize! Enroll in our militant

ranks! The workers and peasants must unite for the struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism.

Prepare yourselves for the great battle!

Down with the conspirators of Washington!

Down with the Treaty of the Four Vampires!

Long live the alliance of the laboring peoples of the Fast East!

Long live the Communist International!

Proletarians of all countries, oppressed peoples throughout the world, unite!

On behalf of the Chinese delegation: Huang-Li, In-Shian, Huang-Po, Wong-Chu-Po, Li-Kiang, Pin-Tong, Tchang-Bog-To, Tauchang-To, Kisi-Dse, Kong, Mendsumi.

On behalf of the Japanese delegation: Katayama, Nagamo, Yakawa, Katoyoboshu, Nogi.

On behalf of the Mongolian delegation: Dindib, Dinian, Chombo.

On behalf of the Korean delegation: Kosiluma, Pakaing, Keonkokan.

On behalf of the Dutch East Indian delegation: Simson.

## Alsace-Lorraine After Three Years of "Freedom".

by A. Dubois (Metz).

February, 1922.

\*\* Now that the discontent of the Alsace-Lorraine population is increasing daily, it pays to cast a retrospective glance on the development of our country since that memorable day on which "a people suffering foreign rule for 48 years", was given its rights and again given back to the mother country, France, as a district enjoying all French privileges. But how short a space of time was necessary to bring the population, whirling in nationalistic frenzy, back to sad reality! The cynical buffoonery of the ruling-class and the exploitation remained the same. The only difference is—the Schwarz-Weiss-Rot has been replaced by the Tricolor.

Nationalistic orgies were celebrated everywhere during the entry of the French troops. That infamous class, who as money-bag patriots quickly changed color, used this undiscriminating joy of the people for its own base purposes. The ruling nobility, that old, evil inheritance of Alsace-Lorraine, supported by the influential clergy again stepped into the limelight. Thus began the first experiments of the economic and administrative alliance with old France; every possible mistake was made and consequently the economic life of Alsace-Lorraine is suffering even today. The good and welfare of the country is being decided upon without a referendum of the people, and solely through consultation with the industrial magnates and other elements whose former political life had a bad reputation. It was sufficient that in the month of December the chauvinistic press daily published the glad tidings that the government was run with the consent of the people. The arch-patriots had the greatest influence everywhere. A dark period began in the history of Alsace-Lorraine, a period when the denunciations aroused all the lowest instincts, when anonymous announcements from the administrative offices were unhesitatingly believed to be true, when many a business man could eliminate any inconvenient competitors without danger and without compromising himself. A raging hunt for Germans set in; banishment in masses resulted. Every organized wage-movement was represented as an anti-French movement inspired by German and Bolshevik propaganda, and was accordingly suppressed by force of arms, by the mobilized police and the military apparatus (which is by no means inferior to the former Prussian one). So-called strike-crimes were not punished by imprisonment even under the Prussian regime. Thousands of workers, almost all the leaders of the labor movement who were not born in Alsace-Lorraine, were taken bag and baggage to the border and deported. Artificial neutrality problems were created. The nationalistic wave reached its zenith when the Governor-General of Lorraine decreed the prohibition of the German language and the application of this decree brought forth the first public protests.

Meanwhile the time for parliamentary elections was drawing near. The "liberated provinces" should, after 48 years of "foreign rule", send their representatives to the highest representative body in France. The nationalistic fervor, which was damped by the victory and freedom celebrations which followed one another (and which put almost all the towns heavily in debt) was rekindled; the "Boche" hunt set in with renewed vigor. The bourgeois press began to reveal the Bolshevik

atrocities in terrible sensational articles. All the bourgeois parties, which were at the head of the former Kaiser regime, have affiliated themselves with the notorious "Bloc National", and were enabled with the help of the proportional election system to capture the 24 seats belonging to the country. The young revolutionary Socialist Party had a hard fight, but nevertheless on election day it obtained one third of the total number of votes cast in Alsace-Lorraine.

The disillusionment of the "Bloc National" election was not long in coming. The abbés and the factory-owners sent to the Chamber very soon attached themselves to the reactionary wing of the French Parliament, and quickly forgot their election promises. There was nothing to be seen of that much-promised "Era of Social Welfare". Civil service regulations, salaries, the incorporation of the civil service employes into the French system (through guaranteed the advantages of the German regime) and other important questions are today still waiting for a final solution. In the last few weeks the stand of the Alsace-Lorraine deputies on the question of bartering away our railroads to the private company "Est", became apparent. None of these representatives of the people found it necessary to protest from the tribune against the sale of national property to capital.

The slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" with which the people were to be enticed soon lost its effectiveness. Public opinion also suffered shipwreck. Only a small minority of the population is today convinced that the present social order will remain unshaken.

The majority of the population has quickly been cured of the illusions of Parliamentarism. Firstly because the Chamber deputies were not even able to sham working and during the session of Parliament which just came to a close confined themselves solely to reviving their attachment to the mother country France, and to inciting a systematic hatred of the "Boche" and the Bolsheviks. Secondly, because after the Armistice there have been more than enough scandals in the republic. We have only to mention the affair of the former Under Secretary of State, Vilgrain, a small mill-owner of Nancy, who deserted the front, unpunished, at the beginning of the war, and was clever enough to work his way into the Food Ministry in order to make himself one of the most influential financiers through dishonesty and speculation.

The "Liquidation Scandals", which arose from the sequestration of "enemy property", need hardly be mentioned. One of the last sittings in Paris was typical; the interpellation on the liquidation of the "Red House" of Strassburg exposed to the whole world the corruption and foulness of the existing bourgeois state of the third republic in all its nakedness. A certain Nécy, the presiding justice of the Supreme Court of Strassburg, was able to ferret out a brokerage fee of 50,000 francs from this transaction; and this, one of his friends of Parliament believed must be forgiven, because of his "sincere patriotism". In order to avoid a public scandal the matter was placed in the hands of the Attorney General, as Nécy has already agreed to pay back the embezzled sum.

