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## CONTENTS

|  | Page |  | Page |
|--|------|--|------|
| The Central Committee of the International Communist Party and the IV. World Congress. By <i>G. Zinoviev</i> . . . | 791  | <b>Our Problems</b>  |      |
| <b>In Soviet Russia</b>  |      | The Inner Development of the International Communist Party. By <i>Franz Dahlem</i> . . . . . | 798  |
| Comrade <b>Lenin's</b> Speech at the IV. Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee . . . . .          | 793  | Dictatorship and Economic Counter-Revolution. By <i>V. Serge</i> . . . . .                   | 799  |
| The Industrial Reconstruction of Petrograd. By <i>N. Valetzky</i> . . . . .  | 794  | <b>The Labor Movement</b>  |      |
| <b>Politics</b>  |      | The Congress of the Trade Union Opposition in Czechoslovakia. By <i>J. Walcher</i> . . . . . | 800  |
| The Fascisti "Revolution". By <i>U. Terracini</i> . . . . .  | 794  | The Movement of the Unemployed in Austria. By <i>K. Hübner</i> . . . . .                     | 801  |
| Comrade <b>Tchitcherin</b> on the Far Eastern Question . . . . .   | 795  | <b>The White Terror</b>  |      |
| The Reds at Vladivostok. By <i>R. Albert</i> . . . . .   | 796  | The Terror in Roumania. By <i>A. Badulescu</i> . . . . .                                     | 801  |
| <b>In the International</b>  |      | <b>Appeals</b>   |      |
| The Communist International and the Austrian Question. By <i>Victor Stern</i> . . . . .                            | 797  | A Manifesto of the Red Sport International . . . . .   | 802  |
| The Danish Communist Party . . . . .   | 797  |  |      |

## The Central Committee of the International Communist Party on the IV. World Congress

By *G. Zinoviev*.

The communists form an international party. The task undertaken by the Communist International from its first foundation has been the creation of an international communist organization, established on definite lines, and led from one centre on the plan of democratic centralism. Here lies one of the essential differences between the Comintern and the II International, which even in its best days was never more than an inadequately organized federation of national parties insufficiently connected with one another.

When we review the activity of the Comintern in its relation to the coming IV Congress, we can by no means maintain that the III International has already succeeded in fully performing the task set. The difficulties besetting the way are still enormous. Any co-worker of a large labor party is aware how difficult it is to establish the right relations between centre and periphery even within the limits of one country. And how much more difficult is this task when it is a question of the more than 50 parties belonging to the Comintern. The federalistic traditions bequeathed by the II International to the international labor movement are much stronger than might be imagined. It is only with the greatest trouble, and in the course of practical fighting, that these traditions will be overcome; now they hang like leaden weights on the feet of the international proletariat, hindering their successful attainment of the final goal.

The statutes and first important resolutions of the Comintern express in themselves an immediate and decided rejection of the simplified and hypertrophied centralism. The founders of the Comintern were however fully aware how far centralism can go when applied internationally. Experience has shown that the results of the activity of the Comintern are more successful from year to year. And to-day, during the 4th year of existence of the Communist International, its executive com-

mittee is on the road, to becoming an actual International Central Committee of the Communist Party, with organizations covering almost the entire globe.

We here publish a few figures and facts on the activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International during the interval between the 3. and 4. congresses of the Comintern. These data (a detailed digest of these data, most efficiently treated by Comrade Tivel, will probably be published as a special pamphlet) are intended to show that the Executive Committee really begins to be worthy of the designation: "International Central Committee of the Communist Party."

In the interval between the 3. and 4. congresses, that is, within 15 months, the Executive has held 30 sessions. The total number of participants in these sessions (repeated participation being counted) is 1032. Those attending the sessions were approximately the same persons to the extent of one half. The total number of questions treated at the sessions of the Executive was 144, of which 97 were purely political in character, and 47 were questions of organization and administration. The number of delegations appointed by the Executive for the various countries, in the name of the Comintern, is 9. (The majority of delegations were not appointed by the Executive, but by the Presidium; delegations are only chosen by the Executive in especially important cases.) During the period of which this report treats, 25 important resolutions were passed relating to the various countries. The most important proclamations and open letters confirmed by the Executive Committee itself amounted to 21. 31 commissions were appointed by the Executive itself. Almost all these commissions consist of 7 to 9 persons. Each one of these commissions forms in reality an actual international "germ cell", comprising as it does, almost invariably, representatives of 5 to 6 different parties.

The following table shows the number of times each separate country was placed on the agenda:

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Germany         | 9 |
| France          | 9 |
| Poland          | 7 |
| North America   | 5 |
| Czecho-Slovakia | 5 |
| Italy           | 4 |
| Yugoslavia      | 3 |
| East            | 3 |
| Spain           | 3 |
| England         | 2 |
| Hungary         | 2 |
| Norway          | 2 |
| Bulgaria        | 2 |
| Roumania        | 2 |
| South Africa    | 2 |
| Austria         | 1 |
| South America   | 1 |
| Belgium         | 1 |
| Canada          | 1 |
| China           | 1 |
| Russia          | 1 |
| Switzerland     | 1 |
| Finland         | 1 |
| Japan           | 1 |

It must further be added that during the period between the 3 and 4 congresses two sessions of the Extended Executive of the Comintern, at which all parties were equally represented, were held. Enlarged sessions of the Executive are not provided for in the statutes, but actual party life has called them into being. Both sessions were attended by the best leaders of the communist movement in all countries, and were able to perform highly useful practical work. There is no doubt whatever that the practice of holding enlarged sessions will take firm hold, and will prove of great utility.

The activity of the Executive Presidium is of equal importance. In many respects the work done by the Presidium has been decisive. The number of sessions held by the Presidium between the 3 and 4 congresses was 75 (these data are not quite exact, the statistics having been worked through until 6. Oct. only). 735 questions were treated at these sessions. The number of those present, including the specially invited representatives of the various parties, was 1152. Here it must of course be recollected that several persons have been counted twice, whilst the main body of the Presidium remained unaltered. The number of members of the presidency was 7 to 9 at most, but at the meetings 20 or even 30 persons were present, as when the question under discussion involved the party of this or that country; it was natural that comrades from the country in question were invited, so that the matter could receive enlightenment from all sides.

The questions treated by the presidency come under the following categories:

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| United front tactics  | 22 times |
| Profintern  | 10 "     |
| International Young People's Movement                       | 21 "     |
| Preparation of questions for the Executive of the Comintern | 25 "     |
| Questions of organization                                   | 37 "     |
| Publication questions                                       | 28 "     |
| International Workers' Relief                               | 15 "     |
| International Women's Section                               | 6 "      |
| Sport International   | 4 "      |
| Cooperative Section   | 4 "      |
| SR Trial  | 11 "     |
| Preparations for the 4. Congress of the Comintern           | 7 "      |
| Budget  | 4 "      |

The separate countries treated were:

|                 |          |
|-----------------|----------|
| France          | 33 times |
| Italy           | 27 "     |
| Hungary         | 21 "     |
| Germany         | 18 "     |
| England         | 13 "     |
| Czecho-Slovakia | 10 "     |
| India           | 10 "     |
| Austria         | 8 "      |
| United States   | 9 "      |
| Turkey          | 8 "      |
| Persia          | 8 "      |
| Poale Zion      | 9 "      |
| Poland          | 7 "      |
| Norway          | 6 "      |
| Denmark         | 6 "      |
| Sweden          | 6 "      |
| Switzerland     | 6 "      |

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| South America                              | 7 times |
| Yugoslavia                                 | 7 "     |
| Congress of the Peoples of the East "Bund" | 4 "     |
| Luxemburg                                  | 4 "     |
| Ukraine                                    | 4 "     |
| Finland                                    | 4 "     |
| Bulgaria                                   | 2 "     |
| Greece                                     | 2 "     |
| Ireland                                    | 2 "     |
| Egypt                                      | 2 "     |
| Estonia                                    | 2 "     |
| Holland                                    | 1 "     |
| South Africa                               | 1 "     |
| China                                      | 1 "     |
| Bukhara                                    | 1 "     |

The number of delegates and delegations sent to the various countries, in accordance with resolutions passed by the presidency, was 54. The number of commissions whose formation was decided upon by the presidency, and who occupied themselves chiefly with questions arising out of the movement in different countries, was 129. Each of these commissions consisted as a rule of 3 to 5 comrades from the parties of the various countries, and also represented an important "general cell". Each of these commissions is a small international in itself, and at the same time a severe school.

These are most important figures characterizing the activity of the leading organ of the Comintern during the last 15 months.

Our international organ was for the first time successful in carrying through 3 large and comprehensive international campaigns, in a more or less satisfactory manner: 1. The campaign associated with the united front tactics; 2. The campaign resultant on the SR Trial and 3. The campaign for famine aid in Russia. All this represents of course a mere beginning, a first hesitating step. But it is of importance that the beginning has been made. When it is added that the Executive of the Comintern is widely ramified, and that its activity is closely bound up with the work of the Profintern, the International Youth, the International Women's Section, the Cooperative Section, the International Labor Famine Aid, the Sport Section, the language groups, etc., it will be seen that the work increases constantly in extent.

Actual working practice in our International Central Committee has shown the necessity of some serious reforms. The 4. Congress will devote attention to these reforms. It is probable that the Executive will have to create a number of sections: for organization, for agitation, etc. after the manner of the sections of the central committee of the Russian C.P. It is also possible that the Executive will find itself obliged to create an or-bureau and a pol-bureau, such as exist not only in the R.C.P., but in the communist parties of many other lands. The Comintern does not regard its Executive Committee as a commission for making agreements only, but as a leading organ. It is only natural that the Executive Committee should be obliged to "interfere" in the affairs of almost all the parties belonging to the International. The executive of the Comintern and its presidency have dozens of times treated in detail, the most important questions appearing on the agenda of the French, Italian, Czecho-Slovakian, and other great parties, during the year of this report. The statistics above quoted demonstrate this clearly. The "record figures" apply to just those countries in which the party has undergone crises and internal conflicts during this time.

The Executive of the Comintern has taken active part in the preparations for every congress and conference of its largest parties. The theses and resolutions intended to be laid before the congresses of this or that party have as a rule been first submitted to the Executive of the C.I. or to the Presidium. Representatives of the Executive Committee have taken part in nearly all important congresses of the sections of the Comintern, giving spiritual direction to these congresses. The Presidium of the Executive Committee has been enabled to gain a fairly exact knowledge of the personality of the leadership of our most important parties. The E.C. has been energetic in its endeavours to further the political initiative of those sections compelled to face particularly complicated situations. The Executive and the presidency have devoted special attention to the young parties taking their first steps in the direction of political mass fighting. With the co-operation of the EC, organized political parties and groups have been formed, within the last 15 months, in such countries as Japan, China, India, Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, that is, in countries possessing only very small circles of followers at the time of the 3. Congress. These parties are still weak in numbers, but the kernel is at least formed. In 1883 the group for "Liberation of Labor" in Russia was also only a very small one . . .

