

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 90

20th Oct. 1922

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

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
Politics		The Cooperative Movement	
The Japanese Claims in the Far East. By <i>Karl Radek</i>	683	Communism and Cooperation; (Theses)	688
Politics in Japan. By <i>Sen Katayama</i>	684	The White Terror	
In the International		White Terror in Lithuania. By <i>Z. Angaretis</i>	689
The Significance of the Socialist Split in Italy. By <i>A. Bordiga</i>	684	In Soviet Russia	
A Left Wing Opposition in the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia. By <i>K. Kreibich</i>	686	The Conquest of the Arctic Ocean. By <i>E. Yaroslavsky</i>	690
(E. C. C. I.) To the Central Executive of the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia	686	Appeals	
The Labor Movement		(Y. C. I.) To the Working Youth of all Countries! To the Adult Working Class!	690
Trade Unionism in Canada. By <i>Jack MacDonald</i>	687		
Wage Slashing in Spain. By <i>P. Maurin</i>	687		

POLITICS

The Japanese Claims in the Far East.

By *Karl Radek* (Moscow).

During the Russo-Japanese Conference at Chang-Chung, which has just broken up without having been able to reach an agreement, the question of the Nikolaievsk episode and the occupation of the island of Sakhaline had been brought up anew.

Sakhaline contains oil and petroleum wells. Sakhaline is the center of remarkable fisheries. Therefore we would not have been surprised had Japan, while negotiating peace with the Republic of the Far East and Soviet Russia, insisted on having her capitalists participate in the exploitation of these natural riches. But Japan preferred to talk of annexing Sakhaline. It is always thus with imperialist powers.

When they speak of peace, they think only of plunder.

But what relation exists between the imperialist appetites of Japan and the events at Nikolaievsk, the reader will ask. We shall see.

After having occupied Eastern Siberia, the maritime province, the region of the Amour, the Japanese took possession of the city of *Nikolaievsk*, an important point for the control of the Amour and the Northern part of Sakhaline. Nikolaievsk is situated in a section of fisheries the production of which is not to be regarded with disdain. The occupation of Nikolaievsk was difficult to justify; there were no Czecho-Slovakians that Japan was "morally" obliged to protect, and not the least conflict between the Russian and Japanese workers, accustomed to live on good terms.

It was simple aggression, a blow of the imperialist Japanese brigands against the Russian population, — and nothing more.

After the downfall of Koltchak, the entire country was covered with bands of Red rebels. In November 1919, some partisans led by Triapitsyn — irregulars, not connected in any way to the Red Army — marched on Nikolaievsk. Upon arriving before the city they first sent two representatives to

the Japanese demanding that they evacuate Nikolaievsk. These envoys, Sorokin and Orlov, were murdered. The partisans then seized the fortress of Tchnyra, and after 8 days of bombardment finally compelled the Japanese garrison of Nikolaievsk to surrender at the end of February, 1920.

Careful not to injure their future relations with Japan, the partisans allowed the defeated garrison to retain its arms, and concluded with it an agreement of friendly neutrality. But during the night of March 12, when the partisans thought themselves to be in perfect safety at Nikolaievsk, the Japanese made a surprise attack upon their general quarters. A desperate battle then began which lasted 4 days.

The Japanese were finally defeated and disarmed.

Their attack had been planned by the garrison and the Japanese commander-in-chief who had just (March) landed 1000 soldiers at Alexandrovsk and there dissolved the Soviets. At first this was done in order to substitute for them the *Zemstvos*, but after a short time they took the administration of the Island into their own hands, annulled, the fishing contracts concluded by the Russians, monopolized the fisheries, forbade the Russians to exploit the subsoil, — in short, began their colonization according to the customary rules.

In June, 1920, the Japanese troops quartered in Alexandrovsk began an offensive against Nikolaievsk by which the Red partisans were forced to evacuate. Before departing, they blew up part of the city and shot the bourgeois elements attached to the enemy and the Japanese prisoners, in reprisal against the excesses committed by the invader of Sakhaline.

This is the Nikolaievsk episode. Its direct cause was the invasion by the Japanese troops of foreign territory and the brutal behaviour of the Japanese forces of occupation. We do not dream of justifying the execution of unarmed captives, nor have we need of such justification for two good reasons: the Soviet Government is not responsible for individual acts of sympathizers — and it has moreover, caused their leader Triapitsyn to be shot for having disobeyed after his submission.

But it is curious to hear the Japanese speak of humanity after their occupation has everywhere been a nightmare of blood for the Russian working population. The Government of Chita has published a pamphlet in English on the Japanese occupation (reproduced in the resolutions of the American Senate on March 2,

1922) which constitutes in itself a terrible indictment of the imperialists of Tokyo. We could cite much from it, but it is better to ask: What lesson is to be drawn from the Nikolaievsk episode?

It is contained in this short phrase: Do not covet the possession of the country of another. That is not the opinion of the Japanese Government. As indemnity for the losses incurred at Nikolaievsk, it demands the northern part of the Island of Sakhaline, thus following the classic example of imperialist bandits.

When Germany needed a Chinese port and when her military experts had fixed their choice upon Tsing-Tao, it of course came to pass that German missionaries had been murdered by the Chinese inhabitants. And the German Government, to avenge its outraged humanity, occupied Tsing-Tao. If Japan wishes to apply this method, she would do well to remember that the Russia of 1922 is not at all the China of 1898. Russia is prepared to discuss with Japan the admission of Japanese capitalists into Sakhaline; but if the Japanese Government imagines that we will pay the costs of its crimes, it is quite mistaken.

Russia wants peace with Japan.

It is time for Japan to understand that the later peace is concluded, the less advantageous it will be to herself.

But the evacuation of Sakhaline is inadmissible for many reasons, chiefly international. Russia is not bound by agreements with Washington, but Japan is; and this obliges her to maintain the *status quo* in the Far East. In the question of Sakhaline Japan will run up against the categorical refusal of Russia and the United States.

Politics in Japan.

By Sen Katayama.

Of the 463 members in the Japanese Parliament, 281 belong to the Seikai Party, 109 to the Kensekai Party, 30 to the Kokuminto Party, and of the two non-party groups, 26 members are attached to one group and 17 to the other. Each party represents different social interests.