There were similar occurrences in the "sequestration proceedings" of the Alsatian petroleum wells and potash mines. And it is these very people who sentence our Communist comrades to long prison terms. We remember the case of Comrade Altenbach who had translated for the "Young Revolutionist", a proclamation which appeared in "Humanité" and the imprisonment of Comrade Wagner of the Communist Youth soon after his return from the Moscow Congress.

The hard-working people of Alsace-Lorraine must pay dearly for their emancipation. They are beginning to realize that only the Proletarian World Revolution can put an end to these wretched conditions.

## ECONOMICS

### Sidelights on Italy's Economic Situation.

\*\* B.R. The total of unemployed workers, which on September 1st was 470,542, rose on October 1st to 473,216 and reached on December 1st the total of 512,260.

The industrial situation is very unfavorable. This especially applies to the metal industry. The financial difficulties of the two largest trusts, the Ansaldo group and the Ilva concern, led to the collapse of the Banca di Sconto toward the end of the year. The only factories at work in the metal trades are those which have contracts with the state railways. German com-

petition in the metal and chemical fields and 'Czecho-Slovakian' in the ceramic and glass industries seriously hinder all attempts at the restoration of Italian industry. The consumption of cotton during the first six months of 1921 was only 302,000 bales. There is still a carry-over of 180,780 bales. 50% of the silk spindles were working only three days in the week at the beginning of December, while 30% were entirely idle. The paper industry has been compelled to cut down production to 50% of normal.

The foreign trade in millions of lire was as follows:

	First six months 1920	First six months 1921
Imports . . . . .	13,457	14,002
Exports . . . . .	5,282	5,956
Import surplus . . . . .	8,175	8,046

The unfavorable balance of approximately 8,000,000,000 lire is no longer neutralized by income from tourists and overseas emigrants.

The government debt rose from 98,570,000,000 lire on August 31, 1920 to 110,300,000,000 lire on October 31, 1921. The Italian lire has only 22.6% of its former value. The prices of the most important necessities of life are at present, taking the pre-war price as 100:

Meat . . . . .	109.53	Fruit . . . . .	100.30
Rice . . . . .	135.71	Clothing . . . . .	81.91
Bread . . . . .	216.48	Housing . . . . .	128.68
Macaroni, etc. . . . .	256.20	Light and Heat . . . . .	147.10

The Italian index figure for food is doubtless too conservative—124.38, while the index figure for the cost of living of a proletarian family is also too low—118.77.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The General Lockout in Denmark.

by Sigvald Hellberg (Copenhagen).

\*\* After the negotiations between the employers and workers had come to a deadlock, the government attempted to act as an intermediary. A compromise commission, so-called, was established which dallied with the outrageous demands of the employers in order to make them more acceptable to the workers. This commission, after several days of negotiations, published compromise proposals, the main provisions of which were as follows:

The eight-hour day is to be retained for one year. However, negotiations are to be commenced in those trades (building, etc.) in which the hours of labor are shortened in the winter months in order to introduce a corresponding lengthening of the hours of labor during the summer.

The eight hour day is not to apply to supervisory and watchman service.

The new wage scale is to be in force one year. All wages are to be reduced by 15 per cent. From the 15th of August, 1922, wages are to be reduced or increased proportional to the increase or decrease of the official index figure as compared with February, 1922.

The provision now in force as to overtime night and Sunday work are to remain unchanged. However, although up to the present time and a half has been usually paid for overtime, in the future the first two hours of overtime will only then be payed at the rate of time and a quarter when they are put in before the beginning of the regular period of labor.

At the same time it was pointed out that the official index figure for the cost of living had allegedly sunk by 11%.

The Federation of Trade-Unions held a general convention on the 6th and 7th of February in order to discuss this situation. The Federation leaders with the exception of the usually very reformist leader of the day laborers, Lyngsie, recommended the acceptance of the compromise proposals. None the less, the convention rejected the proposal with 233 votes against 221. The indignation of the workers in the various trade-unions was even more apparent. 55,000 workers absolutely rejected the proposals, while only 15,000 were for their acceptance, and then only with very great reservations.

On the 11th of February the Executive of the Employers' Federation held a meeting at which it was resolved that, should the workers reject the compromise proposals, a general lock-out would commence upon the 14th of February. Since the workers had already decided in the negative, the employers carried out their threat and locked out approximately 100,000 workers.

At first the Copenhagen printers were also locked out but at the eleventh hour the personnel of the daily newspapers was excluded from the provisions of the lock-out so that the publication of the bourgeois press was not interfered with. On

Sunday, the 19th, the printers were to decide as to whether they should continue at work or go out in sympathy with those locked out. Up to the time of going to press no report has been received of their decision.

The day laborers answered the lock-out with the general strike.

Upon the initiative of the compromise commission negotiations were resumed on the February, 16th. Whether these negotiations will lead to any results is questionable.

The industries principally effected are as follows:

Iron and metal industry (with the exception of workers employed in the telephone and telegraph service, on the tramways and in the gas and electricity works), textiles, shoe manufacture, bricks and cement, building and construction, soaps and oils, chocolate and sweets manufacture, clothing, paper goods and a large percentage of the dock workers.

The Danish Communist Party has called upon the workers to answer the lock-out with the general strike. The workers must not let themselves be subjugated by hunger. The Trade Union Federation comprises 80% of all the organised workers in Denmark. It must therefore place itself at the head of this movement in order to establish a united determined defensive front of all the workers. The organization must be transformed into a real fighting organization. Only then will it be possible successfully to parry this powerful *coup de force* of the employers which aims to plunge the workers into even greater misery.

### The English Working Class Today.

by Helen Crawfurd (Glasgow).

\*\* To paint a word picture of the condition of the British working-class at present, it is necessary to give figures, leaving to the imagination of the reader the filling in of details of the actual suffering and misery which these figures represent. As a result of the aftermath of the war and the development of world capitalism, Industrial Britain is passing through a period of trade depression unprecedented in its history. Thousands of wretchedly clad unemployed workers are walking the streets of every industrial centre and each week the figures increase.

On the live register of the National Labor Exchanges for January 1922 the figures were as follow: unemployed 2,585,993 (of these 284,707 were women) or 16.2 per cent of total insured persons as compared with 15.7 per cent for January 1920.