The actual formation of the International Central Committee of the Communist organizations of the world is a mighty evidence of progress. The enlightened workers of the whole world are learning to appreciate its value more and more, in proportion to the increasing difficulties presented by the struggle with the bourgeoisie, and to the growing ruthlessness of the attacks of international capitalism and reaction. The very slightest attempt to degrade the Executive of the Comintern to the role played by the International Socialist Bureau in the Second International, that is, the role of a simple commission for drawing up agreements, or of mere information office, or indeed of a mere "letter-box"—any such attempt must meet with obstinate resistance on the part of all such parties of the Comintern as are worthy of being taken seriously, and will certainly meet with such resistance. Such attempts to transfer the usages and customs of the II International to the Comintern have been recently made by some elements of the French party. There is no doubt that the 4. Congress will decisively condemn these attempts.

The international bourgeoisie cannot be conquered without the aid of a united, organized, and systematically working international proletarian centre. It is not even possible to take measures likely to succeed in any great degree against the wild campaigns of the capitalists, or against the innumerable betrayals of social democracy, if the Comintern abandons any essential feature of the basic principles laid down in its most important programmatic documents. The international communist movement needs the support of a strong staff, of a mighty international central committee whose judgements are decisive. The communist parties of the whole world will create this staff, and will establish it firmly.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### Comrade Lenin's Speech at the 4th Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee

Comrades! Permit me to utter a few words of greeting. Above all, our first greetings must naturally be for the Red Army, which has again just shown its heroism, and has cleared, by the occupation of Vladivostok, the whole region of the Far Eastern Republic allied to the Soviet Republic. I am confident of speaking in the names of all when I say that we greet this fresh deed of heroism on the part of the Red Army most joyfully, the more so because it has brought us a decided step nearer to the end of the war. It has thrown the last forces of the White Guards into the sea (Applause). I believe that the Red Army has freed us for a long time from any possible repetition of the White Guard attacks on Soviet Russia, or on the republics which are, directly or indirectly, allied to us.

At the same time I must not forget to mention, if I do not wish to be guilty of unseemly boasting, that here not only the heroism and power of our army have played a part, but also the whole international situation, and our diplomacy.

There was a time when Japan and the United States signed an agreement supporting Koltchak. This lies so far back that many of us perhaps do not even recollect it. And yet such a situation did once exist. And if we have attained a point where such agreements have become an impossibility, and where Japan's military power has not prevented her from engaging to evacuate the occupied districts, and from actually fulfilling this engagement, it is thanks to our diplomacy.

In the near future our diplomacy will again be confronted by a task of enormous importance, a task involving important interests for us. I am thinking of the conference on the Near East convened by England in Lausanne on the 13. November of this year. I am fully convinced that our diplomacy will be able to maintain its authority equally well on this occasion, and will efficiently defend the interests of all allied republics and of the R.S.F.S.R. In any case we shall make it our endeavour to reveal to the masses what are the real obstacles, and in what degree these run counter not only to the justifiable desires and endeavours of our state, but of all states interested in the question of the Straits.

With regard to foreign politics I limit myself to these brief remarks, and pass on to the discussion of your activity.

I believe that the have attained most important successes, although at a first glance the success may not appear so great to everyone. Let us take for instance the first code of laws, which you have already accepted; the Labor Code. It is a tremendous victory for the Soviet power that precisely now, when all governments are arming against the working class, that we can present ourselves with such a code of laws, establishing

the fundamentals of labor legislation, as for instance, the eight-hour day. It is true that with regard to this code of laws more consideration might have been accorded to this that wish. I do not however believe that such wishes would have been right. We must reckon with the fact of the states in which a mad capitalist competition is raging, where there are millions and tens of millions of unemployed, where the capitalists are organizing mighty capitalist federations and preparing to attack the working class, our land is the most backward of all, our productive powers are the least developed, and hence the least idea how to work. This is perhaps an unpleasant truth, but it has to be admitted. But I believe that precisely because we do not seek to veil such facts with fine phrases and official explanations, but admit them candidly, we need not fear to mount the tribune and declare that we have expended more energy than any other state on the removal of these deficiencies, and that we are doing our utmost to overtake the other states with a speed which they do not in the least imagine.

But naturally the speed is not fantastic, we require some years of stubborn work to attain this aim. Nothing can be done in a day. We have had five years of experience, and we know what time means. We must remember what it means in the future also. Nobody amongst us believes in a fantastic speed of change, but we can believe in a possible speed, in a speed surpassing the tempo of any other historical period of evolution; and when the movement is led by a really revolutionary party, such a speed is an unqualified possibility.

I now come to the problem of the ground law. As you are aware, our first laws immediately after the revolution contained regulations respecting land which, though not quite technically perfect, nor perhaps juridically so, none the less contained all essentials, all that was of unqualified necessity for the peasant, and ensured his alliance with the working class. And even if the law which you have now accepted proves to require improvement in this or that regard, we shall be able to carry out these corrections without any special difficulty, just as you have accepted improvements in the code of criminal law at this session.

The land, the living question for the majority of the population, the peasantry, is for us a fundamental question. In this respect we are so far advanced that the Russian peasant knows that not only do we set no brake on proposals towards the alteration of old laws, but we accept these most favourably.

You have also dealt with such questions as the civil code of laws and the general regulations for litigation. In the policy which you pursue so faithfully these questions touching the interests of the broad masses of the population, are the most important. Here it has also been our endeavour to draw a line of limitation between the justifiable satisfaction of the needs of every citizen living under the new economic policy, and the abuses of the new economic policy, which are law in all other countries, but whose legalization we decline. It remains for the future to show in how far the corrections which you have just made with this intention, and which you approve, will succeed in their object. In any case, we do not bind our hands in any way. Should daily experience show that there are abuses upon which we had not calculated, we shall take immediate steps for their removal. In this respect, as you are aware, such rapidity of legislation is unfortunately unknown in other states. We shall see if the near future will not force these powers to try and keep up with Russia in this respect.

We must also accord some attention to the equally important question of the provincial Soviet congresses and government executive committees. All former systems, legislatures, and constitutions left this question unanswered. It was thought that in the provinces everything would take its old course. We, on the other hand, are convinced that if our revolution has been able to attain many successes, this is solely because we had the power in the provinces in our hands, and because we invariably paid the greatest attention to local experiences. When the revolution in October 1917 was crowned at once with such success that in the spring of 1918 we believed the war to be over, though in reality it was just beginning in its worst form, that of civil war (in reality the peace concluded at that time with Germany who did not collapse until the autumn, in every way gratified those elements among the Allies who resented our peace with Germany)—when as I say, the revolution was able to carry out its work with such rapidity, this was due to the fact that we have always counted upon the peasant population, and have opened new vistas of activity to them; we always expected from the provinces that enthusiasm, which imparted perseverance and speed to our revolution.

I am aware that at that time the provinces went through troublous times. We were much occupied by the relations of the provinces to the centre, and I will not assert that we were always able to carry out our task in the most ideal manner. The general level of our culture could not permit us to even dream

an ideal solution. But we have the right to assert that we have carried out our task with greater uprightness, truth, and perseverance, than any other state.

I must soon conclude. I shall only touch upon one more question, one of the greatest interest to me, and which should be of interest to you also, though it is not contained either in the agenda or in the inquiries. This is the question of our state apparatus,—an old and yet eternally new question.

In 1918 we had a census taken of our state apparatus in Moscow. The result showed that there were 231,000 state and Soviet employees in Moscow, (including the central state employees and the Moscow municipal employees). Recently, in October 1922, we undertook a recount, convinced that our distended apparatus had shrunk. The resultant figure was 243,000. This is the result of all our reductions.

This example shows the need of further studies and comparisons. At that time, in the year 1918, as we undertook the census in the first heat of reform, we were not yet in a position to reduce the figures to anything sensible. The civil war left us no leisure whatever for this. We hope that it will now be done. We are fully convinced that our state apparatus, which suffers from many defects, which is considerably more than twice as large as it need be, which often works against and not for us—we need not be afraid to utter this truth from the tribune of the highest legislative body of our republic—will be improved. Its improvement will require much work and capability. A start has already been made in the serious consideration of the nature of these improvements, but at present it is only a start, a few articles, some local investigations. If we all go away from here with fixed resolve to devote much more attention to these questions than we have done, if we are firmly resolved to spend less time on vanity and bustle, if we really get to know our apparatus and work for years on its improvement, it will be an enormous step forward, and afford real security for our success. We must have the courage to admit that our apparatus is primitive. The best workers undertook the most difficult tasks alike in military and bourgeois administrative spheres, and as a rule they took up their work wrongly. But all the same they have understood how to correct themselves, and how to work. The present relations between these—perhaps only a few brave individuals—and the hundreds who only sit and sabotage or half sabotage, and lose themselves in their red tape, these relations are suffocating our living cause in a labyrinth of red tape.

We must get thoroughly to the bottom of this matter, as we have not yet succeeded in doing. Years and years will have to pass over, for years and years we shall have to learn, for the cultural level of our workers is very low, and it is exceedingly difficult for the workers to undertake the work of production, new to them. But our sole reliance is upon the uprightness and enthusiasm of the workers. Years and years must pass before the improvement of our state apparatus can be realized.

I am convinced that if you will further devote your powers to the same activity as has actuated you in the present session, we must inevitably arrive at the very best results.

## The Industrial Reconstruction of Pétrograd

By N. Valetzky (Petrograd).

### The program of production for 1922—1923.

Petrograd is awakening to new life. After the blockade, the successive amputations of three evacuations, and the confusion of civil war, the second capital city of proletarian Russia is convalescing from month to month.

What is the extent of this recovery?

The economic conference of the North East recently examined the plan of production of the city of Petrograd for the year 1922/1923. In the course of this year 184 undertakings, employing 72,424 workmen and 10,743 clerks, will be working. They will consume 1158 million tons of fuel. In this manner Petrograd embraces 76 per cent of the total number of enterprises in the district, 90 per cent of the workers, and 98 per cent of the clerks. It consumes 82 per cent of the fuel.

The complete restoration of Petrograd's productive activity is now solely a question of fuel, raw materials, and food.

The most important industries of Petrograd are the following: The metal industry with 49 concerns, 31,332 workers and 5,121 clerks; the textile industry with 18 concerns, 1,054 workers; the chemical industry with 13 concerns, 5,042 workers and 943 clerks. Next comes the electric industry with 19 undertakings and 4,237 workers, the leather industry, the clothing industry, the printing industry, etc.