The strongest party, the *Seikai*, represents the interests of the property owners and capitalists. At the head of this party there stands the Marquis Sionti, member of the Privy Council and of the Senior Council. The *Seikai* maintains the closest relations with the multi-millionaire firm of *Mitsum*. It is opposed to universal suffrage and up to recently supported the occupation of Siberia and other East Asiatic provinces. At present this party is in an unfavorable position, since the loss of its leader Chara. After the assassination of Chara, Takahashi was appointed Prime Minister. The latter, however, was not a broad minded statesman and was soon overthrown.

With regard to the inner organization of this party, it is run on relatively democratic principles and as a consequence very often changes its leaders. Only the most capable and gifted politicians can maintain themselves at the head of the party. It is to these democratic methods that the growth of the party during the last thirty years is to be ascribed, since the way lies open to every talented member to high commanding positions. In recent times however, the Seikai Party has become subject more and more to corruption and has become the scene of many scandals.

The *Kensekai Party* was founded by Prince Katura as a party of the bureaucracy. At present it represents the interests of the industrial and commercial magnates. After Katura the leadership of the party was taken over by the Marquis Okuma, who was followed by Viscount Kato, the present official president of the party (not to be confused with Admiral Kato the present Prime Minister). Marquis Okuma represents the Kensekai in the Senior Council. The Kensekai Party maintains relationships with another multi-millionaire firm *Mitsubishi*. There was a time when the Kensekai Party fought for universal suffrage and the evacuation of Siberia. Being a party of the industrial and commercial capitalists its organizations are for the most part in the industrial centres.

The third strongest parliamentary party, the *Kokuminto Party* was established in 1910. It represents the interests of the ship-building corporation, particularly of the shipping magnate Katura. The party has always supported universal suffrage and the evacuation of Siberia and even supports the revolutionary parties of China. At its head there stands Inukai, the virtual dictator of the party. In consequence of its lack of democratic control this party has never succeeded in becoming popular and has never had more than 30 to 35 members in Parliament. The Kokuminto Party like the Kensekai Party supports the continental policy and is therefore an adherent of the army clique.

The two non-party groups have no definite political tendencies and no definite followers. They are groups of solitary members of parliament who have united for one reason or another.

These are the most important parties of Japan; in addition to these there is the so-called *Kenrioto* founded by Prince Ito, the liberal statesman and follower of the European and especially of the German state system. He is also the author of the Constitution and is the promoter of great cultural work. After Ito, Yamagoto took over the leadership of this group. One may say that Japan is actually governed by this group which maintains connections with all important representatives of the capitalists and feudal lords.

Any political party desiring to take part in the government must enter into a compromise with the *Kenrioto*. This group controls the whole government apparatus. Many groups of talented officials who received their education in the state universities are likewise under the influence of the leaders of the *Kenrioto*: Ito and Yamagato.

Besides the *Kenrioto* and the groups allied to it there are two opposition parties, or rather, cliques. The one represents the interests of the Army and the other the interests of the Navy. The army clique is in close relationship with the great capitalists and continually strives after increasing the standing army, regardless as to whether the country can or cannot bear the burdens entailed thereby. The naval clique stands chiefly for the expansion of Japan in the direction of the Southern Islands.

The antagonism existing between the military and naval cliques is very characteristic of Japanese political life. Over the question of the budget, they are always fighting one another, but they are united when it is a question of exploiting the country.

These two cliques are always fighting each other over the Japanese government. The naval clique, for instance, overthrew the government of Katura and put in its place the government of Yamamoto. After a scandal brewed up by the army clique, Yamamoto was obliged to resign.

After this the interests of the army were represented by the government of Okuma and Teroutshi, but in consequence of the bankruptcy of the Siberian policy, Teroutshi had to give up his post to Kato. Since that time, the Navy clique has ruled in Japan through the present cabinet of Admiral Kato, which is supported by the Seikai.

This struggle of the two cliques is kept alive by reason of the fact that in Japan, only the representatives of the capitalists have the right to vote. Today, only those citizens who pay at least a tax of 3 yen per year have the right to vote. Of the 60 million inhabitants, only three million can vote. The sale and purchase of votes in Japan is carried on quite openly regardless of the stringent law. The candidate who pays out the most money has the greatest prospect of being elected. In this way the whole political system of Japan is interwoven with capitalist corruption.

In recent times the struggle for universal suffrage has assumed significant proportions but it is almost impossible to obtain universal suffrage through parliament, since parliament, as has already been mentioned, represents the interests of the capitalists,—the enemies of this movement. The movement for universal suffrage extends to the petty bourgeoisie which belongs to none of these cliques and suffers very much from the venality of the officials.

In this way we see that present day Japanese politics are determined not by the people, or even by parliament, but by capitalistic and bureaucratic naval and military cliques. This system will only be overthrown by universal suffrage, which in spite of these cliques and in spite of parliament will not allow itself to be kept waiting long.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Significance of the Socialist Split in Italy.

By A. Bordiga (Rome).

The article by Comrade Bordiga, which was printed in *L'Ordine Nuovo* of October 7th, represents not merely his own personal opinion. As this question will now occupy the attention of the Third International, we desire to make the standpoint contained therein known to wider circles. The Editor.

The critical attitude which the Italian Communist Party exhibits towards the Socialist Party and its successive crises, follows from an objective theory and tactics which only foolish

people could regard as constituting personal animosity and antipathy. This shall be established in view of the recent split in the Socialist Party of Italy.

It is the case here of a practical question with which our party is confronted; the question of its relations to the left wing of the present split party. This question cannot be dealt with without taking up a critical standpoint. It seems to us that on the basis of the constitution and organization of the Communist International, there is only one body competent to solve this question: the congress of the Communist Party of Italy. Problems of a "fundamental" nature, the structure of the party, and perhaps also its name, are items which stand upon the agenda (but certainly not in the sense of the ludicrous proposal to dissolve the party and "return" to the Italian Socialist Party), and only a congress can decide on the alteration of the general rule which permits only individual affiliations. At this congress and during its preparation the problem of eventual unification will be discussed. For the present moment we will not concern ourselves with the admissibility of fusion which would bring with it a complete change in the party organism.

On the other hand the Executive Committee of the Communist International has already dealt with this question and the next World Congress will also deal with it. This question can only form the topic of a prepared discussion at our congress after the approaching Fourth World Congress is over. It goes without saying that no Italian Communist would take up an attitude of opposition towards the proposals of the International regarding this question.

We shall restrict ourselves here to objective criticism of those political powers and resources constituting the Maximalist Party, and shall consider the question whether as a result of the split which has taken place, the Maximalist Party has changed in the sense of approaching the principles and methods of Communism. The question of its eventual incorporation into the Communist Party clearly depends upon this.