These figures do not by any means represent the total number of unemployed persons, as many workers are excluded from the unemployment section of the National Health Insurance Act—such as outworkers, persons employed in agriculture and private domestic service, railways, and certain other public utilities.

In addition to these receiving relief under the National Insurance Act, there are at present upwards of 856,994 in receipt of outdoor relief from Board of Guardians, Poor Law authorities, etc.

The industries which have suffered most are—

Engineering and Ironfounding . . . . .	310,984
Building and Construction . . . . .	161,714
Textiles (cotton & woolen) . . . . .	134,961
Shipbuilding . . . . .	129,581
Coal Mining . . . . .	126,348

In most of the above industries those workers in employment are only working one or two days in the week.

The Reparation Clauses in the Treaty of Versailles, have been more disastrous for victorious Britain than for defeated Germany. In Glasgow, the chief shipbuilding centre in Britain, 90,000 workers are unemployed.

The German ships turned over to the Allies have enabled the British capitalists, to buy ships at from five to ten pounds per ton. To have repaired the losses in shipping would have necessitated the employment of British workers and would have cost in British yards thirty-five pounds per ton. France with her reparation coal, is at present underselling Britain in the latter's former markets; this and the increasing use being made of oil fuel makes for increasing unemployment in the coal fields. In South Wales, Scotland, and other mining centres, the miners' condition beggars description. The present condition of Central Europe and the continued blockade of Soviet Russia have in large measure contributed to the unemployment in the engineering and ironfounding industries. Towns like Sheffield, Oldham, Motherwell and others, where locomotives, weaving looms, and agricultural machinery are manufactured, are today suffering terribly. In January 1922, it was estimated that in Sheffield 1,063 out of every 10,000 of the population were receiving Poor Law relief. The payment of out of work benefit by the trade-unions is steadily diminishing their fighting funds. The debacle

of "Black Friday", when the transport and railway workers deserted the miners, has led to the defeat not only of the miners but of every other section of the working class. The thousands of unemployed walking the streets have enabled the capitalists of Britain steadily to pursue a policy of reduction in wages, to victimize the active spirits in the Shop Steward movement and to curtail every right and privilege which years of trade-union activity had acquired. There is a general trend away from the unions, their failure to function during the recent crisis having undermined their power considerably. As a fighting force in Britain at the present moment they do not count, the economic condition of the country forcing those in employment to accept repeated reductions in wages. In the Memorandum issued by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, the Council estimated that the total reduction in the yearly wage bill of the country during 1921 amounted to £286,000,000 and that the substantial reduction which it was predicted, would restore the engineering and mining Industries had failed to do so.

The increasing exploitation of the Indian workers in the cotton and jute factories in Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay, bringing the capitalists of Britain 140 to 400 per cent dividends, is diverting capital from the Lancashire cotton area and the Dundee jute mills. New fields like India and China, with their united population of 700,000,000, with their wonderful natural resources, and very little in the way of trade-union activity will make these countries in the future the happy hunting ground of international capitalism and will steadily undermine the workers' position in the West.

The development of modern capitalism has broken down national boundaries. The workers can only fight the capitalists on an international scale. H. N. Brailsford, writing in the "Daily Herald" during the time when the Councils of Action were being established, said: "Here in Britain we are discussing the ethics of direct action, on the continent they are discussing its mechanics". Unfortunately this too true.

The geographical situation of Britain is responsible to a large extent for her insular outlook—her former prominent position as a great world power has moulded the opinions of the working-class under capitalist education. The stern economic facts which the British workers are facing today are more convincing than reams of propaganda. Ireland, India, Egypt are seething with rebellion and unrest. The chauvinism of France, our Ally, the Eastern situation, the ever increasing power of America, all will inevitably lead to future conflicts between competing economic interests.

The Communist Party in Britain is small about 10,000, but this does not by any means represent the support in the country for Communism. During the recent municipal contests, upwards of 20,000 votes were polled for Communist candidates. This to foreign comrades may seem ridiculously small—but to those of us who live in Britain and understand the conservative outlook, even of so-called Socialist and Labor groups, it is no matter for discouragement that in our short lifetime (one year) and with our small membership, we are the only group in the country, which has called forth the vengeance of the capitalist class. During the year over one hundred of our members (men and women) have been imprisoned. Attacks have been made upon our Press. At the present moment our secretary, Comrade Inkpin, is serving a sentence of six months' imprisonment at hard labor. We do not boast; we have failed, we have made mistakes, we have lost opportunities, we will do better.

## The death Struggle of a Party.

by Pippo.

Scarcely a year has passed by since the Congress of Livorno and one can already speak of the gradual passing away of the Socialist Party of Italy. The Serrati Centrist group which desires to maintain the unity of the party is losing its entire importance as a result of the radical policy of the right and left wings.

The right reformist wing, led by Turati, Treves and Modigliani, desires a coalition with the bourgeoisie. Modigliani published an article in the "Avanti", in which he attacks the Party Executive vehemently because it denies the independence of the Parliamentary fraction in regard to its position towards the coalition. The reformists, who control the executive committee of the General Labor Confederation, introduced at a meeting of the latter, during the presence of Serrati, a resolution in favor of a class truce. This resolution was passed unanimously. It reads:

"After sufficient discussion of the trade-unionist and political situation in Italy the Trade Union Executive orders its representatives in the Party Executive and in the National Committee, due to reasons which have

been sufficiently developed during the discussion, to underscore the views of the resolution passed at its last meeting, further, to enable the Socialist Party to support a government which gives assurances that constitutional liberties will be restored and which develops a program that contains the most pressing immediate demands of its proletariat".

While many workers who still belong to the S.P.I. declared themselves in favor of the proposition of the Communist Party of Italy for the united front of the trade-unions, and asked the party executive to accept its proposition, Serrati writes in the "Critica Soziale", the organ of the Italian Mensheviks as follows:

"The united front of which so much is talked about mechanically and arithmetically can be merely a Tower of Babel chaos, a fraternal struggle and a self-deception within the party itself".

