Soviet Russia and Disarmament.

At the Genoa Conference Soviet Russia proposed general disarmament which was rejected by the capitalist representatives. Now it turns to the Border States with the proposal to effect a partial disarmament. This is another unequivocal proof of the true nature of the policy pursued by our Workers’ and Peasants’ Government, — a policy of peace.

From that moment on, when the working masses of Russia showed the proletariat of the world that they were able to take care of themselves in the face of the bayonets of imperialist intervention and the Russian White Guards, the capitalist press throughout the world began to shout about the “imperialist” Soviets. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the Social Democratic press of all shades, took up the cry of their masters, and in the name of pacifism and in the interests of the “working class”, they began to rave against the “imperialistic” policy of Soviet Russia. For two and a half years “the little semi-liberal fools of the English Labor Party”, of MacDonald’s cut, and the Kaiser-“Socialists, who all through the war, tried to justify every cruelty and bestiality committed by English and German imperialism, together with those jelly-bat “Marxists”, shouted about the “red Militarism” of Soviet Russia, pointing out in a professorial manner, that a bayonet is a bayonet, whether it serves to defend or to kill the working masses.

At the Genoa Conference, the Soviet Government delivered a hard blow at the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, by its proposal to include the question of disarmament in the order of the day. This was not a mere manoeuvre of the Soviet Government to unmask its enemies. It was a step necessitated by the most vital interests of the Peasants’ and Workers’ of Russia. We desire to concentrate all the energy of the workers and peasants upon constructive, peaceful work, in order to be able as soon as possible to restore our economic household, that was destroyed by the imperialistic reaction, and by the blockade. But we cannot possibly disarm ourselves, so long as the capitalists refuse to disarm themselves also. If Europe were to disarm by international agreement, Soviet Russia would then be able to concentrate all its energy on constructive peace work, being fully convinced that the working classes of the other countries will be capable to take care of their own ruling classes by themselves. Any reduction of disarmament however small would be a step forward, for it would permit us to strengthen our economic position, thus making it possible for us to show the great masses at home and abroad, how great the creative powers of the working class really are.

But our proposal was not well received by the representatives of the capitalist governments. The first one to protest was M. Barthou, the representative of the same imperialism which, through its mouth-piece at the Washington Conference, M. Brand, tried to justify the existence of a million-strong French army, with the existence of the Red Army. But even Lloyd George, who declared that our proposal was a very fair one, and that the household of Europe cannot possibly be restored without a reduction of armaments, had in mind not the disarmament of England, but the disarmament of France.

In all cases, English Imperialism insists upon the right to keep up a large navy, which according to English Government officials is to serve only as a means of keeping England in touch with her colonies that are strewn all over the world. English imperialism does not command a large land-army; and for this reason, it favors the disarmament of France, or the reduction of its military forces, with which it is in competition for the hegemony of Europe.

The general proposal made by Soviet Russia in Genoa for international disarmament was not even examined. With a view of diminishing the military burdens that are exhausting the whole of Europe, especially the Eastern European countries that have been bled white, the Soviet Government, not being satisfied with the proposal that it made in vain at the Genoa Conference, again raises the question of at least a partial reduction of armaments. Yesterday, (the 13th of June), the Soviet Government sent notes to the Polish, Lithuanian, Estonian and Finnish Governments, in which it proposes that a conference be called in the near future for the purpose of discussing the question of a final reduction of armaments throughout Eastern Europe. (The official text of the note will be published in our next issue. — The Ed.) This note emphasized the fact that the Soviet Government is ready to enter into an agreement on this question with those of its neighbours, with whom it has no treaty relations and to whom it is therefore unable to address itself directly. Such are the relations, for example, between Soviet Russia and Roumania. If Roumania were to agree to reduce its armaments proportionally, this plan...
could be carried out in spite of the fact that the disputes between Roumania and Soviet Russia are as yet unsettled. But the Soviet Government would probably raise no objections if the Roumanian Government were prepared to cooperate with Soviet Russia.

The above-mentioned proposal of the Soviet Government came simultaneously with the great political crisis in Poland, which was reported yesterday. Marshal Piłsudski, the head of the Polish Government, has called a proclamation in protest of Szym- munt's policy of peace. Piłsudski claims that Poland is in danger of being attacked by Russia who is partly to a military agreement with Germany against Poland. M. Piłsudski, who is responsible for the Kiev area and a daring and adventurous politician, is said to have offered to the Soviet Russia that cost the lives of tens of thousands of Polish and Russian workers and peasants; M. Piłsudski, the accomplice of France in this movement, cannot possibly imagine that two countries can refrain from uniting against his own policy of war. Now is the time for the Polish Government, the Polish Parliament, and the Polish laboring masses, to learn whether Soviet Russia entertains any imperialistic plans or not. Now is the time for the Polish people to find out whether Poland actually needs her militarism that wastes billions belonging to the poor Polish masses. If Poland rejects Soviet Russia's proposals, every Polish citizen will know that Piłsudski is craving for war and for the expenditure of public moneys. Poland attempted through its ruling classes to effect an alliance with the Baltic countries and with Finland; it tried to raise their hair with a story about the danger that threatened them and their independence. And these countries to a greater or lesser degree listened to Poland's fairy tale. But now, the governments of Lithuania, Estonia, and Finland have shown ability to get at the truth about the plans and intentions of Soviet Russia, and it is they who will be responsible if the military burdens of these small peoples are not lessened.

