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POLITICS

On the Way to the International United Front

by H. Valetzki.

** The "International Working Union of Socialist Parties" (International 2½) has issued an appeal "to the working-class parties of the world" in which the proposal is made that a general international conference be held. The conference is to take place during the coming spring and is to consider the following two points:

- 1- Europe's economic situation and the action of the working-class.
- 2- The defensive battle of the proletariat against reaction.

In order to carry this project into effect the Bureau of the Vienna International is to commence negotiations with the Executives in London (Second International) and in Moscow (Communist International). No mention is made of the Trade Union Internationals. At the same time the Bureau of the Vienna International declares that it agrees to the proposition of the French Longuet-Renaudel Party that a West European Five Country Conference be convoked for the beginning of February in which the countries immediately interested in the question of reparations—England, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy—should take part.

The proposal for the holding of an International Workers' Conference is in accordance with the spirit of the campaign which the Comintern has been carrying on since the Third World Congress for the establishment of an united proletarian battle-front. The manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, dated January 1st, 1922, was devoted to this idea. It forms the main point of the agenda for the enlarged session of the Executive to be held on the 1st of February. This is sufficient to cause the approval of the resolution of the Bureau of the Vienna International.

One thing, however, must be strongly emphasized at the start. We Communists are not interested in unity dreams, but in *unity acts*. It is not a question of composing vague common formulas, nor do we desire to meet together to vote platonic resolutions on the style of the old Second International, but to organize concrete united actions. Hence the questions to be decided at an International Conference as well as the time of its meeting and finally the circumstances under which it should be held *must be determined by the main thought—to throw the influence of the proletarian masses in the scales of history*.

Considered from this standpoint the choice of the agenda made by the Bureau of the Vienna International is a fortunate one—*actions of the working-class in consideration of the international economic situation and a defensive fight of the proletariat against reaction*. However, it is at least just as important to adapt the time of the convocation of the conference to events, that is, not to hold it "in the course of the coming spring" sometime after the Genoa Conference, but if possible before Genoa in order to accompany this Conference by a powerful international demonstration of the proletarian masses.

We also believe it necessary for the success of this action to admit the Trade Union Internationals to this Conference.

The special conference of the five West European countries, proposed by the French Longuet-Renaudel Party together with Vandervelde, therefore appears to us as at least superfluous. Separating the reparations questions from its attendant problems, considering as a special problem can neither lead to fruitful decisions nor to purposeful acts. *And it is a matter of action.*

We have no illusions as to the difficulties which are in the way of the realization of our goal, the establishment of a united international battle front. In spite of the powerful pressure of the working masses who feel the necessity of a united struggle nationally as well as on an international scale and are pressing forward toward it, it will not be easy to defeat the tendencies (inherent in the leaders of the Second International) to substitute paper revolutions for direct struggle and to hold the masses back from the fight. It will also require not a little self-conquest on the part of our Communist Parties to sit down at the negotiations table, in spite of the experiences of past and present, with people whom we are justifiably convinced do not desire to organize and lead the struggle, but to sabotage and betray it. *However, we must!* We must employ the entire fighting energy of our *entire class* against the continual change for the worse in the conditions of the workers. We must mobilize the proletarian army to the last man and lead it into the field against the reaction raging all over the world. We must employ all means to demonstrate the necessity and possibility of the united fight of the masses to the entire proletariat. We must help it to gather experience which is indispensable for the future conflicts and the coming decisive battles.

The slogan of the proletarian united front given out by us Communists is making progress day by day under the pressure of the masses of the workers, in spite of the resistance and the counter-activity of the open and concealed enemy. That is a confirmation of its correctness and revolutionary value. That should stimulate us to work for its realization in the masses with tenfold energy.

The enlarged session of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, called for the 1st of February at which *all parties* will be represented by *double delegations* will, after considering the situation from every point of view, adopt decisions which will be authoritative for all of us.

The French Government and the Soviets

by Paul Louis (Paris).

** The decision of the Cannes Conference on Soviet Russia has created a state of stupor and of unlimited anger in political circles. A few days ago the idea that Russia could be recognized and treated as on the same level with the great powers was dismissed as out of the question.

There is no doubt however that in certain industrial and commercial circles hatred of the proletarian revolution has been tempered by the desire of resuming trade with Russia. The efforts of the Americans, the English, the Germans and the Italians in this connection have given right to well founded fears. Thus, on the 2nd of January, the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce, reactionary as every Chamber of Commerce is, called on the government to negotiate with Moscow. But in its resolution there was no mention of the recognition of the Soviet Government.

