

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 57

17th July 1922

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

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Politics

Germany on a Smouldering Volcano

By *Ernst Meyer* (Berlin).

It was more than an empty phrase intended to force the bourgeois parties to accept the draft of the law for the protection of the Republic, when *Braun*, the Prussian Prime Minister and Right Socialist, declared the other day before the Constitutional Committee of the Prussian Diet, "The boiler is about to burst. The present situation is similar to the three days that preceded the 9th of November, 1918". And he is right. The masses in Germany have been aroused to such an extent that more extensive outbreaks may be expected at any moment; such outbreaks have already occurred in many places. It may well be that the General German Trade Union Federation and the Social Democratic Party looked upon the great demonstration on the 4th of July as upon a funeral of the mass-movement in conjunction with the Rathenau murder, and that they only wanted to put pressure to bear upon the bourgeois parties with a view of forcing the latter to accept the Independent Social Democrats into the Government. The joint call issued by the Social Democratic Parties and the trade unions together with the Communist Party, calling upon the masses to demonstrate against the monarchist counter-revolution, has had more far-reaching effects than those organizations imagined. The masses appeared in hundreds of thousands and marched through the bourgeois districts of the cities; and in spite of their miserable economic situation, they sacrificed another half-day's wages in order to demonstrate their strength to the German Nationalists, their class-enemies. The crying insufficiency of the measures taken by the Government until now against the monarchist murder gangs and provocators and the altogether too anaemic bill introduced for the protection of the republic enraged the working masses to such a degree that in many places the

demonstrators took the law into their own hands. At first the seething masses vented their rage upon the monarchist monuments and street signs. But their real hatred was directed against the entire monarchist officialdom, particularly against the monarchist leaders of the *Schutzpolizei* and of the *Reichswehr*. In *Zwickau* (Saxony) the collisions between the workers and the police resulted in the complete disarming of all counter-revolutionary elements by the workers. Workers' patrols are guarding the city; a Committee of Action has temporarily displaced the old officials, and is now dealing with urgent matters. In many other places the workers refrained from answering the provocations of the police only because their central labor bodies promised them a general and systematic elimination of monarchist elements from the governing authority. In Thuringia and in Saxony Committees of Control, consisting of representatives from the various trade unions and workers' political parties, were created for the purpose of cleansing the Government of monarchist elements and of suppressing monarchist organizations. In Thuringia the labor organizations plan to create a Central Committee of Control. Even Social Democratic organizations declared themselves in favor of a general strike for the purpose of carrying out energetic measures against the counter-revolution. In many districts all the labor organizations, including the Social Democratic ones, demand the immediate dissolution of the *Reichstag*, new elections and the formation of a Workers' Government. The entire working-class unanimously demands that the well-known Berlin Agreement of the 27th of June be carried out at once. The indignation of the masses and their determination to put an end to all monarchist propaganda is expressed in the threatening language used by some Social Democratic newspapers.

The attitude of the Communist Party in this situation is both difficult and clear. Up to the day of *Erzberger's* assassination the Communist Party was constantly threatened by the attempts of the other labor organizations to isolate it from the masses. For this reason it had to be on its guard when the upward movement began; contact with the masses had to

be established at once. The Communist Party abstained from putting up the most far-reaching demands at once. Instead of acting independently and running the danger of isolation, it agreed to sign the minimum demands put up by the other labor organizations, and carried on propaganda for its own more extensive and effective aims. The Communist Party is doing everything in its power to effect the execution of the minimum demands by the entire working class. A few demands more or less do not test the strength of a movement. What is more important is that even the most modest demands be carried out by the action of the working class itself. From the very beginning the Communist Party demanded more than demonstrations. It participated in them, however, in order to be more justified to put bigger demands later on. From the very beginning it considered the general strike as the best weapon. But as long as the other labor organizations refuse to proclaim it, the Communist Party will only propagate it.

It is self-evident that the Communist Party does not only aim at the fulfilling of the Berlin Agreement, for without the objectives closely associated with this agreement, nothing can be accomplished. The Social Democratic Party seems to believe that by extending the Federal Government towards the Left, that is, to include the Independent Social Democratic Party, it will be better protected against the reaction. The Independent Social Democratic Party, which not so very long ago declined ("on principle") to participate in the bourgeois coalition government, has now switched about because of "extraordinary circumstances". But it is very doubtful whether the capitalist parties will permit such an extension of the Government. The opposition of the Democrats and of the Center to a coalition that would include the Independents once more forces the Social Democratic Party to threaten the dissolution of Parliament. But these are days when the masses take every threat, and with it the party that makes it, at its face value. The situation seems at first sight confusing; but in reality the conflicting forces are coming to a head. The members of the Social Democratic and Independent Social Democratic Parties see clearly in the attitude of the capitalist parties that a coalition government would be bound hand and foot in the struggle against the counter-revolution. For this reason the Communist Party finds unanimous approval among the masses when it puts up a fight against every Bourgeois-Socialist Coalition. Coalition with the bourgeoisie means compromise. Even the demands put up by the Trade Union Congress at Leipzig and those of the Berlin Agreement cannot be carried out under a bourgeois coalition. This is shown by the spineless stand taken by the Social Democratic fraction in the Prussian Diet on the amnesty question. The removal of monarchist elements from the administration, the reorganization of the *Reichswehr* and the *Schutzpolizei* into republican forces, and the subjugation of that counter-revolutionary den, Bavaria, can only be accomplished against the capitalist parties with the aid of the active participation of the working class. The minimum demands of the Berlin Agreement can be made good only by a Workers' Government that is supported by the entire working class and that consists of the representatives of the organized proletariat. On this ground the Communist Party demands the immediate dissolution of the Reichstag and new elections under the slogan: "Formation of a Workers' Government to carry out the Berlin Agreement."

The Social Democratic and Independent Social Democratic Parties are not very enthusiastic about such a plan. The former is tied hand and foot to the bourgeois Coalition Government, and the Independents are also laboring under the illusion that the struggle against the monarchists can be carried on with the cooperation of the bourgeois parties.

But the final decision lies not with these organizations, but with the proletariat. The masses do not as yet see clearly before them. They are still subject to those illusions which the Social Democratic Party has spread among them. But the discontent with things as they are is breaking out instinctively, and the will to further energetic action is manifesting itself.

The Communist Party is doing everything within its power to point the right way to the workers and to mobilize their forces for united action.

The British Labor Party Conference

By Tom Quelch.

The Annual Conference of the British Labor Party was opened on Tuesday, June 27th, at Edinburgh. Delegates from trade unions, I. L. P. and Fabian Societies, Trades Councils and Land Labor Parties were there assembled, representing over

4,000,000 members. Mr. J. W. Jowett, the veteran of the I. L. P., acted as president.

The majority of the delegates consisted of the general officials and the petty officials of the trade unions. In addition to these there were a number of middle-class Fabians, etc. The proportion of workmen delegates coming direct from the workshop was necessarily small.

The conference was held in the shadow of the General Parliamentary Election, and the motives determining the conference speeches of the Labor Party chiefs, and the setting of the agenda, were undoubtedly those which made for "window dressing" for the electoral campaign.

Britain is the land of smug bourgeois responsibility, and one of the main tasks of the Parliamentary labor leaders is to convince their petty-bourgeois supporters that their responsibility is without reproach. A lively fear of being "painted red", of being denounced as "Bolsheviks", "wild revolutionaries", and so on, at the forthcoming election, was ever-present in their minds.

The main issues of the Conference—questions that aroused the greatest discussion and most animated debates—were those issues raised by the Communists. The questions of foreign policy, of Communist Party affiliation, of Privy Councillorships, and the amendments of rules for the purpose of keeping Communists out of Labor Party conferences were all matters which Communist Party members, as members of their trade unions or Local Labor Partys, had forced for discussion on the Conference. Unfortunately, the numerical strength of the Communists at the Conference was not very large, and this enabled the reactionaries to use their "big guns" to the best advantage.

Mr. Arthur Henderson submitted the proposal for the alteration of the rules by the addition of the following:

"Conditions of eligibility of delegates from Constituent Bodies to either Local Labor Parties or to any National or Local Conference of the Labor Party:

a) Every person nominated to serve as delegate shall individually accept the constitution and principles of the Labor Party.

b) No person shall be eligible as a delegate who is a member of any organization having for one of its objects the return to Parliament or to any local Governing Authority of a candidate or candidates other than such as have been endorsed by the Labor Party, or have been approved as running in association with the Labor Party."

