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Vandervelde, Martov, Tchernov and Co.

The Social Revolutionary trial brought about a peculiar rearrangement of forces. It led to a united front between the Second International and the Vienna International Workers' Cooperative and brought the Russian counter-revolutionary parties together with one another, as well as with the Second Internationals and the 2½.

Day in and day out, the S.R. Party importunes the soft heart of the Second International with entreaties and wails of woe. The flood of telegraphic tears has even moved Vandervelde to leave the splendor of the Royal Palace in Brussels for unpolished Moscow. The friendly opinions that these gentlemen entertained of one another not so long ago should not be forgotten. One is dazzled; indeed, one must gape in bewilderment when one thinks of the way in which the S.R. Press wrote about the International, as late as the year of our Lord 1921.

Following are a few excerpts from the S.R. organ, "Revolionnaya Rossiya". They show in a striking manner that a short while ago the S.R. Party was not playing turtle-dove with the Second International:—

"Already during the war, the International was morally dead. The cynically naive argument of Hervé—"at the outbreak of the war, all of us fell from the clouds down to earth and everyone of us fell upon the soil of his own fatherland"—could have very easily been repeated by the majority of the leaders of the Socialist Parties.

"During the war one became accustomed to the policy of national unity and even after the war the leaders of the Second International continued to pursue this policy which today assumes the traitorous form of Coalition at any Price."

"Scheidemann in Germany, Vandervelde in Belgium, and Branting in Sweden obstinately continued with this policy, which signifies the division of the working class, lowers one part of the proletariat to the role of beast of burden for the bourgeoisie and drives the other part into the arms of Anarchism."

"The Second International is dead forever... The Right Wing of the Social Democratic parties is unmistakably approaching Social Reformism, openly pursues counter-revolutionary tendencies and approaches nearer and nearer towards the Left Wing of the bourgeoisie. The quicker the International undergoes this evolution the better, for it is more desirable that it becomes a good bourgeois-democratic-reformist party than a bad Socialist one".

Who do you think wrote these words on the Second International? The very same Victor Tchernov who is now flooding the "morally dead" Second International with tears beseeching it for aid. Who was it that wrote on Vandervelde in this tone? It was the same Victor Tchernov, whose party comrades Vandervelde now defends. But was this perhaps Tchernov's own private opinion and has his party perhaps renounced this too destructive criticism of the Second International? Not at all! On the contrary, the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party had decided to quit the Second International, 'because the Second International is pursuing a policy, as if nothing had happened since those fatal days of August 1914'. And at the time when the Genoa Conference is meeting, the

Second International pursues the same policy that was powerless in preventing the world war and that proved a complete failure in those "dark hours of world history". The same S.R. Party that pointed out all these facts, is now the *protégé* of the "morally dead", "bankruptcy-stricken" Second International. Yes, because it is double-faced!

The above words might actually lead one to conclude that the S.R. Party is really revolutionary, really Socialist really an enemy of the cooperation of the classes, an enemy of coalition, and that it actually accepts the class struggle as a basis. And if this should prove true, why then should it be condemned? For the simple reason that these statements, these words, reveal only one side, one of the faces of the Social Revolutionary Party. For it was the same party, which during the various stages of the Russian Revolution participated in every coalition. This is the *other face* of the S.R. Party. But which is the real one? Is it the one which bombards Vandervelde with epithets, and thunders against coalition or is it the one that enters into a coalition even with Koltchak? Is it the one that proclaims the class struggle, or that which attacks the revolution with French money and bayonets, and with the aid of English and German bourgeois statesmen and generals?

"The successes of the S.R. Party", writes Victor Martov, "no matter how great and magnificent they may appear, had only one effect, namely, that of retarding the progress of the self-conscious working class, in that these successes led to the neglect of the important task of mass-organization and led to the use of adventurous methods of struggle."

These words were written by Martov in Compere-Morelle's "Encyclopédie Socialiste" and he was irresistibly impelled to add that "considered from this point of view, the activity of the S.R. Party is detrimental". In his report to the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party, in 1920, the same Martov bitterly complains of the S.R. Party, accusing it of double-facedness and of pursuing an hypocritical policy.

Martov, the leader of the Mensheviks, was the one who wrote these words about Tchernov and the S.R. Party. And now? Now Victor Martov is their guardian angel. Now he is camping under the same tent with those who had allied themselves with Milioukov upon French orders, and *who had based their political plans upon a new intervention*. Now which is Martov's real face? Which are his real convictions? At what time was he sincere? Was it at the time when he attacked the S.R., or now when he acts as its protective saint?