However, the present tendency is toward the recognition of the Soviets and nothing is more natural than the exasperation of the Bloc National. The entire policy of this reactionary coalition is based on two principles: firstly, forcing Germany to pay, if necessary occupying the Ruhr to compel it to do so, and the integral maintenance of the Treaty of Versailles; and secondly, continuing the war against Moscow. After having failed with Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch and Wrangel, White France expected to succeed as a result of the famine. Now at this moment Lloyd George has proposed the invitation of Lenin to Genova, not for reasons of profound politics nor because he had come to realize the inanity of a policy of aggression, but for economic reasons—because the growth of unemployment menaces British Capitalism.

It is curious in this connection to consider the comment of our bourgeois journals. One group continues to spit fire against Soviet Russia. It is useless to analyze their reasoning if it can be called reasoning and to repeat their insults which offer nothing new.

Others attempt to pass by the occurrence in silence and to drown it in a flood of minor dispatches. After having spent months and years trying to prove that one could neither treat with Russia nor even sit down at the same table with its representatives, they are in a somewhat embarrassing situation. Still another group has attempted the unthankful task of justifying this step and these are certainly the most interesting. Thus it is that the "Temps" states that the Cannes decision fully satisfies the desiderata which Paris had continually adhered to.

Nothing could be more inexact. Let us consider the Cannes decision and leave to one side the question of the debts, which Chicherin himself brought up for the first time and at the same time settled in his October note to Lord Curzon. France boasts of having brought about the inclusion in the Cannes decision of the clause binding Russia not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. However, this stipulation does not apply to Russia alone, but is bilateral in its nature. That is to say that all the powers undertake to observe the same stipulation as regards Moscow. And the importance of this article should not be underestimated, for during the last four years France, England, America, Japan, Poland, Roumania, etc. have instigated and subsidized one conspiracy and intrigue after another against the Soviet government. Furthermore, this stipulation is already incorporated in the agreements with London and Rome.

But that is not all. Up to the present and even in the reply to Lord Curzon in November for transmission to Chicherin France made the resumption of relations with Russia conditional upon two stipulations: firstly, the restoration of the private ownership of property; and secondly, the convocation of the Constituent Assembly and the reestablishment of bourgeois democracy, that is, the abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, the Cannes decision makes no mention of these two stipulations. On the contrary, it recognizes Communism (the right of each people to institute the system of property it desires) and the dictatorship of the proletariat (the right of each country to choose its own system of government).

Thus, the capitulation of the French bourgeoisie is as complete as its humiliation.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Situation in the Swiss Trade Union Movement.

by H. Bobst (Basle).

** The following two ideas are most dominant in the minds of the organized workers of the Swiss trade-unions: the expulsion of the Communists from the metal and watchworkers' labor organizations and the breaking up of those sections which are opposed to such expulsions; furthermore the indefinite postponement of the Trade Union Congress which was to take place on the 13th of January.

In the spring of 1921, when the employers of the metal and machine industries, after having beaten down the several isolated partial strikes, took up the wage reduction offensive all along the line, as had been predicted by the Communists, the headquarters of the Communist Party issued a call for the organization of a united proletarian front which was to unite all organizations

based on the class-struggle and the Federation of Government Officials, Employees and Workers in the defensive fight.

The leaders of the Social Democratic Party rejected our proposal on the ground that there was nothing to warrant a successful struggle. The leaders of the trade-unions refused to have anything to do with the Communist Party. The Federation of Government Officials, Employees and Workers did not even answer. On the other hand, however, a number of executive committees from various trade-unions and a number of organizations (local federations from various sections of the trade-unions and sections of the proletarian parties) approved the proposal of the Communist Party Central Committee and pledged their participation in the conference proposed in our appeal which was to deal with the details of the ways and means for carrying on the defensive struggle.

Through the indifferent attitude of the Social Democratic Executive and as a result of the way in which the movement for a united front started, the Trade Union Federation became the focal point of the movement. The latter organization was to act as a whole in defining its position through its chief organ, the Trade-Union Congress, and was to lay down certain general, fundamental principles for the defensive struggle. On this basis it was possible to bring a half of the trade-unions with not quite a half of the organized workers of the Trade Union Federation together with a half of the labor unions to take a joint position in this fight.

The proposed plans for this struggle would also have brought about a change in the statutes of the Trade Union Federation, which is until this very day a loose federative structure based upon the trade-unions whose members must pay dues, and upon the labor-unions and district councils which pay no dues to the Federation, but which therefore have only a limited vote in all Federation matters. The trade-unions are independent not only in management and in benefit funds, but also in directing various movements for the maintenance and improvement of working-conditions, and the Federation itself has not right whatever to interfere with the inner matters of a union.

It is self-evident that in a situation like the present one, where one union alone cannot repel the capitalist offensive, particularly in countries where there is great unemployment, such a loose federation of unions is a danger.