This proposal made by Soviet Government is merely the continuation of the policy which it always pursued. We consider the sword only as means of defending thepossession of the working-class, and we are striving for the full or partial opportunity to beat the sword into a plow. And now, the working masses of the whole world, particularly those of Eastern Europe, will come to realize this truth, no matter how loud the Dazsayans and the other willing licks of capitalist imperialism may shout about our "imperialism".

France and the Revision of the Versailles Treaty
by Paul Louis (Paris).

The French bourgeoisie press finds a little difficulty in understanding the vote of the Reparations Committee on June 7th, and the report of the Bankers Committee on the 11th.

The French bourgeoisie have lived since 1914 under a certain number of simple ideas which are peculiar to them.

1. That we have gained a great military victory over the Central Empires.
2. That the whole world is rejoicing at this victory because the French bourgeoisie is at the head of civilization.
3. That this victory has given every right to this bourgeoisie, whose prestige is universal.
4. That a Power allied to France from 1914 to 1918 is bound to remain indefinitely in this alliance and to support France in her demands.
5. That the governments of the Bloc National, which in the face of the deficit and a huge public debt have said, "Germany shall pay", are not able to retract that statement, Germany must pay and all means are justifiable to force her to execute the Versailles Treaty to the letter.

Since 1919 an evolution has been proceeding in the political conceptions of the French bourgeoisie, even with those who had associated themselves with France in the world conflict. That is what the French governing class has not been able to realize in spite of the most evident realities.

While this possessing class, less active and less intelligent than others in the war, has continued to fight during peace, wishing to glut itself to satiety on its so-called victory, counting on brute force to crush the resistance of Germany and to exact from her milliards and milliards, the English, Italian and American bourgeoisie are murmuring.

France has suffered less from unemployment than the great industrial countries, Great Britain and the United States.

Precisely because its agrarian population is much denser the industrial calendar has weighed less heavily upon it. But the American and English bourgeoisie fear that their proletariat

will free themselves from Laborism and reformism, if they are not able to furnish them with the regular work they expect. They believe they will abolish unemployment and restore business prosperity in the quasi-normal state if Russia and Germany are reincorporated into the international market. The whole program of Lloyd George's foreign policy is guided by this consideration.

Let us leave the Russian problem. The English bourgeoisie, after having carried itself with the German fleet and colour, perceived that this treaty was disadvantageous for those who had been obliged to sign it, and it outlined the revision under certain conditions. M. Poincaré, who examined this document and pronounced it intangible. What has lost the "Germany will pay", could not be said without avowing not only the bankruptcy of his diplomacy but the financial bankruptcy of France.

After having squeezed the workers as much as it could in order to seize the supplementary taxes (which run into millions), the Government states that, if Germany does not pay, it will have no other resource than to tax the rich, which it refuses to do, or to refuse the payment of interest to its bondholders—a hypothesis which fills it with horror.

That is why after having proclaimed the entire treaty of the French claim on Russia at Geneva, they have declared the entire French claim on Germany. Knowing that, the Bankers Committee had asked for an extension of its mandate, to be able to apply the international loan to a reduction of the Reich's debts to the United States, they were opposed to this decision. In the Reparation Commission, France, as the leading England, Italy, Belgium and America, whose bourgeoisie were invaded through fear of an aggravation of the economic crisis to a revision of the Versailles Treaty. It was a severe defeat for M. Poincaré.

The latter had believed that the bankers would not wish to use their extended mandate. They issued a decision showing the necessity for the revision of the Interallied demands upon Germany. The second check for the revision bourgeoisie. There is no possibility of escape from the revision of the Versailles Treaty, which is demanded by every proletariat and every possessing class except France. And as the French bourgeoisie is at the head of world reaction, this double defeat of importance.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Defeat of the English Metal Workers.

Another "Victory" for Amsterdam.

By Frank Smith (London).