At Bologna, the whole of the I. S. P. affiliated to the Third International and made unity the basis of its programme. We observed clearly at the time that it was a gigantic error that the party remained in its theoretical outlook, in its methods and in its organization and leadership a traditional Social Democratic party. Right from the beginning there was formed in the lap of the old party a distinct Communist tendency which criticized the negative direction of the prevailing Maximalist method. This method — as events have proved all too clearly — was the method of a revolutionary burlesque in which a high sounding phraseology sought to conceal the terrible fact that the party was incapable of keeping pace with the events that followed the war by an effective development of revolutionary factors.

What share did the right wing of the Social Democrats have in the criticism directed against the Maximalists, which will not be expounded here in detail? Will Italian and international Communists perhaps say that the Maximalists were Communists, that they had to separate from the Social Democrats in order to be in a position to function on the field of Communist methods? That would be a vulgar and superficial view of the thing. In fact, we proved clearly and beyond a doubt that the *Maximalists were not Communists*, that they did not understand that they must separate from "those who rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat and the use of force".

The lack of necessity for a clear statement of questions concerning theory and programme, by which the toleration of actions which ran counter to principles would have been impossible, was always a symptom that the actions of the party did not correspond to its academically accepted pledges. A clear theoretical basis is an indispensable condition for a movement capable of deeds and action; it is certainly not sufficient; the remaining conditions are yet more difficult of fulfilment; but if the first condition is lacking the rest of the structure collapses. And as a matter of fact *the theoretical vagueness of Maximalism enabled us to foresee* what subsequent facts have proved: *its futility in practice and its anti-Communist attitude in all cases of proletarian action.*

As the Communists very well foresaw, the Maximalists at Leghorn preferred unity with the Social Democrats to unity with the Italian and International Communists.

The International plainly declared that after such an action the Maximalists had proved their opportunism even to the blind, and that they would go to the right and end finally with opportunism — a prophecy which was very soon fulfilled by the complete solidarity between the Maximalists and the reformists in the I. S. P., in their methods of action and chiefly in the campaign against the Communists.

Have later events come to light which would prove that the Maximalists set their course towards the right in order to swing it over to the left and to approach nearer to Communism? Our answer is: No!

We shall certainly not play with words. In regard to the Maximalists it is necessary to hear its authorized leaders so long as they retain control over the movement of the masses. When we shall speak of the workers who are in the ranks of the party, our critical attitude will certainly change. They can become Communists, but only when they forsake the traditions and the influence of their present leaders.

We assert that the latest attitude of the Maximalists towards the right wingers who are striving for collaboration with the bourgeoisie, affords no sufficient basis for pronouncing that it is now going more to the left.

One might say that it must be tested in the field of practical action. This method however would in the first place, be too protracted, and secondly, it has always, up to the formation of blocs with the reformists against the Communists and against the adherents of the Third International in the trade unions, given us a negative answer. We shall therefore confine ourselves merely to estimating the importance of the rupture in the I. S. P.

The split does not prove that the Maximalists have at last grasped the simple truth that a common existence with the Social Democrats is impossible. Serrati is right when he defends the *consistency* of his attitude. His present attitude does not contradict that of Bologna, Leghorn and Milan. In reality it is the Right that has altered its course. The Right has thereby realized its well-known principles, and there remains, now as before, the responsibility of the Serrations, who warmed the collaborationist serpent in their bosoms in spite of the fact that they knew that it would bite. The banished from Rome have now committed sins which they had not yet committed in Bologna; at Leghorn and Milan however, Serrati wished to shelter them. The recent conference gives us no document which is not a confirmation of the most brutal violation of discipline by the Right.

We see on the part of the Maximalists no formulation of programme, no acknowledgement of mistakes, no attitude which would prove that they desired to escape from the past snare. If the reformists had continued in the course of Bologna, the Maximalists would now still be with them. The symptoms are unchanged, the opportunist sickness shows no signs of improvement.

Serrati who insists upon his consistency and thereby repudiates every recognition of the theses of the Communist International plays upon a change in the situation which gives the present attitude of the Maximalists the appearance a left attitude. The unchained reaction demands today a revolutionary purification of the party. This failure to critically grasp the situation and the task of the proletariat, signifies the continuation of the former vagueness and vacillation.

The chief argument of Serrati at Leghorn was that the situation was tending to the right, and that the strategic position for defending the proletariat also had to be maintained in those strongholds occupied by the reformists. But since the situation today is tending still more to the right, in which case the quality of the party must be opposed to the quantity, the bankruptcy of the method adopted at Leghorn is clearly revealed. This has to be admitted and one cannot claim to continue the former policy. The attitude of Serrati demonstrates his misunderstanding of the revolutionary task which led to the collapse of Maximalism. Serrati and his followers do not know and are less likely to know the relation between an altered situation and the tactics of a proletarian revolutionary party.

With the ascending line of the objective situation it was necessary to use the same to make clear the actions of the party in regard to theory and organization, and to abandon all vacillation, in order to rouse the maximum of revolutionary energy in the masses—at the moment of the bourgeois offensive, even if it were only for the purpose of mere defence.

Maximalism today, more than ever, lacks every clear conception of revolutionary tasks and the practical capacity to lead the defensive struggle of the masses.

Maximalism has not come over to the left.

It has, as was foretold by Moscow after Leghorn, gone to the right and approached the reformists. The latter, however, proceeded too quickly and have thus lost contact. Hence the reason of the split which for an objective critic denotes no tendency to the left, but only shows a demagogic taking advantage of the efforts of the masses, which serve the reformist leadership not to build up a truly revolutionary political position, but is used exclusively for defending certain persons and certain groups.

The split is a result of the bankruptcy of Maximalism and of its general staff.

Every optimistic illusion would be a fault in the face of our tasks. The Communist Party has gone a long way forward in the last two years, and in spite of all unfavorable conditions it has reasons for satisfaction.

We must carry on with our work.

We require for this a consciousness of strict fidelity to our line of theory and practice, for which the comrades have sacrificed so much labor in the past two years and which they will under no circumstances relinquish.

A Left Wing Opposition in the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia

By Karl Kreibich (Prague).

The Communist movement of Czecho-Slovakia met with many difficulties in the formation of a united Communist Party, and this did not take place without the exclusion and expulsion of various elements. But in all cases we had to do only with the centrist elements, and single, unconnected manifestations.