Recently several local Socialist conventions took place, for instance at Reggio Emilia and at Pavia, in which their resolutions not alone proposed the collaboration of the S.P.I. with the Italian bourgeoisie, but also affiliation to the 2½ International. In regard to this resolution Serrati wrote among other things:

"The resolution seriously calls for the split that we always tried to avoid".

However, there also exists within the S.P.I. a left revolutionary wing, which has not yet freed itself from its adherence to Serrati, but which will probably sooner or later unite with the C.P.I. This group is led by a committee composed of Zanetta, Bibaldi, Maffi, Lazzari and others. The three last named were representatives of the S.P.I. at the Tluid Congress of the Comintern and upon their return to Italy energetically demanded at the Milan Congress union with the Tluid International. The committee is working for the affiliation of the Party to Moscow.

The Socialist weekly "Bréanza" expresses the views of this group in an editorial headed, "The fruit is ripe". It is of the opinion that collaboration with the reformists, the adherers of the class-truce and the coalition, is impossible. "The last step of Philippe Serrati (concerning his article in favor of the coalition in the "Critica Soziale") shows clearly that in national and international matters he intends to go a different path than the majority. Would it not be better if we separate and each of us march towards the goal along his own way?".

We Communists hope that the work of this fraction and the awakening of the revolutionary workers who still belong to the S.P.I. will not result in a new split as Serrati expects. They should on the contrary through a resolute decision cleanse it of all Social Democratic decay, and lead all elements of the S.P.I. that are still healthy towards unity with the Communist Party.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The Russian Trade Unions in the Transition Period

\*\* The general session of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party, which took place at the end of December 1921 discussed the part to be played by the trade-unions and their tasks in connection with the new economic policy. After a debate, a committee consisting of comrades Lenin, Rudsutak and Andreyev was appointed to formulate the theses on this question. These theses were then accepted by All-Russian Central Trade Union Federation and by the Central Executive Committee; they read as follows:

#### 1— The New Economic Policy and its Problems.

The new economic policy brought about a series of essential changes in the situation of the proletariat and consequently also of the trade-unions. The greater part of the means of production in the industrial and transportation fields remains in the hands of the proletarian state. This circumstance together with the nationalization of the land proves that the new economic policy does not alter the nature of the workers' government; the methods and forms of social reconstruction, however, are affected because they permit economic competition between the Socialism that is rising and the capitalism that is striving for its rebirth. This is done in order to satisfy the needs of the many millions of peasants through the market.

The changes to be effected in the form of the Socialist reconstruction are called for by the circumstance that in the entire policy of transition from Capitalism to Socialism, the Communist Party and the Soviet power are making a strategic retreat in order better to be able to resume the offensive against capitalism. Free trade and capital are now permitted under government

regulation and are in the process of development; on the other hand the socialized government enterprises are now transferred to the basis of so-called economic calculation, i.e., they are placed upon a business basis, an act which, with the general cultural backwardness and exhaustion of the country, will inevitably cause the administration of these enterprises to come, in the consciousness of the masses, into more or less of a conflict with the workers employed there.

## 2—State Capitalism in the Proletarian State and the Trade Unions.

If the nature of the proletarian state is not to be altered, it can permit free trading and the developing of capitalism only to a certain degree. Private trading and private capitalism must be regulated by the government (supervision, control prescribing of forms, etc.). The success of such control depends not only upon the state, but rather still more upon the degree of development of the proletariat and of the working masses in general, upon the cultural level attained, etc. But even if such government control should prove entirely successful, the conflict of class interests between capital and labor remains the same. That is why it is one of the main tasks of the trade-unions from now on to take up the complete defense of the class-interests of the proletariat in its struggle against capital. This problem must be given first place, and the trade-union machine must be correspondingly reconstructed, modified and supplemented. Arbitration boards and strike and benefit funds must be created.

## 3—The trade unions and the government enterprises which are to be transferred to the basis of the so-called economic calculation.

The transfer of the government enterprises to the basis of the so-called economic calculation is inevitable, and inseparable from the new economic policy. In the immediate future this type will necessarily be the dominating if not the only one. With the revival and development of free trade, this would actually mean the transferring of the government enterprises to a commercial basis to a considerable extent. This circumstance together with the imperative necessity of increased production and the realization of the profitable working of the government enterprises, inevitably lead to certain conflicts between the working masses and the management of the government enterprises in the question of working conditions. Hence, the trade-unions must take up the unconditional defense of proletarian interests in these socialized enterprises, and as far as possible strive to better the workers' material conditions, and to carry on a constant correction of mistakes and exaggerations of the economic organs, insofar as they are brought about by the bureaucratic degeneration of the government machine.

## 4—The essential difference between the proletarian class-struggle in a country which recognizes the private ownership of land and the means of production and in which the political power lies in the hands of the capitalist class, and the economic struggle of the proletariat in a country which does not recognize the private ownership of land and of the majority of large enterprises and in which the political power is in the hands of the proletariat.

As long as there are classes, the class-struggle is inevitable. During the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism, the existence of classes is inevitable, and the program of the Russian Communist Party is absolutely right when it says that we are taking the first steps in the transition from Capitalism to Socialism. That is why the Communist Party, the Soviet power and the trade-unions must openly recognize the existence of the economic struggle and its inevitability, at least as long as the electrification of the industries and agriculture is not carried out on a large scale, thus undermining the foundation of the petty-bourgeoisie and ending the rule of the market. On the other hand, it is clear that under the capitalist system the goal of the struggle is the destruction of the government machine and the overthrow of the power of the class-government. In the proletarian state of the transition type, however, such as ours is, the goal of every struggle of the working-class can only be the strengthening of the proletarian class power. Such conflicts will take the form of the struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the government, against its mistakes and weaknesses and against the capitalists who will strive to free themselves from the government's control. That is why neither the Communists Party nor the Soviet power nor the trade-unions are to forget or to conceal from the workers the fact that the use of the strike as a weapon in the proletarian state can be explained and justified chiefly through the bureaucratic degeneration of the proletarian government, and through various remainders of the capitalist past in its institutions on the one hand, and by the political underdevelopment and cultural backwardness of the working masses on the other.