In such highly intense revolutionary times like ours, when no one, not even the bourgeois organization leaders, can stem the tide of the will to fight, such a division of the whole into so and so many autonomous groups is no longer of any significance. Once in the fight, the organizational unification takes place of itself, so to speak. Such is not the case, however, with us in Switzerland. By their attitude to the crisis and by their cries against the danger of the proposed Communist tactics, the reformists have created a sort of fatalist attitude in certain sections of the working-class, so that the workers accept considerably worse working conditions, under a mere grumbling protest, but without the least active resistance.

It happens that in Switzerland, the reformists are at the head of some of the economically most essential labor groups, like those of the metal-workers, railwaymen and printers. The postal, telephone and telegraphic unions are even in the hands of bourgeois elements. As far as these unions' connections with the Federation are concerned, it may be said that they have more or less definitely laid down the fundamental principle of solidarity with other unions, in their statutes. But the application of this principle is decided upon by the unions themselves in an absolutely independent manner.

The opposition of the reformists against any concerted action and against the spreading of struggles which may break out in any particular spot, can be overcome only by a body or organ which possess the necessary moral authority. Such an organ would be the Trade Union Congress, which even with the present loose structure of the Federation could lay down general rules which could not be totally disregarded by any union leader or group of leaders who did not wish to lose all respect in the eyes of their own members and particularly in the eyes of the rest of the working-class. The revolutionary minorities which are present and active in every union headed by reformists, would become a majority the moment a disciplinary breach took place in the actions decided upon by the Federation on the basis of the resolutions passed by the Trade Union Congress.

The reformists long ago recognized the importance of controlling the Federation and they have systematically filled every post with their men. It is therefore very unlikely that they will ever propose or defend any motion that might embarrass their friends in the various union headquarters.

The motions of the Trimbach Initiative Committee (so-called because the first conference of the opposition took place in Trimbach) proposed, beside the laying down of definite fundamentals for the coming struggles, the limitation of the autonomy of the unions and the transference of the leadership of these struggles to the Federation. Moreover, the leader of the coming struggles, i. e., the Executive Committee of the Federation was no longer to be appointed by the Trade Union Congress. A far-reaching modification of the way in which delegates to the Congress were elected was also proposed.

Whereas until now, every union could elect its delegates to the General Trade Union Congress in any way it pleased, it was now moved that besides reducing the number of delegates, the system of direct representation should be introduced. The significance of this motion at once becomes apparent when we consider that it repeatedly happened that various union executives themselves appointed the entire quota of delegates for that particular organization, or else invented a clever system which resulted in the almost exclusive election of friends and followers of the executive.

The ever growing reaction, the continual wage reductions, the numerous concessions in the question of working-hours (the factory law provides that in those factories and branches of industry which are threatened by foreign competition, the normal 48 hour week may be extended for a 52 hour week for factories run in the day time, and to 60 hours for shift-workers), the ever-increasing unemployment (one third of all the workers who come under the above mentioned factory law are out of work), the inefficient regulation of unemployment benefits—all these caused a constant gain in the number of adherents of the Trimbach Initiative Committee, so that in spite of their original resistance, the reformist leaders of the Federation could not oppose the demand for the calling of an special Trade Union Congress. It was therefore decided to have it meet on the 13th of January 1922.

At the Congress the opposition, consisting of Communists, left wing Social Democrats and revolutionary Syndicalists was expected to have a majority, that is, if only the reformists would not apply the above-mentioned methods of electing delegates to the Congress.

In the meanwhile, a peasant member of Parliament and one hundred other deputies introduced a bill which seeks the abolition of the 48-hour week all along the line, and the extension of the same to 54-60 hours. The bill reads that as long as there are unemployed who are being supported by public funds, the 54-60-hour week should last. It is self-evident, that the passing of this motion in Parliament, and of a corresponding law by popular vote, would do away with the legal 48 hour week for good, that is, as long as the workers do not commence their defensive.

This Parliamentary attack by the reaction came at an opportune moment for the reformists. They took advantage of this move in order to restore their badly damaged prestige and at the same time to deliver a blow to the opposition. They appointed a Committee which is to lead the fight against the above motion. The reformist manoeuvre at first somewhat confused the opposition. But as soon as the "Fighting Program" of this committee was announced, it was clear that by "fight", the reformists meant chiefly a fight in Parliament and at the elections. It is only very superficially that their program speaks of an eventual general strike. Moreover, the reformists have pointed out the road to be followed by the Swiss Federal Council in this matter, so as not to embarrass its many good friends in the various trade-union offices. In a petition to Parliament, they very gently and courteously protested against the extension of the legal number of working hours. But as we have pointed out above, the law permits the abolition of the 48 hour week in cases of competitive difficulties. Besides, the Swiss Federal Council has also promised to apply the law in question in a most generous manner, and has already granted a 52 hour week to many factories, affecting 60,000 workers. Through this "legal" action of the Federal Council, the "terrible" general strike threat of the reformists of course comes to naught.