The largest undertaking is that for applied chemistry, the *Treugolnik* with 4,560 workers.

Expressed in gold rubles, the production of the city of Petrograd is to attain the following figures in the course of the fiscal year 1922/1923.

|                   |            |
|-------------------|------------|
| Metal industry    | 38,000,000 |
| Electric industry | 15,250,000 |
| Chemical industry | 22,870,000 |
| Mineral industry  | 1,800,000  |
| Leather industry  | 12,156,000 |
| Textile industry  | 21,990,000 |
| Paper industry    | 2,400,000  |
| Polygraphic art   | 2,652,000  |
| Food-stuffs       | 17,789,000 |
| Wood industry     | 2,846,000  |
| Clothing industry | 11,689,000 |

Compared with the initial production of 1922, the industry of Petrograd increases by 1.4 for the metal industry, 3.4 for the electric industry, 2.5 for the food industry, etc. The total productive capacity has more than doubled.

The metal industry has almost tripled the number of workers employed.

In comparison with pre-war production, the production of Petrograd is estimated to increase during the year 1922/23 by 22% in the metal industry, by 69 per cent in the manufacture of paper, by 52 per cent in the manufacture of food-stuffs, by 49 per cent in the leather industry, etc. After so many years of ruin and unspeakable suffering for the proletariat these results are worthy of note.

For the present Petrograd is still dependent on foreign fuel. It is, however, exercising its utmost endeavour to free itself from this dependence. For this purpose it bases its hopes on the electrification, already successfully commenced. The new Electric Works of Utkina, which started working last month, and will be running at top speed in 1925, are to supply the industry of the city with one half of the power it needs.

One year of peace suffices for the proletariat of Petrograd, despite the enormous sacrifices made in the cause of the revolution, to accomplish these great strides towards the reconstruction of the giant city.

## POLITICS

### The Fascisti "Revolution"

By Umberto Terracini.

#### An acute Ministerial Crisis.

We can find no more exhaustive or better definition for the events which have taken place in Italy in the interval between 27. October and 1. November. Any other designation, or any other word, which might rather mirror the external happenings than their actual import, would only tend to prevent clear recognition of the actuality.

We summarily reject any interpretation of the events in question which would present them in the light of a *coup d'état* or a *revolution*. The mobilization and concentration of one hundred thousand men, the occupation of public buildings, and the wordy manifestos and proclamations, do not suffice to cloak a parliamentary episode in a country undergoing a desperate crisis, and standing at an historical turning point of its social history.

Under *coup d'état* we understand a radical change of leadership, an interruption in the activity of the governmental apparatus, the violation of the fundamental state laws, the persecution of those who have hitherto controlled the state power. Nothing of all this has accompanied the action of the Fascisti; it has led to the formation of a cabinet on broad parliamentary basis, and possessing a certain majority.

A revolution undermines and overthrows a régime, sweeps away the existing laws, introduces new forms in social relations. But in Italy no change in the positions of the classes has taken place, the monarchy emerges with renewed strength from the events of the last few days, and the Fascisti victors kneel before the throne.

The position of the second *Facta Cabinet* had been untenable for some time. During the stormy days of the general strike in August, which took place in order that Italy might have a government of some kind, this cabinet had not been able to solve any of the problems with which the previous cabinet crisis had been confronted.

The main problem had become the *legalization of the anti-proletarian reaction*. The capitalist offensive has now been going on for two years. And although the bourgeois state has been extracting force and power from this offensive, its actual execution has been in the hands of an independent and self-reliant organization. The great problem thus consisted in the best method of

introducing this non-constitutional organization into the state apparatus, in order to lend Italy a minimum of equilibrium. The democratic groups were entirely unsuited for carrying out this task; they were prevented by their past, by their relations with certain cliques, their connections with foreign financial groups anxious to prevent the parties of the right from seizing power.

The democratic parties also preferred to enjoy the advantages offered by a terrorist oppression of the proletarian masses, so long as the state was not directly compromised in the eyes of public opinion, and permitted them to keep up the appearance of being anxious to defend the most elementary rights of the workers. Despite this, the August crisis following on the Social Democratic collaboration attempt was bound to lead to the old and decrepit democracy coming into power. Nobody had the courage to go further with the miserable farce of a state which threw itself alternately into the arms of left and right within a few hours, only to give itself the appearance of a government.

But the *Facta Cabinet* was a temporary solution, whose life was estimated at three months at the time when it was formed. And never was prophecy so thoroughly confirmed by subsequent events. After the general strike the Fascisti action increased in intensity and extent. Parallel with this action were the wage reduction offensive, the increase of unemployment, and the attack on the principle of the eight hour day.

The Fascisti action did not proceed according to the will of any single man or group, but in close relation with the progress of restoration of bourgeois state power, and as both the cause and effect of this. But it remained outside of the law, and was not subject to the control of the state, although exercising a function actually pertaining to the state organs.

Within a short time a fresh ministerial crisis matured; the central point of this was again, the necessity of solving that dualism of forces which, though favourable for carrying on the capitalist offensive, threatened to turn into a danger for those governing, as soon as the aim was reached. These premises will serve to render the latest events in Italy explicable: in the course of these events the task of the blindly raging reaction has been directly undertaken by the state itself. The duplication of executive organs has ceased, and with it an enormous expense. The government regains authority, if only for a short time, in pursuance of the same anti-proletarian activity, which it can now carry on with greater freedom and fewer scruples, freed from the competition of the Fascisti organization. This organization will not disappear, it will not be dissolved. It will be suitably transformed and incorporated into the structure of the state; the military formations will continue to exist, either in the form of schools for preliminary military instruction, or as militia; in any case, they will be so maintained that they can be easily remobilized in their original form; they will be maintained as a special organ for the legally conducted struggle of the state against the workers.

The Italian parliamentary democracy has fulfilled its task; it has done its utmost to reduce to a minimum all that the proletariat won during the period following the war, and it has given the scattered bourgeoisie time to gather its forces again and to renew its organization. The continuance of such a method of government—now that the ambiguous neutrality with regard to Fascism is no longer possible—would certainly lead to the vengeance of the proletariat, for the crisis in the Social Democratic Party, and the energetic agitation for the united front, have filled the workers with fresh courage and willingness to fight. The government which has come into being during the last few days is not absolutely reactionary, for it does not intend to accept the program of the liberals and conservatives, who wish to force a completely reactionary activity upon the government; neither is it a purely Fascisti government, for it is endeavouring to prevent the autonomy of the counter-revolutionary activities, and to direct this into purely lawful channels.

Thanks to the recent Fascisti action an already existing state of affairs has been legalized; and the direct interference of the monarchy in favor of the Fascisti deprives the action of all pretensions of being "revolutionary" or pseudo-revolutionary.

For the rest, the events in themselves are of no particular importance; for a long time the Italians have been accustomed to have armed and well-equipped "black shirts" gather in tens of thousands and undertake punitive expeditions; and the number of victims of the recent conflicts, sixty or seventy for the whole country, does not exceed the number chronicled every week in the civil war; indeed, it is less. Those who fell during the last few days did not lose their lives in conflicts between *Fascisti* and *government troops*, that is, between two parties which would have to confront each other as enemies in the case of a *coup d'état* or revolution; they lost their lives in conflicts between workers on the one side who, despite inequality of forces, still attempted defense, and the *united troops of the Fascisti and the armed government power* on the other.

The real target of every attack was the proletariat. From the first to the last day of the crisis it was the trade union headquarters and the radical newspapers which were destroyed, and it was workmen and peasants who were shot. It was thus on the day when the *Facta Ministry* resigned, when the military command of the Fascisti gave out the order to mobilize, and at every stage of the action following: when the state of siege was proclaimed, when the king refused to sign this decree, when the Fascisti troops pressed forward towards Rome, when the new ministry was formed by Mussolini, when the Fascisti marched into Rome, and when the troops and the "black shirts" demonstrated in union.

The reaction against the Italian workers enters its acutest and most painful phase; it has stabilized the government, it has become the most important organ of the government, it has struck roots in the whole mechanism of the state, that it may be able to strike the proletariat with greater certainty and effect. The Italian proletariat must not let itself be suppressed, and it will overcome the last difficulties.

In the light of recent events the workers will have grasped that their enemies are to be found not only in the conservative capitalism which has created the terror, but in the democratic state which accepts and approves the white reaction.

## Comrade Tchitcherin on the Far Eastern Question

We take from the Moscow *Pravda* the following observations of Comrade Tchitcherin. In the meantime the Red Troops of the Far Eastern Republic have marched into Vladivostok.

We welcome the evacuation of the coastland and Vladivostok. We have long expected this. Of all the states that took part in the intervention it was Japan who began it first, and she was the last to relinquish her policy.

We wanted to conclude a formal treaty with Japan, in conformity with our former policy, like the one we have already concluded with many European states, but we have not succeeded until now. The negotiations begun in Dairen could not achieve any results because the imperialist appetite of Japan was so great that we were unable to come to an understanding. The main drawback was due to Japan's desire to retain the Northern part of the Isle of Sakhalin, and to support their demands they brought up a number of arguments. But the real intention of the Japanese government is to annex the Isle of Sakhalin, which means the complete domination of the navigation on the river Amur, the island in question being so near to the continent, and especially to the mouth of the Amur. With their control over the mouth of this most important river, entire Siberia would be under the influence of Japan. To this, we could under no circumstances agree, and so long as the Japanese government persists in this grab policy, there will be no basis for an agreement; and the situation will constitute a source of conflict.

The evacuation of the coastland does not therefore entirely exhaust the problem, until the question of North Sakhalin is not settled. None the less we greet the evacuation of the coastland. It came as the result of strong agitation and pressure on the part of the Japanese bourgeoisie against the present dominant military clique, and the supporters of the evacuation policy took advantage of the financial difficulties of the Japanese government. These difficulties also made it easier for diplomatic pressure to be felt, and especially the pressure of the American government which is apprehensive about the expansion of Japan on the continent, because it is also anxious to establish economic relations with Siberia.

The latest events in China, the downfall of Tchaosolin, friendly to Japan, and the strengthening of the supporters of China's national policy, especially Ubei-Fu, has greatly complicated Japan's position in China. The evacuation of the Eastern Coast does not necessarily mean that Japan renounces her North Manchurian policy. She is strengthening her garrisons there, supporting Tchaosolin, and concentrating the White Guards. The evacuation of the Coastland is only one step in the direction of establishing peaceful relations in the Far-East, but it is a step forward nevertheless.