That is why it is the duty of the trade-unions to see that whenever there is friction or a conflict between single groups

of the working-class and individual institutions and organs of the workers' government, these conflicts and differences should be settled as quickly and painlessly as possible, with the greatest possible advantage to the workers in question, insofar as these advantages work no disadvantages to other groups of workers or are not detrimental to the development of the workers' government and its economic management as a whole; for, only out of the development of these can a sound foundation for the material and spiritual welfare of the working-class be built. The only correct and sound as well as effective means of settling disputes and conflicts between single parts of the working-class and the organs of the workers' government is the mediating participation of the trade-unions, which are to enter into negotiations with the economic organizations in question through their responsible organs, either on the basis of definitely formulated demands and proposals of both sides, or by appealing to the higher government authorities.

In cases where open conflicts arise in the government enterprises in the form of strikes, caused either by an error of the economic organs or by the backwardness of certain groups of workers and the instigation of counter-revolutionary elements, or even by a lack of judgment on the part of the trade-union organizations themselves, it is the task of the trade-unions to end the conflict quickly. They are to do this through measures which are to correspond to the nature of the trade-union work in question:—doing away with the irregularities actually existing, granting the legal and feasible demands of the masses and by influencing them politically.

The most important and unfailing criterion for judging how correct and profitable the work of the trade-unions will be, is the degree to which they succeed in avoiding mass-conflicts in the government enterprises; this they are to accomplish through a preventive policy which is to be based upon an actual and complete guarding of the interests of the working masses and upon the timely prevention of all causes that may give rise to conflicts.

## 5—Return to Voluntary Membership in the Trade Unions.

The automatic enrolment of all wage-earning persons as members of the trade-unions to a certain degree gave rise to a bureaucratic degeneration of the trade-unions and caused a certain alienation of the latter from the great mass of members. That is why it is absolutely necessary to carry into practice the voluntary membership of the individual as well as of the collective joining of the unions. Under no circumstances are any political views to be prescribed for the members of the trade-unions. In this and in religious questions the trade-unions are to be nonpartisan. All that is to be asked of the trade-union members in a proletarian government is their understanding of comradely discipline, of the necessity of uniting forces for the defense of working-class interests and to aid the power of the workers, the Soviet Power. As far as the proletarian government is concerned, it must promote the trade-union solidarity of the workers in the legal as well as material sense. But no rights without duties are to exist in the trade-unions.

## 6—The Trade Unions and the Management of the State Enterprises.

After the conquest of the governmental power, the increase of production and of the productive capacity of society are the most important and far-reaching problems of the proletariat. This task which is very clearly presented in the program of the Russian Communist Party is intensified by the destruction, the famine and the general disorganization of the post-war period. That is why the swiftest possible reconstruction of the main industries is the fundamental prerequisite without which the liberation from the capitalist yoke and the victory of Socialism are not even to be thought of. But under the present conditions in Russia, such a reconstruction requires the absolute concentration of power in the hands of the factory management. These factory administrations which, according to general rules are based on the principle of individual responsibility, are to be able independently to determine the scale of wages, and the distribution of money, rations, working clothes and every other sort of provisions on the basis and within the limits of the collective contracts entered into with the trade-unions. For this purpose the management is to be given the greatest possible freedom of movement, and the actual success in the increase of productive capacity and in the profitability of the work is to be carefully tested, and the most capable and expert administrators are to be chosen.

All direct interference by the trade-unions in the management of these enterprises must under these circumstances be considered as unmistakably detrimental and inadmissible.

It would be absolutely erroneous to interpret this undeniable truth in a manner that would infer the denial of trade-union

participation in the socialist organization of industry and in the management of government enterprises. On the contrary, such participation in a clearly defined form is absolutely necessary.

(To be concluded.)

## Housing in Soviet Russia.

by Josef Schneider (Moscow).

\*\* In every war-ravaged country the housing question has become one of the most important problems, and everywhere various attempts to solve it are being made.

It is no doubt of great interest to the workers to learn how this problem was treated in Russia after the October Revolution, and at the present time under the new economic policy. The head of the Central Housing Division of the Moscow Communal Economic Department has placed an article at our disposal, which shows us how the housing question is regulated in Russia. The housing problem, at it was born of the imperialistic war may be divided into the fundamental question of the housing-system as a whole and the questions of rent and assignment of lodgings.

The first of these questions developed in Russia as follows: In connection with the rise of prices on all goods, which began in 1914, the landlords in 1915 took advantage of the great influx of refugees from the Western front, and tried to adjust the rents so that they would correspond to the new prices. As a result of the energetic protest by the population, the Czar's government was compelled, for the sake of maintaining civil peace and order, to prohibit any increase in rents, so that at the time when the October Revolution broke out, rents were only 10% higher than the former rents.

During to these low rents, the landlords began to neglect their houses, so that these constantly fell into greater decay and ruin. Just as in Germany, in Russia the landlords did everything possible in their attempt to circumvent the law of fixed rents, or to bear pressure upon the tenants through all sorts of profiteering manipulations.

An attempt was made to remedy these abuses by transferring title in these houses to so-called House Committees. These house-committees were also taken over by the Soviet Government.

With the removal of the landlord and with the transfer of the houses into the hands of the people, the house-owning class was thus unable to spend the collected sums for their own unproductive purposes. The rents paid by the people were used exclusively for repairing their lodgings.

The anti-Soviet press made an attempt to attribute the ruinous condition of the houses to the taking possession of the houses by the Housing Committees. As matter of fact, however, the poor condition of the houses is to be attributed to the then existing situation. Those branches of industry which were necessary for housing were at a standstill; the building trades, for example, and the transportation system, both of which constitute the most important factors in the house-cleaning question. The fuel shortage was a contributing cause of the dilapidated condition of the houses, which in turn caused the freezing and bursting of the water, drain and heating systems. We see therefore, that these results were brought about by events of a purely objective nature, the world and civil wars. The socialization of the houses, on the other hand, rendered the rents collected available for house-improvement, as much as circumstances permitted.