The British Metal War has been won and lost. The Metal Section of the Federation of British Industries—ably led by Allan Smith, the director of the British Iron and Steel Trades loving Trade Union leaders to beg and sue and to avail themselves of an armistice was signed on Tuesday June 13th by J. T. Brown, of the British Empire—on behalf of the Amalgamated Engineers, the largest group of workers involved in the lockout. This was made possible through the tactics adopted by the 'yellow' union leaders during the 14 weeks of war. On May 24th the Employers tabled their so-called 'modified' proposals to the 47 unions outside the A.E.U. These proposals were submitted, after being carefully censored by the leaders of the 47, the ballot vote of the rank and file. A promise was given that no recommendation as to voting would be given on the ballot papers, but this did not prevent certain of the officers of the unions from sending a covering letter to each of the Branch Secretaries, advising the rank and file to accept the new terms. This action was particularly noticeable in the case of some of the "parlialitiat " organisations, especially the Allied Trade who is supposed to cater for "Engineers, Firemen, Motormen and Electrical Workers". The General Secy. (Parkes), of this organisation in a circular letter to his representatives said "I have no hesitation in advising the whole of our members . . . to accept the employers proposals". So much for the agreed policy of an recommendation agreed to by the Big Bugs of the 47. Once again the maligned 47 unions, with the exception of the Boilermakers, and the Engineers, have deserted the members of the A.E.U. involved in the dispute.

On June 3rd the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, at a National Conference at York. This conference was convened for the purpose of the possibility of a resumption of work on the shoulders of the rank and file delegates, and therefore preserving the reputation of the full
time officials in the eyes of the great bulk of the membership. This is proved by the fact that in spite of hundreds of resolutions calling upon the E. C. to summon a National Conference, during the first few weeks, for the purpose of extending the dispute no notice was taken of these resolutions by the ‘good democrats’ at 110, Peckham Road, London.

However this tactic missed fire because of the arguments used by the Red delegates, who pointed out that only a very small proportion of the total membership were on the streets, and any solution arrived at would have to apply to all members irrespective of whether they were now unemployed, locked-out, or still engaged in work in ‘non-federated’ workshops. More than 81,000 were engaged in the official lock-out, 89,000 full members were employed before the dispute, and 3,000 were involved in the ship-repair strike. This meant that over 212,000 members had never had the opportunity of expressing their opinions would be involved in any settlement.

There was a strong minority in favour of all engineers being officially withdrawn on June the 9th, but the Chairman of the Conference used all his powers to get this form of action turned down. He finally succeeded.

A resolution was moved from the London delegates, advising the members to turn down the employers terms. Brownlee refused to accept this resolution, and said it was out of order, which it was, according to the programme mapped out by the ‘yellow men’.

On the eve of June 3rd the same E. C. of the Engineers suspended the majority of the Sheffield District Committee, because this committee had carried out the mandate given them by several mass meetings of the members held in their area. They had ordered the withdrawal of all members, both federated and non-federated, who came under their jurisdiction, and had refused to rescind from that position when ordered by the E. C. to instruct the members employed in federated workshops to return to work. Therefore Sheffield was not officially represented at the York Conference. The E. C. had instructed a ‘safe’ member of the minority of the District Committee to proceed to York, this in spite of the fact that 2 delegates had been elected by the members in accordance with the rules of the organisation.

These yellow men can always be unconstitutional when Reds are appointed to represent the mass opinion of the membership.

On June the 14th Brownlee sent a circular letter to the capitalist press advising the men of the A.E.U. to vote in favour of the Employers so-called ‘modified proposals’. This action on his part was directly against the expressed desires of the Delegate Conference. He was hailed as a sane statesman by the capitalist dope-sheets.

The results of the ballot of the A.E.U. were 75,478 in favour, and 39,423 against the new proposals of the F.B.I. The total membership of the A.E.U. is about 400,000, so that less than 28.3 per cent of the members took the trouble to vote. That great mass are disgusted at the manner in which the fight has been carried on.

Are these terms accepted and recommended by the Amsterdamers? They are: (a) The employers have the sole right to say what class of labor shall operate any given machine; that hours the men—or boys and girls—shall work, and also the wages the labor shall receive. (b) In case of any difficulty arising on this issue it is quite easily done. The men must first work the overtime, and the question may be discussed afterwards. So simple!

The same procedure applies to the manning of machines. The employer has the sole right to say what class of labor shall operate any given machine; that hours the men—or boys and girls—shall work, and also the wages the labor shall receive.

One month after the termination of the dispute, the representatives of the employers and the workmen shall have a joint conference, to devide and arise at an agreed system of payment by results.

This agreement will easily be arrived at by the leaders. . . .

No definite agreed basis has been reached that will guarantee, as in the case of Chicago, that in the past, that all workers who were locked-out on March 10, 1919, will return, and be placed in the respective workshops. This means that the employers have scored a signal success, and that thousands of the older workers, so well accustomed to rule of thumb methods, will not be required by the Boss in the future. A further 20,000 will be added during the next few months to the 90,000 already unemployed. All because of the same membership of the Amsterdam supporters.

The armistice has been signed, but as Clemenceau would say the war is continued in the peace. At the highest opportunity it will again break out. Speed the day!!