However, there has appeared recently an organized opposition, a closed group which calls itself a left wing. The danger of this manifestation is increased by the fact that the old *Sturc*, chairman of the Central Executive of the Party, *Jilec*, former central secretary and representative of the Party in Moscow, and *Bolen*, leader of the Agricultural Workers' Federation and member of the Executive, belong to this opposition. Up to August, the opposition even had the majority in the Central Executive of the Party.

A national conference of the Party had to be called to clear the situation.

A few days before the national conference, which took place on the 23rd and 24th of September, the opposition published a pamphlet which contained attacks against the Party.

This sharpened the conflict to a point where the conference saw itself forced to reprove the opposition in the sharpest terms, and exclude by a two thirds majority, the three above named members as well as three others who had signed the pamphlet and now refused its withdrawal. The other third of the conference voted for referring the matter to the Executive of the Comintern.

The basic opposition of the left wing whose chief instigators have now been expelled is similar to that of the K.A.P. (Communist Labor Party) in Germany; the only difference is that we have to do with an even more unclear opposition and formulation of ideas. It is not easy to give examples of the views of these people for they have always more criticized than offered their own positive views. When in January the question of the united front came up, they declared themselves for it on principle, but spoke of a united front from below upwards, against alliance with the traitors; that is, they opposed every practical step in this question. Shortly before the beginning of the struggle against the Amsterdammers for the conquest of the trade unions, they declared themselves for the conquest and for a split, but they represented this conquest as an impossibility, and *Bolen* sabotaged the decision that the Agricultural Workers' Federation should enter the General Trade Union Federation, which step would have given us the majority at the Trade Union Congress.

In this way the left rendered impossible every clear position of the Party on those questions and took all initiative from the party leadership.

Every discussion of the question of the workers' government was attacked by the left wing as betrayal, as the attempt of *Smeral* and the *Smeralists* to enter a coalition government. When these questions came up before the national conference, the opposition brought forth a program for a workers' govern-

ment which contained among others the demand for introduction of a militia instead of the present army. Then, however, the opposition voted against the clause which referred to the workers' government in the revolution.

And now, in their latest pamphlet which they have published since their expulsion, the six leaders of the left wing declare that they are for a workers' government, but only a Soviet Government and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Besides its theoretical confusion we may mention the unscrupulousness with which the opposition played upon the feelings of a part of the masses. The impatience, the mistrust, the anti-bureaucratic feeling of the masses was used as inciting material against the leadership of the party, particularly against Comrade *Smeral*.

Neither *Sturc* as president, nor *Jilec* as central secretary of the Party were grown up to their tasks, and the opposition is mainly a flight from responsibilities. It is significant that in Moscow *Jilec* attacked the weak leadership and organization of the Party at a time when the opposition held the majority in the Central Executive. How the opposition viewed party discipline may be seen from their naive demand to the Central Executive that the weekly paper of the Executive, published for the discussion of questions of tactics and principle, be given over to them as organ of the opposition. In case of non-fulfillment of this demand within 24 hours, they menaced to publish a new pamphlet to which purpose *Jilec* was to take the material of the Central Secretaryship when he left, his post. And now, a few days after the expulsion, the opposition has published a new appeal which contains attacks against the party. At the same time they announced the publication of their own organ as a proof that they were acting according to a well-prepared plan.

The energetic action against the opposition will do much to clear and consolidate the Party. We already have reports from various sections which prove that the attitude of the National Conference is finding full support among the mass of the Party members. The meeting of the functionaries of Greater Prague has approved the decision of the national conference almost unanimously, although the whole leadership of the opposition had its seat in Prague. The comrades are embittered that at a time when the failure of the capitalist economic system and of the system of coalition government becomes more apparent, and the idea of the united front and workers' government is gaining ground among the workers, the opposition of a few querulous members in the Party place it in danger of a split.

The Party will soon see to it that this handful of "left radicals" be condemned to political death.

The E. C. of the C. I. on the Crisis in the Czecho-Slovakian Party

— Dear Comrades,

The Executive Committee has carefully followed the happenings at the last party conference of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia and reached the following decisions:

1. The Executive reaffirms that the general political policy pursued by the majority of the Party Executive is the right one, and condemns the appearance of an opposition group in the form which it assumed, — as a breach of discipline.

2. However, the expulsion of the opposition group was not justified.

The expulsion from the Party is a step which must be taken only in cases of extreme necessity. It must be taken only when all other means have been used, which is not the case here.

The Executive of the Comintern decides therefore, that:

1. The decision to exclude Comrades *Sturc*, *Jilec*, and others from the Communist Party is temporarily withdrawn, and the rights of these comrades as members of the Party are restored.

2. The opposition group is requested to send Comrades *Sturc*, *Bolen* and *Jilec* to the Fourth Congress in Moscow to defend the standpoint of the opposition.

3. This question will finally be decided at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, whose decision will naturally be binding for all parties concerned.

At a time when an unheard-of offensive of capital rages against the Czecho-Slovakian workers, at a time of tremendous increase in unemployment and general sharpening of the struggle, it is the duty of the Communists of Czecho-Slovakia to close up their ranks and avoid all splits.

With Communist greetings,

(Signed) A. Minkin.

To this communication, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia declared:

"It goes without saying that the Executive Committee of the Party regards this provisional decision as binding and submits to the same. The enforcement of the decision to exclude the seven comrades is temporarily suspended, in order that these comrades may, as fully qualified party members, defend their conduct before the Executive.

The Executive Committee expects that all comrades will keep in mind the difficulty of the situation as pointed out by the Executive Committee, and that they await the decision of Moscow and refrain from all further breaches of discipline as well as any disturbance of the activities of the organization.

The chief concern of the Executive from the very beginning was to prevent conscious breaches of discipline. Now the Moscow Executive is taking over this matter. It is quite obvious that the Executive is inspired by the spirit of moderation and that it is desirous of contributing to the elimination of the difficulties within our party in a Communist manner. The Executive Committee of our party as well as every individual and every organization in it, would be assuming a very great responsibility if the action of the Executive in this matter were consciously complicated or rendered more difficult.

Precisely because this question is soon to be settled in Moscow, our Executive Committee had to proceed most strictly against every breach of discipline. Since the Executive Committee itself submits to the decision of the International, all organizations and branches of the Party must respect and carry out its decision.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Trade Unionism in Canada.

By Jack MacDonald.

Canadian labor is influenced by two great labor powers, the British unions and the United States unions. Partaking of the principles and traditions of the British, it is yet organically bound up with the United States unions because of the close economic connection between the two countries.