In this great international *potpourri*, everyone is playing a double role. The 2½ International now furnishes the S.R. with a defender, although up to the present it has not yet accepted the Social Revolutionary Party into its organization, in spite of the fact that Tchernov and his friends have knocked at its door more than once.

Adler also refused to shoulder the responsibility for the participation of the S.R. Party journalists at the Berlin Conference of the three Internationals. He left this honor to Vandervelde and the Second International. And in fact, Vandervelde took Tchernov and Co. under his wings. Think of it! the same Tchernov and that party which parted from the Second

International with none too complimentary words. Adler considered the S.R. Party unworthy of becoming part of the lukewarm International 2½; nor was he willing to shoulder responsibility for it. But the S.R. was good enough to be taken under his protection as against the Soviet Power. For we must not forget that Mr. Adler also has a Janus-face at this trial. And which is his real face?

This double play exposes the defendant S.R. Party wherever one stops to investigate. When *Volodarsky* was killed by the S.R. *Sergeyev* and *Lenin* was wounded by the hysterical terrorist, *Kaplan*, that fraction of the S.R. Party that made Soviet territory the field of its activities, declared that it had nothing to do with these terrorist acts. At the same time, however, these murderers were celebrated as "heroes" by the Central Organ of the S.R.'s in Samara, where the S.R. Party was at that time still in power. That S.R. sheet was insane with joy over the report that *Lenin* was at death's door.

"The Bolshevik regime has received a hard blow", rejoiced the *Volia i Zembia*. "Lenin was wounded. The damned president of the Council of People's Commissars has for a time, perhaps forever, left their ranks. . . . This blow struck the Soviet power in a vital spot. Without Lenin, the Soviets are helpless; without Lenin, they are cowardly and stupid. This deed is a work of democratic circles."

Under the label "democratic circles", the S.R. mean themselves. In short, the whole gang, from *Vandervelde* to *Adler*, from *Tchernov* to *Adler*, appear at this trial double-faced. Now they are all in one camp. However, these companions in arms look at each other only with contempt and disgust. Just now they are in one camp and they simulate comradeship before one another and before the European proletariat. A common hatred has united them. They met and joined in one idea of hatred against the party of revolutionary action, and against the International of revolutionary action for theirs is a deep and infinite hatred of the revolution of the Russian workers and poor peasants.

This is the only and real reason for their alliance. This is the seed from which grew the bitter fruit of this deplorable companionship-in-arms. And this delicate *motif* offers an explanation for this sudden mutual protection as if they really represented a great and good cause.

POLITICS

Japan and the Shantung Agreement.

by S. Slepach (Moscow).

The Shantung question, which aroused a wide social movement for the immediate evacuation of Shantung by Japan, was finally decided at the Washington conference under the "benevolent" assistance of England and America in a manner favorable to Japan.

The Japanese imperialists signed the agreement which stipulated their withdrawal from Shantung and remained true to their piratical maxim, "steal what can be stolen and hold what you have stolen". Japan, who had considered the question of handing back the Kiaou-Chow-Tsinan Railway to China as of prime importance "agreed" after repeated "remonstrations" on the part of England and America to hand over the said railway to China. By this "sacrifice" it distracted the attention of the Chinese delegation and set up such conditions in the negotiations over the other clauses of the agreement that the whole Shantung agreement was converted into a scrap of paper.

After handing back of the Shantung Railway to China Japan demanded that she should nominate its traffic manager, which in fact gives Japan full control over everything that is transported in the province and enables her to introduce into Shantung under the designation of merchandise, opium and arms for the *Tu-Chuns* who are fighting against each other; in one word that she have full control over the railway and the whole province. (Japan is attempting to make the same experiment with the Kiaou-Chow-Tsinan Railway as she did with success in the South Manchurian Railways, which in the beginning was controlled "jointly" by Japan and China, but later on was converted into a purely Japanese undertaking.)

Thus Japan formulated the first paragraph of the Shantung agreement according to which she formally agreed to give back to China the stolen Kiaou-Chow Railway for the sum of approximately \$12,000,000 and compensation for the amount expended by her in repairing the railway.

By the second clause Japan agrees to give back to China all the public property, that is to say, the Shantung state buildings be they of German origin or built later by Japan. In the latter case China must compensate Japan for all the expenses incurred by her.

Honestly following the maxim of the militarists: "What is mine is mine and what is yours is also mine" the Japanese robbers commenced at the beginning of February just at the time when the agreement was signed at Washington to sell the public property of Shantung to Japanese citizens and to urge them to hasten to send in their applications for the purchase of land up till the 25th February as otherwise it would be too late.