The discovery of the reformist manoeuvre by the Communist press has compelled the Amsterdam fraction to retreat even from the statutory field of the Federation. A few weeks ago, the Executive Committee of the Railwaymen's Union made a motion to postpone the session of the extraordinary Trade Union Congress, which had been set for the 13th of January, indefinitely; this they did in spite of the fact that the majority of delegates had already been elected and that in many places the elected delegates had already taken up congressional matters.

The events in the Metal Workers' Union shed light upon the motives of the reformists. In spite of all their machinations, the bureaucrats were not quite sure of being able to drum up a

majority at the Congress. But what they feared most was their complete exposure before the great forum of the delegates. The question of "Fight or Compromise?" would have had to be answered clearly and precisely at the Congress. An empty resolution could not have disposed of the matter this time. The reformists could not bear the thought of defeat, which would undoubtedly have meant the immediate abdication of the present leaders of the Federation and with them the loss of the entire machine with which the fight against the Communists had until now been carried on.

To make sure of a majority at a future Trade Union Congress, they began the work of expelling Communists and of splitting the unions. First of all comes the Metal Workers' Union which at its Extraordinary Congress from the 15th to the 17th December gave rise to the split. Suffice it to quote the following resolution drawn up by the Central Committee of the Metal Workers' Union: "The Congress of the Metal Workers' Union declares that it will approve of no revisions in the statutes of the Federation. Should the motions of the Initiative Committee of the opposition pass, the Metal Workers' Union will secede from the Federation."

The Opposition Committee has not yet defined its position in this new situation. For the present all interest is centered upon the happenings and doings in the Metal Workers' Union. But what is certain is that the policy of violence which the Amsterdammers pursue has only intensified the opposition against them among the masses. The somewhat vacillating elements of the Social Democratic left and the revolutionary Syndicalists are being driven to a decision.

The Coming Trade Union Congress of Czecho-Slovakia.

by W. Kunte (Prague).

** The General Congress of the Czech trade unions has been summoned for the 22th—26th of January. There being 823,000 workers of both sexes in the trade-unions affiliated to the Prague Commission, it follows that the Congress is of decisive importance for the labor movement in Czecho-Slovakia. The more important items on the agenda of the Congress are the reorganization of the Trade Union Executive, the tasks of the trade-unions, the shop stewards committees, and social legislation. The various unions and the local trade-union councils will appoint delegates to the Congress. Together with the Virilists, the members of the Trade Union Executive, and the editors of the trade journals, there will be approximately 500 delegates present at the Congress. It is scarcely probable that there will be a Communist majority, a majority for Moscow at the Congress. The reason for this is to be found not only in the fact that the Majority Socialists in the unions under their control managed to defeat the wishes of their members in regard to representation at the Congress, but also in the non-participation of the Union of Agricultural Workers, a 100 per cent Communist organization. The reasons for this non-participation need not be discussed here, it being sufficient to mention that the absence of the 47 agricultural delegates will seriously handicap the Communist position.

Though it is impossible to state definitely the exact composition of the Congress, we can safely predict that the adherents of the RTUI. will appear in impressive numbers which will nip in the bud any inclination the followers of Amsterdam may have to start trouble. These latter will learn that the Communists are determined to preserve the unity of the trade-unions, and advocate their proposals in a strictly businesslike and lucid manner, and that Labor as a whole would stand up against them if they should dare to sound the call for a division of the proletarian forces in Czecho-Slovakia.

The Communists have consistently and skilfully adhered to the policy of peaceful conquest, and the followers of Amsterdam had to stand by and see how the helm slowly but surely was taken out of their hands, without having the slightest opportunity to better matters by desperate tactics (for instance a split). If they had adopted tactics such as these it would but have hastened their downfall.

The resolutions before the Congress clearly indicate the groove in which the workers' thoughts are moving; they are also proof of the correctness of the tactics the Communists intend to employ at the Congress.

The Chemical Workers' Union has submitted to the Congress the draft of a *new constitution of the Trade Union Executive*. In this draft the aims of trade unionism are stated to be the *propaganda of proletarian rule, social revolution and revolutionary mass actions*. On the other hand, the draft declares

against cooperation with the bourgeoisie. Only, organizations acknowledging said principles are henceforth to be permitted to send representatives to the Trade Union Executive. The constitution of the Executive is to be democratic, giving full expression to the wishes of the workers.

The Builders' Union whose last convention declared for Moscow will move a resolution to leave the Amsterdam International and affiliate to the RTUI. A similar resolution will be moved by the Trade-Union Council of Brunn.