The great bulk of organized labor in Canada is part and parcel of the International Unions with headquarters in the United States. Yet the Canadian, like the British rather than the United States movement, stands for independent political action, through the Labor Party, and is affiliated with the Amsterdam International. According to available statistics there are approximately 300,000 trade unionists in Canada. The record year was reached in 1919, when nearly 380,000 workers were organized. Industrial depression with its unemployment was responsible for a loss in membership of nearly 80,000.

In addition to the international unions there are a few independent unions, or Federations. Some of the most important are as follows:

National Catholic Unions are of recent origin, the first congress having been held in 1918. Confined to the province of Quebec, their members total 40,000. The province of Quebec is a French speaking province.

The Canadian Federation of Labor is a Federation of purely Canadian unions. It is extremely weak, numerically and otherwise, and is motivated by a strong nationalist sentiment; it has a deep prejudice against being governed from the other side (U.S.A.). Their official organ is the *Canadian Federationist*.

The *Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees*. This organization is purely national in character. At its inception in 1909 this organization was not a dual union in the strict sense of the word. The International Unions with jurisdiction over these fields had not made any energetic headway in Canada. At the present time the Canadian Brotherhood has the majority of the organized clerks and freight handlers in Canada. In the last few years, however, the Clerks' International has made considerable headway on the Canadian Railroads.

It therefore has culminated in the expulsion of the Canadian Brotherhood from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. At present the two organizations are in conference with a view to amalgamation and to all appearances the outcome will be one organization.

The *Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada* was affiliated to the One Big Union of Canada at its inception in 1919, but seceded in 1920 over a disagreement with the form of organization. The Lumber Workers being in favor of an industrial form, in opposition to the geographical form championed by the O.B.U.

The Lumber workers are affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions.

The One Big Union dates from the conference held in

Calgary-Alberta in March 1919, where some 230 delegates representing the locals of the Internationals of the four western provinces met and decided to ask the membership to sever all connections with the International organizations.

Although born of the general demand for industrial unionism of the western workers, the O.B.U. today carries on through its organ an intense propaganda against industrial unionism. In fact the chief function of the One Big Union Bulletin seems to be to attack industrial unionism in general and the Workers' Party (Communist) in particular. The organization has dropped in members since its inception from 40,000 to 25,000.

The group of first importance in the country is undoubtedly the Railroad Union.

The building trades, metal trades and miners follow in order of importance.

Although nearly 50% of the population of Canada depends directly or indirectly on agriculture, last winter, nearly 200,000 workers were unemployed.

With a slight improvement in general industry, and a distinct boom in the building trades, unemployment during the summer months had considerably decreased, but the approaching winter looks gloomy indeed for the workers.

The *Trade Union Educational League*, although of recent origin, has done magnificent work in Canada.

The League is not a dues paying organization of the militant workers or left wingers in the trade union movement. Its strength and influence must be measured more by results than by a mere counting of heads.

The Executive of the Trades and Labor Congress, the counterpart of the American Federation of Labor, in its report to the annual convention made a bitter attack on the League.

As already stated, the Lumber Workers with a potential strength of 20,000 men are affiliated to the R.I.L.U.

Just recently the coal miners of Nova Scotia, District 26 of the United Mine Workers of America with 100% of the workers organized in their district (12,000), declared for affiliation with the R.I.L.U. and decided to send a delegation to the R.I.L.U. Congress this year.

An interesting election for the Executive Committee took place on the 15th of August of this year and despite the campaign of the whole press of the province a complete *Red Slate* was returned.

The other mining district in Canada (Dist. 18) situated in the West has a membership of 9,000. This district seceded from the United Mine Workers of America at the formation of the O.B.U. but is back again in the international organization. The District is whole-heartedly in support of the program and principles of the Trade Union Educational League. Its chief officials are men of strong radical tendencies.

In Northern Ontario, the chief metal mining district on the North American continent, the league has been successful in laying the foundation of a strong organization. Once a power in organized-labor the metal miners' organization has completely collapsed,—chiefly owing to the split caused by the O.B.U.

The above-mentioned unity convention between the two chief unions competing in the clerical field on the railways is another important indication of the amalgamation tendency.

Many of the locals of the railway shop crafts are enthusiastically engaged in the League's work and are arranging for a representation of the League to visit other units.

The League today is a definite power in the Canadian Trade Union movement and its influence grows constantly. Militant workers of Canada have learned in the bitter school of experience the fallacy of secession, and today they are placing their hope on consolidation through amalgamation and in the program of the Trade Union Educational League.

The chief attacks on the League come from the bureaucracy of the Canadian movement and the officialdom of the One Big Union.

Wage Slashing in Spain

Two-fold aspect of the capitalist offensive: political and economic. — The reformist treason. — The struggle of the metal workers of Bilbao and the miners of Asturias. — What do the parties propose?

By J. Maurin (Barcelona).

In comparison with the wages received before the war, the wages paid in Spain today show an increase of 100%; but the cost of living has gone up 130%, as a minimum figure. With few exceptions almost all categories of workers are seeing their conditions constantly made worse, as a result of the continuous rise in the cost of living. And the capitalist offensive has begun by reductions in wages.

The employer, to gain his end better, has proceeded by a double manoeuvre both in the political and economic spheres.

First he turned his apparatus of repression and coercion, the State, against the trade union organization it was necessary to destroy. For two whole years the White Terror has been raging. The best militants have been assassinated or forced to flee to foreign countries. The payment of trade union dues has been declared a crime. Locals have been shut down, the organizations dissolved. This task achieved, it became a simple matter to attack wages.

Where the trade-union organizations have been destroyed, the employer hardly met with any resistance, and wages "fell" automatically...

Where trade union organizations existed, the struggle was desperate; and the employer won his first success only through the treason of the reformists.

The metal workers of Bilbao and the miners of Asturia withstood the pressure of the employers for more than three months. In the regions embraced by these great economic struggles, the Communists and the Syndicalist members of the R.I.L.U. had effected a united front despite the opposition of the Socialists and Anarchists. And had it not been for the reformist betrayal, the united front would have won for the working class a brilliant victory.

The metal workers of Bilbao stood their ground for many weeks without yielding. But contrary to the will of the masses, contrary to the tactics of the Communists and Red Syndicalists, the "Socialist" leaders negotiated with the operators through the Minister of Labor and accepted a wage reduction of 8%. The effect of this betrayal would be difficult to describe. When the day came for the official return to work, the majority of the strikers still refused to enter the factories. The movement, however, was broken, defeated. Divided, the strikers were vanquished.