The total result of the recent dispute has been to prove in a very certain fashion the futility of craft unionism. It has compelled the old workmen to realise that they cannot depend on trade union funds to beat the Boss. Most remarkable of all it has compelled the purely craft union men to be rather bitterly disposed towards the leaders, who by their peace loving methods, have lost the men their last chance of retaining their status in the workshops. Almost every month engineering trouble has marked one more mile stone on the road to a new federal form of labour organisation. One more mile stone on the way to a full realisation of class consciousness inside the British trade union movement, that stronghold of social patriotism it has added one more mile stone to the necks of the Yellow Leaders.

It has assisted the rate at which the old fashioned trade union will enroll in the ranks of the army of the proletariat. It has speeded up the dawn of the economic battle, which cannot be very long delayed. Finally it has clearly proved that the Amsterdamer only lead the workers to damnation.

The Labor Situation in America.

by Earl R. Browder (Chicago).

The offensive of the capitalist forces against wages, working conditions, and the existence of the unions, has taken on increasing scope and bitterness. On the other hand, a great many workers’ organisations have been meeting in convention, and almost every case has registered an advance in working class consciousness, and an awakening to the threatening dangers of capitalism. The capitalists are gaining at many points; but they are paying the price of seeing their greatest mass of hitherto unconscious workers gradually begin to look about for real weapons of resistance.

The Railwaymen.

The railwaymen in the shops, maintenance, etc. (all except the road service men) have just been given a slashing cut in wages. The newspapers estimate the “saving” to the companies at about $50,000,000 per year. Another cut of the same proportions is promised for the near future. The locomotive engineers, the firemen, the conductors, and the trainmen, are expecting that they will be the next to undergo drastic levies upon their wages.

The shop men (about 600,000 out of a total of 1,800,000 men employed on the railways) are meeting in convention in the latter part of April, and voted a strike on the national railroad systems if their grievances were not remedied. Strike votes are being taken in several other unions, making much more than half of the union men involved voting on the proposed strike.

The movement for amalgamation of all railroad unions into one great industrial union, has been taking tremendous proportions. A great convention of the railroad clerks and freight handlers, held at Dallas, Texas, in May, voted overwhelmingly in favor; innumerable local unions are taking it up; two of the great unions (the engineers and firemen) have voted to amalgamate; and the issue is becoming the line of cleavage between the “radicals” and revolutionists on the one hand, against the bureaucracy in the unions.

The Miners.

The great strike of the United Mine Workers of America has just ended its second month of battle, and is standing solidarier than ever. Instead of weakening in the fight, it has carried the struggle into the hitherto unorganized fields. Going into the struggle with only about 500,000 members, its roll this month has reached 665,000 and closed down operations in the Connelsville Coke region of Pennsylvania, which supplies the great steel mills, and which has been non-union during its entire history. Production of non-union coal has been cut from 10,000,000 tons to 4,000,000 tons; which is about 5% of the consumption of the country normally. The reserves are being rapidly exhausted. Mines on the part of the operators to open negotiations for a settlement are expected within a week or two. The effort will be made to break the solidarity of the miners, by offering partial
The Berlin Syndicalist Conference

by Andrei Nin.

Since the First Congress of the E.U.I.U. there have been many attempts by the Anarchist element, who prefer revolutionary insurrection to organization of the fight against the bourgeoisie, to sabotage the work accomplished in Moscow by the delegates of the revolutionary trade union organization of all countries. They begin by raising a quite unprincipled panic with regard to the famous decisions establishing relations with the Committee of Revolutionary Syndicalists Internationals, and with the textile workers.

They are still as in the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Vermont, and Wisconsin, without organization, a strike in January. They are dragging on. Collections of the fund are going on.

The Day of Judgement

by Karl Rodch.

Moscow, June 30th.

This is only the tenth day of the S.R. Trial, and every day of this trial presents a new and vivid picture of the crimes committed by the ultra-bourgeois party against the workers and peasants of Russia, and against the World Revolution. Please to please, the days of the Russian Revolution are being sanctified before the court. First comes the opening of the Petrograd workers. The Social Revolutionary Kerensky opposes the position of the S.R. State organizes the Stolypin'slya troika. The S.R. State organizes the Okhrana, the liberal schools against the workers and the fight against Kerensky. The police and the Okhrana.

did that not in order to save the Crimean Peninsula, but in order to call out the working class to decide whether she will permit another civil war, now being proclaimed in the court-room by the Social Democrats, or whether she is ready to stand behind the Soviet Power and to erase from the face of the earth anyone who dares to raise his hand in the effort to throw the enslaved country into another hell of civil war. In Petrograd, we saw tens and hundreds of thousands of workers marching in Volodymyr's grave on the Field of Mars, and in Moscow, endless lines of workers marching to the Red Square and past the walls of the Kremlin, where the first victims of the S.R. insurrection that broke out in 1917 lived. We must truly say that since Moscow saw a workers' demonstration, the garrison did not oppose. The garrison did not oppose the command of the Red Army.
THE COLONIES

Manifesto of the Communist International on the Liberation of Algiers and Tunis.