The withdrawal of the Japanese troops from Vladivostok is accompanied by such dreadful events that it would be impossible to neglect them at any future negotiations. By its threats to renew military activities, the Japanese military staff compelled the National Revolutionary Army to withdraw to the railway station Ugolna. At the same time the Japanese foreign office threatened to stop the evacuation of the city if the National Revolutionary Army advanced and if there should be a clash

with the Japanese troops. Today the National Revolutionary Army is stationed about twenty six miles from Vladivostok. In the meantime, in the city itself unheard-of plundering is going on with the permission and participation of the Japanese. Other governments, and especially America interested in safeguarding the lives and property of their citizens demanded guarantees from the National Revolutionary Army. The American government was particularly interested in the safety of its great stocks of goods stored in that city.

The Soviet Government and the government of the Far Eastern Republic guaranteed the safety of the foreigners and foreign property, but can in no way be held responsible for what has happened there, before the arrival of the Russian troops. We can only state that Vladivostok is at present in the hands of a gang of robbers.

Other governments are in part to blame for not interfering with Japanese misconduct in Vladivostok.

The situation in Vladivostok will become clearer when we compare it with what took place at the evacuation of Nikolayevsk on the Amur by the Japanese. At the evacuation of Nikolayevsk the following happened: From the fortress Tchniri the Japanese carried away an immense quantity of metals. They tore up the tracks and carried them away with them. The amount of metal they have stolen reaches about 500,000 puds. All the armour-plate, bolts and screws were taken from the artillery shops. Special laborers were assigned to remove the zinc-cupola. They also took away the radio-station, four Russian gunboats and one steamship, besides placing obstacles in the Amur River so as to interfere with the movement of the ships.

The following information is thus far available about the destruction of Vladivostok: The cellar of pier No. 8 in which military equipments were stored was completely destroyed. Shortly afterwards, the neighboring cellar containing war materials shared the same fate. The Japanese destroyed all the forests along the coast. Almost all the batteries were either destroyed or put out of commission. All the loot from Vladivostok was removed to Manchuria and was carried on special trains guarded by the Tchansolin troops. Into Tchansolin's hands fell also a considerable quantity of ammunition. But the actual story of the despoliation of Vladivostok is yet to be told after the Russian troops enter the city.

This policy of the Japanese is certainly a short-sighted one, as they failed to realize that Soviet Russia and its ally, the Far Eastern Republic are growing stronger and more consolidated every day, and that such conduct on the part of the Japanese will render the future treaty, in which the Japanese are clearly interested—more difficult. The Japanese statesmen cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the relations between Soviet Russia and China are developing very quickly and successfully.

Soviet Russia and China are natural allies, and the future will strengthen this association. Chinese public opinion realizes that Soviet Russia has no designs whatever against the political and economic independence of China. Soviet Russia is the only great power that is ready to support the full independence of China and her independent industrial development. Soviet Russia is eager to see China triumph in her struggle against foreign domination and intervention, and against the despotic Governor-Generals who are acting as absolute dictators over some provinces, dividing China among themselves.

Chinese public opinion also knows that Soviet Russia is very sympathetic to the aspirations of the Chinese people to establish a united democratic China. The first preliminary draft of a treaty with China has already been completed by Comrade Pajkes. Since the arrival of Comrade Joffe as plenipotentiary representative in Peking, friendly relations between China and Soviet Russia have made considerable progress, and the conclusion of a treaty between the two states is a question of the near future.

## The Reds at Vladivostok

The 25th October 1922.—The end of the Whites.—The end of intervention in the Far East.—The collapse of bourgeois patriotism.

By R. Albert.

The Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution will be celebrated this year in Red Russia on the morrow of a great victory, which fact seems to have been overlooked by the international working-class press. The tragedy of Vladivostok is at an end.

"On October 25th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the armies of the Republic of the Far East, composed mainly of the Red Army of peasants and workers, entered Vladivostok, during the evacuation of that city by the Whites and the Japanese. Russia has recovered her port on the Pacific Ocean." Such is the message of Trotzky to the Army and the Red Fleet.

After five years of the most painful struggles, the victory of Soviet Russia over international reaction may be described as complete. From the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, on territory nearly three times the size of Western Europe, the insurgent workers and peasants, at first as Red Guards, then as Red soldiers, Red partisans, have defeated all modern imperialisms and frustrated all intrigues. England, France, the United States, Germany, Poland, Roumania, Greece, Japan, have each in their turn made war against them, and each had to retire from the arena after the most costly and disappointing attempts, (occupation of Archangel, of Baku, of Odessa, formation of the White government). What a road has been traversed in three years! Three years ago Red Russia, completely surrounded by the enemy, was confined to the limits of the Moscow of the 14th Century, with no port, except blockaded Petrograd, with no supplies. Today Japanese imperialism, after having tried to obtain a footing in Siberia, is reduced to a policy of capitulation — the evacuation of the country it had wished to conquer. The reactionary adventurers supported by Japan, have all come to a tragic end.

Koltchak, betrayed by his own commander Yanin, was shot.

The brigand *baron Ungern*, who dreamed of founding a Russian-Mongolian dependency under the sovereignty of Japan, was shot. More fortunate than the rest, the Turk *Semenov*, as great a cut-throat and pillager as the others, was only subjected to the routine of the American prisons. The *Merkulov Brothers* who were responsible for a regime of blood and terror which harassed Vladivostok for many months, and who were ousted by reaction itself, are keeping discreetly out of sight. Lately, the butcher-general *Dieterichs*, that old reactionary scoundrel, known throughout the Russian Orient for his corrupt political and military enterprises, after several shootings of proletarians, and the looting of the supplies of the Russian Far East, escaped.

It is the end of foreign intervention which has persisted in bleeding Siberia. It has all been a total failure—this economic and military policy of the Russian Whites, that is, the bourgeois and monarchist reaction. They pillaged the country, and delivered it bound hand and foot to the greed of foreign imperialism. Their military policy, as inefficient as it was cruel, led them from crime to crime and from disaster to disaster. Politically, a shameful double failure: in the interior, the dictatorship of the soldiery; on the outside, servility to the foreigner. . . . In the Far North, in the Baltic countries, in the Caucasus, in the Ukraine, in the Far-East, we witnessed the collapse of the Russian bourgeoisie,—the hope of the world bourgeoisie.

What a lesson in these facts, and how they refute the puny declarations of "patriotism"! Twice in a little more than a hundred years the patriotism of the possessing classes has been put to the test with the same lamentable result. In 1792, the nobility, the military caste, and the higher clergy went to Coblenz, to London, to Prussia, to Austria, to rouse against their country "the hereditary enemy", the Germans, the Austrians, the English, who had just taken the East Indies and Canada from France. Royalty only returned to France "in the baggage wagons of the foreigners" after the two invasions of 1814-1815. In 1918-22 the Russian bourgeoisie supports, at one time or in turn, the "German orientation" the Entente, Japan. An English general (March) establishes in 20 minutes the North-West Government. Tchakovsky permits Ironside to govern the North. Skoropadsky and Krasnov deliver up the South to Germany. Denikin and Koltchak are appointed by the Allies. The Czechoslovakians are permitted to steal the gold reserve of the Russian State. Wrangel prepares by shameful agreements the colonization of Russia by French capital. Dieterichs sells everything that is saleable in Vladivostok to the Japanese.

In the light of these historic facts, what is the patriotism of the possessing classes reduced to? To the well-paid manufacture of cannons and munitions when two imperialisms are in conflict. As soon as labor revolts, only one common interest absorbs the exploiters of all nationalities—that of war against the poor, and the suppression of revolution wherever it appears.

In the Far-East the tragic demonstration of this old truth, is at last at an end. Revolutionary Russia is recovering her great port on the Pacific. Her Fifth Anniversary finds her more strong than ever. And while the "patriotism" of Russian reaction pursues its sad career, the *International* resounds in the streets of Vladivostok as in Petrograd, from end to end of Eurasia.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Communist International and the Austrian Question

By V. Stern (Moscow).

The defensive struggle of the Austrian workers against the threatened enslavement and increased exploitation by capitalists at home and abroad imposes a task upon the Communist International, the duty of doing all in its power to aid this struggle.

It is not only a question of helping the Austrian workers who are to be robbed of their last vestige of freedom, and who are threatened by a perfectly unimaginable economic misery; at stake are the interests of the international proletariat, the interests of the workers of every country. The world reaction is very well aware why it attaches such significance to little Austria. In Austria the proletariat still possesses great power as compared with the bourgeoisie, but is prevented from utilizing it by the Social Democratic leadership. This power has however compelled the bourgeoisie to grant the proletariat a certain degree of liberty up to now, and has maintained the bourgeois democracy in a higher degree than in other capitalist countries. In Austria the military power also bears a proletarian character. The design of the Austrian and foreign capitalists is now to bring this state of affairs to an end. The bourgeois pseudo-democracy is to be replaced in Austria, as in other countries, by a brutal and open form of capitalist dictatorship.

The world reaction calculates, on thus establishing an extraordinarily important base in its struggle against the world proletariat, against the world revolution, and against its champion, Soviet Russia. A reactionary Austria can form a bridge between Bavarian and Hungarian reaction, between Yugoslavian and Czechoslovakian white terror.

For world capitalism the forward march of reaction in Austria is important for another reason. In Austria the decay of capitalistic economics is further advanced than anywhere else. World capitalism fears that Austria might become a hotbed of revolution, that even in Austria the workers might find the way to the revolutionary International.

Finally, the enslavement of Austria is only a preliminary attempt, a prelude to the far-reaching plans of Entente imperialism. That which is being attempted to-day in Austria is to be carried through to-morrow in Germany, whose position renders her decisive in the great struggle between world revolution and world reaction. Should the Geneva agreement be applied in Austria, this signifies such an increase of reactionary strength throughout the world, that not alone the Austrian workers but also the workers of all other countries are bound to feel the effects on their own bodies. The common colonization of Austria by the guarantee states means the creation of a fresh seat of crises and conflicts. This danger has been made considerably more acute by the victory of Fascism in Italy. As in the year 1914, Austria and the Balkans may easily form the starting point for a new world war.

All the above reasons go to show clearly that it is not only a duty owed to solidarity by the workers of every country, and of the guarantee countries in particular, to hasten to the aid of the Austrian workers, but that it is imperative in their own interests. The Communist International is faced by the duty and the task of setting the communist parties of the various countries into action for this purpose. Not to arouse the parties to pseudo-fight, as conducted by the Social Democrats in Austria, not to a mere decorative support of empty phrases and fine words, as the 2½ International does; but to real and earnest fighting, to determined organization towards the common resistance of all workers, without difference of party, in the various countries.