The miners of Asturia had to submit for the third time to a decrease in wages. A short time after the war, their wages had been lowered 3.50 pesetas (more than 25%). Then, thanks to the reformist activity in the trade unions—a new reduction of 15% followed. The real object is to bring their wages down below the pre-war level.

For three months the miners held out against their bosses. But the Amsterdam International and the English reformist trade unions did not allow bourgeois Spain to remain without coal. Thanks to Frank Hodges, English labor leader, the Spanish coal baron was sure of victory.

As at Bilbao, so here, the reformists negotiated, accepting an immediate decrease in wages of 5%, and promising to raise production 10% within two months. As this is not possible without lengthening the hours of labor, the victory of the mine lord was complete.

Of course, the miners are exhausted after these vain struggles and their attendant misery. What solutions do the parties offer?

Those of the reformist Socialists we have just seen applied. Those of the Anarchists do not concern themselves with the class struggle. Do they not desire to oppose capitalist brutality by education, as the only means of emancipating the workers? Their scheme of *enlightenment* is only a new form of the liberal theory of *evolution* preached some time ago.

Those of the Communists and the Red trade unionists (R.I.L.U.) can be summed up in three words: *the class struggle*.

And daily experience impresses upon the worker that he can not separate himself from the class struggle, as Socialists and Anarchists urge, without immediately falling into the basest economic slavery.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Communism and Cooperation.

(Report of Comrade Hintchuk.)

Theses.

1. The most important task confronting Communists working in the cooperative movement is to make an economic and political valuation of cooperation by employing the Marxist analysis of social relations, ruthlessly to criticize and expose the policy of the old cooperative movement, which strives to subject cooperation to the capitalists, and to draw the laboring masses organized in the Cooperatives into the struggle against the capitalist offensive which is being waged against the whole of the working class.

2. Cooperation is a form of the movement of the broad masses of the proletariat, of clerks and office workers, artisans and small peasant proprietors, who combine for raising their standard of living under the capitalist system, by dispensing with the services of the trader and middleman; in the transition period the cooperative societies serve as a weapon in the hands

of the proletariat in its fight to secure the realization of Socialism.

3. The cooperative societies pursue aims which vary with the class composition of their membership. These aims: a) the protection of the interests of the members as consumers, and b) the protection of the interests of the members as producers.

As a consequence of this the cooperative movement in all countries is divided into two branches: consumers' cooperatives and producers' cooperatives, the latter being in close connection with credit cooperatives.

Sometimes these two branches are in a state of rivalry, as in Germany and Hungary, and others manage to work jointly as in Russia and Italy.

In the period of the transition of power to the proletariat, the best form of cooperation is that of integral and mixed societies of all forms in which the consumers' societies, comprising as they do the overwhelming majority of urban and purely proletarian elements, should, from the point of view of the interests of the working class, be the object of special attention and play the predominant role.

4. Consumers' societies combining millions of proletarians creating a broad network of trading enterprises and establishing their own production, are important in themselves as means of improving the material condition of the masses, of developing a communal spirit among the masses, of teaching them the methods of economic management perfected by capitalism, and finally, may be employed by the proletariat for the organized distribution of products on a national scale at the moment when it assumes power. But parallel with these tasks, peculiar to the cooperative movement as such, the cooperative societies also have to pursue the interests of the working class as a whole. These are,—the economic, and consequently the political emancipation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism.

5. Although consumers' cooperation, in view of its heterogeneous composition, reflects the lack of development of the class consciousness of the proletariat, in many countries of Western Europe and America, to a greater extent even than the political and trade union organizations, nevertheless the position taken up by the old cooperators, preaching the independence of the cooperative movement from the rest of the labor movement, is totally wrong. On the contrary, the closest possible contact should exist between all forms of the labor movement in the struggle for the achievement of the common aim of emancipating labor from all exploitation.

6. In the same way as the reformists lead the workers on the political field to agreements with the bourgeoisie, and the Amsterdamers, by means of their trade unions, strive to imbue the masses of the workers with a pure economic spirit and the abandonment of the struggle against the capitalists, the old cooperators on the one hand are, while verbally supporting the principle of neutrality, actually subjecting the cooperative movement to the influence of the bourgeoisie and reformist parties; on the other hand, in preaching that the aim of cooperation is self-help only, they destroy the Socialist character of cooperation and reduce its role to that of an agency of the bourgeois system.

7. If the cooperative movement hitherto could not be separated from the rest of the labor movement, this is particularly true for the present moment, which is marked by the acuteness of class antagonism and the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the proletarian masses, and when every economic struggle of the proletariat is immediately transformed into a political struggle.

Under these conditions the proletarian movement in the cooperative societies must form a part of the general labor movement in its struggle against the capitalist system.

8. Producer's and credit cooperatives which combine almost exclusively small proprietors in the environment of the capitalist system will share the fate of the latter as a class. These organizations have no economic future, for they are incapable of fighting against capitalism and they will either collapse or be transformed into joint stock companies,—the typical form of capitalist enterprises.

9. Only with the passing of power to the proletariat can these Cooperatives, with the support of the State, complete their development and find an outlet for their useful functions, such as the organization of individual, isolated enterprises into large enterprises in which scientific technical methods could be employed, tending towards Socialist methods of economic management and the development of a collective psychology. Furthermore, they can serve as links between isolated peasant and artisan enterprises and the central economic organs of the Proletarian State.

10. As a consequence of the fact that the leading organs of the cooperative movement in almost all countries are in the

hands of purely bourgeois and reformist elements, the cooperative movement does not fulfil the tasks that confront it and causes harm to the labor movement by obscuring the class-consciousness of the proletariat as it did during the war, by weakening the revolutionary zeal of the workers in their struggle against capitalism, and in the case of the cooperative societies organizing small proprietors, by creating the illusion of the stability of their enterprises and their capability of competing with large capital.

Finally, the consumers' societies in all European countries almost without exception are sources from which the reformist parties draw material support.

11. All the foregoing therefore, compels Communists to increase their activity in the cooperative movement. It should be recognized as absolutely essential for all Communists to enter the cooperative movement, to take an active part in it, and strive to convert it into an important instrument of the proletariat, both in its struggle against capitalism, and the organization of the new Socialist society.

THE WHITE TERROR

The White Terror in Lithuania.

By Z. Angaretis (Moscow).