This occasioned a lengthy debate, and was ultimately carried by an overwhelming majority. While some speakers professed that it was aimed at capitalist-subsidized bodies masquerading as Labor organizations, all realized that it was really proposed to exclude the Communists.

The Bill before the House of Commons to prevent the trade unions from making a levy on their members to assist the Labor Party financially was made the occasion for a resolution by J. R. Clynes; the Conference agreeing that everything should be done to oppose the measure.

Typical Labor Party resolutions were carried on "universal disarmament" and the "repudiation of all treaties or understandings" between Governments.

The Moscow Social Revolutionaries.

C. T. Cramp, of the Railwaymen's Union, moved a resolution on behalf of the Executive against "the unjust treatment of the Russian Social Revolutionary prisoners of the Government of Russia" regarding their "trial as nothing short of scandalous, and is of the opinion that the execution of any of these comrades would be an outrage to the working class sense of justice, and a tragedy which Socialist and Labor Parties would remember only with shame and dishonor". Sidney Webb seconded this, saying that the adoption of the resolution would have a helpful influence on the Russian Government, which was particularly susceptible to the expression of working class opinion in other countries". Harry Pollitt opposed, alleging that the resolution was being rushed on a conference which did not know the facts. They had no right to interfere in Russian affairs. He was convinced that Vandervelde had only left Russia because he had learned from documents on the spot that the accused men were really guilty.

The resolution was carried.

Communist Affiliation.

The debate on whether the Communist Party of Great Britain should be permitted to affiliate to the Labor Party or not arose on the Executive report dealing with the correspondence which had taken place on the subject between the Labor Party and the Communist Party.

Harry Pollitt moved that the report of the Executive on

the matter be remitted back for the consideration of the new Executive. He said that that question had to be considered from the point of view that the Communist Party was a party of the working class. The whole method of approach had been to submit a series of questions to the Communist Party, and the whole thing resembled two trade unions haggling as to who was to get best terms out of an amalgamation. They had to consider the question from the point of view of the situation in which the working class movement of this country found itself at the present time. They were grappling for a way out. He maintained it was the business of that Conference to see that a straight question, without any haggling or quibbling on either side, was put to the Communist Party as to whether they would or would not accept and abide by the constitution of the Labor Party. If they said "Yes" and violated that, then they would be expelled; and if they said "No" then they would know where they were. He wanted to submit that the Communist Party was an integral part of the working class movement. It was time it had candidates in the field opposing official Labor Party candidates, but these were questions which could be made the subject of negotiation if the Communist Party were affiliated. The real objection was that they were afraid that if they took the Communist Party in, then they would lose votes at the next election. What was the situation they were confronted with? It was that when the Labor Party were in power they would not depend upon the Fabians for the power which was to translate their demands into action; they would depend upon the men in the mines and the shipyards, and that was where the votes of the Communist Party happened to be. That party, whether they liked it or not, must in the future make itself felt, and that force ought to be expressed, in his opinion, inside the Labor Conference and inside the labor movement.

In supporting, H. Hinshelwood said that so far as the Communists were concerned, they were for the unification of the forces of Labor, and would fight resolutely against anything which would tend to the disintegration of these forces. There would be no more loyal individual members working in the ranks of the Labor Party than those of the Communist Party, even although the affiliation was rejected. They were pledged morally and in every other way to do all they could to secure victory for Labor, to stop the rot in connection with working class organization, and to hasten the victory of the proletariat.

Frank Hodges of the Miners' Federation and Ramsay MacDonald led the opposition. The former declared that the British Communists were the intellectual slaves of Moscow, and that, so long as they were bound by the Theses of the Third International, there could be no reconciliation. The British Labor Party, as the opponent of any government by dictatorship, must engage in propaganda against them. "They want to come in", said MacDonald, "because they think they can wage war against us more effectively from within than from without. They tell us quite candidly that they want to shake hands with us, and, at the same time, they have a dagger in the other hand to stab us".

The card vote resulted: Against affiliation, 3,086,000; in favor of affiliation, 261,000. In reference to this vote the number in favor of affiliation would have been much larger had the minorities in many of the big organizations, like the Miners' Federation and the Amalgamated Engineering Union, been given the right to express themselves in the voting.

No Political Alliances.

On the motion of Robert Williams a resolution was carried affirming the decision of the Conference to refuse to permit the Labor Party to enter into any alliances with either of the capitalist parties.

The question as to whether a member of the Labor Party should be a King's Privy Councillor was carried by an overwhelming majority in the affirmative, Henderson declaring that it was a "pure" honor and Thomas stating that he was going to remain a Privy Councillor in spite of any decisions that might be made of.

The whole tendency of the Conference was towards the Right. The appointment of the Fabian bureaucrat, Sidney Webb, as its chairman is indicative of this. How long this will remain so is uncertain. The condition of the masses is growing more terrible as the days go by. The miners are seething with discontent—a discontent which must find expression in their organizations and sooner or later have its effect on the Labor Party. As with the miners, so with the engineers, the railwaymen, the printers, and so on. The Communists will voice this discontent in the trade unions and the trade unions will be compelled to re-shape the policy of the Labor Party.

Such questions as the problem of the unemployed, the condition of the miners, and the decline in the membership of the

trade unions, received almost no attention at the Conference, and this fact demonstrates a detachment from the masses which undoubtedly is a great weakness of the Labor Party and is the natural outcome of the petty-bourgeois policy of its dominating elements.

The Upper Silesian Proletariat in Danger

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

The Polish Republic has acquired possession of that portion of Upper Silesia allotted to it. Now it will proceed to gag and fetter the workers' movement. The Communist proletariat of Upper Silesia is in danger. It is true that Communism is threatened in both portions of Upper Silesia. But whilst in the territory assigned to Germany it can only be attacked by illegal means, the Polish republic employs every "legal" means possible in order to deliver the death blow to the political freedom of the Upper Silesian proletariat.

Under the conditions created by the three years' conflict among the various nationalities, it will be an easy matter for the Polish government to outlaw the Communist movement. The savage chauvinistic conflicts which have been witnessed in Upper Silesia since the announcement of the plebiscite have not only poisoned the minds of a great part of the working masses with nationalist miasma, but have also created the elements for a specific Upper Silesian Fascist movement. Whilst the Italian Fascisti are for the most part recruited from the ranks of the bourgeoisie and not from the proletarian class, it was the working class itself which in the industrial districts of Upper Silesia had to fill the ranks of Fascism. This applies particularly to the Polish population, which in the cities has very few non-proletarian elements in its midst. This Fascist infection of the working-class would not be possible if the nationalists did not find eager helpers within the trade union bureaucracy and within the social patriotic and nationalist workers' parties. The trade union leaders of the SPD., the PPS. and the Polish National Labor Party play a considerable part in all nationalist harryings and slaughters. This showed itself in every Upper Silesian "revolt", and also after the Geneva Treaty, during the "cleansing process" which had for its purpose the driving out of the "foreign" elements into those districts to which they belonged by virtue of their nationality.

Later, when a movement arose among the workers for the convocation of a Factory Council Congress, the German and Polish trade union bureaucracy, in fondest harmony with one another boycotted this movement, which alone was capable of delivering the Upper Silesian proletariat from the hell of national conflicts. And although this congress that assembled on the 25th of May at *Königshütte*, was participated in by 188 Factory Councils representing all parties and trade unions, the trade union bureaucrats decried it as a "Communist Party Affair" and denied all validity to its decisions. Moreover, the nationalist agitation was a dangerous weapon against the Communist movement. The nationalist shock-troops proved to be "black hundreds" against the Communists, and many active comrades met death at the hands of these murderers. Thus fell *Wilhelm Symbol* and *Ludwig Walla* in Polish Upper Silesia. The conversion of nationalist agitation into anti-Communist agitation is no difficult task in Polish Upper Silesia where the Communists are simply denounced as Germans and as agents of the Orgesch (!); the social patriots enter into this humbugging business most eagerly and with bloody success.

It is easy to predict that the brutal Polish Government which by the exercise of Czarist hangman's laws condemns Communists to from four to eight years hard labor, will take advantage of the situation in Upper Silesia in order to outlaw the Communists.

For the Pilsudski government it must be unendurable to see the same party, which in Sosnowitz has been rooted out by hard labor sentences, continuing its legal existence in Kattowitz. In view of the government crisis the Polish "Liberators" are still very chary, and content themselves with spying upon the Communists. The settlement of the crisis will bring clearness with regard to the government's policy in Upper Silesia.