How seriously the Communist International regards this duty is shown by the fact that in the very first executive session of the Communist International, devoted to the preparation of the IV World Congress, the Austrian question was discussed in detail. It was resolved to issue a proclamation enlightening the workers of all countries as to the significance of the contemplated enslavement of Austria, and to arouse them to the duty of determined resistance. It was further resolved to send definite instructions and directions to the leaders of the various communist parties, giving the requisite material and necessary explanations enabling them to form a concrete idea of the action to be taken in the Austrian question. Besides this, a conference was organized to take place among the delegates already arrived for the IV Congress, and coming from Austria and the guarantee states (i. e., England, France, Italy, Czech-

Slovakia, Switzerland, and Poland), in order to discuss the question of decisive steps to be taken against the Geneva Treaty. This conference took place on the same day, and showed perfect unanimity regarding the necessity of energetic action in all these countries, in Parliament and in the press, in meetings, etc.

All this goes to show beyond doubt that the Communist International and the Communist Parties intend fulfilling their duty. The Menshevik heroes, whose policy has led to the present situation, and who are content to guard the bourgeois democracy, so sacred to them, by mere phrases and sham fighting, will find the pressure of the whole working masses against them.

This must not, however, delude the Austrian workers to rely on the workers of other countries to defend them from all dangers. The main fight, the decisive fight, for freedom must be fought by the Austrian workers themselves. All that they have a right to demand and expect from the workers of other countries is that these prevent their bourgeoisie from coming to the aid of the Austrian bourgeoisie.

The Austrian workers are strong enough to cope with the Austrian bourgeoisie themselves, if they only will.

### The Danish Communist Party

By K. W.

A classic petty-bourgeois democracy, at the same time mass unemployment and ruthless lock-outs — that is Denmark. Up to now conditions have not favored the formation of a CP. But after four years of endeavour it was at last possible, at the unity conference of the communist groups in Copenhagen on the 18. September, to found a permanent and distinct proletarian party. The slowness with which a party has been formed in Denmark is the more surprising when we note the rapid development of our parties in the other Scandinavian countries, not only in Norway, but also in Sweden. The chief explanation of this circumstance lies in the fact that in this agrarian country, which mostly lives on agriculture, and whose only city lives on sea trading, the proletariat has long been organized to a very great extent.

This land of peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, with its 5 millions of inhabitants, has 360,000 workers organized in trade unions and 100,000 in the Social Democratic Parties. Besides this the guild movement has seized upon every class of the people available. The whole country is covered with a network of organizations for the education of the workers, and these, supported by government subsidies and served by bourgeois elements, keep the proletariat systematically under the influence of bourgeois culture and reformist politics. There is no other country where the bourgeois radical democracy is so closely bound up with the Social Democratic trade unions. After the masses had been dominated for a generation by pacifism, democratic principles, and reformism, it was difficult to win them over for the struggle to seize political power, and to make the idea of an international, centralized organization and revolutionary discipline popular among them.

There were frequent differences of opinion regarding the fighting methods to be pursued, and the ways of working among the proletariat, and this has been a hindrance to party work. It even reached such a point that in February of this year a group of the younger comrades reproached the Central Committee with lack of activity, and sought to overthrow it. This led to the division of the party into two groups of almost equal size, both of which appealed simultaneously to the Executive Committee of the CI. After previous consultation in a commission composed of Scandinavian comrades, it was resolved to expel the leader of the left group, the former syndicalist *Christensen*, as well as the leader of the right, *Hellberg*. Besides this the leading comrades of both groups were deprived of the right of assuming party functions for the period of one year; the remainder of the comrades were instructed to convene a unity conference.

The unity conference was distinguished by the unexpected peaceful character of the discussion. The program was accepted unanimously. Apart from a few superfluous ethical-moral digressions, this is filled with the Communist spirit. The theses of the CI regarding work in the trade unions were also approved. The draft for the statutes was accepted unanimously as provisional statutes. The conference was however clearly aware that the contradictions of democratic federalism contained in the statutes would have to be removed at the regular party conference.

Despite all these dissonances there was no appearance of any ideological differences between the groups striving to unite, and the elections for the Central Committee and its commissions showed even more plainly the wish and endeavour of all comrades towards unity.

The session of the Central Committee held after this party conference, resolved to concentrate all forces on the maintenance of the sole newspaper possessed by the party, a weekly publication; further, to strengthen as rapidly as possible the local organizations partially thrown into disorder by the party quarrels, and at the same time to continue Communist work in the Danish trade unions with increased energy.

## OUR PROBLEMS

### The Inner Development of the International Communist Party

By Franz Dahlem (Berlin).

The Communist International is the army staff of the proletariat of the world in its fight against the bourgeoisie. The first condition for the safe leadership of the various divisions of the proletarian army is *iron discipline*, to be kept by the sections of the different countries in their relations to the Executive Committee. Almost all communist parties have now recognized the necessity of strict international centralization and discipline, although this recognition has cost much inner friction in many cases. There are still a few sections which cannot entirely free themselves from the old autonomous illusions of the II. International. We are confident that after the IV. World Congress, these sections will also line up in the front of international discipline. With this the first goal would be reached: the creation of a real and disciplined International Communist Party under one uniform leadership.

Comrade Zinoviev, in his article on "The Central Committee of the International Communist Party and the IV. World Congress", shows that, taken as a whole, the Communist International has already attained this goal. At the World Congress the further development of the International will be discussed and resolved upon. We should like to make the following observations with regard to these debates:

If the International is to carry out the task set before it, it does not suffice that connections have been established between numerous national sections and the leading centre, and that the political and tactical line of the communist World Party has become uniform. This is the first and most important aim. It has been attained in great measure by the work of the Executive, of its commissions, delegations, and organs of information. One of these last, the *International Press Correspondence*, has performed much useful work. This publication has given the functionaries and editors of the Communist Parties a faithful reflection of the position of the labor movement and of party life in every country; by rapidly carrying the resolutions of the Executive into the most distant parts of the world, it has contributed to making the political and tactical line of the whole Communist press of the world almost uniform to-day, and to making this uniform line that of the Communist International.

The Communist World Party must now set about the task of so moulding its inner organization that it is able to accommodate itself rapidly to the changing conditions of the international class war. In other words: the strategy of the central leadership demands mobility and flexibility of the separate parts, power of adaptation to the ground being fought on. The next and most urgent task in the development of the International consists in bringing the separate members, the national sections, into relations with one another. Preparations must be made everywhere, and the design carried out in actual practice, by which the separate Communist parties work together systematically and practically. Even to-day the limits of country and language separate the various parties from one another. The Communist of one country scarcely knows under what conditions the "foreign" comrade has to work. The reports accessible to him through the *Inprecorr*, the party press, and our periodicals, do not suffice. The international meetings held last year in Germany, against war, against the treaty of Versailles, etc., the enthusiasm with which these were greeted by the masses, prove the feeling for the necessity of mutual international work to have been thoroughly awakened in the proletariat. The sessions held in common by German and French delegates in Cologne and Essen have echoed on both sides of the frontier. The working masses—this is incontestable—want to work together, internationally and practically.

The soil is thus ideologically prepared. Every functionary of the party can appropriate a certain theoretical knowledge of the position of the labor movement and of the party movement in the various countries. The present task is to systematically organize practical mutual work.

How can this be done? The central committee of each national section must create the same mechanism as has stood

the trial of actual experience in the Moscow Executive Committee. The political bureau of the central committee of each national section must form a staff of comrades versed in languages, and these must occupy themselves with the study of the labor movement and of the party in other countries. These comrades must maintain the closest relations with the brother parties concerned; when possible, they should undertake practical work in these parties for a time, in order to get to know the conditions from their own experience. They should be set the task of sending in regular reports to the political bureau of their party on the life and development of the brother party. Unless such specialists are developed it is scarcely possible to bring about fruitful mutual work among the various sections. The next task is therefore the creation of a foreign department in the central committee of every Communist Party. Other factors important to mutual work are: alternating representation of sections in the central committees of brother sections; exchange of editors and secretaries, reciprocal cooperation of leading comrades in the leading newspapers and scientific periodicals. The work of foreign editorship should be extended. Altogether, the work of international reporting should be better and quicker. The communist press is dependent to a great extent on the news of the bourgeois telegraphic bureaus. The need of an international proletarian news agency makes itself felt more and more. The first attempts with the *Rosta* and the *Intel* have not led to the creation of such an organ. This must be begun again on a fresh basis.

Experiences gained in the course of work and struggle in the communist parties should be reciprocally exchanged, organs must be created for transmitting these experiences: the *Inprecorr* must be further developed, the organization bureaus of the national sections must work together.

An example: the manner in which the German Communists work in the trade unions, in the shop steward movement, in the guilds, tenants' unions, etc. has become a perfect matter of course to us in Germany. Our press scarcely ever mentions our tactics in these questions. But in the French section, for instance, this kind of work is just beginning. It is perfectly obvious that it would be exceedingly useful for our French comrades if they could get to know our methods, instead of groaning about for months or years, until their own mistakes, defeats, or successes have taught them precisely the same lesson as they might learn at once from our actual practice in the struggle. Even the ideas of such simple measures as the keeping of archives, or of files for the functionaries, would be of immediate use to the organization.

On the other hand, we could learn much from the French Party movement. For us in Germany it would be for instance especially useful to learn the methods of defence tested by our Italian comrades in their struggle against Fascism,—experiences which we shall perhaps be compelled to employ before long against our enemy at home.

Much fruitful work can be done if the Communists of lands with common frontiers have frequent opportunity for intimate talks, for reciprocal exchange of experiences, for establishing bases for mutual work and mutual action. In this respect very much remains to be done. Hundreds of foreign comrades have visited Germany this year. Many of them had the desire to gain a real insight into the machinery of the German labor movement. We have heard bitter complaints from many foreign comrades who found no fulcrum on which to base their observations, for the simple reason that there was nobody who had the time to concern himself about them at all. Many French comrades, active in the party and trade union movement, could at the present time spend some months in Germany, thanks to the low value of the German mark, and could devote their time to studying our labor movement and our methods of work, if only they had sufficient guarantee that our party organs would give them the possibility of doing this. The advantages to the French movement would be enormous if this were done.

The stage now reached by the international class war, and the organization of the capitalist struggle against the world proletariat on an international basis, demand in any case the immediate preparation and execution of international action. We had the opportunity of discussing these questions during the last few days with the delegates of the C.G.T.U., who were in Berlin on their way to Moscow. All these comrades: Monmousseau, Semard, Delfosse, and others, are unanimous in declaring that immediate practical measures must be taken to organize the international struggle. A miners' strike on a national basis, for instance, is almost hopeless to-day. Success can only be guaranteed by a miners' strike conducted internationally. Further: a miners' strike is dependent on the cooperation of the workers in the ore and smelting industries, and upon the transport workers. Nothing can be attained here either, without an international understanding, without working practically, hand in hand.