At the end of December, 1918, control in Vilna was bitterly disputed by rival forces. Lithuania, occupied by the German Army, had established a government of its own under the protection of the Germans. A Polish council, made powerful, was laying claim to authority. The workers had their soviets, and there existed a workers' and peasants' government.

On the 1st of January, 1918, the Polish white guards, instigated by the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) and upheld by the German officials as much as by the Polish Social Democracy, attacked the labor headquarters in which the Soviet bureau held its offices. After 21 hours resistance the Reds all surrendered with the exception of several comrades to whom death was preferable. When the Red Army entered the city on January 5th, it found the bodies of these brave comrades hideously mutilated.

In the beginning of 1919, an uprising of the workers burst forth in the old district of Suvalki, at that time occupied by the Germans, but really under the control of the Lithuanian Government supported by the popular democratic Socialists (later adhering to the Second International). The insurrection was crushed with the utmost cruelty. Amongst the number of those shot was our young Comrade Zonalis, upon whom we had based high hopes.

The persecution was directed in particular against the council of workers employed in agriculture.

Democracy is Reestablished. . .

On the 19th of April, 1919, the Polish white contingents, led by Socialists of the P.P.S. forced an entrance into Vilna, which had been occupied by the Reds for three months. After a stubborn struggle lasting three days the Red Army was compelled to leave the city. On that very day began the persecution of Communists, workers, Soviet employees, and Jews. It sufficed to have a worker pointed out in the street to the Polish soldiers, to bring him to the *Lipovka* to be shot, without other form of process, right at the grave which he first had to dig himself. As at Paris, during the repression of the Commune, the *beau monde* of Vilna taunted the prisoners by spitting in their faces. The prisons were so crowded that the prisoners sometimes could not even find any place to sit down. The latter were not even formally entered into the jail book—the time was too short. The names of those remain unknown. Their number was never listed.

On May 6th, 1919, *Lithuanian Independence*, organ of the bourgeoisie, writes exactly as follows:

"We have been informed that the commission charged with preparing a list of the Jewish victims of the recent programs organized by the Poles, has already identified 1200 killed and wounded. . . .

So that you might be able to judge the methods of repression in the Lithuanian democracy, we cite the statements of two comrades. Chaupak, Soviet official, arrested in Vilna on April 21st writes:

"I was first led to the court-yard and set against the wall to be shot, having been previously beaten almost to the point of unconsciousness. Then at the prison of the Dominicans I remained 17 days in the dark-hole, filled with prisoners. Our jailers did not cease threatening us with immediate execution. Several times they chose particular ones among us for torture. A former Red soldier, who had been imprisoned by the Soviet

authorities for speculation, held the office of executioner. One morning they lined us up before the shooting squad and told us to pray. The first two commands were given, but we perceived in a moment that this pretence at execution had been gone through only for the moving picture camera. . . ."

The worker Joseph Ostalonoka, a revolutionist since 1905, tells us that he was "on several different occasions placed under cross-examination, beaten with the butt end of a gun, whipped with ropes, subjected to electric currents".

Among the victims of the Poles in Vilna, are to be mentioned comrade Berson, People's Commissar in the Government of the Lithuanian Soviets, and the well-known revolutionist Khaikine. Both of them were tortured before being executed.

Throughout the entire region the landowners returned and "reasserted their rights". The members of the workers' and peasants' councils were always arrested, frequently shot.

Under an Extremely Liberal Constitution. . .

The Lithuanian Republic regards itself one of the most liberal in the world. It enjoys universal suffrage, applying equally to women and soldiers, proportional representation, etc. Its ministerial posts are most often filled by members of the *People's Democratic Socialist Party*—affiliated with the Second International. The Social Democrats adhering to the Vienna International have also held offices. And it was indeed during the period when both jointly shared the responsibility of power that the white terror claimed the largest number of victims. That occurred in the beginning of the democratic regime. They usually shot without trial; they murdered readily "in an attempt at escape". So perished our Comrade Rekachis.

The white terror had so many tentacles that reached out even against Social Democrats (Smolski and Valukos were both executed) at a time when two Social Democratic Mensheviks, Kayeris and Paknis, were ministers. . . . The Lithuanian Government declared the Polish officers to be responsible for this latter crime. The Menshevik ministers explained it as a regrettable error: they had been mistaken; they had thought these were Communists. . . .

In round figures, almost 2,000 persons were executed in 1919 by the Polish and Lithuanian hangmen. Most of them did not belong to the Communist Party.

The Inquisition in May 1922.

In 1921, reaction grew stronger in almost every country. In Lithuania, the white terror which had never ceased, was redoubled. It is true that the Social Democrats were no longer ministers. But Grinus, the president of the Council, belonged to the Second International.

In January, 1921, then on the 1st of May, arrests were counted by the hundreds. Workers and poor peasants suspected of being Reds were imprisoned and brutally whipped. They shot much less frequently than in 1919, and rarely without trial, but they tortured more, and with greater refinement. One worker, Jankovskaya, became insane as a result of it. At Outsiani the police made one hundred arrests in a small locality. The victims were whipped, revived with water when they lost consciousness, and whipped again. The atrocities committed at Outsiani were related in the official party organ by a Social Democratic deputy in the Lithuanian *Sejm*. The Communist *Pravda* of Lithuania has published a long list of victims.

Responsibility for these acts falls at the same time upon the Clerical Democrats who formed the majority in the *Sejm* and upon, the popular Democratic Socialists (2. International) who shared the authority with them.

After the Manner of the S.R.'s

When, in 1920, the Red Army occupied Vilna, the Lithuanian police sent to it one of its agents, named Precker, to organize attempts upon the lives of most prominent Communists. The cowardice of this agent caused the attempt to fail. But another succeeded, and comrade Morozov, member of a local revolutionary committee was killed. These last acts were perpetrated after the conclusion of peace between Lithuania and Soviet Russia, at the time when the latter, having driven Poland from Vilna, was preparing to restore this city to Lithuania. . . .

In conclusion, we call attention to the fact that the Lithuanian courts actually condemned to death, for affiliation with the Communist Party. And these verdicts were executed. Comrade Mojelis, Varkalis, and several others, paid with their lives for merely belonging to the Communist Party. In similar cases Social Democratic judges have been known to sentence Communists to death. Comrade Balvotchus, three times condemned to death, was saved at the last moment only by grace of the well-known Social Democrat Janulatis.

We bring all these facts to the attention of the Socialist press of all shades.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Conquest of the Arctic Ocean.

By E. Yaroslavsky (Moscow).