Will the "Left Democrat" Slivinski, who has been made Prime Minister by the grace of Pilsudski, now take over the shameful task of acquainting the Upper Silesian workers with the Polish prison regime against the working-class? There can be scarcely a doubt as to this. It will now be the task of this "democratic" Government, to stifle political freedom in "liberated" Upper Silesia!

The international proletariat, however, must not look on idly at this "liberation". The Communist parties of Europe and of the whole world must in their press and at their meetings expose and stigmatize the disgrace of Polish "democracy". The Upper Silesian proletariat is in danger! May the protests of the proletarian world force themselves on the ears of the Polish hangmen!

The Czecho-Slovakian Parliament

By *Josef Skalák* (Prague).

The position of the bourgeois government in Czecho-Slovakia is revealed by the situation in Parliament which at the same time reflects the whole economic and political situation of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic. To superficial observers and readers of the bourgeois newspapers the Czecho-Slovakian Republic presents the appearance of unity and solidarity, but on closer inspection it offers to the individual observer as well as to a continually growing circle among the proletarian masses quite a different picture. In spite of every outward appearance of solidarity and firmness, which the Czecho-Slovakian Republic through its government seeks to convey to the European public, it is unable to conceal the profound differences which exhibit the indecision and powerlessness of the bourgeoisie towards the prevailing capitalist economic crisis. The Czecho-Slovakian Republic and its Parliament are in the first place burdened with that historical legacy, the national quarrels of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In this Parliament which has a total of 285 members there sit 80 representatives of different nationalities. There is not a single parliamentary session in which this minority does not come into the sharpest conflict with the national Czecho-Slovakian Government block. This happens every time any legal measure threatens the so-called national property of the Germans (as for instance at the recent deliberations over the proposal for the nationalization of the Aussig-Teplitz Railway). The scenes which occurred in Parliament on the evening of June 23rd (because the German bourgeois parties obstructed this measure; their obstruction was answered by the brute force of the Czech bourgeois bloc) marked the culmination of similar occurrences which have hitherto taken place in the bourgeois parliamentary arena. This incident also illustrated in another respect the parliamentary conditions in Czecho-Slovakia. The Germans, with whom uninterrupted negotiations were proceeding behind the scenes, as to their giving up their opposition and entering the government, were prepared to allow the proposal for the nationalization of the Aussig-Teplitz Railway to go through, if by way of compensation, repayment of the war loan were recognized. The government has also drawn up an appropriate proposal according to which about one milliard crowns of war loan are to be repaid. This proposal does not satisfy the German bourgeoisie and for this reason it led to obstruction and to a disorderly scuffle such as one only witnesses in a common pithouse. After these incidents and after the declaration of the representative of the German bourgeois parties, Dr. Lodgmann, it seemed as if the Germans would stay away or even adopt the attitude of direct resistance to Parliament. However within 24 hours, the representatives of the German parties were enabled to resume their places. *Behind it all there must have been some concession or other. And in return for such an economic or financial concession the German bourgeoisie was even prepared to enter the government.* But even if the German bourgeoisie actually enters the government (and everything will be done to bring this about) the problem of nationalities in the Czecho-Slovakian state will remain a gaping wound, which the bourgeoisie of both nationalities will be continually raking as was the case in old Austria.

The reason for the efforts at reconciliation on the part of Czech government circles towards the German bourgeoisie and the German Social Democrats, is their peculiar helplessness in the face of the Parliamentary crisis. The present Czecho-Slovakian coalition consists of five parties, in which the Social Democrats have 49 seats, the Agrarian Party 41, the National Socialists 26, the Clericals 21 and the National Democrats (Young Czechs) 21. The leaders of these five parties form that notorious *Council of Five* which represents an actual dictatorship of parliament. The coalition however is nothing less than an attempt at a mutual balance of power, a glossing over and smothering up of the class contradictions. The two Czech social patriotic parties, the Social Democrats and the Czech National Socialists are compelled by their own hard-pressed adherents to come more and more into conflict with the remaining groups. *In these conflicts, the National Socialists prove themselves to be much more self-confident and independent*

in their attitude towards the bourgeoisie than the Social Democrats. The Social Democrats maintain their parliamentary representation only through the favor of the bourgeoisie which needs them in Parliament. At the next election they will be completely wiped out. The National Socialists also expect a loss of votes in favor of the Communists. It is however not unlikely that this loss will be made even by the falling off of the National Democrats. For this reason they have no cause to fear an election. Notwithstanding this difference the struggles of the working class of last Spring have created a breach between the social patriotic and the bourgeois parties and impaired the position of the Coalition Government. The difficulties of recent times testified to the impossibility of introducing any kind of serious legislation in parliament, as for example state insurance, nationalization of mines, separation of Church from State. The most urgent bills were only introduced at the last moment, pushed through the committee stage and finally passed in nerve-exhausting night sessions. The majority parties at present have 156 members of whom 49 are Social Democrats: the opposition or unreliable parties have 129 members, the German and Hungarian 51, the German Social Democrats 29, the Communists 24 and some small parties 25. As a result of an election the Czech Social Democrats would suffer a loss of at least 35 seats in favor of the Communists, so that the parties forming the present coalition government would then command 120 votes and the opposition and unreliable parties 164 votes. Hence the efforts of the government to win over either all the German parties or at least a part of them, or at any rate the German Social Democrats.

A significant example as to how a general election would now turn out, is furnished by the municipal elections which recently took place in Deutschbrod: Out of 4362 votes recorded, the Communists received 1184 (in the year 1919 they were not yet in existence).

The National Democrats	received 897	(1919 they received 714)
The National Socialists	" 774	(1919 " " 714)
The Social Democrats	" 125	(1919 " " 1524)
The Clericals	" 654	(1919 " " 495)
The Professional Party	" 424	(1919 " " 337)
The remaining parties	" 304	(1919 " " 226)

The election which took place on the 26th of June in Göding gave the following results: Out of 6129 votes recorded the Communists received 2371, the National Democrats 731, the National Socialists 292, the Social Democrats 568, the Clericals 1068, the German Social Democrats 331 and the remaining parties 768 votes.

It is true that in government circles it is claimed that one may escape from this precarious situation by other more radical and reliable means. One of these methods has been applied; namely, postponement of the Municipal Elections now due until next year. *As one sees the bourgeoisie cannot even hold out with its "Democracy" for the first election period.* Many people also demand the dissolution of Parliament and new elections upon the basis of modified election regulations to be forced upon the population, thus insuring a victory for the united government parties. It is significant of *Bourgeois Absolutism* in Czecho-Slovakia that in spite of all promises and assurances, *neither the municipal elections of Slovakia nor the elections for the autonomous diets, or the provincial and municipal elections in Carpathian Russia have as yet been held.* Carpathian Russia is under the sceptre of those humanitarian idealists, *Masaryk* and *Benes*.

The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia and its Parliamentary fraction find themselves at present in such a position that they must not only defend the economic, but also the revolutionary acquisitions of the bourgeois revolution. By their fight for these acquisitions, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia is showing the proletariat the true nature of the present pseudo-democracy.

The Elections in Austrian Burgenland

By *Paul Friedländer* (Vienna).

On Friday, the 18th of June, there took place in the province ceded by Horthy-Hungary to Austria under the terms of the Peace Treaties "after a plebiscite", the elections for the new Burgenland Landtag, as well as for the Austrian National Council. The Communist Party of Austria was not in a position to take part in these elections, the principal reason being that up to a relatively short time ago the Austrian Government had completely prohibited its entry into the Burgenland, whilst

the propaganda and organization of the Christian Socialists and the Social Democrats had been carried on for many months throughout the whole district, comprising about a quarter of a million inhabitants. In addition to this the whole population including the proletariat were still continually haunted by the fear of another invasion of Horthy troops, which in fact was to be expected if revolutionary unrest were to break out in Austria, and on this account no proletariat could decide to openly proclaim his revolutionary intentions.

Finally the Social Democratic and trade union leaders succeeded in threatening with the lash of starvation all those proletarians who ventured to let it be known that they were Communists.

Further the Christian Socialists and Social Democrats, working in union in accordance with their old practise, framed an election law worthy of Horthy himself. The act provides that all those who have been imprisoned or interned under previous laws (including those of Horthy) are disenfranchised for three years. This clause is directed solely against the Communists for the Parliamentary parties of Austria have come to an agreement whereby their members shall not be affected by this clause. The formation of Communist Party organizations is, thanks to the attitude of Adler and his consorts, accompanied with the most severe consequences for the members. Many comrades therefore are of the opinion that this is no other course but to fight for the Communist program within the ranks of the Social Democratic Party. These comrades will soon be rid of the illusion as to the possibility of this and will then enter the ranks of the Communist Party.