One must suppose that the results have been good and that the rapacious Japanese by urging their citizens to purchase the so-called common land assured themselves of a firm territorial basis in order gradually to get economic control of the Shantung province.

Japan also took advantage of the 9th clause (I am taking the most characteristic items of the agreement) according to which China is compelled to restore to the Japanese Salt Corporations on the return of the salt works all the capital expended by them. Japan began to set up fictitious salt corporations which possessed nothing but a name plate; the number of these "Corporations" reached 33% of the total number of the Salt corporations in Shantung; by means of this swindle the Japanese militarists are postponing the time of handing back the Shantung state property to China in view of the latter's difficult financial position.

According to Clause 3 of the agreement Japan declares her readiness to withdraw her troops from the Shantung Railway in the shortest time, i. e. as soon as the Chinese police can take over the protection of the railway. The French press which so volubly commended the "generosity" of the Japanese Samurai, these worthy confederations of French imperialism in the Far East, rejoiced the world by a telegram from Bordeaux on May 3rd stating that the handing back of the Shantung Railway to the Chinese administration was completed on April 30th. How can this "generous" action on the part of Japan be explained.

The fact of the matter is, that the Chinese Government according to the Shantung agreement takes over the responsibility for the protection of the railway, but it is at the same time compelled to leave to Japan the control over Tsingtau which exactly satisfies the Japanese Samurai who are so clever and skilful in their methods of occupation. Tsingtau has become a centre for adventurers, murderers and thieves of various calibres since its occupation by the Japanese. There Generals Ma-Lan, Chau-shu-jan and other Anfu men, faithful executioners of the will of the Japanese militarists in China, have sought refuge under the protection of the Japanese. Tsingtau has since then become the central point of various intrigues, conspiracies and instigations of rebellion in China. (What a wonderful coincidence of the occupation methods of Japan in Tsingtau and in the Russian Far East!) Under these circumstances the Chinese government will not be able to fulfil its obligation to protect the Shantung Railway in an adequate manner. One only needs to recollect the machinations of the Japanese militarists in the Russian coast provinces.

The 7th clause provides for the "joint" exploitation of the Shantung mines under the supervision of the Chinese government with equal participation by Chinese and Japanese capital. That this formal collaboration of Japanese and Chinese capital will lead to the actual control of the Shantung mines by Japanese capital is clearly evidenced by the greater strength of Japanese capital compared with that of China as well as by the annexationist policy of Japan.

Thus the Japanese imperialists who on the one hand have been forced by the wide social movement in China in connection with the Washington Conference, and on the other hand by the necessity of steering a middle course between their own piratical greed and the greed of other imperialists in the Far East, to make some formal concessions to China, have in reality at Washington only altered their methods of annexation in order to keep actual hold of the Shantung province.

The national Chinese bourgeoisie now stands after the Washington conference with empty hands as was the case after the Versailles Treaty. It has no power to resist the pressure of English, American and Japanese imperialism. Only the working masses of China who in recent times have begun to play a remarkable part in the national struggle for the emancipation of China from the foreign yoke, to put an end to the actions of the foreign capitalists, especially to these deeds of robbery by the Japanese imperialists in China.

ECONOMICS

The International Coal Crisis. A Symptom of the Collapse of Capitalist Production.

By *Gustav Sobotta* (Berlin).

The question whether capitalist world economy has or has not overcome the crisis engendered by the war, is one of extreme importance for revolutionary parties and organizations. The state of affairs revealed in the world's coal production, one of the most important raw materials of capitalist economy, is of course only a part of the phenomena of capitalist production. But here also it is plainly apparent that as yet there can be no talk of having overcome the crisis. The world's coal production shows rather that the crisis is becoming more acute. During the war when, particularly in America, there took place an enormous increase of productive apparatus, there was also to be seen up to the year 1919 an increase in coal production. In 1919 the coal output of the United States amounted to 502,534,410 tons. After the cessation of war business, coal production fell in 1920 to 386,000,000 tons. Although in 1921 an increase of about 62,600,000 tons took place it only brought the output up to 448,600,000 tons and remained about 63,934,410 tons below that of 1919.

In the remaining coal producing countries coal production between 1919 and 1920 showed an increase. In 1921 there followed a reduction in all countries with the exception of Germany, as the following figures (taken from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*) show: —

	1919	1920	1921
Belgium	18,342,950	22,338,770	21,807,160
Canada	12,411,328	15,088,175	13,300,000
France	22,341,000	25,300,000	20,000,000
England	233,467,478	233,216,071	166,992,000
Germany	116,500,000	140,757,433	145,400,000
Germany (Peat Coal)	93,800,000	111,834,000	120,000,000

The greatest decline took place in England where in 1921 the great coal strike took place. But after making allowance for this deficiency which, according to the *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung* amounts in round figures to 52,000,000 tons, the production still remains considerably below that of 1920. As for attaining the pre-war level of production which in England amounted in 1913 to 285,000,000 tons, that is not to be thought of.