The International Communist Party must assume the directive and the initiative in all these questions. International meetings and occasional conferences are by no means adequate

for the organization of this international struggle. We have passed beyond the stage of mere agitation. In every country the statistical and other material must be conscientiously collected, and put at the disposal of the international commission of action being formed. This work must be organized not only by the bureaus of the Red International of Labor Unions and by the political bureaus, but by every central committee. An immense amount of material lies scattered about in the greatest disorder. Among the national sections there are but few who are able to-day to form their own picture of the world political or world economic situation at any time. Too much reliance is placed upon the work of the Executive and its organs, whilst the necessary coordination of forces between the separate parts of the International requires that this work be done by the various central committees themselves.

These are only a few indications of the problems confronting the Communists of all countries; problems which are not merely to be taken into consideration, but which must be immediately acted upon. The world congress of the Communist International is the rallying place at which the collective experiences of all countries meet together. Ways and means will certainly be found for furthering the inner development of a great International Communist Party for imparting greater elasticity and mobility, and thus enhancing the fighting powers of the party.

### Dictatorship and Economic Counter-Revolution

By Victor Serge (Kiev).

A problem which those comrades who still debate the principle of dictatorship will do well to reflect upon.—How shall we conquer counter-revolution in industry?—Our solution.

We say to the comrades, syndicalists and liberals, who still debate the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

With the bourgeoisie dethroned in a city or a country, it will be necessary for you to defend your newly-born "Communist fatherland" against external aggression, and for that, you must organize the red army for war.

It will be necessary that you repress in city and country the conspiracies of the counter-revolution, and for that you must organize your machinery of force.

It will be necessary that you organize the food supply and the functioning of public utilities, in spite of the sabotage of enemies and the misunderstanding of neutrals; and for that you must act with authority according to a plan thought out in advance.

In a word, it will be necessary, that you assure, as far as possible, the continuity of production.

And to accomplish all these tasks,—failing which your revolution would be utterly defeated—you will have to establish yourselves as an organization, governing its members by an efficient disciplined moral control, with a vested leadership (a party); this organization, consisting essentially of the industrial workers,—for the peasantry, relatively backward in development, will not play the principal part,—will exercise power dictatorially if it is not to lose power altogether.

Such is our most simple theoretical axiom, of the inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to be exercised by the best organized class group.

Let us now survey the problem too much neglected to the present day by the revolutionaries: the struggle with the economic counter-revolution.

Economic counter-revolution presents infinite dangers. The bourgeois armies may any day themselves turn against the bourgeoisie. The most highly efficient police is never more than a mechanism which the force of the workers can destroy in a few hours. But the day after the victorious insurrection, are the workers sure that they will find on their side, the technicians, the organizers, the administrators, whom it will need?

No, certainly not. The possessing class jealously keeps the poor out of its higher schools. To become an engineer many costly years of study are indispensable. The personnel most qualified to direct industry are therefore recruited exclusively from among the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. They tend by reason of their origin, class psychology, and immediate interests, towards reaction. Will the revolution be able to absorb them immediately? Nothing is more doubtful. Will not the revolution in its beginnings affect this personnel more or less adversely? Yes. Many of these brain workers enjoy considerable privileges under present society: notoriety, material comfort. The storm will break upon them, disturbing their accustomed pleasures, it will ruffle their egoism.

It happened in Russia. During the great days of October 1917, at Moscow, some students, lately Socialistic, but now petty-bourgeois, fired on the red guards from the windows

of these Russian intellectuals' houses where culture plays so great a part. Sabotage followed. And from then up till the present time, the effort of this economic counter-revolution, to undermine by underground work, the dikes erected by the Red Republic against ruin and misery, has not ceased.

For instance, a factory needs fuel. The application, addressed to the Fuel Center, remains three months in the offices, receives 30 stampings, passes from Room 12 to Room 38, is brought back to Room 17 and, is sent from there to Room 40—meanwhile the factory without coal or oil is perishing. Thus it is in the office of the specialists trained under the old regime who take a malicious delight in multiplying obstacles and in protracting the execution of matters. Understanding nothing, not desiring to understand anything of Communism, these imbeciles only think of justifying their employment by bureaucratizing the slightest job, or as conscious counter-revolutionists, of extending and prolonging their "strike".

The Nobel and the Trauber cases, the last insignificant by itself,—are two very characteristic affairs. In the first case, a large foreign capitalist succeeded in subsidizing his old technicians from Stockholm to keep the upper hand on the nationalized exploitation of petroleum, to control its production, to stop it entirely perhaps! In the second a small master optician, thanks to numerous plots and a happy coincidence of circumstances, succeeded in preventing the nationalization of his establishment, but had it restocked by the State just as if it had been really nationalized.

1921 was a fertile year for economic conspiracies. How many times valuable merchandise, purchased abroad by the Commissariat of Foreign Commerce, was stolen by those who were charged with its distribution? What intrigues, what plots, what intricate manoeuvres, there were surrounding such and such a factory, coveted by unknown personages—and they always concerned first denationalization, then concession!

The principal parts in all these affairs are played by the same characters.

Here one always finds the specialists—scholars, professors, technicians—"sympathizers", assistants of several Soviet institutions (and the best paid) belonging to the same sphere, created by the bourgeois University, known to each other, forming a sort of clique, expressing common distrust, if not actually hate, of the new order, only awaiting its disappearance.

In addition to these, there are the honest technicians, incapable of conspiracy, Communists, old revolutionaries and workers, too few in number, and often not sufficiently competent, overloaded with work and responsibility. (Comrades, have you many militants capable of directing a factory or a foundry or a high furnace?)

These intellectuals find moral and material support abroad, in capitalist countries. They bide their time, they are prudent. They live as best they can, pretend to work, and very gently organize the destruction of nationalized industry. Nothing can very well control them, nor replace them. They feel themselves masters of the situation. What armed intervention cannot do, what the heroism of the counter-revolutionaries, conspirators and soldiers, cannot accomplish, they themselves hope to do, with almost no risk, in a few years of methodic work. The terror will pass, the dictatorship will relax, the most dangerous men will pass away... and the engineers of Mr. Nobel, and this good optician, Mr. Trauber, and all the well-paid technicians, their equals, will find themselves one fine day at the head of the industry of a socialized country, reduced to their mercy by blackest misery, when the capitalist will return to revive production and recompense those who have served him with devotion.

At least, so they think, and persist in their work until the time when the Revolutionary Tribunal shall demand an accounting. In Russia, ten years will be necessary to completely reduce them to harmlessness: time to create several classes of red technicians, drawn from the revolutionary proletariat.

But the Russians are fulfilling their work, comrades, while you have not yet begun yours. And you often discuss the first principles of revolutionary action while the ancient social edifice is cracking above your heads. Have you given thought to the economic counter-revolution?

Those who serve it are perhaps the most formidable enemies of the revolution. How shall we conquer them?

How shall we make them work for the new society? This problem is one of the most pressing which the dictatorship has to decide upon. And dictatorship is the absolute preliminary condition to its solution.

For organization is necessary to defend production against this form of internal counter-revolution—an organization cemented by one thought, one will, one common discipline—of a party of producers, that is to say, of proletarians.

And it is necessary that this party, which, during the great danger of the transition period, will not have time to

employ persuasive methods, should know how to act promptly, and resolutely, with its authoritative force organized all the time so that socialized production shall overcome sabotage or counter-revolutionary undermining.

Economic counter-revolution is the idea of thousands nay, hundreds of thousands, of men comprising the majority of the educated classes. It attacks the newly born society in all its parts. It is everywhere. In order to fight against its omnipresence, the powerful unity of organization, the united plan, the one will of the Communist Dictatorship is necessary.

*Dictatorship has to be.* This is not the statement of a theorist. It is, in the light of Russian experience, a vital necessity. And the logic of the facts is such that no revolutionary party can ignore them.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The Congress of the Trade Union Opposition in Czecho-Slovakia

By J. Watcher.

From the 26. to the 29. of October a Congress of the utmost importance for the whole international proletariat was held in Prague. Since the 26 of October the schism in the Czecho-Slovakian trade unions is an accomplished fact. On one side stand the followers of the Red Labor Union International, on the firm ground of the class struggle; on the other side stand the followers of Amsterdam, in the morass of national opportunism and reformism. This state of affairs has not been brought about by the congress; the reverse is the case; this state of affairs made the congress necessary as a last attempt to bridge the schism in the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat organized in trade unions, a schism much to be regretted and most harmful in its effects on the proletariat.

A proclamation addressed by the congress to all the workers begins with the words: "The unions and groups excluded from the trade union centrals convene the all-trades-union congress of class conscious workers, for the purpose of again attempting to renew the unity of the trade union movement and the alliance of the class forces of the whole proletariat."

The sentence gives a sharp outline of the high and single aim of the congress: *restoration of unity!* This was the goal of all participants in the congress, and all were prepared to make the greatest sacrifices for the attainment of this goal. Although the Czech and German reformists of this state have proved on innumerable occasions that they would rather see the trade unions transformed into a heap of ruins than permit the trade unions to take up a revolutionary attitude in accordance with the will of the majority of the members, although such experience has deprived the class-conscious workers of all faith in the Amsterdam trade union alliance in Czecho-Slovakia, their confidential representatives applied again and again—for the last time on October 25.—to their centrals with the demand for negotiations on the terms of a re-alliance. This last attempt shared the fate of all earlier ones. Too cowardly to confess openly to the nature of their action, the central of the reformist trade union alliance enveloped the rejection of this last request in a deluge of offensive phraseology. The heads of the trade union alliance were well aware of what was at stake. They had been informed that, if this attempt should fail, the delegates from all parts of Czecho-Slovakia would definitely decide the question of the restoration of unity in the Czecho-Slovakian trade union movement at the Extraordinary All-Trades-Union Congress, without—and if necessary against those who would not even at the last moment respect the wishes of the overwhelming majority of organized workers.

If the last attempt has failed, and the schism in the Czecho-Slovakian trade unions remains for the present, the course taken by the All Trades-Union Congress has shown the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat, and the workers of the whole world, that the class-conscious workers are still willing—despite bitter experiences—to take up arms at any time, and to fight in unison with all proletarians prepared to make war on capitalism, and against want and misery. This was once more solemnly and formally declared by the congress in a resolution on the "united front", and in the proclamation to the workers of Czecho-Slovakia, already mentioned. This declaration is by no means the propagandist declaration of principles by a minority. This Extraordinary Congress showed the majority of the organized workers of Czecho-Slovakia to be already gathered around the banner of the opposition. 261 delegates, representing 318,000 members, were present at the congress. The most powerful organization is the *Chemical Union* with 75,000 members; then comes the *Agricultural Laborers' Union* with 61,000

members, and the *Building Workers' Union* with 31,000 members. Among the other-unions and groups may be mentioned: the wood workers with 18,000 members, the railwaymen with 20,000, and the metal workers with 12,000. The unions named, and a large number of smaller ones, are already standing outside of the trade union alliance. Besides these delegates, 47 other delegates were present at the congress, representing about 40,000 trade union members belonging to unions still allied to the Amsterdam trade union alliance.