The elections themselves show in a striking manner how the majority of the population, including the agrarian population, has rejected a reactionary system. Their experiences under Horthy have sunk into their memory. Therefore, in spite of the expectation that the Christian Socialists would win a great victory over the Social Democrats, the contrary happened. The population and even the rural population knows, that the Christian Socialists are the boon companions of Horthy and Friedrich.

The German Nationalists have also received a severer defeat than was expected.

The results of the election in figures are as follows:

Total number of votes polled	129,000
Of these the Social Democrats polled	50,070 = 38 0/0
" " " Christian Socialists	40,000 = 30 0/0
" " " Peasants' Union	22,008 = 14 0/0
" " " Pan-Germans	16,029 = 12 1/2 0/0

There were returned to the Burgenland Landtag the following:

13 Social Democrats	10 Christian Socialists
6 Peasants' Party	4 Pan-Germans.

The following were returned to the National Parliament:

3 Social Democrats	3 Christian Socialists
1 Peasant Party	1 Pan-German.

It is worthy of note that among the Social Democratic candidates for the Landtag as well as for the National Parliament there were people who, like Tell and Leser, had been the greatest enemies of and traitors to the Hungarian Republic, but were good friends of Horthy-Hungary.

The Labor Movement.

The American Federation of Labor Convention

By Wm. Z. Foster (Chicago).

In Cincinnati, from June 12th to 24th, the American Federation of Labor held its 42nd annual convention. Never was the labor movement in a more critical state, and never did its leaders prove themselves more incapable of solving its problems. At the present time, the American trade union movement is suffering from a desperate crisis, which threatens its very life. Yet this convention did absolutely nothing constructive to meet the situation. Gompers and his crowd repeated the same old petty bourgeois formulas that they have been repeating for the past forty years. They proposed absolutely nothing vital in any shape or manner.

No matter which way one turns one finds a new phase of the grave crisis confronting the American labor movement. On the political field the situation is deplorable. For many

years past the trade unions in this country have bitterly fought and defeated every attempt to form any kind of a working-class political organization, and they have kept on following the childish political policy of "rewarding labor's friends and punishing its enemies". The result is that Labor has degenerated into a mere appendage of the big capitalist parties. It has practically no representatives in any of the local, state and national legislative assemblies. American organized labor is practically a political zero. Never was this more clearly illustrated than at the present time. The employers are in complete control of the courts and of every branch of government. They do as they please and adopt or revoke such laws as suit them. In the prevailing reaction they have practically taken away the right of free speech and free assembly from the workers. Besides this, they have all but abolished the famous Seamen's Law, which organized Labor fought for thirty years to put on the statute books. Moreover, the Supreme Court has declared the Federal Child Labor Law unconstitutional, thus taking away even this measly protection from the child workers of the nation. And now the same Supreme Court, with one of the most important labor decisions ever rendered, has held that labor unions may be sued for damages caused by them during strikes. Altogether, the political situation is disastrous for Labor.

The A. F. of L. Convention did absolutely nothing of a serious character to offset this deplorable condition. The old tyrant, Gompers, could see no reason whatever for modifying any of the policies of the American Federation. The good old program of voting for Labor's friends and voting against its enemies, was continued. There was not a resolution submitted to form even the mildest kind of a labor party, —so bankrupt are American labor leaders and so cringing are they before the despotism set up by Gompers. The only political program proposed was to try to secure four amendments to the United States Constitution, which would permit of freedom of action by the trade unions. To amend the United States Constitution is almost an impossibility, and to amend it four times by a labor movement that has absolutely no representatives in the government is a thing ridiculous. But that was the only thing the old bureaucracy had to offer.

The situation on the industrial field is even more disastrous than the one on the political field. The employers, encouraged by the timidity, incompetency and dishonesty of the old trade union bureaucrats, have been on the offensive against the unions for the past two years. The organizations in the steel industries were completely destroyed; likewise those in the great meat packing industry. For the past three months the textile workers have been on strike, and there is every likelihood that their organizations too will be totally eliminated. Just now, 670,000 coal miners are on strike and in danger of losing their fight, while 1,000,000 railroadmen are voting to strike on July 1st. Besides this, the employers have broken up large sections of the Building Trades, Boot and Shoe Workers, Printing Trades, etc. They are determined to root out trade unionism from American industry and to substitute the so-called "American Plan" or "open shop".

The disastrous results of this great labor war are seen from the following figures. In 1921 the membership of the A. F. of L. was 3,906,528. According to the latest report, submitted by its secretary to the Cincinnati Convention, the membership has dropped to 3,165,635. This latter figure is heavily inflated. It is doubtful if the A. F. of L. at the present time has more than 2,500,000 members. During the past year the Textile Workers' Union has shrunk from 104,900 to 30,000, the Seamen's Union from 103,300 to 42,000 and many others accordingly. Unless means are found to stop this destruction of the trade unions, the spine of the labor movement in the United States will soon be broken.

To meet the critical situation on the industrial field, the old bureaucracy was just as sterile as it was in meeting the political problems. It voted down every proposition that tended in any way to modernize the unions. One resolution presented called for the amalgamation of all the craft unions into industrial organizations. This is an imperative necessity in the A. F. of L. How badly that organization is split up may be seen from the fact that it has 117 national unions to cover its 3,000,000 members, while the ADGB of Germany has only 49 for its 7,000,000 members. But the Gompers crowd could see no reason for changing this situation. The resolution was lost without a vote being taken on it. The only "progressive" thing done in this respect was to adopt a resolution favoring a federation of the several unions in the clothing trades. Industrially as well as politically, the leadership of the Gompers element was absolutely bankrupt.

All through the convention, the blackest reaction reigned. An alliance was developed between the A. F. of L. and the American Legion, a white-guard organization of former military men, which spends a large part of its time fighting organized labor. The convention even refused to condemn the Ku Klux Klan, which is about on a par with the Fascisti of Italy. A resolution calling for the affiliation of the A. F. of L. with the Amsterdam International was defeated, as that yellow organization is considered entirely too revolutionary for American workers to associate with. A resolution demanding the establishment of trade relations with Russia was also lost, Mr. Gompers' policy being to starve the Russians into submission. All the old bureaucrats were re-elected. Mr. Gompers was made President for the 41st time, even though he is now physically decrepit and barely able to see and hear.

The part played by the Socialist elements at the Congress was pitiful. In years gone by, they formed the opposition to the Gompers machine. But this year, they surrendered to him completely. The delegates from the three Socialist unions, the Ladies' Garment Workers, Fur Workers, and Jewelry Workers, voted for every measure advocated by the Gompers administration. They even voted against the candidates for the Executive Council proposed by the railroad unions, which are somewhat progressive. In return, Mr. Gompers rewarded the leader of the Socialist delegation, Benjamin Schlesinger, by sending him as a fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress. This incident apparently marks the end of all active Socialist opposition to Mr. Gompers in A. F. of L. conventions. At last he has domesticated the movement and absorbed it.

For the first time in the history of A. F. of L. conventions, a real left-wing movement manifested itself. The number of delegates was pitifully small and their influence even less. But the tendency they represented is the only hope of the American labor movement. They are the only elements with a progressive program, not to mention a revolutionary program, to offer. All the rest is sterility and reaction. The left-wing movement is growing rapidly throughout the trade unions in the United States. The old idea of starting separate revolutionary unions is being abandoned. Particularly is this the case in Canada, where the One Big Union has been practically liquidated in the past six months and replaced by the Trade Union Educational League. Considering the mental paralysis of the old trade union leaders and the servility of their new Socialist allies, it is safe to say that the Trade Union Educational League, with its policy of industrial unionism, affiliation to the Red Trade Union International, the creation of a militant workers' political party and the establishment of the Workers' Republic, will soon be a most powerful element in the American Labor Movement. In the United States, the future belongs to the revolutionary Left.

The Fifth Anniversary of the All-Russian Trade Union Federation and the International Class Struggle

By *Heinrich Brandler* (Moscow).