Another resolution by the latter organization, the Chemical Workers' Union and especially by the trade-union council of Mährisch-Ostrau favors reorganization of the craft unions into 14 industrial unions, submitting a detailed scheme for that purpose.

A number of other resolutions demand unity with the organizations of the German speaking workers who have a Trade Union Executive of their own in Reichenberg which is controlled by the Centrists in Germany. In this connection it is proposed by the Chemical Workers' Union that, if another course proves impossible, unity should be achieved without paying any regard to the leaders of the German organizations.

It is certain, however, that, no matter what the outcome of the balloting, the Communist will depart with their prestige increased considerably and as the spokesmen of the spirit of Labor today. The attacks of the bourgeoisie gain in ferocity day by day. The new bill on the shop stewards councils impels the employers to inaugurate new rules and regulations of a dictatorial character before it takes effect. Reductions of wages are being carried out in one branch of industry after the other. The proletariat is grasping the necessity of united defensive measures. The Communist delegates at the Congress will voice the will of the proletariat and serve its wishes and interests in a disinterested manner. Thus they will gain the confidence of the workers, even of those who today are still antagonistic towards them. The great struggles in spring which the employers are preparing for will also be instrumental in teaching the workers the right methods of trade-union struggle.

The quieter and more positive the proceedings at the Congress will be, the more will the debates be concentrated on the actual problems, and the more speedily will the proletariat come to distinguish its friends from its enemies.

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

The Red Trade Union International to the Congress of the Trade Union of Czecho-Slovakia

Dear Comrades!

Moscow, Dec. 17, 1921.

** In the name of the Trade Union International we send the warmest fraternal greetings to the all workers of Czecho-Slovakia who are suffering now together with the proletariat of other lands under the fierce offensive of Capital.

It is about two years now since the bourgeoisie passed from the defensive to the offensive. Immediately after the war the bourgeoisie was caught in full retreat; the bitter hate that had accumulated among the working masses led the farsseeing bourgeois politicians to grant "voluntary" concessions: the eight hour working day was won; in many countries workers' councils were organized legally, and the ruling classes were constantly talking of nationalization, socialization and other problems that were of the greatest interest to the working masses. This, however, continued only during the first two years after the war. As soon as the bourgeoisie saw that leaders of the trade-unions in most Western European countries entertained the view of capitalist reconstruction, that the destiny and the welfare of the working-class is closely connected with the normal life of capitalist enterprise, that these leaders, in a word, are fighting against the revolutionary workers' movement—then the bourgeoisie felt once again solid ground under its feet and regained faith in its own power. In order to inspire the working masses with faith in the liberalism of the ruling classes an International Labor Bureau was established comprising representatives of workers, employers and the governments. This organization was to take care of Socialist legislation and the workers' security. The most powerful labor organizations of Western Europe and

America had a share in this enterprise. They held joint sessions with the representatives of the employers and the governments and discussed questions of national legislation, as if the workers of any land had ever won anything except through stubborn and persistent struggle. Despite all that the capitalist world is not and never again will be able completely to recover from the wounds it suffered in the war. The temporary revival of industry which was to be noticed in some countries soon gave place to a tremendous economic crisis. Millions of unemployed were thrown into the streets; work is plentiful only in those countries where a low rate of exchange goes hand in hand with a low wage. Cheap labor crowds out more expensive labor; the existing international labor organizations could not and would not engage in a contest on an international scale. Your country passed through the same experience as other countries: extreme liberalism, endless talk of socialization, many promises—and what is the result? Makeshift workers' councils and workers' control, and the offensive of capital. The employers observe the international situation, see the weakness of the reformers and become daily more impudent; they know that the reformers can and will not engage in serious struggle, because a wide social conflict in the industrial sphere might precipitate a social revolution. The well known characteristic of the reformers is the dread of social revolution. They are ready for anything to keep out of revolutionary struggles. Capital is attacking with a united front; the working-class must form a compact, steel-hard front against its exploiters. How can this be realized?

You will have to decide at your Congress the tactics for the entire coming year. You will have to outline the forms and methods of struggle for the entire proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia. Is it possible still to be confined within the old limits? Is it possible to answer the attack of capital by means of the old forms and methods of struggle, and to pass, when the moment is favorable, to the offensive? There is hardly a person who would answer in the positive. New circumstances and new situation require new forms and methods of struggle.

In what manner can the united front of the proletariat be formed? It can only be formed in struggle; under no circumstances on the basis of class cooperation. Every revolutionary worker must—is in certain sense duty-bound to—support the fight of the existing trade-unions, even though its leadership is such as we know it. Every fighter belongs to us. Shoulder to shoulder we will march in fraternal unison with them against our common foe.

