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POLITICS

Washington's Results.

by Arthur Rosenberg.

** Disregarded by the world, like an old and faded ballet dancer, the Washington Conference has peacefully passed away. The solemn session preceding the adjournment was opened by President Harding's chaplain with a prayer, after which the President himself took the floor and assured all those present that the conference had proved a brilliant success. Lloyd George, taking his cue from Mr. Harding had George V. echo that sentiment in his throne address. And any doubting Thomases who in the face of testimonials such as that steadfastly refuse to believe in the tremendous feat alleged to have been accomplished at the Conference must be declared ripe for the lunatic asylum.

But the perfect concert of this mutual admiration society was somewhat cruelly interrupted by the leader writer of "Temps" who coolly informed his readers that the Conference had hardly improved China's situation nor challenged Japan's supremacy in the Far East. The Conference had avowedly been convened with the purpose of settling the Chinese problem and of averting the danger of a new world war. Even before they met the powers concerned had been well aware of the fact that unless they reached an agreement with regard to China general disarmament would be a thing impossible. And though in the very last hour the necessary signatures were affixed to a scrap of paper providing for the return of Shantung to China, not even the shrewdest of diplomats can definitively state if and when that will happen. And of what good would be the return of Shantung to a China identical with the Pekin Government controlled by Japan's bought agent, General Chang-Tso-Lin?

The heated discussions between the Japanese and Chinese delegates were a well rehearsed and brilliantly performed comedy. Both the British and American representatives though they knew what was going on, had to hold their peace for fear of making the Conference the laughing stock of the world. The U. S. started a counter-move in China, however, and bought the governors of a few provinces with a view of getting in by a back ally and overthrowing the Pekin Government. These efforts were of no avail, however.

The result of the Conference in a nutshell is this: Great Britain has bowed to the U. S. who on their part have yielded to Japan, while France has calmly been fishing in troubled waters.

When the British delegation left for Washington it was resolved to give way to the United States. With the whole Empire in the throes of a gigantic economic crisis, the British Foreign Office simply had to have peace, no matter what its price. Great Britain had to remain content with the knowledge that the American navy equalled its own, that the tonnage of the American merchant fleet was rapidly outdistancing that of the British and that the American Oil Trust was claiming all the rich naphtha fields for its own. Great Britain's conciliating policy towards the U. S. is today the basic fact of world politics. The extent of British submission had even surprised those "in the know". M. Briand for instance arrived in Washington under the delusion that conflicts would arise there between the British and American delegates and in his well-known generosity offered

his services as an arbitrator. He was shown the cold shoulder, however, and thus in the very beginning manoeuvred into disadvantageous position. It is characteristic of the secret diplomacy still going on in the capitals of the great powers that a man such as the Premier of France is not informed on the sentiments of Washington and London. That this really was the case was divulged by H. Wickham Steed, editor of the London "Times" and publicity agent to the British delegation, and then corroborated by French sources. If a Briand could err as grossly as that, it can easily be imagined what the German babes-in-the-woods of the Wilhelmstrasse accomplish on the slippery ground of world politics.

The French, however, compensated themselves for their first failure by intriguing with the Japanese who also were in an unfavorable position in the beginning because Great Britain had given notice of the termination of the British-Japanese Alliance (afterwards superseded by the Four Power Treaty). Japan which was singlehandedly confronting the Anglo-Saxon combination found a certain support in the French. The situation was extremely critical. Meanwhile bitter struggles took place between the various parties in Japan. The military party, scorning concession and compromise, had one of its subjects assassinate Prime Minister Hara who, it was thought, would lend the American demands a willing ear, and, having accomplished this, organized an attempt on the life of Hara's successor, Takashi. By means of open terror and the mobilization of all its forces, the military party finally achieved its end in Tokyo. Japan's emperor, too, retired from public life during those weeks, suffering from an "incurable malady", and was succeeded by the rather young and harmless crown prince. On the other, side, however, the old Prince Yamagata, the leader of the military party, died suddenly and unexpectedly.

The true import of all these occurrences can only be guessed, as the Japanese police, by an extensive and elaborate censorship, guard against the truth becoming known abroad. One thing is certain, however, namely that in spite of all their smiles and courtesy the Japanese have not yielded as much as one inch in Washington. They do not think of evacuating China and Eastern Siberia, all American protest notwithstanding. And as for the naval disarmament ratio—who can penetrate the secrets of the Japanese shipyards?

President Harding had two alternatives, each of them involving very grave decisions. He could either break up the Conference and declare war on Japan or imitate the ostrich and, shutting his eyes to the Japanese manoeuvres, tell the world that everything was well. The first alternative would have meant a moral defeat both of the Republican Party in power and of the president himself. The American population, suffering under high taxes and high prices, would not tolerate a war which would only result in a further decline of its standard of living. President Harding has staged his disarmament comedy in order to hoodwink millions of American farmers, petty bourgeois and workers. Consequently he could not admit failure and give up his rôle. So he expressed his satisfaction with the various scraps of paper and told his audience that Washington has triumphed and that with it mankind had entered upon a new phase in its history. The question remain whether or not the Senate with its matter-of-fact politicians will allow itself to be duped into ratification of the treaties.

The British government is even more urgently compelled to tell its electors that thanks to its endeavors disarmament and world peace are accomplished facts. Japan has not suffered in

Washington and hence for the present has no reason to disturb the peace. The same applies to France. Thus everything that we Communists said from the very beginning about the diplomatic show at Washington, which has not solved anything, has come true. All conflicts remain what they were before. The only thing that has become quite clear is the disinclination on the part of Great Britain and the United States to enter upon a new war while the world is in the throes of an economic crisis and its peoples rather wearied. But the danger of a new conflagration still exists and will continue to do so until the international proletariat has asserted itself and ensured the world's peace.

German Politics and the Railway Strike.

by Ernst Meyer (Berlin).

** The *Reichsgewerkschaft Deutscher Eisenbahnbeamten*, which proclaimed and carried out the railwaymen's strike in Germany declares in a pamphlet issued after the end of the strike that their principle of keeping free from politics has proved itself justified through the strike, and that it was this principle that would "rule the future of Germany" It is therefore necessary to examine the correctness of this assertion.

It is well known from statements in the press that during the strike the *Reichsgewerkschaft* had been negotiating with the S.P.D. (Majority Social Democrats) and the U.S.P.D. (Independent Socialists) with the result that these two organizations undertook mediatory action between the strikers and the Government. Yet, even though these statements might not quite correspond with the facts, the connection between the trade-unionist campaign and the political one becomes clear enough through the whole history of the railway strike.

Strikes in huge traffic undertakings, which, as the German railways, are in the hands of the capitalist state, a priori mean an attack of the employees and officials against the government of the capitalist state. Of course, the fight is fought for economic demands, and not against the state as such. But this government in order to suppress the strike has as its very first measure employed its political power—President Ebert published an exceptional decree, punishing every participation in or agitation for the strike. The first demand of the strikers, as of all proletarian organizations, thus became the cancelling of this exceptional decree. If the strikers and the workers' political parties had succeeded in carrying this point, the immediate annulment of the exceptional decree, the strike could have been continued under much more favorable conditions.