At the present moment, when the Soviet power seeks to simplify its organizational work and is therefore curtailing the zone of transferred houses, a number of ordinances guarantee that the rents collected shall be used for beneficial repairs. The house-distributing organization saw to it that a definite scale be set, assigning so and so many rooms per person or family, in order to make use of the free or hardly used rooms for those seeking lodgings.

In Moscow and in other large cities where housing conditions among the poor workers were really frightful, measures were taken whereby the workers are to move into better houses. The private houses of the aristocracy and palaces were turned into museums, scientific and other institutes. With the present shortage, experience has shown that the problem of distributing and assigning lodgings is connected with great difficulties. None the less, the Soviet Government has been able to relieve the housing shortage for many thousands of workers who under the capitalist system would undoubtedly have been ruined; and this it did at the expense of the property-owning class.

After the October Revolution rents were regulated and with the introduction of the tax-in-kind they were altogether done away with. And now with the introduction of the new economic policy, the Soviet Government will also strive to

shift the burden upon those who perform no public and productive work. The furniture question was solved in the simplest possible way, namely, by taking away all furniture from the houses and then distributing it free of charge according to a certain standard. At the present moment this furniture is considered private property, with the exception of that belonging to Workers' Communal Houses, in which it is considered as house fixtures. Pianos and the like were handed over to the Commissariat of Public Education which distributed them to piano-teachers, students, singers, etc.

The following figures gives an idea of the immense amount of work accomplished by the housing commissions. In the Summer of 1920, an average of 9000 applications for rooms were made in a fortnight alone; of these only 7500 could be taken care of. The assignment of rooms and lodgings is taken care of by the District Housing Divisions. The Central Housing Division which is a part of the Moscow Communal Administration, registers and assigns rooms to government authorities exclusively.

We see from the foregoing that, in spite of the immense housing shortage existing in the large cities of Russia particularly because of the impossibility of resuming repairs, the Soviet Government has proven itself capable of mastering the calamitous housing situation without burdening the working masses. If we are to compare the treatment of the housing problem in Soviet Russia with that in other countries, we must inevitably come to the conclusion that in the capitalist countries this problem could be very much more easily solved if only the capitalist class were given a bit less consideration.

But this will only happen when the working-class, in taking over the power, will exterminate the army of unproductive parasites and with them also the rent-profiteer.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### An International Conference of Communist Women.

by Ketty Guttman (Berlin).

\*\* A Conference of the international correspondents of the Women's Secretariat of the Communist International took place in Berlin from January 25th-26th, 1922.

At this Conference reports were made on the activities among the women in the various countries, organizational measures were discussed and future tasks were outlined. Representatives were present from Russia, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark and Roumania.

Clara Zetkin presided over the session with characteristic seriousness and ability. It was perceived that our comrades of the various countries have too modest a conception of their own activities.

The Communist women's movement may appear weak indeed. This is only the case, however, because we renounce all the cheap means of so-called bourgeois and social-democratic "women's movements" and calmly stick to our aim: the revolutionary education of proletarian women. Even the beginning of this work is of great importance. The smallest details of this work should not be considered insignificant. Moreover the Communist women's movement is a part of the strong Third International and can never lose the powerful inspiration of the militant proletariat. *The Communist women's movement is of vital importance for the entire international working-class.* Communist women are already doing indispensable work in many spheres. This has especially been the case in Russia.

In the simple report of Comrade Goldstein (Russia) the inspiration of the great events of the present time was to be felt. She mentioned that the Soviet institutions are now getting rid of the ballast with which they were overcrowded after the conquest of power by the proletariat. By and by the petty bourgeois character of those who do not belong to us—bourgeois women and girls—is again becoming evident. As soon as there was any opportunity to infringe the law of compulsory work, they broke discipline and again began their old way of living, even by means of prostitution. Even this kind of women, however, is not neglected in Soviet Russia. By means of propaganda our comrades are attempting to regain them.

Mentally, the Russian laboring women have improved considerably. Especially in Petrograd and Moscow there are circles of women who are performing systematic educational work. At present there are two thousand unemployed women in Petrograd. They are eagerly organizing *cooperative production workshops*; according to reports these workshops are going well. In this manner the typical depression of the unemployed is being

counteracted. In spite of the new economic policy even to-day the workers of the state industries are better off than those of private shops.

We are determined not to resign any position voluntarily and thus decided to keep up all *children's homes*. To our great astonishment we were considerably supported in these activities by the peasants. Evidently they have realized that their children are nowhere getting a better education than in these homes. The Peasants' Soviets have organised the entire support of the country schools and homes and are materially supporting 50 per cent of the teachers of these institutions.

Also in those schools which are combined with factories, proletarian women are the best assistants.

The Russian proletarian women are active in relieving the famine-stricken population. Their enthusiasm is inspired anew, however, when they get to know of the activities of their foreign female comrades in this field.

The well-known German organizational ability was evident in the report of Comrade Braunthal (Germany). The activity among the women in Germany shows that kind of untiring, never-resting perseverance notwithstanding the indifference of the masses, which is the best proof of the strength and energy of the international Communist movement. If one road does not lead to the goal, they look for another one. This is the essence of the numerous circulars and appeals, meetings and demonstrations. The German Communist women are closely cooperating with the Communist Party. They do not renounce, however, their particular character and their special work among the women. They specialize in work in the shops, cooperatives and in the field of housing. Typical for the German Communist women's movement are the attempts to give the women's publications and manifestations a popular character. The women's pages in the German Communist papers have by their directness become representative for the entire International; the articles of these women's pages are to a great extent written by proletarian women. It was the unanimous opinion of the Conference that very little had been done when compared to the gigantic tasks with which the Communist women's movement is confronted.

From the many detailed reports on the various countries, we mention that of Comrade Lucie Colliard which breathed that very intelligible spirit of the French Communist women who consider War and Militarism the most hateful means of suppression of the governing classes.

The representative of Roumania outlined the heroism of women revolutionists in that country, where hundreds of women and girls have been shot for illegal Party work. Every day Communist women in Roumania are giving their lives for their Cause. As already mentioned above, all this was reported in a calm and simple way, without any pathetic phrases.

Neither did our comrades of Switzerland, Austria, Denmark and Sweden boast of their activities.