After you will have decided on the tactics which must be employed in your country, your Congress will have to take a stand on the International. Can the Czecho-Slovakian trade-unions still remain in the Amsterdam International, an International which stands for the cooperation of the classes? Will it do that, or will the Czecho-Slovakian working-class take its place openly and in sight of the whole world under the banner of the Red Trade Unions International? That is the question which must be answered unequivocally at your Congress. There can be no compromise solution—whatever is for the cooperation of the classes, for work in common with the employers and government representatives under the leadership of an Albert Thomas and for the renouncing of the class-struggle will a knowledge Amsterdam. But he who stands for the class-struggle, for the revolutionary fight against the International Labor Bureau, who is opposed to all cooperation with the bourgeoisie and who stands for social revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, will give his vote for the Red Trade Union International.

Leaving the Amsterdam International does not in any way mean a break by the single industrial organizations with their international organizations. The metal and textile workers and the miners, the chemist and other professional groups can and must remain in their international organizations and work together with the other revolutionary groups to transform these international industrial and professional groups into tools of the revolution.

Is it also true, that the entry of the trade-unions into the Red Trade Union International destroys the united front? Not in the least. This entry only strengthens the united front, for let it not be forgotten that we stand for the proletarian united front, but we reject an united front, however small, made up of a combination of workers and employers. Amsterdam is the banner of this sort of combined front. That is the reason why the revolutionary unions cannot and ought not remain under this banner. But the break with Amsterdam must under no circumstances injure the unity of the trade-union movement of your country. Quite the contrary. It is absolutely necessary that the unions remain in close connection. They must comprise the workers of all nationalities and all political tendencies. The

adherents of the Red Trade Union International must strive to combine the unions of various nationalities into one proletarian family. Exploitation is an international evil; the fight against it must therefore also bear an international character.

For whatever program your Congress may vote, that of Moscow or of Amsterdam, the trade-union movement of Czecho-Slovakia must remain absolutely united. The Red Trade Union International calls upon its adherents to do all in their power to win over the trade-union movement of Czecho-Slovakia to the revolutionary methods. Should, however, the majority of the Congress vote against the Red International and its tactics, the minority must still remain in the unions, to work there and, without any attempts at bringing about a split, to prove by self-sacrifice and devotion to the revolutionary cause the justice of our standpoint and the correctness of the tactics we have chosen.

The Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International expresses the hope that the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia will adopt a clear program, establish the guiding lines of revolutionary tactics and make a systematic attempt to realize its aims.

Hail to the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia!

Long live the revolutionary proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia!

Long live the Red Trade Union International!

Long live the Social Revolution!

For the Executive Committee of the
Red Trade Union International.

A. Lozovsky, General Secretary.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

To the Teachers of all Countries.

** The National Congress of Russian Teachers appeals to you, teachers of the world.

The broad plains of Southeastern Russia today resemble a barren desert. The bony hand of death threatens millions of workers and their children. Among them are thousands of teachers and their families.

The fight against the famine is extremely difficult in the unfortunate and exhausted country. The Soviet government—the only workers' government in the world—is attempting with superhuman energy to save the lives of the population of the famine region. But the means at the disposal of the exhausted land are so small that without foreign assistance their salvation is impossible.

Workers of the world! We as the representatives of 700,000 teachers and educational workers turn to you with a fraternal call and an urgent appeal for help.

You yourselves know best how and with what you can help. Commence a great movement in your countries on an international scale under the slogan "Help for Proletarian Russia!" Send us this help by all possible channels; send it over the heads of your governments, over the frontiers that separate us. Support the working-class in its struggle against new attempts at intervention which will mean even greater ruin and even more suffering for our exhausted country. Half of the sum necessary to build a dreadnought is sufficient to save 20 million human beings from death by starvation.

We do not doubt that the "civilized" governments of "civilized" Europe will refuse to give up this half-dreadnought in order to help us. But we also do not doubt that you, workers of the world, will in answer to our appeal do all in your power to aid us.

The Third All-Russian Congress of the Trade Union of Educational Workers.

The White Terror

In the Land of the White Terror.

** The regime in Yugoslavia is doing its utmost to grant the privileged classes more than the country can afford, at the same taking away from the working-class more than it can give.

The Mohammedan feudals in Bosnia received seventeen million dinars as the first instalment of a sum which amounts to 300,000,000 dinars, and which is promised to them as an

indemnity for their feudal rights. In return for this they are supporting the present regime through participation in the government.

For the same purpose, 10,000,000 dinars were paid out to the Macedonian feudals who number about 5000, and an equal amount will be included in the next year's budget.

While the government is indemnifying the feudals so generously, it raises the railroad tariff by 15% for passengers and 10% for freight.

The Finance Minister announced a decree by telegram, by which all clergymen owing less than 32 acres of land will immediately receive subsidies.

The tobacco, petroleum, match and salt monopolies showed an increase of 120% in income over that of the year before. Nevertheless the price of tobacco was raised again this year.