This relation between political and trade-unionist aims, however, not only becomes evident in the conditions of the struggle. It can, also be proved through the causes and in the issue of the railway strike.

The immediate cause of the railway-strike was the announcement that 20,000 railwaymen were going to be dismissed; the imminent danger of a prolongation of working hours by means of the "Arbeitszeitgesetz" (Working Hours' Law) and the lowness of the salaries of the railway officials when compared with the rapid increase of the cost of living. All these difficulties of the railway employees are but the consequence of the "policy of fulfilment" on the part of the Wirth-Cabinet, which tries to squeeze the costs of the reparations due to the Entente from the workers, employees and officials. The promises given by Rathenau at Cannes, are to be fulfilled by the lowering of the conditions of life of all sections of the working-class. Of course, the government could raise the reparations sums by the taxation of the possessing classes (confiscation or seizure of material values) and spare the non-possessing masses; a capitalist government, however, is bound to try and spare the capitalists, by putting the whole burden on the back of the working-class.

This relation between the policy of fulfilment of the Wirth Cabinet and the measures taken by the government against the workers was also fully understood by the S.P.D. and the U.S.P.D. The S.P.D., which in Prussia has already allied itself to the Stinnes Party and aspires to collaboration with Stinnes throughout the whole country, was perfectly incapable of representing the interests of the workmen and officials. The U.S.P.D. likewise is captured by the Wirth policy of fulfilment, whose foreign policy it has constantly supported. While thus on the one hand the S.P.D. quite openly stood in opposition to the strikers, whom they designated as "criminals", the U.S.P.D. found itself in a situation whereby it was forced into an ambiguous attitude towards the strikers. The U.S.P.D. it is true, opposes the internal or home policy of the Wirth Cabinet, but it is unable, however, to actually break with it, being among the adherents and supporters of its foreign policy.

It is the Communist Party alone that has decisively taken up the fight against the whole of Wirth's policy, the only one that could effectively back the interests of the striking employees. The railway strike has opened the eyes of many employees to the policy of the Communists, and gained for them many new adherents among the officials and employees.

While the railway strike continued to spread the state government had no other resource but to grant all the demands of the officials and thus go back on its former policy which would involve its resignation, or to suppress the strike by all means, even by the use of the military power. In this extremely difficult situation the Wirth Cabinet was given prompt assistance by the S.P.D. and the U.S.P.D. The S.P.D. declared it would stand by the Cabinet and the U.S.P.D. shrank from the formation of a workers' government. But since the striking railwaymen were afraid of continuing a strike whose object had already become the conquest of the government without the support of the S.P.D. and the U.S.P.D., and not willing to leave the government to the bourgeoisie alone, including the German nationalists, they abruptly broke off their strike.

The Communists had to adapt their tactics to this line of action on the part of the striking railwaymen. They had to avoid the movement being stigmatized as a mere Communist one, as otherwise the strikers themselves would have accused the Communists of introducing pushing their special party-aims into the struggle. The railwaymen had to recognize the character of their struggle as the strike progressed. Only by supporting the strike by means of absolute proletarian solidarity was the Communist Party able to accelerate the further development of the strike, thus helping the strikers to see the character of this strike. Only in a few districts of Germany, where workers' governments already exist, or where, as for instance in the Rhineland, the whole movement lost the character of a mere railway strike by its stopping of production, the Communist organizations could openly demand the resignation of the Wirth Cabinet, and the formation of a government consisting of workers, employees and officials.

Anyhow the strike of the railwaymen failed, because the S.P.D. and the U.S.P.D. did not have the courage to renounce the Wirth policy and to undertake the government themselves. And the railwaymen themselves at length felt this obstacle to their movement. The strike can only be described as broken off and must flame up again, as its causes have not been removed and as the conditions of life cannot but become worse for the employees. This proves the close relationship between the economic and the political demands of the working-class. With the next move of the railwaymen the demand for a workers' government will therefore not be placed at the end but at the forefront of its program, as only a workers' government will really be in a position to fulfil the legitimate economical demands of the officials and employees.

Greater Finland Adventurers.

by Yrjö Sirola (Moscow).

A Helsingfors dispatch reports that Finnish gangs and misled Karelian rebels, who are being followed by the Red Army and revolutionary Karelians, are passing as fugitives over the frontier.

Further dispatches relate that the Executive Committee, the representatives and the editors of the Socialist Labor Party have been arrested, among them the secretary of the Party, Arvo Tuominen, and the secretary of the Young People's League, Hännés Mäkinen. Protest meetings of the workers of Helsingfors have been forbidden.

In order to appease the social patriots, some of their leaders who were sentenced to confinement four years ago on account of participation in the Revolution, have been released.

The article of Comrade Sirola furnishes light on the Karelian question. The Editor.

** Russian Karelia or "Far Karelia", different from the Finnish landscape was up to the war an immense forest without any political significance. The hundred thousands of Finnish peasants were living extremely primitively; they were known as pedlars. They speak a dialect resembling the Finnish language. A united Karelian-Finnish state was as much a student's dream as the independence of Finland. For the Finns a poetical halo lay over the name Karelia. It was the fairy land where the runic characters were gathered in which the national saga "Kalevala" is written.

The war brought about an alteration of this state of affairs. The Murmansk railway—the building up of which claimed the lives of great numbers of German and Austrian

prisoners—opened the way for Russia to the ocean unhindered by barriers of ice. Karelia's forests, water-power and other resources (abundance of fish, etc.) now became of considerable economic significance.

Simultaneously what had hitherto been merely fancies of the Greater-Finns at last came within the reach of political possibilities. It was in the interest of German Imperialism to annex Greater-Finland as a continuation of its (dreamt of) Baltic vassal states. On this fact the Finnish chauvinists based their policy. They sent two to three thousand young men to Germany for military training (Finland itself has been entirely disarmed for 15 years). In common with the Swedish activists they attempted to make Sweden participate in a war "in order to liberate Finland", i. e. to make Germany reign supreme in the Baltic Sea. And Finland was to be the "strategical frontier" as far as Lake Onega, and including the Kola peninsula. The Finnish industrialists took a very cautious attitude towards this policy. Their markets were in Russia; Tsarism was their support against the Social Democrats. The economic connections with Germany had become more important from year to year, yet—would it be reasonable to run the risk and to try to make Finland a buffer state before the doors of Petrograd? They knew very well that in its secret peace negotiations with Russia in 1916, German Imperialism had sacrificed Finland.