In the discussion of the problem of the Relief Action for Soviet Russia, Comrade Golstein gave an interesting sketch on bourgeois "charity" in Russia. I am convinced that every comrade secretly promised at that moment not to leave the field to these counter-revolutionary ghouls but to do her best in supporting the proletarian relief action. A great amount of work has already been performed by Communist women of all countries in this direction, which work was simultaneously a very valuable means of political enlightenment.

Clara Zetkin who certainly has never in her life been faint-hearted, again proved her experience and elasticity in the discussion of the problem of the international Women's Day. No pattern-like dead uniformity, no worn-out slogans without consideration of the particular conditions, but living initiative in all countries of the world for the *liberation of women by means of Communism*. Everywhere the Women's Week in March must be utilized to inspire the fainthearted, to encourage the negligent, to win those who are still far from us. The proletarian women of all countries must especially fight the White Terror. They must demand the release of all political prisoners; they must protest against exceptional laws; they must propagandize and organize the relief and defense the victims of the White Terror.

The liberation of women by means of Communism may be illustrated by quoting the example of Russia. This will at the same time be a powerful revolutionary manifestation in favor of Soviet Russia. The Women's Week in March must be a military review of the revolutionary women throughout the world. In no country must our comrades be deterred from getting into connection with other proletarian parties and discussing with them the actual problems of the proletarian women. "Spirit and Energy are everything", were the closing words of the speech of this incomparable woman.

This Conference did very important work in preparation for the establishment of study committees in all countries. The

field of these Committees will be the study of Communist science. The position of the laboring women has never been examined and scrutinized as thoroughly as it will be done by these institutions.

In truth—we are not remaining helplessly in one spot. We are marching onwards and even this quiet conference of international Communist women's correspondents breathed a great spirit.

We are already many and are winning new adherents every day. The power of our troops is growing every moment. No conceit and no pusillanimity can stop us. We cannot but conquer the world—and the modest, calm, hesitating women will do their share therein.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### Face to Face with the Famine

by Victor Serge (Kiev).

\*\* The reality of the war was an indescribable nightmare. But one is almost led to ask if the famine is not worse. Nothing can give an idea of what is taking place now—and what will continue to take place for months and months, if not for years—in the immense provinces of revolutionary Russia. The enormity of the figures disconcert and trouble the mind—they surpass the frightful figures to which the imperialist slaughter accustomed us before. In four years of international massacre, according to official statistics, there were 30,000,000 victims of whom one-third were killed. The famine threatens with death a greater number of men, women and children in only one country and in a shorter time. Dr. Nansen has just made a estimate of the work of succor, and with all the combined forces active at present, safety is assured for only nine to ten million famine-stricken. But ten million remain who are absolutely doomed if the civilized governments do not intervene (for these governments are the only ones who have not yet done anything). Ten millions, the total of the dead in the great war! I still hear Gorky repeat "Whatever may be done, whatever may be the effort made to succour them, I certainly believe that several millions of them will be sacrificed". Last Summer Gorky was haunted by this nightmare. And all the horror which he foresaw, took place.

The great emotion evident at the time the Russian famine was announced has calmed down. A sort of indifference to the situation has set in. It is always the same ones who give without seeming to succor the moujiks over there who die outside of the boundaries of selfish and heedless Europe; it is always the same ones who talk about it. The others are silent and live, and often enough they live accustomed to this idea that every day the children of this revolutionary people are dying by the hundreds. "I can't do anything about it". And the maize which is not sold is burned (in Argentina), and empty ships fill the world's ports, causing great losses to the shipbuilders who lose their dividends, and preparations are made to indulge in wars.

Now there are new reports. Why are they not published? I really don't know. The satyrs, the ministers and the calumniators of the Russian revolution monopolize almost all the space in almost all the newspapers. And then one is hardened to the situation. All these Russian names are too difficult to pronounce or to write; finally, a vague remorse does seize you on reading these things, no matter if one prefers not to read them, and the newspapers prefer not to print them. But here they are:

"In the region of Zaporozhje (Ukraine) the population dies with complete indifference. They eat earth and drink dirty water. People have become skeletons and are covered with rags . . . ."

"In the region of Ekaterinoslav 109,000 children and 300,000 adults are victims, of the famine."

"The relief trains going from Penza to Ufa can hardly make their way, because it is necessary to clear from the way the corpses of the famished, and the personnel of the trains is not equal to the work . . . ."

"There isn't enough time to bury the dead at Samara . . . ."

"In the district of Pugachovsk 7,229 men have died of hunger, 32,521 are sick, and 75% of the children died in the shelter—homes . . . . We have seen sufferers who had lost the power of speech. We have seen others who became insane. In the village of Orlovsk we found a woman dead who had just given birth . . . . In February not more than 5% of the population will have survived in a number of the country-places in Samara . . . . Women have been found dead who were pressing in their arms children still alive . . . . Elsewhere mothers kill their children . . . . There is no longer morality, no longer affection, no more bonds, there is nothing

but suffering, despair, death, and sometime instinctive revolt against death . . . ."

And over all this nameless horror the snow stretches its shroud—the winter gives the *misericordia* to the dying. I have picked out by chance from among a bundle of similar documents two telegrams from the Ukraine. Because it is a mistake to have gotten into the habit of speaking of the famine of the Volga. The famine rages in a number of places in the Ukraine, in the Crimea, in the neighbourhood of Kherson, in the Kuban, in the Bashkir region, on the Kama.... Wherever the counter-revolution passed—before the drought—the counter-revolution financed and recognized by Mm. Poincaré and Clémenceau who were in agreement on this point! These things are known, recognized. But what is done? What are people doing to fight against the famine?

The governments, the powerful governments, armed, policed, civilized, who by turns make war, peace, laws, after having wished the famine for Russia, fought the revolution with the blockade—the death of the weak, of children, old men, savants, artists—speculate on the famine, ally of reaction, which intends to overwhelm the Red Republic or to impose upon it the hardest of conditions. Let us not be indignant, however. They are in their proper role.