The decline in Belgium and France is worthy of notice. In these countries where the mines were in part destroyed by the war and deprived of part of their skilled workers, so that at first after the war in 1919 the restoration of the mines had to be undertaken, the increase shown in the year 1920 compared with the year 1919 is of course quite natural. With the restoration of the mines an increase in the coal output naturally took place. As we see, this is no longer the case in 1921. The coal production instead of increasing has declined in both countries. In France it is very considerable, amounting to about 20%. Here it is evident that other than natural forces are at work which hinder the restoration of the mines and consequently the production of coal.

Things are otherwise in Germany. Here during the war the mines were exploited in an incredible manner. Development work and the opening up of new coal fields were completely neglected. It was therefore to be expected that after the war in 1919 there should be an enormous fall in coal production in comparison with the preceding years. In 1920 however we observe an increase of 24,257,430 tons and immediately after in 1921 a further increase of 4,642,557 tons. The great increase in 1920 was partly due to the introduction of overtime which took place by agreement in 1920 in the greatest German coal field, the Ruhr. In spite of the discontinuance of overtime in 1921, coal production showed no decline, but even increased. The output of peat coal and the manufacture of briquettes has already surpassed the pre-war figures.

The increase of coal production in Germany however cannot be taken as a sign of recovery on the part of Germany as it is only possible because of the low wages of the German miners and the low value of the German currency which allows the German capitalists to export great quantities of coal. On the other hand the carrying out of the Versailles treaty and the Spa agreement has also resulted in a greater coal pro-

duction in Germany, and as we can clearly see has at the same time led to a decline in Belgium and France.

With regard to the question whether capitalist world economy is recovering or is still further sinking, we have to take into consideration the whole world's coal production. According to the figures of the United States Geological Survey the world's coal production amounted in 1919 to 1,170,500,000 tons; in 1920 to 1,305,000,000 tons and in 1921 to 1,100,000,000 tons. According to this therefore the coal production shows a decline of 205 million tons in 1921 as against 1920. Even compared with 1919 it shows a fall of 70,500,000 tons.

All indications point to the fact that these contradictions are becoming more acute. In England the number of unemployed miners increased at the beginning of 1922. With regard to Northern France, the *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung* reports that it is intended to put the miners on short time. From the Saar district now occupied by the French it is reported that the Government Commission intends to discharge 2,800 miners. If this should not be carried out the miners in the Saar District will have to accept reductions of wages and short time. The Belgian mine operators are also announcing wage reductions and the Belgian miners stated at their convention in Brussels at the end of March that they are powerless against the despotic action of the capitalists. The latter would not hesitate to close down their mines as German reparation and competitive coal enables them to do this.

The case is the same in Holland. The Dutch miners are equally powerless in the face of these conditions. At their general meeting held on April 16th and 17th at Haarlem a resolution was adopted, laying the blame for the crisis in the mining industry on the Versailles and Spa Treaties.

These facts show conclusively and with striking clearness that a further decline of coal production will take place in these countries. In America also where the miners have been on strike since April 1st no further increase in coal production can be expected.

In Germany however we can already report a considerable increase in the coal output this year as well. According to the figures at present to hand the production of coal in the first quarter of the present year amounted to 37,039,861 tons. Peat coal to 33,379,874 tons, coke 7,182,772 tons and coal briquettes to 518,554 tons. In spite of this increase in the first quarter and in spite of the fact that the output per head and per shift by the miners has already reached the pre-war standard the German capitalists are making the greatest efforts to increase the coal production still further. By means of the sinking purchasing power of the German mark they have reduced wages to about a one-third of the actual pre-war standard. Now they are attempting to prolong the working day by overtime or longer shifts. These conditions provide a further possibility of producing cheaper coal than that of the neighboring countries. The more cheaply produced German coal which is exported to France Belgium or Holland by way of reparations or through ordinary trade allows the capitalists of these countries to reduce wages and exploit the miners still more. Here we clearly see how the Spa agreement by which Germany was compelled to deliver coal to the Entente has only led to the greater exploitation of the miners. Its annulment would not, as the Belgian Social Democrat Vandervelde states, be of service to Stinnes but to the miners of the whole world.