Up to the time of the overthrow of Czarism it was impossible to form trade unions in Russia. It was impossible to fight for a decent human existence for the proletariat within the Russian State. These facts compelled the Russian proletariat right from the outset to regard all measures absolutely necessary for securing living conditions for the proletariat from a revolutionary standpoint and to realize that the prerequisite for any bettering of the conditions of living of the proletariat must be the overthrow of the old state authority and the capture of State Power by the proletariat itself, before one could earnestly think of taking in hand the work of bettering in any positive sense the conditions of living of the proletariat with any reasonable prospect of success. For twenty-five years the best heads among the Russian proletariat busied themselves with the question of how to carry on this fight for power in the best and most rapid manner. At a time when in Western Europe the working classes were engaged in considering how they could glean a few miserable crumbs within the capitalist system and state power there were little groups in Russia, small indeed in numbers but nevertheless inspired by a boldness of thought and spirit of self-sacrifice unsurpassed up till now, who for decades carried on a struggle without apparently gaining any success until in 1905 in the first Russian Revolution it became manifest that under the particular conditions of development of Russia, there had built itself up a power which influenced the labor movements of all countries in an epoch-making and fructifying manner.

In the year 1905 there was held the first congress of the Russian trade unions. A small clear-sighted group embraced with unexampled intensity and skilfulness all spontaneous economic and political strikes and movements and thereby succeeded in winning within a few months of revolutionary struggle conditions of work and wages which were far better than those of the proletariat in the old capitalist countries. These facts had a stimulating effect upon the labor movement of Western Europe and became an impulse as a result of which in Western Europe also the best proletarian class fighters earnestly studied the forms of the Russian labor movement and gained the most fruitful stimulus to thought and action from the first Russian Revolution.

When the first Russian Revolution was defeated, the conquests of the first period of trade union activity were also lost. For the Philistines of the labor movement of Western Europe the defeat of the first Russian Revolution which had greatly frightened them, provided the argument they gladly adopted, that they had no need to worry their heads further and could calmly proceed in the old path of reformist and opportunist trade union activity of the pre-revolution period. Only a small group to see amidst the collapse of the old labor movement the formation of a new one and to begin again unwearingly the outbreak of the war the labor movement of the Second International and of the old trade union movement completely collapsed, it was the recollection of the deeds of the Russian proletariat in 1905 which gave heart and courage to a small group to see amidst the collapse of the old labor movement the formation of a new one and to begin again unwearingly the work of reconstruction of a revolutionary labor movement in the old capitalist countries as well. After the overthrow of Czarism in 1917 the Russian trade union representatives assembled for the Second Congress and although in the midst of the bloody world war very scanty and insufficient news reached the proletariat of the combatant countries, the fact of the Russian Revolution was of decisive importance for the revolutionary class struggle throughout the whole world. Those who had been driven to despair during the war began to pluck up heart and courage. Those comrades who were steadfastly pursuing their work under extremely difficult conditions, received confirmation of the soundness of their policy which gave them fresh courage and power to brave all opposition. Therein lies the enormous importance of the revolutionary struggle of the Russian working class for the whole world. On the 3rd of July, 1917, the Russian workers held their Third Trade Union Congress. At this congress the All-Russian Trade Union Federation was formed. What before its formation had spontaneously influenced and affected the working class movement of other countries was now after the formation of the All-Russian Trade Union Congress systematized and organized. It is impossible in the columns of a newspaper article to record everything that was done by the Russian trade unions for the world proletariat directly and indirectly. Only the future historians living under a system of society which gives them time and leisure to occupy themselves thoroughly with these problems will be able rightly to appraise this. What however is now clear to the whole world is the fact that the Russian proletariat, and in the foremost place alongside the Russian Communist Party the Russian trade unions, have broken through the line of the enemy's front in the gigantic battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. During these five years the All-Russian Trade Union Federation has achieved what up to now has been achieved by no other working class in the world. Clear insight into the relative strength and power of the different classes in society engaged in a life and death struggle with each other, unexampled boldness of thought and deed, and a self-sacrificing activity were the sources of strength for the hard struggle of the Russian proletariat against the Russian state power and the bourgeoisie. In Russia the working class is in a minority. The Russian Communist Party and the Russian trade unions have shown the world proletariat how a minority, clear in its aims and given to energetic action, can become the leader of the revolution under favorable objective conditions—the existence of a revolutionary-minded peasantry. The Russian proletariat has achieved great things under the lead of the All-Russian Trade Union Federation. But there is still more to be achieved. The capabilities for organization of the All-Russian Trade Union Federation enabled the Russian workers and peasants to emerge victoriously from the civil war and the hostile invasions. The All-Russian Trade Union Federation not only mobilized its members as soldiers of the Red Army, but organized transport and war industry by which alone the Soviet Power was enabled to cope with all its enemies.

The world proletariat gazes with admiration upon the

heroic struggle fought by the Russian proletariat. The best and most clear-sighted part of the world proletariat however, is not content to look on passively but is—doing all it can in order to follow suit. The strength of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries is greater than was the power of Czarism in 1917. The power of the proletariat in the capitalist countries is more limited in spite of its great numbers and its decisive importance in the process of production, because it has not succeeded in applying the experiences of the Russian Revolution. The greatest power of the bourgeoisie in those countries is its ideological influence upon the working class. The century-long traditions of capitalism have developed bourgeois ideas within the proletariat of these countries and the betrayal by the workers' leaders in the preliminary epoch of the proletarian class struggle strengthens the bourgeois ideology in the proletariat and deprives it of that boldness of thought and deed which has carried the Russian proletariat to victory.

In Western Europe however, capitalism has entered upon that period when the security of proletarian existence, as was the case in Czarist Russia, is only possible if the proletariat seizes State Power and organizes economic life according to Communist principles. The tactics of the proletariat united front are rallying round the nucleus of the Communist Party in those countries greater and greater masses of the proletariat in spite of all the sabotage of the Amsterdam International. At the same time when the leaders of the Second, 2½ and Amsterdam Internationals openly associate with the accused Social Revolutionaries, with the most dangerous enemies of the Russian Revolution, the German counter-revolution, the same active militarist camarilla which murdered our best proletarian leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, is killing off the best leaders of the bourgeoisie. These facts will shorten the process and accelerate the rallying of the masses. The attempt upon the life of the social traitor Scheidemann and the assassination of Rathenau will open the eyes of the German proletariat and convince it that the only road to its emancipation is that of revolution. The gigantic task involved in the new economic policy is but the consequence of the backwardness and weakness of the leadership of the revolutionary struggles in the old capitalist countries. International relationships which in the labor movement of the pre-war period were nothing but a meaningless gesture have been rightly appreciated by the Russian workers from the very beginning. Their appeal to revolutionize the trade unions has not fallen upon deaf ears. The Red Trade Union International which was set up on their initiative is in spite of all obstacles which it has to overcome, already today a powerful factor; the struggles which the whole proletariat carries on in all capitalist countries and which nearly always end in defeat, because they are carried on with the inefficient methods of the Trade Union struggle of the pre-revolutionary epoch, are preparing the conditions which will bring about the understanding of international relationships for those proletarians who up to now have been prejudiced by petty bourgeois and national ideas. Such events as the strengthening of the counter-revolution in Germany, the defeats of the English and American proletariat, the defeats of the workers in Czechoslovakia and in the Scandinavian countries compel the workers to join with the Russians in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

If on the fifth anniversary of the formation of the All-Russian Trade Union Federation one looks back and reckons up what has been achieved, it may be asserted with confidence that the Russian workers have acted correctly, that their way was the right way, because it was the only possible one. This confirmation is not only derived from the successes in Russia, but this experience is corroborated by the development of capitalism and the struggle of the workers throughout the world.

If the Russian workers have had to live for five years undergoing enormous sacrifices and hard conditions of life, these sacrifices have not been in vain. This was clearly revealed to the whole world at the Genoa Conference. The Russian workers have made a sacrifice in order to create the foundations for a new epoch whose dawn will realise the age-long yearnings of humanity, which will issue in an economic order in which a new type of humanity will carry on production freed from exploitation and oppression and the possibilities in the development of which can only be conjectured.

In the old capitalist states the proletarian masses are suffering more and more each day, and out of this misery must be born the struggle which the Russian workers have already victoriously fought out. The day on which this struggle will begin in the most important countries is approaching more rapidly than disappointed and discouraged workers are disposed to believe. This to a great extent is the result of the five years' work of the All-Russian Trade Union Federation.

Towards "Laborism" in Italy

By Luigi Repossi (Rome).