Only the proletarian revolution in Russia made the Finnish big bourgeoisie look for protection towards Germany. With the support of the latter they dared to wage civil war against the Finnish workers. The Finnish Galifet (the pro-Ally Tsarist general Mannerheim) was forced to promise the soldiers that he would not sheath his sword until Karelia, too, was "liberated". Only small expeditions were, organized, however, which were driven back by Finnish Red soldiers. It did not correspond with the German policy of Brest-Litovsk to continue these plans; moreover the suppression of the Finnish working class had exhausted the forces of the "Whites".

The "independence" of Finland was not welcomed with true enthusiasm for liberty, but was established in the turmoil of the civil war and under the iron heel of German occupation. Under circumstances of that kind no enthusiasm for further conquests could be roused. The gangs and the patriotic school boys of the Finnish-Karelian lumber profiteers could do but little harm when they invaded South Karelia (Olonetz) in spring 1919. They suffered a bloody defeat—the red Finns were again among the cavalry of the Red Army. The peasants of Olonetz now made the acquaintance of their "liberators"; this was of course not to the advantage of the latter. Yet the activists did not remain quiet. At the occasion of the Kapp revolt in Germany, for instance, they were ready to undertake something. But after the collapse of the Polish attack in Autumn 1920, Finland was forced to sign the peace treaty with Soviet Russia at Dorpat. Two parishes; Repola and Porajarvi, which were hitherto occupied by the Finns had to be delivered to Russia. As for the Karelian problem they had to be satisfied with a statement of Russia, declaring that Karelia had already been granted autonomy.

After the troops of the Entente and the Northern White-Russian Army had been driven back from the Murmansk coast, the "Commune of the Laboring People of Karelia" was formed, the president of which became Comrade Dr. Edward Gylling (former chairman of the Financial Committee of the Finnish Diet and of the Financial Commission of the Red Government of Finland). In spite of great difficulties the leadership of the Commune, consisting of Karelians, Russians and Finnish emigrants, had already succeeded in guaranteeing a continuous supply of staple foods for the winter, restoring lumbering, the fisheries, the sawing mills, the industries in Petrosovodsk (metal industries, etc.) and in providing for the support of the peasants in the reconstruction of their primitive economy. In the end of October 1921 a new adventure of "liberation" was undertaken in Finland. We are obliged to confess that it was unfortunately not expected. For it could have been prevented, though the geographical conditions are favorable for guerilla warfare: bad roads or even none at all for an army, great distances between the various villages, the winter, which is of advantage to the Finns, skilled in the art of using skis.

Yet, the end of this raid could already be foreseen in its beginning: the Red Army would drive back the invaders, and also the Northern Karelian peasants would curse their "liberators".

Yet what could cause the Finnish bourgeoisie this time to encourage an adventure of this kind? Could they hope that Russia—the "White Russia", in which they believed—would transfer Karelia to Finland? It does not seem likely. The capitalists could be as stupid as that; the activists might have their strategical dreams. In the opinion of the author of these

lines, there is but one explanation for it. The entire adventure was but a link in the chain of small interventions (Roumania, Poland, the Far East) by means of which World Imperialism attempted to weaken Soviet Russia and prepare it for "peaceful occupation" (Genoa). This is a lucid example of the different interests which Imperialism is able to mobilize for its purposes.

The reactionary Finnish monarchists hope for a restoration in Berlin and Petrograd—for an Allied restoration. The capitalists of the lumber industry are in need of fresh forests; the Finnish forests are deforested already. The intellectuals are patriotic and expect to get jobs in the military and civil service. The petty bourgeois and peasant ranks may be inspired with enthusiasm for national aims, at least for manifestations of sympathy and small material assistance. But for that the adventure has to be given the character of a "struggle for freedom".

The Democrats of the government and their Social Democratic accomplices were put into a cleft stick. They are afraid of the war as well as of the revolution and cautiously vacillate. Peace with Russia and commerce; no strong nationalist Russia, but neither a "Bolshevik danger".

A government of this character was (apparently with the agreement and even according to the instructions of Great Britain) caused to exchange several sharp notes with Russia. Naturally this government was supported with arms and other means. Yet it was formally neutral. Under the pressure of Russia and its military successes it cautiously retired.

The Socialist Labor Party, the mass party of the Finnish proletariat, in the ranks of which the members of the underground Communist Party are working, has fulfilled its duty. Its press has courageously shown up the true situation. The organization has mobilized its members for manifestations. Volunteers from Northern Finland (unemployed forest workers) crossed the frontier in order to fight the gangs (as is reported by the bourgeois press). Our comrades in Finland have carried on their action as far as the situation demanded and permitted. The Greater-Finnish dreams have once again been destroyed. The Finnish press breaths despair. And the Karelian rich peasants who have been led into these adventures by businessmen, have now realised the true situation.

Yet cultural reconstruction and progress in Karelia have seriously been harmed. Hundreds of comrades have been murdered. The losses of the Revolution are heavy . . . and the proletariat of the West is still hesitating.

The Setting of King Constantine's Sun.

by *Ergatira*.

** The representative of monarchism who thanks to a mere incident bears the name Constantine, ascended to the throne in 1913 after the assassination of his capable if easy-going father. Having previously acquired distinction in the Balkan wars and gained the sympathy of large sections of both the population and the army, Constantine's ascension to the throne was acclaimed with joy. With the help of Venizelos' policy, Constantine shortly afterwards brought the Balkan war to a successful end. But the bond that had held the two wholesome murderers together during the Balkan wars gave way with the progress of the world war. When at the outbreak of the war Serbia demanded of Greece that it fulfil her obligations incurred in concluding the Greek-Serbian Alliance and Venizelos declared publicly that his country could not possibly enter upon another war, Constantine agreed most heartily. Meantime the necessity of winning Greece for their cause compelled Great Britain and France to insist upon Greece's active participation. And in this both powers were assisted by Venizelos who, having essentially always been an anti-monarchist, dreamt of a Greater Greece under his, Venizelos', republican sceptre. A policy such as that of course ran counter to Constantine's pro-German policy. Venizelos and the Allies gained the upper hand in their contests, not, however, without the assistance of several well-armed French and English regiments who threatened to enforce with the bayonet the ultimatum of the Allies demanding Constantine's immediate abdication.

Constantine surrendered in order, as he said, to save his people from extermination, but in reality from pure cowardice, and left Greece only to return to it triumphant after a four years exile, having been called back by his people.

What was the true cause of the dispute between Constantine and Venizelos? In return for his joining the war the king asked of the Allies guarantees which he knew could not be granted. He did this in order to uphold Greece's neutrality and thus to help his brother-in-law, the German Emperor, either directly or indirectly. Lloyd George's agent, Venizelos, demanded neither guarantees nor did anything to protect himself against having

to obey Great Britain's commands which varied day after day. He renounced his declaration that Greece could not help Serbia in spite of the alliance and did his utmost to comply with Great Britain's wishes, hoping thus to ruin Constantine utterly and as a savior of the people to take over the reigns of government.