After all attempts to come to an understanding with the Amsterdam fraction had proved impossible, the opposition in the Czecho-Slovakian trade union movement was compelled to create for itself a firm organization basis. In Czecho-Slovakia the trade union movement has always been much split up into factions, and the natural reaction of this fact is an extraordinarily lively conception of united organization among the masses, a wish to bring all workers and clerks standing on the common ground of class war—without differentiation of profession or nation into one organization. This idea was so predominant that, despite all objections raised, an International All-Trades-Union Alliance was created, which, though formed of industrial sections, fairly approaches the united organization in the sense of the *One Big Union*. The All-Trades-Union Alliance possesses for instance only one newspaper, the *Worker*; this has, however, technical supplements for different vocations. All are paid to a central treasury, and the committee of the All-Trades-Union Alliance possesses exclusive administrative rights, and its sanction is required before strikes are entered upon.

The principle of the united union, and of full power for its committee, was recognized by all participants in the congress. The opposition, (less than one tenth of the congress), demanded that the dues be collected by the industrial sections; the opposition was however willing to have a fair percentage paid in to the central fighting fund. The opposition further advocated the principle that as a rule the industrial sections should be under the obligation to finance their economic struggles out of their own means, and that the central fighting funds should only be drawn upon in aid of particularly weak industrial sections, or in cases where an industrial section fought not only for its own particular interests, but for demands of fundamental significance touching the collective interests of the working class. The opposition also held it to be essential that the industrial sections be granted the right of themselves choosing their officials. But just in this point the majority was not prepared to make any concession, as it considered the new arrangement to possess essential advantages as compared with the conditions hitherto obtaining.

At the congress the minority declared that they would of course loyally submit to the resolutions of the majority, but that they reserved the right of laying this question before the II. Congress of R.I.L.U. for decision; the majority was in agreement with this. Both sides declared that they would recognise the decisions of the congress without reservation. The decisions that will be reached by the congress in Moscow is of far-reaching significance for the whole International. Without intending to anticipate the decision of the congress, it may be observed that the Red Labor Union International, in its program of action, declares itself in favor of industrial organization, a view which is also expressed in the greeting written by Comrade Lozowsky.

The delegates of the oppositional unions which are not yet members of the Amsterdam Bureau have pledged themselves to formally join the All-Trade Union Alliance within a year. In the meanwhile these unions have a superstructure in common with the All-Trades-Union Alliance.

On the third day the conference of the *Chemical Union* was held. This conference declared itself unreservedly in agreement with the resolutions adopted by the All-Trade Union Congress.

The special conference of the former trade union opposition closed a chapter in the history of the Czecho-Slovakian trade union movement and a new epoch was begun, an epoch of struggle and sacrifice, but also of great promise. The class-conscious trade union members of Czecho-Slovakia are blinded by no illusions; they are well aware that they are surrounded by enemies. They are aware that they have not only to fight against the overwhelming depression of a disastrous economic crisis, but against a brutal capitalism; they are aware that the heroes of Amsterdam will continue, to take sides with the capitalists, and not with the proletariat, in great questions and in small every-day matters alike. But the Czecho-Slovakian comrades judge the situation clearly and calmly; they are today able to speak in the name of the majority of the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat, and the banner of the All-Trade Union Alliance is already surrounded by all that is class-conscious by all that is willing for sacrifice and struggle.

Despite all obstacles in the road, despite difficulties and enemies, it will be the All Trade Union Alliance which will lead the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat to battle and victory.

## The Movement of the Unemployed in Austria

By Karl Hübner (Vienna).

Disquieting increase of unemployment in Austria. — Unemployment organizations.—How the Social Democracy evades the question.

After the cessation of hostilities in 1918, a very serious unemployment crisis made itself heavily felt in Austria; it was not however of long duration. The depreciation of money immediately resulted in increased purchases by foreigners. This situation lasted until 1922.

The ration subsidies distributed by the State allowed the employers at first to pay better wages than was the general standard in the world market, and constituted an indirect premium on exportation for Austrian industry, which as a result realized even greater profits than the fabulous profits of the war.

The problem of stabilizing the financial situation remained unsolved. The deficits in the budget increased continually however, because of the uninterrupted depreciation of the crown. The help of the Entente, promised for so long a time, was made conditional upon a radical change in the fiscal policy of the Austrian government; The suppression of the subsidies of rations was especially considered. This menace, coincident with a new rise in the price of bread, stirred up such an agitation among the workers that the government knew that it would be impossible to agree to the suggestions of the Entente.

Faithful to its pledges taken at the time of the formation of the Republic, the Social-Democratic Party came to the help of the government: it advised the workers to accept the financial program worked out by Mr. Otto Bauer, a program which among other "reforms" recommended a tax on wages and the discontinuance of the ration subsidy. This new policy was to have as its results the stabilization of the crown and the stoppage of the note issue by the banks. It was to put an end to the decrease of the purchasing power of wages.

But, as the Austrian Communist Party had foreseen, these beautiful promises were not realized, and the famous financial program of the Social-Democrats opened the way to the worst exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie: prices of products of State monopolies were increased enormously, and transport and postal rates took on huge proportions, as soon as the ration subsidies were abolished and the wage tax introduced. These measures which were engineered by the bourgeoisie of the cities, and the agrarians, aggravated the misery of the working-class. They have moreover accomplished none of their aims: the circulation of bank currency soon reached the fabulous sum of one and a half billion crowns, and in spite of the system of a sliding scale of wages, the purchasing power of wages constantly decreased.

From now on the number of the unemployed is growing. Although the employers only had to bear a small fraction of the ration subsidies, they exploited this pretext in order to increase selling prices, just as they claimed the necessity for preserving their ability to compete as a reason for undertaking an offensive against the hard-wrung social conquests of the proletariat,—the eight hour day, etc.

Last February great wage conflicts took place in the textile and metallurgical industries. Repudiating the collective contract, the employers in the metal industries succeeded in obtaining a decrease of wages amounting to 50% of the official index. By wholesale discharges, they aggravated the existing unemployment, thus obliging the workers to accept the new working conditions. In addition to this, on account of the fall of the mark, the technical superiority of German industry made itself felt to the detriment of Austrian industry, already strongly on the decline.

In Vienna, the number of unemployed, according to the official figures, sprang in one bound from 19,618 in December 1921 to 24,478 in mid-January 1922. The amount of unemployment in the capital reached that of the whole of Austria on December 31, 1921.

In April, last, the unemployed numbered 62,082, an increase of 88.79% on the total for the whole of Austria on December 31, 1921. In the course of the following months the number of unemployed decreased considerably—36,789 on July 1st,—but since September it has again risen.

The problem of unemployment in Austria, already serious in itself is complicated by the fact that the man out of work has no other resources than a tiny dole distributed by the State. Misery is so extensive that even while working regularly, the workers are reduced to great want as regards food, clothing, and culture. When one takes into account these miserable conditions among the working proletariat, it is evident that in spite of their best will, the unions are in no position to render efficient aid to their

members. Last January, the State allotted to the unemployed a weekly allowance of 5,040 crowns, when at least double that amount was indispensable for even the most primitive necessities of existence. Since then, the weekly allotment has been made 45,000 crowns for married men, but the purchasing power of this dole has again diminished by half.

Obedying the order of the Social Democratic Party, the unions subordinated the wage policy to the financial program of the S.D. Party and did not regard it their duty to energetically defend the claims of the unemployed. The latter, now only able to count upon themselves, formed in every branch of industry, committees of the unemployed. A Central Committee was formed, which drew up their demands: from the government they demanded bread and work, from the unions, they demanded recognition for the committees of the unemployed, the abolition of nepotism, the control of employment bureaus. The Central Committee of the Unemployed is recognized by the Social Democrats, its out-of-work delegates, are admitted to all the meetings of the shop-delegates and factory councils. They have thus achieved a first success.

On the occasion of a great public demonstration on the 14th of February last, a big program of emergency work was sent to the government; it demanded a vote of credits for the construction of workers' dwellings, obligatory distribution of work, and the improvement of unemployment insurance. The results were far from what had been hoped for; some gifts of coal, some food packages, and an absurd increase in the maintenance allowances. However, after a new and powerful unemployed demonstration, the government agreed to a credit of 55 billion crowns for the carrying out of emergency work. In agreement with the delegates of the Social Democrats, the Central Committee of the Unemployed has drawn up a legal measure which provides for the separation of unemployment insurance from insurance against sickness, the adoption of the minimum wage as a basis of the insurance and the automatic increase of the dole in accordance with the official index. This project was presented to Parliament by the Social Democrats; but well knowing that without the pressure of the entire proletariat their projects risked being continually postponed and even rejected entirely, the Central Committee of the Unemployed resigned, after having made known the motives of this decision.

From the strictly parliamentary point of view, it may be said that the Social Democrats could have realized all the essential claims of the unemployed. By a firm and obstinate attitude, they could have compelled the government and the bourgeois parties to yield. But the Social Democrats have proved that they do not intend to use even democratic reformist possibilities in order to help the starving proletariat. Thus the unemployed must again be content with a tiny increase in the doles, an increase which will be repeated a few weeks later, when, exasperated by the increasing prices of food-stuffs, the unemployed will elect a new Central Committee.

On August 22, after an imposing demonstration, the unemployed renewed their old claims and demanded from the government a decisive answer the next day. This answer was not only in the negative but provocative in its form. The unemployed replied with an even more tremendous demonstration than the preceding ones, which ended in police charges; five demonstrators were wounded, two seriously. Fearing complications, the government agreed to what it had up to now refused: supplementary doles, and a new increase in the regular allowances. In a manifesto, the Social Democrats made a formal promise that at the next Parliamentary debate, the question would be definitely thrashed out. Quite recently, this promise has ended in . . . a new and insignificant increase in the allowances.

As yet one can predict nothing as to the ultimate development of the unemployed movement in Austria. It is probable that unemployment will be intensified by reason of the financial crisis provoked by the catastrophic depreciation of the crown as well as by the failure of the recent fair in Vienna.