There was an enormous rise in the prices for sugar. Whereas in Germany, according to the latest figures, the sugar tax is 50 marks for 100 kilograms, the tax in Jugoslavia has attained 400 dinars for 100 kilograms (one dinar is equal to more than two and a half marks).

It was ascertained at the last accounting made by the Finance Commission, that the chief of the Jugoslavian mission in Paris receives, in addition to a high salary, a daily extra allowance of 200 francs, that is 72,000 Austrian crowns. The vice-chief receives a similar extra allowance of 150 francs and the experts 100 francs.

In Wiesbaden there is also a Jugoslavian mission, consisting of forty members. The chief of this mission receives besides a high salary, a monthly extra allowance of 5000 French francs or about 18,000,000 Austrian crowns. The other members of the mission receive half of this sum as an extra allowance.

While the "needy" missions lead such a life, we learn from the minister and member of Parliament Laza Markovic, how the "high spirited" people in Herzegovina lives. He said the following in Parliament: "In my election district and in the larger part of Herzegovina, there are peasant families who haven't a morsel of corn-bread to eat for seven days". In another province, in Lika and in the coast region the hunger peril has also become acute. One kilogram of maize costs four dinars there as compared with 4.50 dinars for a kilogram of white bread in Belgrade.

The crisis in the municipalities has become especially great in this country of terror. These municipalities were a point of support for civic liberties and they were centers of combat against the reaction from above. Nothing of all that remains to-day, and even the Jugoslavian Centrists themselves assert that the aims of the municipalities at present are not political but cultural. This degradation of elementary political self-government is marked by several hundred suspensions of "disloyal" municipal governments which are now replaced by police regimes.

All the municipalities are now undergoing the heaviest financial crises and are in enormous financial difficulties. It has been ascertained that the municipality of Brod on the Save has a budget of 4,500,000 Jugoslavian crowns income, and 8,000,000 crowns expenditure. As compared with the year 1914, the income has increased eighteen-fold, and the expenditures twenty-eight-fold. In the much smaller municipality of Belovar the expenses are higher by 1,000,000 Jugoslavian crowns than the income. The crises in the bigger municipalities are much heavier, especially in the capitals. No provision is made for the restoration and reconstruction of the municipalities. The Communists are expelled everywhere from municipal posts. One can become a municipal councillor at present only by the grace of the police, in order to become rich through this "post of honor".

If any officials in Jugoslavia have burdensome responsibilities, it is the police, who have an enormous field of action. In Zagreb 10,000 arrests were made by the police in the first eleven months of last year. The city numbers 120,000, and therefore every twelfth inhabitant was arrested during the year.

It has been officially ascertained that in Semlin, property and personal safety have been endangered by the police itself. One night a citizen was dragged out of his house and put into prison after having been beaten and having four of his ribs broken. In the morning he was led back to the house, and only the unfortunate man and the police know what happened to him. After that a servant girl in a merchant's employ was dragged out of the house at night, put into chains, and violated in the police-station. The chronicle of this town, a suburb of Belgrade, tells of the mysterious deaths of a municipal employee and of a preg-

nant woman, as well as of night robberies and murders, committed by the *gendarmes and the local police*. (The account appeared in the "Sloboda Tribuna" of Zagreb, No. 60, of December 15th, 1921.) Such is personal safety in the suburb of the Yugoslavian capital, through which from 17,000 to 20,000 domestic as well as foreign travelers pass daily.

A short time ago the consumption taxes were raised anew in Belgrade in an attempt to balance the municipal budget. Persecution of the unemployed in the city takes place day and night. During the night of December 6th, 80 unemployed were arrested. The workers arrested are sentenced to imprisonment by the police. In this country the fact that the unemployed in other countries are supported by the government sounds like a fairy tale. Here they are not even considered human beings. They are hunted like wild animals, captured, beaten and driven out like lepers.

Another fact which characterizes the regime is the estimate made a few days ago that in Belgrade there were 6,830 public bureaus with 19,000 officials, which amounts to 18 % of the total city population. Furthermore, public officials have taken possession of 3000 rooms in private dwellings for government purposes, in spite of the fact that there is a frightful housing shortage in the city. Cases have been noted where for one small empty room persons payed as much in rent as they earned at their work.

From these estimates only an approximate picture can be had of the unmitigated crisis which reigns in the municipalities, in the large cities and in society as whole. Nothing else is to be expected in a country where the White Terror is revelling in orgies.

** 355 miners will soon be brought to trial before the court in Tuzla (Bosnia); they are accused of participation in and organization of the miners' strike of December 22, 1920 and of preparation of the revolution, as the complaint of the prosecution reads. For three of the defendants, the death penalty is demanded by the prosecution.