This contest, lasting from 1914 to 1916, when Constantine left Athens, resulted in many hours fraught with danger for the people. French and English military forces were the masters of the capital, using their rifles against everybody who objected to their behavior. This went so far that a continuous ambulance service had to be arranged to bring the dead and seriously wounded of both the Greeks and the Allied troops of occupation from the port of Piraeus to Athens. Athens was completely boycotted. The supply of foodstuffs was cut off, and the people expected hourly that the city would be shelled by the French and British warships. The hatred between the followers of both Venizelos and Constantine did not even stop at fratricide though none knew what they were really fighting for. Merely the policies of two persons were at issue and nothing else. A conscious organized labor party did not exist at that time.

When the king left Athens his followers wept and laments went up from the aristocrats, whereas the lords of the money-bags were overjoyed at his departure, which they hoped would be followed by good business relations with Great Britain. And business *did* flourish, so much so, that Athens, that until then had known but five or six millionaires, was treated to the sight of prosperous mill-owners and sardine-exporters. In the port of Piraeus, the headquarters of the capitalists, the latter combined in trusts, an action that was to some degree prompted by the fear of the proletariat, slowly awakening to class consciousness. Meanwhile the capitalists were reaping rich profits while labor was more and more engulfed by the wave of misery. The longshoremen, who like the rest of the Greek workers had to work from 14 to 18 hours daily (pre-war standard) for a daily wage of 150 drachma, could no longer get along on that sum with the prices for commodities increasing rapidly, and, expecting help from neither God, the king nor Venizelos, endeavored to help themselves by uniting with their fellow workers. From Saloniki and Macedonia, where our valiant tobacco workers fought a good fight, to the Peloponnesus the masses closed their ranks. Venizelos, however, suppressed the awakening movement; he banished our Bena-Roja, the red trade-unionist, had Petsopolos, the founder of the Communist paper of Athens, languish in jail for years and sent all revolutionary workers to the battle front.

When Venizelos was overthrown the people were tired of war and longed for peace which Constantine in Lucerne so ardently promised. But when the angel of peace returned he could only follow in Venizelos' footsteps, for the sword not of Damocles but of Great Britain and of the moneylords dreaming of a Greek Empire was suspended over his head; in order to maintain himself Constantine had to continue the war in Asia Minor started by Venizelos and soon lost the confidence of the war-weary population. Even worse was in store for him when he was defeated and his army compelled to retreat. France concluded an agreement with Kemal Pasha, and Great Britain under the pressure of the world political situation must needs come to terms with France on the problems of the Near East. That means that the interests of Turkey are to be paid regard to and those of Greece neglected. This political turn involves fresh internal troubles. On the island of Crete, Venizelos' home, serious conflicts took place in December last as a result of which both the police and the municipal employees declared themselves against Constantine. The government was obliged to send two divisions to Crete to suppress the rebellion.

The propaganda in favor of Venizelos, financed and managed by his rich wife and subsidized by France, is once more gaining ground amongst the bourgeoisie. Big business is in much the same situation as before Constantine's abdication; in the port of Piraeus everything has come to a standstill. Commercial relations between France and Great Britain on one hand and Greece on the other are on the decline owing to the fall of the Greek currency. The Allies are refusing Greece credits, the trip of the president of the National Bank to London having been of no avail.

The fact that Great Britain cannot end its game of chess without France is the ultimate reason for the rumors of Constantine's abdication. Great Britain cannot countenance the impossible imperialist policy of Constantine who aims at an independent Greater Greece, because it needs Greece as a guarantee for the English policy in the Near East. Hence, Constantine's abdication and Venizelos' consequent return would considerably benefit Great Britain, which, by compelling Constantine to retire, would also oblige France which looks upon the Greek king as the last representative of the imperialist policy of the Hohenzollerns.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Strike in the Berlin Municipal Works.

by H. Enderle (Berlin).

** During the last great railway strike the Berlin municipal workers also went on strike. The disorganization of transit and traffic was thereby doubly felt. The gas, water and electricity works were also at a standstill. The beginning of the strike was certainly influenced by the great struggle of the railway workers, though it was not a sympathetic strike but sprang out of the differences which had long existed between the workers and the municipal authorities. The causes of the conflict are, however, the same as in the case of the railway workers — the forcible pressure of the capitalists to restore to a "paying" basis at the cost of the working-class all those undertakings which owing to the war have been recklessly ruined. Against this the workers stood up in resistance and just as the railwaymen, they had to suffer defeat in their struggle owing to the treachery of the heads of the trade-unions.

On the 31st of December 1921, the old *Manteltarif* for all workers (general wage agreement) and employers of the municipal works and offices expired owing to the notice given by the municipality on the 1st of October. The aim of the municipal authorities was to exclude from the new wage scale all rights of trade-union control and favorable conditions such as granting of leave, sick benefit, payment in respect of holidays occurring on week days, the inclusion as part of the eight hours of any break in the work. The control by the workers through the Workers' Councils was a special object of attack, as this was a particular thorn in the side of the authorities, being an obstacle to their plan of wholesale dismissals, prolongation of the hours of work and increase of output.

The negotiations over this question extended over many weeks as neither the municipality with its "Socialistic" majority nor the workers' representatives were prepared to give way; thus the negotiations came to a deadlock with no possibility of compromise. In a referendum the municipal workers decided by 50,000 against 2,000 votes in favor of the strike should the new scale not contain all those former rights and privileges and should it not be immediately settled and extended for a period of one year expiring on the 31st of December, 1922. In a meeting of the union officials and in agreement with the heads of the local organizations this was expressly laid down as their minimum demand and following the result of the ballot a Strike Committee was appointed and authorized to declare the strike if necessary and to fix the date for its commencement if the answer of the municipality was unsatisfactory.

After this conference of the union officials an arbitration award was handed down by the Ministry of Labor according to which the old *Manteltarif* was automatically to be prolonged to the 30th of June and new negotiations were to be immediately entered upon with a view of fixing a new *Manteltarif* to run for a longer period. To this the municipality consented at the last hour, refusing, however, the prolongation to the 31st of December demanded by the Strike Committee as instructed by the men. This made it clear that the authorities were determined to stand by their design to lower the wage-scale and only meant to postpone the date for a few months to a time more favorable to them. As the workers were driven to the breaking point by the procrastinating tactics of the authorities the Strike Committee proclaimed a strike which on Sunday morning February 5th broke out in full force. It is beyond all doubt that under the existing conditions a speedy and complete victory would have been won, if only the leaders of the A.D.G.B., the S.P.D. and the U.S.P.D. had not stood by the municipality. Not only was an unexampled campaign of vituperation against the strikers indulged in by the Press of both shades of Socialism, but the chiefs of the trade-unions even went so far as to call upon the workers, in common with the municipality to break the strike and they lent every possible support to the "Technische Nothilfe" (Technical Emergency Corps) the official strikebreaking organization. Thus the strikers had to fight on three fronts, against the municipality, against the bourgeoisie and the incited population, and—against the chiefs of their own organizations. That the struggle under these conditions was doomed to failure is self-evident. How strong the fighting spirit of the workers was, however, is proved by the fact that even when it was clear that victory was hopeless, a five-sixths majority voted for a continuation of the strike. But at this

juncture the bureaucracy began a big offensive, with a barrage of lies, false promises and open force. The workers were driven back into the workshops. Amidst the howls of applause from the bourgeoisie and the clique of Right Socialist leaders, the authorities gave vent to their lust for revenge against the working-class and many thousands of the best fighters have been disciplined and discharged. Still the jubilation of the victors is quite out of place, for even if the fight is lost it has led to the unmasking of the chiefs of the S.P.D. and the trade-unions, as well as contributed to a revolutionizing of the masses more than any previous event and in great masses the workers and employees are turning from this party of treachery and joining the Communists.