It is of the greatest interest to study the Italian trade union movement. Indeed we can even claim that in no other country is it so interesting as in Italy, and this from various points of view. Here there are a number of trade unions of various tendencies. Altogether however, they have not the same number of members as in 1920. There were then according to the international statistics: 1,900,000 in the Trade Union Federation (C. G. L.); 1,000,000 in the Federation of Workers (a reactionary union); and the remainder in the Italian Syndicalist Union. Today the membership of the General Federation of Trade Unions is reduced by at least a half. It is said to have only 700,000 members; it suffices to mention that in the last report of the National Conference of Land Workers it was stated that this Union had experienced a reduction of membership of from 800,000 to 200,000; the Textile Workers Union has since its recent difficult internal conflicts almost disappeared and the other unions have had their membership greatly reduced. The metal workers have lost at least half of their members (in Milan there are now about 1,000 compared with 40,000 previously). These figures clearly show what has become of the General Trade Union Federation.

What are the reasons for this? They are numerous. In the first place the revolution of 1920, which in spite of all its possibilities failed, and the terrible reaction which subsequently set in, the capitalist offensive and the perpetual clinging to bad tactics as a result of which it became more and more estranged from the proletariat in order to be in the government with the bourgeoisie. Our adversaries have taken full advantage of this collapse and have clearly perceived that their political power must be based upon the trade unions. In this way there was formed the *Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Economici* (Italian League of Economic Trade Unions). The C. I. S. E. is a patriotic organization with a democratic conservative tendency, comprised of employees, chiefly of civil service and municipal employees. The *Corporazione Sindacati Professionale* (League of Professional Trade Unions) is Fascistic and numbers about 200,000 members. At least four-fifths of them have been driven by compulsion into the organization; in Emilia and in the districts of Mantua and Lomellina the peasants have in part joined this trade union voluntarily as otherwise they are flogged and starved. One can assert that these trade unions have but one purpose; to compel a certain part of the wage workers to work under slavish conditions; the latter derive a certain benefit from it, as they are given the preference by the Government, always have public work allotted to them and thus are always assured of employment. The greater percentage of the membership of these *Corporazioni*, which are recruited from the rural population, come from the General Trade Union Federation. Some of the peasants have also gone over to the White trade unions as they were not able to distinguish any difference between these and the C. G. L. In consequence of the "Confessional" character of the White trade unions the farmers succeed much easier in obtaining women's labor through these; as also the peasants left the C. G. L. and went over to the White trade unions the latter succeeded in consolidating their ranks.

Among the Syndicalists we have two organizations: the *Unione Sindacale Italiana* (U. S. I.) and the *Unione Italiana del Lavoro* (Italian Workers Union). Their programmes are almost identical and differ only by their past, as the latter consists of Syndicalists who had been war supporters and republicans; it is therefore a Syndicalism of nationalist tendency which in fact has not affiliated to any international organization. The chief recruiting districts of this group are Emilia (district of Parma) and Romagna (Ravenna and Forli), but it has no importance for the movement in the country generally. The U. S. I., which numbered in 1920 300,000, now possesses only over 100,000 members. If we are not mistaken, at the last congress it had even a trifle less. It is also torn with inner dissensions for which the Anarchist minority is responsible; this latter had introduced a dictatorship that was worse than that of the Social Democrats, hindered any effective action by the majority and prevented them from affiliating to the Red Trade Union International. In spite of this the Vecchi section rendered good service so that the day is perhaps not far distant when this organization will achieve some surprising results. The few independent Chambers of Labor existing in Central Italy are also opposed to Amsterdam; amongst these only that of Ancona has any importance.

To sum up: There exist in Italy two organizations of an international character, four of a national character and in addition to these the Railwaymen's Union which has joined neither a national nor an international organization. Only the

C. G. L. and the U. S. I. designate themselves as internationalist and of an outspoken class character. The membership of these organisations is as follows:

C.G.L.	700,000
C.D.L. (White)	700,000
C.P.S. (Fascistic)	200,000
U.S.I.	100,000
U.I.L.	30,000
C.I.S.E. (Conservative)	50,000
Railwaymen's Union....	60,000

Total 1,840,000

In addition to this there are the unemployed: 400,000. Most of these can be considered as followers of the C. G. L. There are thus 2,240,000 members in all the organizations compared with 3,100,000 in the three organizations in the year 1920.

Another phenomenon which should receive attention is the drift towards the Right which is becoming more and more apparent in the C. G. L., recently revealed by the discussions proceeding in the organizations, in the same way as the second splitting of the Socialist Party is becoming more obvious and inevitable. It is also proposed to form a Labor Party in this country. The C. G. L. has entered into relations with the Co-operative Society and the Union of Credit Banks in order to create upon a new basis the *Confederazione delle Organizzazioni del Lavoro* (Federation of Labor Organizations). It is not yet quite clear what the exact aims of this organization will be and whether it will really be an efficient organization capable of carrying on the workers' struggle. If the organization is actually created everyone must recognize what a serious blow would be struck against the revolutionary movement as there would be no possibility of altering the actual attitude of the Trade Union Federation. It is well known that the cooperative movement is for the greater part composed of elements which do not advocate the definite class war point of view and who do not accept as a fundamental principle the necessity for the overthrow of the bourgeois governments; they are rather endeavoring to improve the conditions of the workers by thrift and foresight and are therefore opposed by conviction to any open and energetic struggle against the bourgeoisie. It does not follow from this that the contemplated organization would be of little or no importance, if it would but take the reins of the proletarian movement on the basis of the class struggle. If it however becomes a nerveless and conservative movement like the English Labor Party it would not be worth while creating a Labor Party in Italy. But should it come to this it will be necessary for us to intensify our struggle; we must not be sparing in our attacks and must do everything in order to prevent the fighting spirit of the proletarian class from being still further weakened. Finally the proletariat must show a greater opposition to the various d'Aragonas, Quaglinos, etc. If these then should come before the masses, they would be howled down. If the power is still in the hands of the reformists, this is due to the actor Serrati and the work of confusion and corruption performed with the help of the *Avanti*. If the proletariat were to offer resistance to-day it would be high time, for the reformists have consolidated their position with the support they have received from the Maximalists of the type of Serrati. They have now almost obtained a majority in the party and in order to avoid our opposition being strengthened by the approaching split of the SPJ, they have entered into a furious campaign against us. Whilst they are seeking to split the unions and Chambers of Labor they do not admit their machinations in this respect and still venture to expel our comrades in order to diminish the strength of the opposition and to secure their own control. If the split becomes an accomplished fact, the various actors like Serrati will only play at opposition, but only the bourgeoisie will grant them applause, as it will be their fault if the Trade Union Federation, instead of falling into the hands of the Communists; is driven into the arms of the bourgeoisie. If they then attempt opposition it will be too late, but so much the more apparent will be their treachery.

The Communist International.

To the German Workers!

To the German Communist Party!

Comrades!

The German Social Democracy is reaping what it has sown. It has surrendered the state power seized by the proletariat in November 1918 to the German bourgeoisie, and turned it into

a money-bag republic with the aid of monarchist officers and the German bourgeoisie. The saviors of the German Social Democracy, the monarchist officers and the monarchist bureaucracy, became the rulers of Germany. In coalition with the bourgeoisie the German Social Democracy spared capital and shifted all burdens upon the workers, officials and the petty bourgeoisie. As a result broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie were forced into the monarchist ranks, where they were promised the return of the plentiful Wilhelminian years. At the present time not only the German Republic, but also the lives of democratic ministers are threatened. Because the Social Democracy made the leaders of the revolutionary proletariat the prey of monarchist bandits, it has now fallen prey to the same monstrosity. You yourselves, workers of Germany, have risen in unmistakable protest against the monarchist danger. You have done so not out of love for the bourgeois republic, but because you realized that a restoration of the monarchy would mean a complete surrender of the German proletariat to the capitalists and Junkers; you realized that a return of the old militaristic gang and unscrupulous bureaucracy would bring back with it the danger of having to bleed once more for German imperialism.

The German Communist Party is no supporter of bourgeois democracy in which it sees neither the protection of working class interests nor the road to Socialism. Nevertheless, the Communist Party stood side by side with the German proletariat and, fully conscious of what it was doing, it agreed to join in the minimum demands. The Communist Party confined itself to what the two Social Democratic parties, the General Trade Union Federation (ADGB.) and the Federation of Employees considered as the absolute minimum for the protection of working class interests. It did this fully convinced, that as soon as the working class would begin to fight for these demands, it would realize their insufficiency and proceed further in a united front. The Communist International fully approves of these tactics of the German Communist Party. In decisive moments like the present, the question is not one of increasing demands, but one of spreading and intensifying the struggle.