As for the enlightened bourgeois—what are they doing? Nothing! They live! They trustify petroleum and manufacture cannon. They deliberately aim at the bankruptcy and future famine of Germany. And then they go to the theater, they gourmandize and amuse themselves. Amidst the sinister misery of Vienna and Constantinople they display their luxury and their debauchery. However, let us not be indignant. At bottom they are also within their role, and so much the worse for them . . . .

But what are the elite of mankind doing?—they whose knowledge and thought are almost privilege of caste? It would seem that they have a different role. Formerly during the course of history they were the bearers of the spiritual life of the peoples in times of great calamities. The first Christian bishops protected their cities against the barbarians, fought against plague and leprosy. Bishops and mandarins of today, university men, academicians, poets have bigger hearts and more sensitive nerves and ought to feel a little of the human pain of the Russian peasants. These could have done a great deal, because their prestige has remained high even after the shame of the war. They do nothing. They say nothing. Outside of an Anatole France who is gained over to all the great causes, is there a single one among the forty immortals of the French academy who has made one move for the thirty million who are suffering and dying over there? No. What are the universities doing? The University of Oxford, for example, persecutes Communists.

Then there is Socialism also, and there is also official Trade-Unionism—Amsterdam, Vienna, London. Three "Workers" Internationals, all three invoking the future and the new society they have done nothing—or almost nothing. In any case they have done less for the rescue of the famine-stricken in Russia than for combatting the Russian revolution. And one can read every day their miserable polemics, the most sordid competition of interests, unheeding of the obvious interest of the future, of humanity, of the proletariat, of the revolution—in one word, of life.

In entire modern society, outside of revolutionary advance-guards, led by Communists, and workers who have answered their appeal, only a few admirable individuals have understood, have acted. . . . A great explorer in whom the soul of an apostle has shown itself—Nansen. . . . the Quakers and the doctors of a few German and Swedish Red Cross associations (many died of typhus at the task amidst those whom they went to succor). How few men there are among humanity today. This miserable capitalist humanity has permitted, one after another, the war, the blockade, the famine—triple trial of which the last, means a serious natural calamity. If within one month and at the latest, two months, Russia is not enabled to carry through its spring sowing, the famine will come again—and it will be for a long time a redoubtable obstacle in the way of every attempt at the economic reconstruction of Europe—and no one can as yet foretell what terrible international economic repercussions may result from the depopulation and the transformation into a desert of a grain-producing country of Europe.

the archives of the former Menshevik Government, has returned to Moscow. The Mensheviks have either destroyed or removed the largest part of the most important archives in their evacuation at the beginning of 1920. In spite of that, the Commission succeeded in collecting an immense amount of material. This material incontestably shows the very close union which existed between the Georgian Mensheviks and the Russian counter-revolutionary elements, who for three years fought against the workers and peasants of Russia.

The following documents are particularly interesting:

1— The report of the Menshevik D. Topuridze to the Georgian Foreign Minister Gegechkori and to the Georgian War Minister Georgadse, on negotiations with the representative of the Entente, concerning the proposal that Georgia should place at the disposal of the Allies all its material means for the purpose of fighting the Bolsheviks. The Georgian Mensheviks, for the assumption of this Judas role demanded a loan and the protection of their borders. These negotiations took place in Baku at the end of 1918.

2— A number of notes addressed to the Entente representative, which show that the Georgian Mensheviks let the Bitsherachovsky detachment and other White Guard sections pass through Georgia on the way to General Denikin in Novorossisk.

3— Documents which show the existence of a number of agreements between Georgia and General Denikin's representative, General Baratov, in which the Georgian Mensheviks bound themselves not to hinder General Denikin, and to make it possible for him to concentrate all his forces on the anti-Bolshevik front. After the assassination of General Baratov, his successor, Colonel Den, continued the work of the former, and in the name of Denikin, concluded a number of agreements with Georgia.

4— The minutes of the conference which took place in March 1920 show that, Gegechkori, Gedvanov, Aveliani represented Georgia; and on the other side were, Terrek for the Kuban and Kovalov, Sosulya and Wigayev for the Don. At this conference the Mensheviks assumed the role of the intermediary between the counter-revolutionary Cossacks and the peasantry of the Black Sea which was opposed to the former, and also of mediators between the White Guard Cossacks and the mountain tribes.

5— Documents which show that the pretended escape of the interned volunteers from the detention-camp in Poti and from other Georgian camps to General Wrangel occurred through a secret understanding with the Menshevik government which was protected by the Entente. The report of the commander of the militia in Gangrino, the Menshevik Osidse, and the correspondence of General Modivani with the representative of the French Mission, Colonel Betraine, in Batum, about the demands that the volunteers be sent to the Crimea on the steamer "Boris", show very clearly that Georgia, through all these cases of pretended escape, systematically supported the counter-revolutionary forces of South Russia.

6— The numerous documents which show that the Georgian government in the summer and fall of 1920 supplied General Wrangel with coal, naphta products and a special kind of wood which the air forces of the counter-revolutionary army of South Russia needed, although it had concluded a treaty with Soviet Russia. This agreement was signed by the representative of the Georgian government. Thus the Mensheviks sent General Wrangel in August 1920, 30,000 poods of naphta products alone.

7— The material concerning the activity of the Georgian Mensheviks together with active representatives of the Wrangel organization, on Georgian territory: First Lieutenant Hogodin, Prince Tomanov and others who called themselves, "The Committee for the Support of the Mountain Tribes and the Cossacks for Liberation from the Bolsheviks", in the preparation and furtherance of the uprising against the Soviet Government in North Caucasus.

Besides rich material was found concerning the treacherous attitude of the Georgian Mensheviks toward the Armenian Soviet and other neighboring Soviet republics and the atrocities of the Georgian Secret Police against the Communists.

In the near future the collected material will be published in full. The Commission published extracts from this material in two pamphlets entitled, "The Civil War in Russia and Menshevik Georgia", and "The Secrets of the Menshevik Regime". These pamphlets were published in Tiflis, the capital of Georgia.

## THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

### The Report of the Special Commission of the Comintern for the Investigation of the Georgian Mensheviks

\*\* The Special Commission of the Communist International which was sent to Georgia for the purpose of studying