A French Observer on the German Strikes

by Daniel Renoult (Paris).

** The delegates of the French Communist Party to the international conference of Moscow, could in the course of their sojourn in Berlin judge of the force of the German party and the reserves of revolutionary energy of the working masses in Germany.

The Sport Palace mass meeting of more than ten thousand Berlin workmen marked a date in history. The brotherly union of the Communists of France and of Germany was there proclaimed with enthusiasm. This demonstration was the prelude to an action which must be systematically developed. The resolution, voted un-animously, outlines the common program of the two parties from the international point of view, and specifically, in that which concerns the reparations problem.

It is of little consequence that in the details the two parties are working in an identical fashion at this problem; the conditions of the struggle, however, are very different in each country. But the German Communists must know that they can count on their brothers in France. Above all, the revolutionary proletariat of Germany must have the assurance that the French Communists will oppose unceasingly the machinations of the Allied bourgeoisie to reduce the German people to slavery.

The Treaty of Versailles does not exist for the workers of France, who have since 1919 repudiated it in letter and in spirit. The problem of reparations, or to put it better, that of the economic reconstruction of the devastated regions, is only a problem of solidarity and fraternity which the union of two proletariats vested with power would easily solve, but which is complicated more and more each day by the antagonism between the sordid interests of the French and German capitalists.

The French and German Communists, therefore, should join forces and establish a united front between the revolutionaries of the two countries. This unity is as logical and natural as the new alliance between the social-patriots of France and Germany is monstrous. The effusions of friendship which have for some time past been exchanged between the French War Socialists and the Kaiser Social Democrats are unpardonable.

When we see the Renaudels and the Vanderveldes ally themselves publicly with the Scheidemanns and the Noskes whom they indicted before the International at the Berne Conference in 1919, we are justified in saying that the most cynical of comedies is being enacted.

We must note in passing that the French rivals of Scheidemann and Noske have no political importance in their country. In France the Communist Party is the sole political organ of expression of the organized working-class. The War Socialists, who at the Congress of Tours left the party when it affiliated with the Third International—the dissidents as we call them—have no influence over the masses. The working-class does not want to see or hear them. It is impossible for them to convene a public meeting in Paris; and it is strange to see a Renaudel, discredited by his compromises and pledged to the counter-revolutionaries of Poland, Ukraine and Georgia, come to Germany to seek the audience which he could not find in his native land.

The great strike of the German railway workers and municipal workers of Berlin against bourgeois exploitation has demonstrated to German capitalism and Entente imperialism what the German people can do.

Despite the bloodshed of former years, the disappearance of the Mehrings, Rosa Luxemburgs and the Liebknechts, despite the massacre of many militants, the German working-class is always capable of splendid efforts.

We greet this last powerful demonstration most sincerely in the name of French Communism.

Betrayed by their union leaders, attacked directly by the leaders of the Social Democrats, the accomplices of capital, the masses spontaneously decided to fight for their right for life and held out long enough to show Herr Stinnes and M. Poincaré that the German proletariat is still full of fighting spirit.

The national and international bourgeoisie will not fail to learn the moral of this strike.

It is impossible that eyes should not be opened by such a spectacle, and that the workers, delivered to the enemy by unworthy leaders, should not understand that first and foremost they must liberate themselves from the yoke of these traitors.

The prestige of the German Communist Party, which alone supported the strikers loyally, has increased very much. It could not be otherwise. If it is permitted me, I should like to say here with what fervor we wish that the German Communist Party, which has withstood such severe trials, should march on to new victories.

We must count only on ourselves, on the force of international Communism in all countries. And there are no two nations, which, in the revolutionary struggle of the world, are more closely bound together than France and Germany.

After the Czecho-Slovakian Trade Union Congress

by Mila Grimmichova (Brünn).

** Since the split in the hitherto united Social Democratic Party of Czecho-Slovakia the Czech Social Democratic right have suffered one defeat after another. The Czech Social Democrats were beaten in the municipal elections that took place in this city, and they are losing one cooperative after another. We can therefore well understand their fearful anxiety before the municipal elections which according to law are to take place in half a year throughout the republic.

The occasion of the General Trade Union Congress, however, offers them an opportunity to speak of a "victory". As a matter of fact, even the capitalist press insists that the victory won at the trade-union congress was a Pyrrhic victory. None the less the Social Democratic press is naturally elated.

The main question on the order of business at the General Trade Union Congress was *Amsterdam or Moscow*. The final vote showed the following results: of the 476 delegates present, 273 delegates with 338,104 votes behind them went for Amsterdam and 176 delegates with 151,167 votes for Moscow. This decision will have the effect that for some time to come the Trade Union Federation of Czecho-Slovakia with a membership of about 500,000 organized workers will follow the instructions of the Amsterdam International. The best way to estimate the sort of "victory" which the Social Democrats have won, is to examine the way in which the delegates were chosen for the Congress and the division of votes more closely.

It is an undisputed fact that among the delegates sent to the trade-union Congress were many trade-secretaries, editors or members of trade-union councils, in other words, one-vote men. The Communist delegates moved that these one-vote men should be allowed to cast individual, single votes only. This motion was defeated, however, and the motion of the Trade Union Executive was passed, whereby 59 of these delegates were given exactly the same number of votes as the union delegates who had actually been chosen by the workers. It was only thus that it was possible for unions whose members most definitely and decidedly accepted the class-struggle and recognized the Red Trade Union International, to cast their votes for Amsterdam.

As a matter of fact only an insignificant number of the delegates were actually chosen in the unions proper. Most of them were appointed by the Executive. The number of such appointed delegates who were sent to the congress was about 150. We can take the Metal Workers' Union as an example; of its 69 delegates only 33 were elected directly by the workers. In the Railwaymen's Union and various other unions the ratio of the number of delegates actually elected and those who were only appointed was still more startling.

The decisions of the Congress have roused great dissatisfaction among the workers. In a short time the workers will everywhere call these delegates to account.