Unemployment is an international question; but in Austria, on account of the enormous growth of working-class pauperism, it assumes a definite character. A mere Austrian solution has become impossible. An international solution alone can solve, this world-wide problem.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Terror in Roumania

By A. Badulescu (Budapest).

The royal coronation in Roumania was accompanied by a new wave of the most cruel terror, throughout the country. For the "safety of His Majesty's life" permitted all sorts of "measures of security" to be taken. These "measures for

securing public order" were of such a nature that even a bourgeois journalist declared; not even in Tsarist Russia were such measures adopted; no Tsarist government would have ventured to throw away 700 million lei for a coronation. How much of this was spent for the "Police and Siguranza" (political police) will probably only come to light after the proletarian revolution.

The famous measures were directed above all against every element which appeared to be opposed to the coronation. As is always the case, the majority of those persecuted belonged to the proletariat. Exile and arrest were the order of the day. Workmen, officials, even bourgeois citizens of other nationalities were dragged out of their dwellings or places of work, taken to the police station, and then conducted directly to the frontier. Bourgeois papers speak of more than 10,000 expulsions from the country. *Argus*, the bourgeois industrial organ, reports that as a result of these banishments the greater part of the Transylvanian industry was thrown into stagnation. It is difficult to say how many of the banished belonged to the labor movement, as we know neither the number of the arrested nor of those banished. We only know that *Turzo* of Transylvania and *Graf* of Bessarabia are among the active comrades who have been expelled from the country. *Turzo* was arrested in May 1921 and released on amnesty in June 1922; *Graf* was released on amnesty after three years of hard labor.

The arrests were discussed in the ministerial council—long before the coronation.

The restoration of the Communist organizations, the sympathy of the masses for our party—these are stumbling blocks for the present government, which also has to fight against a large part of the village bourgeoisie, and against the new provinces. The minister for home affairs, *Vaitoinu*, demanded as a preliminary measure, the immediate arrest of masses of communists, but this was not agreed to at once by his colleagues among the ministers.

A number of youthful comrades were arrested. Thus in Ploesti alone comrades *Florescu*, *Vlad*, *Nae*, *Georgescu*, and *Nivolescu*. In Galatz the women comrades *Piga* and *Jenni*. In Kischeff the women Comrade *Sara* and comrade *Sternberg*. In Bucharest comrades *Seai*, *Mooscu*, and *Pleasa*.

In Alba-Julia (Karlsburg) comrade *Ciubrudeanu* and 13 other comrades were arrested on the evening of the coronation, October 14th. They were not released again until after the coronation—on October 16th.

The government is testing the strength of the workers' organizations by these persecutions and arrests. All protest meetings and demonstrations convened by the Communist Party are prohibited. The general council of the trade unions—the sole organization able to convene protest meetings—consists mostly of Social Democrats, who sabotage every attempt at fighting. The government knows how to express its thanks to the Social Democrats for this sabotage. Thus for instance in Cluj (Klausenburg), where the government has kept 25 workmen under arrest for four weeks because they claimed the Communist Party in a meeting convened by the Social Democrats.

The terror assumes still other forms; for instance: 15 metal workers, sentenced during the general strike and afterwards freed under the amnesty, are still kept under arrest and cruelly ill-treated.

In Craiova and Barlad all meeting houses of the party have been closed by the police.

A number of excellent comrades are still kept in the salt mines of Doftana, among them *Bujor*, *Soici*, *Enciu*, *Atanasoff* and others. All the prisoners are so weak and ill that they need hospital care. But even in the hospital they suffer unspeakably. Food and treatment are not better than in prison. For sending a letter to his parents by a prisoner released on amnesty, comrade *Jushka* was imprisoned in a dark cell, chained hand and foot, without bed, without rug, on bare cement, and punished by the impositions of three days of fasting weekly. The wrist chain weighs 8 kgs, the ankle chain 12 kgs.

5 to 7 kgs of wood are shared out in winter for a room in which 100 to 140 prisoners are imprisoned. The private clothing of the prisoners is "kept", that is: stolen.

Another comrade, *Bujor*, is ill with tuberculosis. Comrade *Atanasoff* is also weakened and seriously ill.

Roumania threw off the last guise of democracy. In other times it was the custom to grant a military amnesty on occasions of royal weddings and coronations. On this occasion even this was omitted. The bestiality of the Roumanian bourgeoisie is so great that 11,000 soldiers, who during the war were surrounded by the enemy and obliged to surrender, and who

have been in preventive arrest for four years, are now being tried as "deserters".

The insolence of the dominating class, the Roumanian Boyars, is beyond all comparison. On the occasion of his coronation the "affable" king did really perform a "gracious act". He "reduced" the penalty of those condemned to penal servitude for life—to 30 years. No-one survives ten years in the salt mines, let alone 30 years. Those condemned for "plotting against the state" cannot even "rejoice" in this gracious pardon.

And "public opinion" is silent! The Social Democrats are mute.

## APPEALS

### A Manifesto of the Red Sport International

What we want. — How the bourgeoisie uses and misuses sport. Proletarian sport.

*The Red Sport International addresses an appeal to the workers of all countries in which it warns the proletariat and its youth against the pretended neutrality of the bourgeois athletic and cultural associations, which constitute a serious danger to the working class.*

To the Workers of All Countries!

In the bourgeois sport movement, conducted politically and financially by the ruling class, the avowed enemy of the working class, the aim is to give the workers a nationalist education; it works systematically to imbue the proletarian youth with an ideology which will prepare them to fight against their own class. Physical education degenerates into a scramble for records and medals, which helps to smother in the heart of our youth that idea of solidarity, so indispensable to the working class struggle.

Healthy gymnastics, wholesome sport, real physical education are more and more debased by the perverted uses to which sport is put by the bourgeoisie:— professional sport, cupidly for profits, vanity, the desire to distinguish oneself at all costs,— all emanations of the bourgeois code, which always places the individual above group interests. Thus the proletarian members of these organizations become under the guidance of their directors, docile instruments of the master class. The capitalists accomplish their principal aim, of side-tracking the workers who are lovers of sport from political and economic struggles.

The Red Sport International is undertaking to counteract these dangers energetically. Its efforts will direct themselves towards the creation in all countries of athletic and cultural organizations of a strictly proletarian character. It proposes to give its members not only a physical and moral education entirely proletarian in spirit but also to create active fighters in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class; it furthermore desires to imbue its members with a truly international spirit; in a word, to place gymnastics and sports at the service of the class struggle.

The International of Lucerne (II International) likewise declares itself for such a purpose, and calls itself an International of the working-class. But the truth has been proven that it presupposes the conciliation of classes and the cooperation of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie. It still harbors all the antagonisms of the conquered and conquering imperialisms disputing over the booty of the war.

Men and women workers! Sportsmen and sports women of the working class!

Leave the bourgeois sport organizations! Rally around the banner of the class-struggle and international solidarity!

The Red Sport International invites you to support with your best efforts all the athletic organizations fostering the class-struggle, and to energetically oppose the athletic and cultural movement of the bourgeoisie.

It is a question of making workers' athletic and cultural organizations recruiting centers of the revolutionary proletariat. Not one move for the capitalist fatherland! All for the proletariat!

Long live physical culture, and revolutionary intellectual culture!

Long live the Red Sport International!

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## Comrade Lenin's Letter to the Congress

1. To Comrade Zinoviev, Petrograd, for the IV. World Congress of the Communist International.
2. To the Petrograd Soviets, the delegates of the Workers, Peasants and Red Soldiers.

I exceedingly regret that I cannot be present at the first session of the Congress and that I can only greet you by letter. In spite of the enormous difficulties in the way of the various Communist Parties, the Communist International is growing and is becoming ever stronger. The chief task consists, as hitherto, in winning the majority of the workers. And we will fulfill this task in spite of everything.

The fusion of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals has brought great advantage for the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Fewer illusions and less deception,—and this is always favourable for the working class.

To the Petrograd workers and their newly elected Soviets who are now receiving the IV. Congress of the Communist Inter-

national in their city I send my best wishes and warmest greetings. The Petrograd proletariat will also be one of the first on the economic front.

We have heard with joy of the commencement of the economic rebirth of Petrograd.

In reply to your invitation to come to Petrograd, let me say that I hope to come to you in the very near future.

The Soviet Power is celebrating its fifth anniversary in Russia. It stands firmer now than ever before. The civil war is ended. The first economic successes are already in sight. Soviet Russia is highly proud of being able to help the workers of the whole world in their hard struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The victory will be ours!

Long live the Communist International!

November 4th, 1922.

Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin.

## The Anniversary Celebration in Moscow

(Radio to Inprekorr.)

Moscow, Nov. 7.

At nine o'clock on a beautiful autumn morning, the delegates arrived in Moscow, coming from Petersburg. The city is richly flagged, the houses festively decorated. The streets are filled with soldiers of the Red Army, columns of armed proletarians, and processions of demonstrating workers. At eleven o'clock there was an army review in the Red Square, where Comrade Trotsky addressed a speech to the army, the workers, and the participants in the Congress.

On this anniversary of the Soviet Republic it is with Germany alone that the republic holds normal relations. All the other great powers have not yet recognized the Soviet government *de jure*. But the working class of all countries recognizes and fraternally supports the Soviet power. The bourgeois powers are holding back their recognition, for they still hope that even in Russia capitalism will return. But they wait in vain. Soviet Russia will hold out, and patiently await the development of the world revolution. The Russian workers, the army, and the peasantry, are united, and work in common for the realization of Socialism.

Soviet Russia's readiness for peace is proved by the disarmament conference held with the neighboring states. Russia wants peace; it is prepared to reduce its red army to one half, indeed to a tenth. Lloyd George declared that he would look quietly on and see who would

be taken on board the vessel named the "League of Nations". He has looked quietly on until he himself has gone overboard and fallen into the water. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, still stands firmly. The proof is thus established, that the Soviet power is no mere episode, but an historical fact.

Comrade Trotsky then greeted the IV. World Congress in the name of the Soviet Republic, the Red Army, and the Red Fleet.

The conclusion of Trotsky's speech was the signal for a tremendous storm of applause. The *International* was then played by eleven bands, and the great square re-echoed under the mighty tones of the international war song.

During this part of the demonstration not only the masses of the participants in the celebration bared their heads, but also the representatives of the diplomatic corps who were present.

Short addresses were then given by *Henriett* (France), *Kolaroff* (Bulgaria), and *Katayama* (Japan).

This was followed by the march past of the Red Army and of the armed workers' columns. The workers of Moscow followed these, marching past in two broad columns, and bearing with them thousands of standards and flags. Many successful caricatures and symbolic models were carried in these mighty processions.

Revolutionary songs resounded during the whole procession. Enthusiastic cheers were given before the tribunes of the