This event represents the blackest page in the history of the Yugoslavian White Terror which seeks to crown the twelve-months imprisonment of 355 miners with the blood of three workers. The Yugoslavian bourgeoisie has not yet exhausted its rage and revengeful hatred through the persecution and arrest of thousands of miners, through the ejection of their families from their dwellings during a severe winter, through corporal punishment and even murder inflicted not only upon the miners and their families, but also upon the peasants, who through pity for the wives and children of the miners, sheltered them in their houses. After a year, after a brutally suppressed strike, the bourgeoisie still seeks to imprison hundreds of workers and to take the lives of three of them. Such is the revenge of the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie upon the proletariat—all on account of a strike, all because of an attempt to reduce their profits.

But this trial has a much deeper significance. The bourgeoisie took advantage of this strike in order to legalize its White Terror regime. The entire bourgeois press represented this miners' strike as an attack against the state and demanded that the government authorities act against the workers and that a law be passed against the labor movement. But the government authorities did their "duty" to the complete satisfaction of the bourgeoisie, even without this encouragement; the White Guards however, made up of gendarmes and detectives in disguise completed the criminal acts of the authorities.

In this atmosphere, and in the midst of the most brutal persecutions of the miners, the Yugoslavian government passed a law against the workers, a law which had been prepared long ago. It is the famous government decree "Obzana", which is contrary to all legal procedure and which outlaws the whole labor movement.

And now, after a year's imprisonment, 355 miners fall victims to the inquisition of the bourgeoisie, only to be publicly slandered before they are once more thrown into prison and bled. These victims are and *must be* guilty, for, the interests of the bourgeoisie need it, its hatred of the proletariat and finally the restoration of the degenerate government's authority demand it and required the issuing of the above-mentioned government decree and the designation of the miners' strike as a political and revolutionary act. Such interpretations are made in Parliaments and everywhere else, and as such the people must take them; the miners must be imprisoned, and their blood must be shed.

The miners have indeed lived to see the repeal of the "Obzana" while in prison, and now after the expiration of this notorious decree they are brought before the White justice. But

they have at the same time lived to see the birth of the new "Law for the defense of the state". This law surpasses the "Obzana" in every respect, and the miners will be sentenced according to its provisions just as certainly as under its predecessor.

The White Terror in Greece.

** The cabinet of M. Gounaris, which has been persecuting the workers organized in the Communist Party with all the forces at its command, has, after having wilfully imprisoned our best comrades, recently ordered the clearing of the headquarters of our Party, in order to house there the Sixth Division of the Athens police. This wilful and irresponsible decree of the government was executed by Police President Gasparis, whose equal in baseness is not to be found in Athens, and naturally called forth the greatest indignation on the part of the Communists and their sympathizers.

The royal government, formerly pro-German to the marrow of its bones, the blind instrument of the Court and the landed nobility, daily finds a new method of brutal procedure against the Communists. Thrown into disorder by the dissatisfaction of the Army and the masses, no longer able to command the respect of the people and with completely ruined finances as a result of the war in Asia Minor, the government could only see one way out—distracting the attention of the hungry and discontented masses from its own misdeeds. Therefore the government commenced to persecute the Communists. This procedure reveals the measures which the government will employ in the event of the explosion of the incessant grumbling of the people.

Never has Greece known so anachronous a government. The majority of the Ministers are incapable. The officials, disciples of M. Gounaris, do not even know the meaning of the word "Socialism". The higher government officials have only one name for the Communists—"bands of criminals". M. Gounaris himself, before his travels through Europe in the role of the Wandering Jew to beg for a loan, expressed himself on the Russian Revolution in the most unheard of manner before the Commission for the Relief of the Famine Stricken in the Volga—a proof not only of his conservatism but also of the small soul of the President of the Greek cabinet. M. Gounaris has forbidden all collections for the relief of starving Russia and the police employ the severest measures in the carrying out of this order.

We herewith inform the Communist Parties of the world that the White Terror is raging in Greece and hope that they will employ all the means of publicity in order to brandmark the oppression of the Communists by the Greek government. The majority of the members of the Central Committee as well as the Secretary of the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor) are in prison. All Communists are subjected to pitiless disciplinary sentences and the provisions of an extraordinary law, without being publicly accused.

The Enlarged Session of the Executive on February 1st

** According to a telegram from Moscow, the enlarged session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International set for February 10th, has been advanced to

February 1st.

All Communist Parties are requested to take all steps necessary for the timely arrival of their delegates in Moscow. We again call attention to the fact that all parties are entitled to send double their usual quota of delegates.

Notice.

We call the attention of all editorial staffs to the fact that henceforth the articles and notices of our "Correspondence" are marked by an initial double star (**). We request that in reprinting the double star be printed as acknowledgement of source.

The Editors.