From the above, it is evident that it was impossible to bring about a decision in favor of the Red Trade Union International at this Congress. But in spite of all this, the division of votes could have been more favorable to us. That is why, if we are

to be candid, we must admit that we Communists are also partly responsible for what really happened. The Communist Parties distinguish themselves from the others by the fact that they never deny their own mistakes; on the contrary, they openly admit their shortcomings and attempt to eliminate such mistakes and shortcomings in the further course of events. And this is actually the first step towards improvement.

The first error that we committed was our insistence, through the agitation which we had carried on for a long time among the masses, upon the immediate calling of the General Trade Union Congress. It would have been better first to have worked for the calling of the individual union congresses. If we had first in accordance with the actual sentiment of the workers conquered the leadership of the respective unions, at least partially, the apportionment of delegates at the General Trade Union Congress would have been quite different and it is also possible that we might even have succeeded in bringing about the recognition of the Red Trade Union International. That was our main error. Again, the fact that the Executive Committee of our party was rather tardy in making known its official attitude towards the Trade Union Congress and in defining the positions to be assumed by the Communist delegates, certainly did not aid us in our efforts to carry the entire labor movement into the Red Trade Union International. Only on the 8th of January, 1922, that is, 14 days before the congress met, did the Party publish its manifesto, which calls upon the Communist trade-unionists to maintain and safeguard the unity of the trade-unions under all circumstances. That is just what gave the extreme left elements a favorable opportunity to agitate for a split in the trade-unions in case Amsterdam proved to be victorious at the congress. These elements mainly control the Agricultural Workers' Union which has become Communist since the last Agricultural Workers' Congress. The Agricultural Workers' Union did not pay the required dues to the Trade Union Executive in Prague and was consequently expelled from the federation. As a result, *the only truly Communist trade-union organization in Czecho-Slovakia was not permitted to send a single delegate to the Congress.* When the Executive Committee of the party criticized the behaviour of the Agricultural Workers' Union, the latter answered that the Trade Union Executive demanded far more dues than the number of union members warranted, and that it would pay nothing at all and would rather be expelled from the Trade Union Federation.

Though it is true that the Federation was not quite in the right in the matter of dues demanded, it is none the less clear that some sort of settlement should have been reached under any circumstances, and that the Party Executive was by far too mild and irresolute in its attitude towards the Agricultural Workers' Union. For, besides the loss incurred on account of the inability of the Communist agricultural workers to participate in the Congress, there was also a dangerous example of disobedience to the instructions of the Executive Committee of the party. The trade-unionists are entitled to maintain the autonomy of the trade-unions from the political party, but in such and similar cases the Communist trade-unionists, who are at the same time members of the Party must give up their separatism in their own interest as well as in the interest of Communism.

The extreme left elements also defended their attitude on the matter of having the Agricultural Workers' Union remain out of the General Trade Union Federation in the following manner: They claimed that it was only to be expected that the Trade Union Executive which was in the hands of right Social Democrats, would surely set out after the congress, with their policy of expelling revolutionary groups or even unions. Should that really happen, they said, the Communist Agricultural Workers' Union would then become the center of crystallization which would then gather the expelled groups and unions about itself. By not paying any dues to the Executive, they argued, they are only saving money for it was certain that the Social Democratic trade-union bureaucrats would sooner or later split the trade-union movement.

But we must not forget that as early as the second half of 1920, the idea arose among the revolutionary workers that the paying of dues to the trade-union headquarters by the various individual groups could be stopped, for they argued. "A split in the trade-unions will come anyhow, and the trade-union secretaries, most of whom remained Social Democrats after the political party split, will then simply run away with the treasuries filled by us. In this manner we at least save some money." At that time this attitude became more and more current among the workers, especially in Moravia which was ever growing more radical. But what did the leaders of the then Social Democratic Left do in Moravia? They requested, they threatened, they sought with all means to dissuade the

revolutionary working-class from this unfortunate idea, only in order to prevent a split in the trade-unions. At that time we pointed out that the splitting of a political party was something quite different from the splitting of the trade-unions. And after we had so admirably succeeded in the political party in leading the masses of the revolutionary working-class towards the left, thus isolating the Social Democratic leaders with an insignificant remainder of followers, we were to apply the very same tactics in the trade-unions. How much money, which the workers had in this manner simply put into the pockets of the Social Democratic trade-union chiefs, would we have been able to save, had we given the workers free rope as early as 1920?

If we examine the whole matter in this light, we must admit that even the 300,000 crowns, which M. Tayerle demanded from the agricultural workers were really of no great importance. But due to the stubbornness of several comrades no settlement was reached between the Trade Union Executive and the Agricultural Workers' Union, and as a result not a single agricultural worker was present at the Congress.

Besides, as a result of the belated attitude which the party took in the question of the Trade Union Congress, the other Communist delegates came to the Congress altogether insufficiently prepared. The motions and resolutions were formulated in a great hurry and only at the last moment; great discouragement reigned, and it was increased by a now and strange statement of the extreme left. It was clear from the very start that Amsterdam would come out victorious. *Then several comrades invented a new thesis.*

"The workers and with them of course the leaders of the trade-union movement will pretty soon have to go through bitter struggles and then should the Communists take over the leadership of the trade-unions they will be blamed for the probable failure."

What are we to say the above argument? Does it not sound exactly like the shuffling excuse used by all social patriots, every time the question of the conquest of the political power by the workers comes up? Or do the extreme left comrades believe that later on a period of passivity will set in for the proletariat, and for this reason they plan to come to the fore only later, when the struggles will no longer take place? But what are the Communists here for, if not for the struggle?

As soon as we ask these questions which raise themselves in this situation, it at once becomes clear that such an argument is absolutely fallacious if not cowardly. It is true that *this time* we have not succeeded in conquering the trade-unions in Czecho-Slovakia. This is a fact. But in spite of this, every one who calls himself a Communist, must do his utmost to insure the assumption of the leadership by the Communists at the next Congress. We should not be held back by the prospects of the struggles to come, nor by the responsibility which we are to assume. Are not the Communists those who in every struggle, be it a struggle for partial economic demands of the proletariat or the final fight for the political power, are to be found in the front fighting ranks? It is highly improbable that in two or three years the general situation will have become so favorable that the task of the Communists in places where they will have assumed leading positions, will become easier. Or are we even then to wait for a still more favorable situation?

In short: The above attitude is characteristic of the extreme left elements, which are to be found in every Communist party, and those comrades who entertain these views best distinguish themselves from the mass of the other comrades in that they alone and exclusively are supposed to be working for the revolution. But if (to our sorrow) the actual situation does *not* permit of the immediate realization of the Social Revolution and the seizure of power by the proletariat everywhere, these very same elements begin to lose themselves in useless broodings and meditations, and instead of following the directions of the Third International and going among the masses, leaving no stone unturned in the attempt to prepare the proletariat for its historical mission, they meet instead in small conventicles giving birth to barren and sterile theories.