French proletarians! Proletarians of Algiers and Tunis!

Mitterand, the President of the plutocratic French Republic, the man who can rightly lay claim to the title of one of the "first social traitors" of France, formerly elected representative of the smallest workers, who has become the chief butcher of General Galliffet the chief slaughterer during the Paris Commune, the advocate of popular trials, who has been bought by the great financial corporations, the chief gelid culprit of Poincaré in causing the outbreak of the world war, has just visited the enormous territory of French Imperialism in North Africa.

Whilst he, accompanied by a strong guard, visited these subjected countries, whilst he stayed among these exploited and subjected peoples, his gendarmes arrested and ill-treated the Communists of Tunis with redoubled eagerness. This social traitor who has succeeded to power, this Mitterand—to see him now as the party of the proletariat, the native emancipation movement and of the imprisonment of the Communists Louzon and El Kefi and many others,—this delightful picture is now afforded us by present-day colonial France.

For the first time since the conquest of North Africa by France, Capitulation under the heel of the great planters and slave owning officials, find among the countrymen of their exploiters a mighty and reliable ally who espouses their cause and will support them until victory is at last achieved: this ally is the party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of France, section of the Communist International. The first flush of the dawn of emancipation has appeared to the Arabian proletarians, subjected to shameful exploitation by native aristocrats and French conquerors. The imperialist war has inflamed the spirit of revolt in Tunis and Algiers, as in Egypt and India. And simultaneously with the nationalist demands, class demands are being put forward, more and more urgently.

The revolt of the Moslem masses, which could not be put down by the measures of English imperialism and which arose the mightier after each suppression, cannot halt at the borders of English occupied territories and already it threatens French Imperialism.

The French colonies paid a heavy tribute in blood during the great imperial war. Taking advantage of the ignorance of the masses and forcing them to support them by terror, the foreign rulers of the country succeeded in raising enormous native regiments, whose blood was shed on the fronts of western Europe to ensure their defense of the bourgeois cash boxes.

In Tunis, resistance to revolt has been bloody suppressed. The bourgeois press, as if by agreement, was silent upon these tragic events and by this disclosed the true character of the war which ostensibly was conducted for "Democracy and Civilisation".

French civilisation expresses itself in Africa in pitiless suppression, in the imposition of unbearable taxes, in the unheard of misery of the peasant and workers. Algiers was recently visited by a disastrous famine. Tunis has for forty years suffered under a Czariat-like regime which rules with the tricolor banner under the cynical name of "Protectorate".

In Tunis it is even impossible to publish a Communist paper the French and Tunisian Communists, fraternally united in the struggle against bourgeois dictatorship, are subjected to the same persecution.

Not content with exploiting the Arabian, Jewish, French, Italian, and Spanish workers of North Africa to complete exhaustion, the French slave owners are attempting to recruit a great native army which they wish to use as the main instrument of suppression of the proletarian revolution in France. It is a question of raising black troops in order to convert them into weapons against the workers. It is a question of employing the ignorant proletarians of Algiers and Tunis against the class conscious proletarians of France.

But the hour has gone by in which the French bourgeoisie could have realised this plan with impunity. As the revolutionaries of Tunis, Algiers and all the French workers, soldiers and sailors, so the revolutionaries of France will find their hour among the colonial regiments. The fraternisation of the exploited of all colours, all religions, all races, realizing more and more their class interests, has already begun. It cannot be stopped. The repressive measures which are now being redoubled in Tunis will not stem the tide of freedom. On the contrary, they will but increase this movement still more, they will deepen it and make it irresistible. The blows aimed at the Communists will strengthen the prestige of Communism, redouble its influence and establish the Communist Party in full light before the eyes of the native masses as the sole pioneer of their rights.

The French proletarian knows the cause of the African proletarian is his cause and defends it accordingly. He will assure the victory of revolution in the colonies and at the same time strike a blow at French Imperialism in its most vulnerable part, in its imperialist efforts at expansion.

The fight for the emancipation of Algiers and Tunis in the beginning, it will only end with the triumph of the slaves.

The Communist International greets the French and native comrades persecuted and imprisoned by the ruling caste, it greets the comrades Louzon and El Kefi and all others. It greets the Communist organisation of Tunis and the Communist party of France which carries on the fight against suppression and assures it of the complete solidarity of the International proletariat.

The Communist International calls to all the oppressed and exploited in Algiers and Tunis:

Moslem, Jewish and Christian Proletarians!

Arabic, French and Spanish Proletarians!

Unite together against the exploiters beneath the flag of the Communist Party!

Soldiers and Sailors of France!

Do not shoot the Tunisian and Algerian brothers! Fraternise with the people in their struggle for freedom!

Proletarians of France!

To the help of the African proletariat!