During the last few years, the Soviet Government has systematically pursued the exploration of the ocean routes of the Arctic Ocean. It has just sent a third commercial expedition through the Extreme North, laden this time with Siberian products for shipment to England (hides, wool, graphite, asbestos) consisting of new merchandise of excellent quality.

These commercial operations are directed by the Siberian Commissariat for Foreign Trade. The raw materials in Siberia are sent forward by way of rivers to Omsk, Novo-Nikolaievsk, and Tomsk, and from there are transported through canals to the port. This task is not without immense difficulties. Up to the port of the Nakhotka Bay the boats travel three weeks. On their return, however, it takes them six weeks to accomplish the same trip against the current. The Bay of Nakhotka, furthermore, is very much exposed to the storms, which often renders a rapid unloading of foreign vessels difficult and even impracticable.

Last year we made a study of Novi-Port, a new port remarkably well situated. Once equipped, it will give us a base of operation of the first rank in the Arctic Ocean.

The merit for the discovery of Novi-Port goes mainly to Comrade Choltz, who is at the same time a great scholar and an indefatigable explorer of the Extreme North. Among his collaborators, we point out Comrade Ossipov, formerly an admiral and fighter in the Russo-Japanese War, today one of the most devoted pioneers of glacial Siberia. The establishment of Novi-Port has just been solemnly inaugurated.

In the course of the preceding year another important piece of work was accomplished in Northern Siberia. The network of radiographic stations has been extended and completed. Ships sailing in the Arctic Ocean are directed by twelve radio-telegraphic stations in communication with them, and through which they are advised of the movement of floating icebergs, of meteorological forecasts, etc. A special service is thus charged with assuring the safety of voyages on the sea of Kara and around the mouths of Siberian rivers.

This year the central organ of the Siberian Cooperatives, and the Siberian Commissariat for Foreign Trade are participating in commercial expeditions to the Extreme North. We expect to bring into Siberia by way of the Arctic Ocean more than 16,000 tons of machinery, agricultural implements, and hunting arms, imported from England and France.

Finally, two scientific expeditions, one hydrographic and the other radio-telegraphic will take place this year in the Extreme North. Before the end of the season the coast of the district of Obi will have been explored. After this work we shall be able to prepare an exact map of those regions.

What are the advantages of the Ocean route in the Extreme North? They can be enormous. It is, first of all, the cheapest route for commercial relations between Northern and Central Siberia and Europe. The establishment of coal bases on the Siberian coast will facilitate future navigation on the Arctic Ocean, the more so as we have on the spot inexhaustible reserves of coal, as yet unexploited. The conquest of the Arctic Ocean, in which resolute and devoted pioneers labor for Soviet Russia, without relaxation, is well under way. It reminds us that Red Russia possesses inexhaustible natural treasures; and that, even under the harshest circumstances, in the accomplishment of the apparently most ungrateful tasks, work upon them is sure to find rewards more than proportionate to the effort expended.

The conquest of the Arctic Ocean will indeed be one of the factors in the economic development of Siberia.

APPEALS

**To the Working Youth of all
Countries!
To the Adult Working Class!**

Comrades!

A number of fresh acts of violence must again show you whither international capitalism is steering. The restoration of the shattered capitalist system of profit for the benefit of a

handful of powerful people is to be attained through the complete enslavement of the working class and the bloody suppression of its struggle. For two years reaction has been raging in all countries and *today it has launched a fresh attack.*

The 8th international Youth Day was the signal for an international offensive against the Communist Youth movement.

In Poland the government has started the most furious persecution against the movement of the proletarian youth and has arrested hundreds of young Communists.

In Paris a powerful armed force was brought into action against the Communist Youth Day; a whole section of the city was placed under martial law; the demonstration was mercilessly suppressed with armed force and a number of members of the League of Communist Youth were condemned to *many months imprisonment* solely on the ground of their having taken part in the demonstration.

In democratic Ebert-Germany also, in the domain of the Social Democratic president, were heard the shots fired by the police troops upon the peaceful demonstration of the youth, and *one dead young worker and several injured remained on the street.*

In Horthy Hungary, immediately after the Youth Day, the government of the white terror prepared to strike a general blow, and *60 young workers were cast into the hideous Horthy prisons*, where they are confronted with a fearful fate.

In Lettland, a period of cruel persecutions against the proletarian youth movement has set in. The government arrested 100 members of the proletarian youth organizations.

In Italy the offensive of the Fascisti has set in against every organization of the youth, which up to now have remained uninjured in the struggle against reaction.

The most insolent stroke was accomplished by the forces of reaction in Czecho-Slovakia.

In Czecho-Slovakia, the Youth Day had already been subjected to the sharpest persecution of the government, because the Communist youth had ventured to oppose *the militarism and the war-lust of the bourgeois republic.* Yet scarcely a month after the Youth Day, immediately before the calling up of recruits, the government prepared a fatal blow against the hated Youth League. In a perfectly illegal and unconstitutional manner it declared it to be dissolved, and a whole army of gendarmes, police, detectives, commissars in one day and night pounced upon all the organizations, robbing, plundering and arresting masses of the Communist youth and destroying the organization.

Comrades! Young Workers!

Will you wait until your organizations are destroyed and your comrades in prison? Follow the call of the International Communist Youth, *gather together for the united front of the masses for the struggle against reaction!*

Adult Workers!

Will you permit your youth to be arrested and enslaved? The white terror begins with the youth, but it will reach you! Repel the attacks against the youth as if they were directed against you!

Socialist Youth!

Will you mutely look on at this new offensive against your young revolutionary brothers, whose whole crime consists in being opposed to war and militarism, to white terror and exploitation? *Will you defend the counter-revolutionary criminals against Soviet Russia, but not your revolutionary brothers?*

The Communist youth of all countries should also learn a lesson from the new campaign of the bourgeoisie. They must keep in mind that *they live in a world of enemies and that the sword which is intended against them is already being forged in the dark and may at any moment strike them.* Close your ranks firmly and strongly, build up your organizations among the masses of the working youth so surely and firmly rooted, that no base act of violence on the part of the bourgeoisie shall be able to rob the working youth of their leader: the Communist Youth Organization.

**Youthful and Adult Workers of all Countries!
The Reaction is Advancing More and More!
Close the United Front of Resistance!
Fight the Reaction!
Long Live the Communist Youth Movement!**

*The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.
Moscow, October 7th, 1922.*

Printed by Friedrichstadt-Druckerei G. m. b. H., Berlin SW. 48