The Czecho-Slovakian Trade Union Congress is a milestone in our labor movement. It is highly improbable that we shall succeed in gaining a foothold in those trade-unions which we have not succeeded in penetrating until now. It is also very probable that the Trade Union Executive will now expel various Communist secretaries and eventually also whole Communist groups from the Federation. We must therefore continue building up our revolutionary groups even where it is only half possible in our attempt to conquer those groups which are still unfriendly to-

wards us. But it seems to us that in this epoch a still better means of conquering the trade-unions is offered us in the policy and tactics of *building up a united fighting front* of the entire proletariat, and that in this wise we shall be able not to lead not only a considerable part of the indifferent workers, but also the mass of workers organized in the trade-unions but who are still under the influence of the trade-union bureaucrats, into the united revolutionary battle front of the proletariat.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Kyrre Grepp.

by A. J. S.

** After a long and serious illness the chairman and intellectual leader of the Norwegian Labor Party has died at the age of 43 years. By the decease of its leader the Norwegian Party suffers a nearly irreparable loss. Already as a young student Grepp entered the Socialist movement. For some years he was the correspondent of the Berlin "Vorwaerts" in Christiania. At the Party convention in 1912 he was the only representative of the oppositional wing who was elected member of the Executive Committee. To a great extent it was due to the activities of Comrade Grepp that after tenacious and untiring work the opposition succeeded in revolutionizing the rank and file of the Party and in gaining the majority at the convention in 1918. At that convention Comrade Grepp was elected president of the Party. Until tuberculosis undermined his health and destroyed his voice, he was a powerful, irresistible orator. In his last years he spoke but in small meetings and sessions of the Executive; nevertheless he remained so popular as to be reelected unanimously chairman at every convention. Though he was an enthusiastic idealist and had joined the movement for ideal motives he was a capable practical worker and greatly served the Party by his organizational ability. For fifteen years he fought against the disease and sometimes had to interrupt his work and recover his health in the mountains. He would have certainly lived longer if he had retired from the strenuous work in the Party. This, however, did not correspond with his passionate ardor; he did not live for the sake of living, but in order to accomplish something. To this principle he remained faithful till death. The name Kyrre Grepp is forever bound up with the revolutionary proletariat of Norway.

The Tasks before the Special Session of the Executive Committee.

by Ernst Meyer (Berlin).

** The special meeting of the Executive Committee that was to be held in Moscow at the beginning of February was postponed on account of the railway strike, which prevented a large number of the delegates from leaving Germany. The members of the Executive Committee, detained in Germany by the strike, had an opportunity of studying the attempts to solve practically the problem of common proletarian action. The experiences during the railroad strike also gave the International as a whole new material on the necessity and difficulty of creating a united proletarian front—a question that will form the central theme of all debates during the special session of the Executive Committee.

The Third Congress of the Communist International demanded on the ground of a thorough analysis of the present world situation that all the Communist Parties of all countries seek to establish the closest relation with the masses in order to win their confidence in Communism and the Communist parties. The time elapsed since the meeting of the Moscow Congress last summer has given enough opportunity to test the correctness of the estimate and the practicability of the tactics. The experiences of the German Party (K.P.D.) entitle it to give the first answer to the question because this party, following the March action, made a great effort to carry out the decisions of the Moscow Congress. Indefatigably and tenaciously the German Party participated in every important action of German labor. The Party refused to be deviated from its road either by the reproaches of being "opportunistic" or by the attacks of the K.A.G. (Communist Working Union), which demanded that the K.P.D. give up its revolutionary program. The attitude of the K.P.D. during the railroad strike shows how effective its policy was. The cry of the petty-bourgeois and Social Democratic parties about the "putsch" plans of the K.P.D. fell on deaf years among the striking workers and officials. And yet the attitude of the K.P.D. differed very distinctly from the other workers' parties. The call of the Central Committee and of the

various district and local organizations of the K.P.D. to the other workers' organizations to fight for the strikers and against the government was not a sign of the weakness of the K.P.D. The refusal to answer this call was also proof for the non-Communist workers and officials that the K.P.D. alone sincerely supports the demands—even the daily demands—of all workers and officials. The tactics of a united front unquestionably brought the K.P.D. a great moral political success.

In Czecho-Slovakia, during the miners' strike the Party followed similar tactics. In Austria also, the Party issued an open appeal to the workers and their organizations for a common fight against distress, poverty and the exploiters. The special session of the Executive Committee in Moscow gives the representatives of these parties a chance to report in detail upon their experiences. We are certain that even the Communist parties of Italy and France who until now saw in every appeal to the Social Democratic parties a danger of an approach to the enemies of Communism—we are certain that even these Communist parties will at last be convinced that the tactics outlined by the Third Congress can only aid Communism.

The Executive Committee, as is well known, recommended in its theses on the united front—so successfully tested in Germany—that they be applied not only in separate countries but also on an international scale. The conference of the capitalist powers in Genoa is an attempt to strengthen their rule over labor at the latter's expense. The workers of the entire world must agree upon the common action of their various organizations in order to prevent at least the dire misery which the workers suffer under capitalism from being increased by new capitalist aggressions. In the measure that an international conference of the three Internationals can serve the purpose of at least defending the proletariat against the danger threatening its most elementary needs—in the same measure such a conference should be called—and especially by the Communist International. Mere show conferences are of course, not to be supported by the Communist International. The Communist International demands not words and speeches but decisions that are immediately put into action. The special session of the Executive Committee will have to decide under what circumstances the Communist International can participate in such a conference of the three Internationals. Rump conferences such as the one held recently in Paris to which proletariat organizations of only five countries were invited, should be considered as an attempt to sabotage a real international conference.

The question of reparations is closely connected with that of an international conference. The German and French parties have accomplished much preliminary labor through their common appeal in which both parties pledged themselves to carry out certain decisions. The special session of the Executive Committee will examine these joint decisions of the German and French parties as well as answer in a Communist sense the entire question of reparations which also affect the proletariat of other lands.

Then the special session will have to decide whether the policy of Soviet Russia, unanimously supported by the Third Congress, finds in its subsequent acts, the further approval of the Communist International. The retardation of the revolutionary tempo in Central and Western Europe forced Soviet Russia to a policy of concessions which found its last expression in the contemplated participation in the Conference of Genoa. The new acts of Soviet Russia and the new tactics of the International since the Moscow Congress stand in the closest relation; they are both the result of changes in the industrial and political international situation. It is false to consider the Communist International as a mere tool of Soviet Russia. On the contrary, the internal and external policy of Soviet Russia is controlled by the joint Communist International. There is not the slightest doubt that the policy of Soviet Russia whose character was determined by the retardation of the world revolution and the abstention of the proletariat of Central and Western Europe, will once again gain the approval of all Communist parties.