Long live the Communist Party of France, long live the Communist organisations of Tunis and Algiers! Long live the revolution of the Colonial Proletariat!

Moscow, May 20th, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

RE Biography FOR RUSSIA

To the Central Committees of All Communist Parties.

The Presidium of the Communist International and the Berlin Bureau of the Communist International Famine and Economic Relief in Soviet Russia are compelled to turn once more to the Parties of the Communist International in order to call their attention to the importance of the execution of famine relief work.

The famine in Soviet Russia continues. In single districts of the Volga district the situation has improved but in other parts of the Russian Empire the devastating catastrophe is more terrible than ever. The news which has arrived in Moscow from these districts has impelled the Presidium to turn again to the Communist Parties.

Captain Kwisling, the representative of the Nansen Committee in Charkov, placed the number of famine victims in these areas at unquestionably 5 millions: these are divided into three groups:

1.—No. of inhabitants absolutely without provisions, who are in immediate danger of starvation... 2.000,000

2.—No. of inhabitants, living on hay, etc., insufficient to maintain life... 2.000,000

3.—No. of inhabitants, who have at present provisions enough for the maintenance of life, but who will shortly be among the starving... 1.000,000

In the Urals there are at least 2,000,000 more probably 3,000,000 living under the same conditions as above. These are distributed in the following governments: Tschelabinsk, Ekaterinburg, Ufa and the Bashkir Republic...

In the Ukraine, the starving inhabitants are distributed as follows:—

In the Saparezy Republic, in a population of 1,288,000...

900,000

In the Ekaterinodar district...

520,000

(The figure will rise to a total of 730,000)

In the Nikolaiev Government, in a population of 1,700,000...

800,000

Total 10,222,000
The months before the harvest are the most difficult of the year. There is the great danger that the peasants will begin to cut the indifferent crops too early and therefore the most strenuous efforts must be made during these weeks to bring speedy aid. The bourgeois governments up to the present have done as good as nothing for the starving. A common action, which alone would have sufficed to overcome the famine, was denied Naasen. Individual countries have given trifling sums, but so far not yet undertaken to send actual provisions for the amounts voted.

The Presidium of the Communist International and Berlin Secretariat of the Comintern for the Russian Famine hold the present moment appropriate for Communist Parties in all Parliaments to endeavor to have passed resolutions for the prompt voting and speedy materialization of aid for the famine in Soviet Russia. The two institutions therefore call upon all Communist parties and sections to see that such steps are taken in their Parliaments. And we ask all Communist sections in all Parliaments to see that the other sections of working class parties are united with them in demanding from the Government immediate and effective relief.

It must be impressed that the State make the means of relief realizable as quickly as possible and that the sums voted are really sent to the starving in Soviet Russia. It is most important that in the first place provisions be sent in good preservation. If the starving are yet to be saved these provisions must be sent immediately. In the second place money and clothing are needed. It must be clearly learnt in what manner the promised relief will be sent and when the provisions are to be sent to Russia.

This action, to be carried out as quickly as possible in all Parliaments, must not affect the efforts made up to now on the part of the people in the fields. To help those who are in Russia as far as possible the others, they must be continued. Simultaneously with Parliamentary action it is the duty of all Communist Parties, through the Party Press, public propaganda and meetings, to support the Parliamentary action strongly.

Not a day longer can we delay, not an hour is to be lost. The lives of millions of Russian peasants and workers are at stake.

For the Presidium of the Comintern: Zinoviev.
For the Berlin Secretariat: Willy Maausenberg.

The Working Class Continues its Relief.

The ship "Dolart" left Hamburg on June 13th for Petrograd with a cargo of 300 tons of Argentine grain sent by the International Workers Relief Committee. The purchase was conducted by the Wholesale Buying Society of the German Consumers' League.

A further shipment of 300 tons of rye and 3,000 kgs. of cocoa will be in preparation. A gift of sugar, cocoa and milk to the value of 40,000 marks from the German Union of Hand and Brain Workers to the children of the Russian miners will be sent on the same transport.

Russia, at present least before the harvest, is passing through the most difficult part of the year. Especially in the towns are the workers in great need of help from their fellow workers of the West. Unless new help is received, the danger threatens that the peasants, in their despair, will cut the grain too early and endanger the whole harvest.

Comrades! Do not allow your efforts to relax! Give and Help with what you can!

New Problems in Famine Relief

by A. Vinokurov.

The famine campaign of 1921-1922 is coming to an end. The following fact is sufficient to characterize the present situation on the Volga famine front. At the present time about 11,000,000 people are receiving sufficient relief. It is expected that in the near future this number will increase considerably. In that case a very considerable part of the starving people are already being cared for. The work of the relief cannot stop at this point. It must go on developing until the new harvest.

But outside of this there are new problems arising in the field of famine relief. The famine has left behind it many marks of destruction and thousands of people who were victims of the bad harvest. It is therefore necessary to make good these losses and to take the necessary measures for the restoration of the destroyed households.