Now, workers, you are again at a crossroads. Just as after the *Kapp-Putsch* and then after the Erzberger assassination, the Social Democratic parties and the bureaucracy of the ADGB, abandoned their own demands, so do the Social Democratic parties and the trade union bureaucracy now prepare a blow against the proletarian united front. The Social Democratic Party does not intend to carry out its own demands against the bourgeois coalition parties. It fears its own Social Democratic working masses more than it does the bourgeois politicians and the monarchists. That is why it seeks to fight it out on the parquet floor of Parliament in order not to arouse opposition on the part of the bankers of the Democratic Party and the Junkers and the manufacturers of the Catholic Centre Party.

The Independent Social Democratic Party, which for three years swore by every thing holy that it would not participate in a Coalition Government with the bourgeoisie, and which bitterly attacked the Majority Social Democrats for having entered into a coalition government, now sees the salvation of the Republic only in a coalition with the Democrats and the Center, i. e., with Messrs. Dernburg, Melchior, Warburg and Thyssen. Should the Independent Social Democratic Party enter the government it would simply mean that the proletarian united front which is now being organized from below will be shattered by the leaders of the Social Democracy. For it is clear, that the German Communist Party, which did everything in its power to maintain solidarity with you regardless of party affiliations, cannot now enter into a united front with the Democratic bankers and with petty bourgeois and heavy industrial Centre politicians.

It cannot do so even if it were to see its own aims in the demands put up by the General Trade Union Federation and the Social Democratic Parties.

It is ridiculous to assume even for one moment that the bourgeois Coalition Government will carry out these demands. Already the Democratic and Center press are thundering against the demonstrations and against the Committees of Control which you have formed in many places for the purpose of carrying out the demands of the trade unions and the three workers' parties.

Workers! The German Communist Party will continue to work hand in hand with you in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and against the monarchist danger at all times and places. But in order that this struggle be not fought in vain and end in failure, you, the Social Democratic and Independent Social Democratic workers, and you, our trade union comrades, must do everything within your power to prevent the Social

Democratic and the trade union bureaucratic leaders from splitting the united proletarian front. Before you can overthrow the monarchist reaction, you must force your proletarian will upon your leaders. It is not coalition with the reactionary bourgeoisie (which is supersaturated with monarchism) that will be the salvation of the Republic, but the united front of the whole proletariat, which is the only way to transform the bourgeois democracy into a proletarian democracy.

Communists of Germany! You marched shoulder to shoulder with your class comrades; remain in their ranks and concentrate all your efforts to get them to fight with you hand in hand in further struggles. Do not permit the Social Democracy to turn its battle of words against the reaction into a battle of machine guns against the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. Point out to the Social Democratic workers and trade union comrades that if they permit their leaders to break the united front they will make it possible for the monarchists to win a final victory.

The reaction is now speculating on the repetition of the inner struggles among the workers in the hope that it will thereby be able to free its own head from the noose which it would then use against the whole proletariat.

Proletarians of Germany! Defeat the reaction in a united front!

Down with the bourgeois coalition government!

Long live the struggle for the Worker's Government the only weapon against the monarchist reaction!

Moscow, July 8th, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To the Third Congress of the Workers' Relief

Moscow, July 1st 1922.

Dear Comrades,

We send you our heartiest greetings. We recognize and thank you for your great work. We know that you are now engaged on the question of extending the relief activity into an activity for restoring the economic system of Russia.

The International Workers' Relief (IWR.) and its component organizations places at the disposal of the Russian Soviet Republic all available men and materials, technical and economic organizers, experts of all kinds, skilled workers and last but not least, capital. The assistance will be given in the affiliation of the "IWR." with the existing Russian economic bodies, as state trusts etc.; thus whole branches of industry or even individual undertakings will be under joint management. It is also possible that the "IWR" will take over from the Russian government larger industries or even whole economic departments and there organize the work according to the latest standards of technique and science.

For the achievement of the above mentioned aims we must have not only capable, experienced and thoroughly trained experts and skilled workers but also the necessary money for the acquisition of machines, plants and raw materials. The work must be directed as practically as possible and have not only an idealistic value but must also obtain tangible results. Therefore its basis must be economically sound and secure, i. e., every undertaking must be conducted with business knowledge and must be based upon exact calculations so that it can compete with capitalist undertakings. Any enterprise lacking a sound economic foundation, expert management and control will very quickly be swamped by the capitalist world and the desired end will not be achieved. These purely workers' undertakings should differ essentially from the capitalist undertakings. They must not lose sight of the end and aim of our efforts, namely, the setting up of the Communist Order. These undertakings must strive to be not only self-supporting but they must also produce a surplus. In contradistinction to capitalist undertakings however this surplus shall not flow into the pockets of private employers; it must be devoted to the development of the particular industry or other branches of Soviet Russia's economy.

In anticipation that your deliberations and decisions will remain in agreement with these general fundamental principles we sincerely wish you the best success. The result of your labors must be the promotion of international proletarian solidarity.

With Communist greetings,

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Invitation to the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International

On the 7th of November 1922, the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International will take place in Moscow.

The agenda of the Fourth Congress is as follows:

1. The report of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.
2. The tactics of the Comintern.
3. The program of the Comintern and those of its most important sections. (Italian, German, French, Czecho-Slovakian, Japanese, American, Norwegian and Bulgarian Parties.)
4. Agrarian questions.
5. Trade unions questions.
6. Educational work.
7. The Youth International.
8. Oriental matters.

The Communist Parties of the following countries are requested to send their representatives to Moscow for the 7th of November:

Argentina	India
Armenia	Ireland
Australia	Italy
Austria	Japan
Azerbaijan	Java
Baku	Jugoslavia
Bashkir Republic	Khiva
Belgium	Korea
Bokhara	Latvia
Brazil	Lithuania
Bulgaria	Mexico
Canada	Norway
Chile	Persia
China	Poland
Czecho-Slovakia	Portugal
Denmark	Roumania
Egypt	Russia
Esthonia	South Africa
Far East Republic	Spain
Finland	Sweden
France	Switzerland
Georgia	Tartar Republic
Germany	Turkestan
Great Britain	Turkey
Greece	Ukraine
Holland	United States of America
Hungary	Uruguay
Iceland	White Russia

The Communist Parties of Germany, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Norway, the United States of America and Japan are requested to form commissions at once to formulate the programs of their respective parties and to get into immediate contact with the Central Program Commission appointed by the Enlarged Executive Committee. This they should do through the Secretariat of the Executive Committee in Moscow.

With Communist greetings,

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, June 30th 1922.

Red Trade Union International.

To the Members of the French C.G.T.U.

After thoroughly considering the draft of the constitution of the *French Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire* (C.G.T.U.) published in the *Libertaire* and in *La Vie Ouvrière*, the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International regards it necessary to call the attention of the members of the C.G.T.U. to the following:

1.—The present constitution is based upon the decentralization of the struggle of the working class, which in view of the concentration and centralized power of capital is a great danger for the French proletariat.

2.—This decentralization will lead the French working

class towards a series of defeats because the latter will advance in individual small section against the strong and well organized army of the hostile class.

3.—The constitution provides for the automatic replacement of the responsible leaders and even of those who deserve the complete confidence of the revolutionary working class. This automatic replacement of leaders, caused by abstract principles and by the fear of officials, must be sharply criticized as this replacement would make it impossible for the proletariat to develop a staff of well-trained officials who completely understand the difficult social-economic problems, a knowledge of which is the indispensable prerequisite for a successful class struggle. The automatic replacement of leaders can in no way secure a labor organization against abuse and bureaucracy. The struggle against bureaucracy can only be carried on by means of a persistent, careful, untiring, and systematic control of the activities of the leaders by the members of the unions

4.—The constitution provides equal representation of the unions and federations, irrespective of their membership. By such representation neither the national nor the department congresses and all higher bodies of the trade union movement will exactly represent the interests of the proletarian masses. Thus the majority of the delegates may arrive at a decision against which stands the majority of the organized workers. Under such circumstances the tactical carrying through of the decisions—and this depends exclusively upon the activity and the revolutionary initiative of the laboring masses—will be seriously hampered and the most important decisions of the leading bodies of the trade unions will probably remain a scrap of paper.

5.—The new constitution does not at all mention problems of an international character. It does not say whether the C.G.T.U. stands for the international alliance of the trade unions and still less defines its relations to the Amsterdam International and to the R.T.U.I. Silence on such a question in the Constitution of the C.G.T.U. can only be explained by the desire of the authors to remain isolated and to enter into no relations whatsoever with international organizations of revolutionary trade unions. Such an omission is the more inadmissible as no labor confederation may and can evade this problem and its international tasks, if it really desires to be a revolutionary class organization.