Finally the session of the Executive Committee will have to take up the question of the Red Trade Union International. The organization of Communists in the trade-unions created certain difficulties in some countries. The Amsterdamers utilized this amalgamation to remove all Communist influence were it even through a split of the unions. This transparent manoeuvre of the Amsterdam bureaucracy brought the danger of a split quite near realization in France, so that the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International proposed a joint meeting to prevent this split in France. The anti-Communist trade-unionist tried to throw the blame for all scission on the Communists, and overzealous trade-unionists such as the K.A.G. men even demanded the cessation of all Communist trade-union

activity. Of this there can, naturally, be no question; our experiences during the railroad strike in Germany show how necessary it is to strengthen the political and organizational influence of the Communists in the unions.

The deliberations of the Executive Committee will prove once more that the Communist International is a truly living organization which understands how to turn to advantage the experiences of one organization for all the others. The Communist International broke intentionally with the autonomy of separate parties. This does not prejudice, however, the development of a rich organizational and political life in the separate sections; it only makes permanent the exchange of all experiences and the closest organization, renders fruitful the political activity of each party, and strengthens the fighting force of the Communist International.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

To the Workers of the World!

** The struggle against the famine in Soviet Russia has entered upon a new phase. The inevitable sequence in the relations between Capital and Labor, the historic necessity of the class struggle is becoming evident. It is the great battle for the liberation of labor, which is simultaneously going on throughout the world in its various phases of development and under the last and strongest pressure of which Soviet Russia is now suffering from the growing famine catastrophe. You must realize that this struggle against the famine does not concern only the Russian workers and peasants. Also your fate will be decided on this battle-front. The Russian proletariat is fighting for the reconstruction of its own production, for the citadel, which must be held by the vanguard of the international proletariat, and which you, workers of the world, will then be able to employ the international attack of labor against capitalism.

An appeal to humanity does not move the capitalist class. The worker who has been hardened by the struggles and sufferings of his own class is touched more by the misery of the Russian proletariat, though he does not know how to help. The famine cannot be fought by charity alone. Some hundred thousands of people may be saved, while millions are perishing and the catastrophe is growing every day.

Comrades, laboring masses of the world! The cry for bread, the struggle for bare existence is being drowned in the cry for production, for working capacity, for labor! Support our reconstruction! Assist us in providing bread! Your means are small compared with those of world capital. Yet, you have something which capital lacks, your class-consciousness, your solidarity for productive assistance, if you, the working class, undertake to assist Russia in its reconstruction.

Do not be deterred by the gigantic dimensions of the task before you. Precisely the enormity and extent of this task proves the necessity of maintaining Soviet Russia's productive forces, so that it may be able to overcome the famine disaster.

With the food that you have collected, we are commencing to organize and enliven the work in the famine-stricken districts. Home industry is being reorganised, collective farms are being formed, in factories the workers of which have fled or died of starvation work is being started again. The farms are being prepared for work in the spring. We are not only lacking the food for those who are working there, but still more the means of production with which bread can be produced. The working class should finish what it has set about to do. We are now creating centres of production and in the midst of a tired and exhausted population establishing nuclei of production which will be the centres of fresh initiative and relief for the starving workers and peasants of the famine-stricken districts. The working class alone can assist us in this work. Otherwise the capitalists will coin the famine into profits and turn it into a new weapon against the working-class.

Workingmen and working women throughout the world! Do not forget that your future will be decided on the front of the famine in Russia! We need tools, material and tractors for industrial and agricultural enterprises, the reconstruction of which we have undertaken. Send us above all means of transport, one ton motor trucks. We are also in need of fodder for the horses and grain and vegetable seed for the spring sowing. But not only this. We are also in need of your labor power. Send us specialists, industrial and agricultural organisers! Fit out groups of workers with tools and food and send them to our assistance. A labor army of the International Workers' Relief Committee is now being organised. You ought to delegate

groups of workers from amongst you, who will form a living and active bond of solidarity and will be based upon you, upon the workers of their shop, upon the workers of their industrial centre and lastly upon the workers of the entire country. It is a gigantic task which the working class has to accomplish. Yet, you will be strengthened by fulfilling it. It will inspire you with class consciousness. Forget all party quarrels! You are being confronted with the first practical task of the united front of labor on an international scale. It will inevitably weld the working-class together.

We are commencing by means of nuclei. Assist us in carrying on our work successfully! Support us in building up centres of production out of the nuclei! Ensure the future source of raw materials for the workers of all countries for the time when capitalism will be overthrown throughout the world!

There is no time to be lost. In spring the problem will be decided. Shall we then be able to work? Will the the masses of workers and peasants in the famine-stricken districts then still be able to work? It depends upon your assistance.

Do not lose your head! More courage and more confidence in Soviet Russia! And that just because the struggle is so hard! Despite everything!

For the Foreign Committee for the Organization of Workers' Relief.

Willy Münzenberg, Secretary.

For the Russian Section of the Foreign Committee in Moscow: Plenipotentiary of the Soviet Government: *Alexander Eiduck*. Plenipotentiary of the Foreign Committee: *Franz Jung*. Plenipotentiary of the "Friends of Soviet Russia":

James A. Marshall.

Cossack Relief for the Starving.

** We take the following news from the Russian press:

Various Cossack village meetings in the Don and Kuban districts have decided that those Cossacks who have formerly served in the White Army should pay special taxes for the relief of the hungry. Several village meetings furthermore decided to sell the gold and silver church services for the aid of the famine-stricken. Moreover, it was proposed that the valuables in former palaces of the Tsar and of nobles in Crimea, which generally have no art value but are worth a great deal, should be sold, and the money be used to relieve the hungry population.

The Relief of the Famine-Stricken and the Russian Clergy.

by *Vinokuroff* (Moscow).

(People's Commissar for Social Welfare.)

** On the 9th December last year the Bureau of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decided to permit the "Confessional Administrations" and the various religious communities to undertake collections for the famine-stricken.

The Central Commission for the Relief of the Famine-Stricken has decided upon the following principles regarding the activities of the clergy in the domain of relief: —

The "Confessional Administrations" and the various religious communities are allowed to undertake collections for the famine-stricken within the Soviet Republic and abroad.

The "Confessional Administrations" are to collect their gifts under the control of the Central Commission for the Relief of the Famine-Stricken of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and its local branches. The plan for the collection is to be elaborated in common with the above mentioned committees.

Thus the clergy have been afforded a broad field of relief activities. They will certainly use the old means of collecting among their adherents. Yet, there is another source which would provide the clergy, especially the Greek Orthodox Catholics, with considerable means for the famine-stricken; the valuables and decorations of the churches. They are state property and have only provisionally been left in the custody of the church. The Soviets have spent great sums for the struggle against the famine. A considerable proportion of their gold funds has been used for the purchase of seed corn for the famine-stricken districts and for other means of relief. The gold and silver services of the churches, however, have remained untouched up till now. The religious societies and the clergy should make extensive use of this source: For gold and silver church plate, etc., many million poods of grain can be purchased and hundreds of thousands of Russian peasants saved from death.