The following fact throw some light on the extent of the havoc worked by the famine.

In the Saratov District, the area sown in 1914 amounted to 3,900,000 desisatines; in 1922 this area dropped to 1,800,000 desisatines, that is, to less than one half. The number of horses decreased in 1922 by 3/4 of that of 1914. A similar condition applies to the livestock in the Volga region. In 1914 there were 15% heads of domestic animals per household. In 1921, there was only one domestic animal per three households. A similar condition must be found in the agricultural inventory. Instead of 1½ plows and 1½ harrows per household in 1914, we find in 1921, one only plow per three farms and one harrow per two farms. This points to the danger that even if there is a good harvest this year, there will be no means of gathering the expected grain harvest, without outside help.

The Ufim District presents a picture that is no less disquieting.

The 1,751,000 desisatines area, sown in 1911, decreased to 803,000 desisatines in 1922, that is, again to less than one half. The number of horses, which was 552,000 dropped to 216,000, that is to about 40% of what it was formerly.

Besides the ruined agriculture, havoc is seen in the local industries of the famine regions. There is a great shortage in the materials necessary for improvements in the various factories, whose working capacity has greatly suffered.

It is not only the economic organs that have suffered from the famine, but also other Soviet Departments; the department of health, education, social insurance and those of local, district and town management.

It is absolutely necessary to consider these ruins in detail and to take steps for their reconstruction. There are some alarming symptoms to be seen; the agricultural population is already beginning to sell its grain to the speculators. This must be fought energetically. Epidemics are spreading, etc. etc.

The Famine Relief must start working on new lines. Without stopping the aid furnished to the famine victims, it is necessary to launch an immediate campaign for the restoration of household economy in the regions that have suffered from the famine.

First of all the Government must help. The Executive Committee instructed the Central Famine Relief Committee to take the necessary steps to restore famine-ridden households. Work has already begun, in that direction. A committee has been appointed to investigate the damage caused by the famine, and to make recommendations in the line of concrete relief measures. On the 10th of this month, there will be a Famine Regions Conference, in Samara, with the representatives of the Economic and Famine Relief Organizations. This conference will have the special task of estimating the effects of the famine on our national economy, and estimate the minimum necessary to revive it.

On the 9th of July, an international conference for the Relief of the Famine Sufferers in Russia, will take place in Berlin, which will consist chiefly of labor organizations. This conference will also take up the question of Economic Relief in the famine-ruled Volga District.

The workers and peasants of Russia are not exempted from cooperating in this relief-work.

The aid furnished by them up to the present has given some good results; 7,000,000 pecks were furnished in food-products alone. Without cutting off this aid until the new harvest, it is necessary to reorganize the relief-work on new lines, emphasizing the economic relief of the ruined Volga District.

Those districts that have had a fair harvest should now aid in the economic restoration of these neighbour-districts that suffered from the famine. Everything is needed in this relief-work; cattle, agricultural supplies, and financial aid to help the starving peasants against the speculators.

The Food Provisionals Relief is coming to an end. A new campaign for the restoration of the national economy destroyed by the famine, is to be launched. The various organs of the Famine Relief Organization, should take up the new problems and bring the struggle against the famine and its effects to a successful end. We, who were victims of the initial phase of this struggle, should also emerge victorious from its final phase.
IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Crisis in the Italian Socialist Party

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

The new and perhaps last crisis which the Italian Socialist Party is now passing through will probably sound the standpoint of the Communist Party of Italy was when—often with the disapproval of the comrades of the other parties of the Communist International—it denied that the Italian Socialist Party had any revolutionary spirit and sharply attacked its leading men and publications.

The occasion which again brought to light the deep lying inner process of dissolution, was the recent bloody events in Bologna, where the Fascists by concentrating an army of 20,000 adherents militarily organized, with equipped and armed, showed a sample of the manner in which the class war in Italy will be carried on in the near future. The week of terror which the proletariat of Bologna had to pass through gave the reformists of the Socialist Party a cheap pretext to renew their attacks against the "Maximalist" Central Committee of the Party for the purpose of getting hold of the central apparatus of the party, after having succeeded in getting hold of a great number of local branches and of the extensive network of trade union and cooperative organisations.

In fact the efforts of the reformists within the party are no longer directed towards using the most favorable moment for a split with the "Maximalists", and the severing of the Right Wing of the party, by this means seeking the formal expulsion of the Labor Party as a smashing way for it. This was perhaps the original plan of the Coalitions, as the followers of Serrati soon after the Congress of Livorno in January 1921 solemnly declared their revolutionary will and their continued adherence to the Communist International. If these phrases were put into practice by practical, persevering and concrete activity, the reformists perhaps would have remained for a time in the party in order there to carry on their propaganda among elements favorable to themselves, and the whole influence of the party for the approaching Parliamentary elections; and then, after having achieved that object, would have severed relations which hampered the free development of the movement. The blustering words of Serrati’s followers were this time again as empty as before, void of any sincere will to begin a revolutionary work of preparation, with no understanding of the vital and immediate interests of the proletariat, of its triumphs and defeats, and without any earnest discipline.