6.—For all the reasons mentioned above the central organization of the French trade unions will be unable to become a real militant organization and will prevent a concentration of the entire revolutionary energy of the working masses as well as the fight of the latter against capital. Furthermore they make it more difficult to win new members and weaken the influence of the C.G.T.U. on the broad masses of revolutionary workers.

7.—It is of course the right of every national organization to adopt a constitution which it considers suitable for its purposes. The Red Trade Union International can in no way contest this right; it considers it as its duty, however, to express its opinion and make it known to the members of the *Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire*.

The Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.

Relief for Russia

The Aid for the Famine-Stricken Regions Must Continue

By A. Vinokurov (Moscow).

Because of some improvement noticeable on the famine front, in connection with the favorable prospects for a good new harvest, relaxing tendencies have made their appearance in those regions not suffering from the famine. Some people are under the false impression that the famine relief is nearing its end and that it is about time to liquidate the famine relief organizations.

No doubt this relaxation is due to exhaustion on the part of many local forces that have been at work in famine relief for almost a year. The fact alone that about 7,000,000 poods of provisions and more than a trillion roubles have been collected for the relief of the famine sufferers, shows how great were the efforts of the various localities that fought on the famine front.

These liquidating tendencies are very detrimental. It is true that the situation in the famine regions has improved considerably and that the prospects for a good harvest are very promising; but relief work is still far from

being superfluous. Aside from the consideration that the new harvest is one month ahead of us, we must keep in mind that even after the harvest the relief apparatus will be confronted with problems that need solution. Due to the famine, the whole population is in need of aid of one sort or another. There are many orphans that must be cared for. The famine drove 1,500,000 people out of the Volga region. Some of these fugitives have already returned; others are now coming back to their domiciles. But a large part of the famine fugitives are in other provinces. Not having found a permanent abode or occupation, this mass remains a carrier of epidemics and the cause of an increased death rate.

Furthermore, the famine-stricken regions are in need of aid in economic reconstruction; they are badly in need of cattle, agricultural implements, etc.

It is self-evident therefore that it is premature to speak of liquidation on the famine front. Enormous work is still before us. The new situation may have changed the form of the relief work before us, but the need for and the importance of relief has not diminished. Remove all signs of exhaustion. It is too early to reduce the relief apparatus. We must retain discipline on the famine front.

In Soviet Russia

The Tax in Kind During 1922

By S. Aktov (Moscow).

The decree on the tax in kind provides that in special cases the State, which in no circumstances can renounce the collection of a tax which is absolutely necessary for its existence, can grant certain alleviations in payment, etc., to the peasants in order that the tax does not become a hindrance to agricultural improvement.

The Eleventh Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dealt with this question and decided to grant to certain sections of peasants the following privileges:

Those liable to taxation who punctually fulfil their obligations to pay within the prescribed time will be granted a rebate of 10 % from the quantity of grain which they are to deliver.

In no circumstances will a subsequent tax be levied. The tax will be only imposed on land under cultivation in 1921.

To facilitate the restoration of stocks of cattle, cattle kept for breeding as well as the young cattle born during the year shall if possible be exempted from taxation. In the years 1923 and 1924 they shall be entirely free from taxation.

With a view to encouraging farmers to improve their cultivation, all those who during the last three years have carried out improvement works will be allowed a tax rebate of 10 per cent.

In the future, the implements as well as the cattle of the farmers shall not be liable to seizure in the case of non-payment of the tax in kind.

The total quantity of the tax in kind to be levied is fixed at 243 million poods (1 pood = 36 lbs.). But it is calculated that the above mentioned privileges granted to the peasants will, together with the grain loan, reduce the quantity by 43 million poods.

The probable yield is estimated at 240 million poods, the minimum requirement of the state being 155 million poods.

The prospects for the new harvest can for the present be regarded as good.

In the Camp of Our Enemies

The President of the Amsterdam International and the Reparations Problem

By W. Lada.

Mr. J. H. Thomas combines in his estimable person several noteworthy dignities and qualifications. As a member of Parliament and one of the leaders of the English Labor Party, he belongs to "His Majesty's" Parliamentary Opposition. As secretary of one of the largest British labor organisations and one of the leaders of the trade union movement, he is an authority on labor questions for the government of Lloyd

George and also a member of His Majesty's Privy Council. As president of the Amsterdam Trade Union International he is also in a position to speak on questions of world politics. Moreover he is moderate and progressive; he serves at the same time the working class and the bourgeoisie, because he "will not recognise any classes in the nation"; he is for "fair play among the nations" because he wishes to retain the profit due to a master and ruling nation like the British.

Mr. J. H. Thomas recently gave free play to his tongue. He talked indefatigably, he raged against the extremists, the Bolsheviks and Communists, he preached reasonableness to the bourgeoisie and moderation to the proletariat, he promised salvation to all classes, —if the Labor Party would only take over the reins of government with J. H. Thomas at its head. In one word, Mr. J. H. Thomas went fishing for votes in view of the approaching general election. If things should turn out well, Mr. J. H. Thomas, instead of devoting himself to the well being and preservation of capitalism in his capacity of president of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, will then work for the same noble object in the capacity of Prime Minister of England.

Mr. J. H. Thomas now realises the necessity of discussing before the "widest possible circle of readers" what lies nearest to his heart, even if his ideas are likely to arouse resentment. In the Berliner Tageblatt of June 3rd, he raises the question as to how Germany shall pay reparations. He forces the open door, and proves very wisely, (to the German reader!), that in any event, Germany should not do it in a manner that would make her the "sweat-shop of Europe". Even if he is panic-stricken before a possible reproach of being "pro-German", he nevertheless feels that the whole Continent needs a prosperous Germany "which is in a position to buy as well as to sell". Even Mr. J. H. Thomas clings fast to the idea of "reparations"; only he does not want to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, but rather to allow it to live in order that it may continue to lay these eggs for the benefit of French and British imperialism. The payment of "reasonable reparations" must only take place in a way that does not exclude England from the world market, does not deprive the English worker of his job or depress his wages.

These ideals are the common stock in trade of every liberal bourgeois politician. There is nothing new about them and there is not one iota of difference between them and those of the old liberals. Only Mr. J. H. Thomas fails to answer his own question as to the manner in which Germany is to pay the "reasonable reparations" without sinking to the level of a sweat-shop. This most important question, the real core of the whole reparations problem, he silently passes over. He adds but one thing to this question; but what he says is very characteristic of this "labor leader", this torch-bearer of the Amsterdam International. The concluding paragraph of the article runs as follows:

"The whole of Europe has suffered in consequence of the war and the whole of Europe must co-operate in the

restoration of order. In past times when each country was self-supporting, when there were no industrial interests and the exchange of goods was carried on by means of horses and mules, it might have very well been possible to take the wealth of the vanquished and, to use words of Bismarck, leave him nothing but his eyes to weep with. *Today when the enemy is also your customer you must adopt more moderate methods.*"

Translated into plain English this statement of Mr. J. H. Thomas means: *Plunder the vanquished without rendering him incapable of being an object for future exploitation. These are the morals and politics of the Chairman of the Amsterdam International.*

These Manchester and Cobdenite morals of the Amsterdam "Labor Leader" reveal the social physiognomy of this International in a fearful light. But the matter has yet another side. We point out that some six weeks before the publication of Thomas' article the glorious Amsterdam Federation of yellow labor leaders, who unfortunately are still dragging many millions of misguided workers into the treacherous liberal swamp of industrial cooperation, at its congress in Rome, "in the name of the 24 million workers represented by it", called upon the world to adopt a definite policy upon the question of the world economic reconstruction, reparations etc., and pledged itself to take the lead in such a policy. It was there declared: that, "the burden of reparations ought to be laid upon the shoulders of the possessing class and not on those of the working class"; that the reparations question should be subject to international settlement, and that the "mutual cancellation of war debts" must precede it. *Of all this, there is not a single word in Thomas' article!* And we declare that:

Although Mr. J. H. Thomas, Chairman of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, masquerades in the robe of a "Socialist" labor leader, he is not only a type of the most clumsy liberal Manchester politician, not only a traitor against the historical mission of the proletariat as a revolutionary class, but his own words, his own actions and methods of propaganda, betray him and the official programme of the International of which he is the president.

When will the millions of workers who still belong to the Amsterdam International learn to understand?

Notice.

During the strike in the Berlin printing trades, the publication of this issue has suffered a delay of over two weeks.

The Editors.

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M.A.G. Nov. 2021