The Socialist Party led by the Maximalists exhausted its whole energy and its whole activity in a fierce, inexorable struggle against the young Communist Party.

The conflicting elements of the Italian proletarian political problem crystallized themselves at the two opposite poles: in the Socialists and in the Communist Party. After the Communist Party had thrown itself into the bloody struggle against the attack of the capitalists and proclaimed revolutionary slogans like the dictatorship of the proletariat, the conquest of political power by force, and the unity of the proletarian forces, the Socialist Party was more and more compelled to adopt and defend the slogans of Social Democracy: against every form of dictatorship, against all force and the gradual conquest of the state by Parliamentary activities.

Having arrived at this point, the reformists observed that the most rapid and safe way to their ends was no longer by means of the formation of a new party which would have comprised only a part of the Socialist forces, but by completely capturing the party with all its institutions, with its press, its resources and traditions. By means of blackmail and intimidation of the Maximalists they threatened again and again with the spectre of the Labor Party and they began their skilful but contemptible action for the destruction of which they sacrificed everything but their ambitious aims: the economic interests of the proletariat, by splitting it up in the trade unions and in the factories, so that this proletariat, isolated and broken up into thousand little groups, is left again to be preyed upon by the prepared and united capitalists; the unity of the trade union organisations by reason of the fact that the leaders of the C.G.L. (General Confederation of Labor) sabotaged and lied traps for those organizations in which the Communists were in control; and lastly the life and personal security of the workers by delivering them over to their cowardly tactics of flight and the "Pacification Agreement" to the brutality of the Fascists. In this general collapse the incapable, unprepared and stupid Maximalists abandoned their empty arrogance and they were driving completely over the party allowed themselves disposed to a far-reaching toleration.

The Socialist parliamentary group was the most suitable for the maneuvering of the reformists to prove from time to time the degree of weakness of the Maximalists and of the wing openly aiming at coalition. Serrati’s foolish vanity compelled him to cover it up by high-sounding phrases—the various phases of his ignominious policy of abdication—for the future scorn of historians. The government crisis last January, the Parliamentary Group adopted a resolution submitted by Baratono who empowered the group to get into direct connection with various bourgeois parliamentary groups for the purpose of forming a "better government", and to the "Maximalist" Central Committee approved of the new tactics to which the Editor of Avantil (Serrati himself) gave the euphonious title of "taking advantage of parliamentary powers".

Thanks to this discovery the Socialist Party remained under the leadership of the reformists who already showed their readiness to take the last steps with accelerated rapidity.

The National Council of the Party recently assembled in Rome which should have condemned and punished the Parliamentary Group, i.e., the employers who advocated the support of a coalition policy, only proved that the disease had already penetrated into the heart of the organization. It must be mentioned that the National Council is composed of 25 members of the Maximalist faction, who were elected at the last Congress at Milan when the Serrati group was still influential. Now only thirteen of them voted against the decision of the parliamentary group, whilst 12 voted in favor of the reformist policy. After this result, and bearing in mind what has already watched the process of decay of the Socialist Party—Serrati handed in his resignation which however as usual was not accepted and was afterwards withdrawn. Soon after this, although the majority (though only a narrow majority) had condemned the coalition resolution, the Parliamentary Group decided not to abandon the policy embarked upon, but on the contrary to proclaim their autonomy and independence from the C.G.L. and at once set up an Executive Commission composed of Turati, D’Aragona, Musatti and Baratono. The Central Committee of the Party, disunited in its own ranks and compromised by its former tolerance towards the reformists, called an extraordinary Party Congress whilst the C.G.L. which had just concluded its first agreement with the Cooperative League and the League of Workers’ Credit Banks mobilized all its forces for this final struggle.

We do not however believe that there will take place any serious crisis between the reformists and the Maximalists; on the contrary we must assume that the mutual injuries will soon heal and that the Socialist Party—united in its coalition program—will assuredly enter the ranks of the anti-parliamentarism. The extreme right of the Maximalists of the C.G.L. have convened the National Council of the Federation for the 3rd of July; more than 400 delegates will be present and among them there will be automatically formed a bloc of all Socialist tendencies against the attack of the Communists. Only the latter will fight against the combined phalanx of the ridiculous and treacherous "Revolutionaries of intransience" who are no longer under the flag of Serrati, but under that of D’Aragona.

Notice

We request the Party Press to reprint the following Notice:

The Preparatory Agrarian Commission of the Communist International asks the Party Sections to acknowledge the receipt of the circular and questionnaire sent to them as well as to commence their activities in connection with this and to report regularly to the Commission.

The Secretariat of the Preparatory Agrarian Commission.

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