Nowhere do we see more clearly than in the mining industry the efforts of capitalist society to overcome the crisis by increased exploitation of the proletariat. Whether the capitalists will succeed in this depends entirely upon the proletariat itself. The miners of all countries must above all see to it through their organizations that the International Miners' Congress which will meet at the beginning of August in Frankfurt does not silently pass over these facts but deliberates upon them and devises ways and means of safeguarding from slavery not only the mining but the whole proletariat.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Church Treasures for the Starving.

by *W. Turovski* (Moscow).

In various parts of Russia (on the Volga, Crimea and the Ukraine) famine is raging further. The relief activities of Hoover, Nansen and the International Workers Committee and

of the Soviet Government have succeeded in feeding at most 40% of the starving. If the foreign countries do not send the necessary grain to save the remaining 60%, millions upon millions of people are hopelessly doomed to death.

The capitalist states have money for the construction of submarines, for the manufacture of poison gas, for munitions and big armies, but they have nothing for the starving workers of Russia. The Soviet Government has done its utmost to aid the desperate population. Up to now it has expended 170,000,000 gold roubles for the purchase of corn from abroad. But the Russian gold reserves are very small. The Czecho-Slovaks and Koltchak seized a large part of them in Kazan in 1918. 120,000,000 gold roubles were delivered to Germany after the peace of Brest-Litovsk and were subsequently seized by France. The remaining Russian gold reserves can of course only be spent with the greatest caution.

But where can the money necessary to rescue the starving be obtained?

For a long time the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets received resolutions from all parts of the country, which had been passed in factories, schools, barracks and villages, demanding the confiscation of the church treasures on behalf of the starving. The delegates from the Volga also made these demands. The representatives of the clergy, for instance the Archbishop of Petrograd, Anton, offered the treasures of their sanctuaries.

The Soviet Government has separated Church and State and is not interfering with church affairs. Up to now the, in part, very considerable riches of the Church have remained untouched in spite of the great misery in Russia, and have been respected by a revolution which does not desire to oppress the religious. Now, however, where cases of cannibalism in the famine areas are more frequently coming to light, it is no longer possible to spare them. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets decided in the middle of March, in accordance with the wishes of the workers and peasants to confiscate the treasures of the churches, synagogues and mosques, etc., on behalf of the starving. The Moscow Soviet unanimously approved of this decision. Requisition Committees were formed. In these Committees were represented, members of the clergy, representatives of the Soviets and representatives of the congregations. At the end of March the Committees began their work throughout Russia.

In order to understand the work which had to be performed, one must for a moment recollect the role which the Russian Church played during the time of the Czars. The Church was without exaggerations one of the pillars of autocracy. Even in the most deserted districts churches were built as it was perfectly well known what profit could be derived from them. Under Czarism there were churches and prisons in the smallest villages. On the other hand, schools were lacking. The former rulers of Russia had no need for these. The bourgeoisie also supported the Church. The sceptics considered the Church one of the pillars of order. The orthodox section of the bourgeoisie, which in most cases had enriched itself by shameless fraud, — in old Russia commerce and fraud were synonymous, — obtained absolution for its sins by overloading the churches with gifts of all kinds, with rings, jewels, gold and silver articles, and sacred pictures adorned with pearls and precious stones. In this way great treasures were accumulated, the product of the sweat and blood of the exploited as everything else belonging to the rich. The revolution gave these treasures back to the starving in the form of bread and seed grain.

A portion of the lower clergy agreed most readily to this decree. But other elements of the clergy whose attitude can in no way be called a Christian one thought the opportunity favorable to stir up public opinion against the Soviets. These elements were naturally supported by all the enemies of Communism from the Monarchists to the Social Revolutionaries. It was asserted that "the confiscations are an offense to the orthodox"; "The confiscated treasures are not devoted to the starving but to propaganda . . .", etc.

In some places, as Smolensk, Shuya and Novgorod, disturbances broke out, instigated by the clergy.

These are only exceptional cases. In nearly the whole of Russia the confiscations were quietly carried out. Delegates from the congregations controlled the confiscations. The confiscated valuable Church articles were replaced as soon as possible by other articles of nearly equal artistic value.

The confiscations are not yet ended. There is no doubt, however, that the result will suffice to purchase millions of

poods of grain. In Moscow alone on a single day, on the 15th April more than 100 poods of gold and silver (3520 pounds) were collected. In a single central quarter of Moscow in 132 churches there was collected more than 110 pounds of gold, 1100 pounds of silver, 2000 diamonds and 5000 other precious stones. In Perm there was collected in one day more than 550 lbs. of gold and silver. In Tula, Penza and Kaluga also the results are very considerable. In the little town of Voronezh 11 lbs. of gold and 2000 precious stones were found.

This is only the beginning. The most important treasures are lying in the monasteries in the environs of Moscow and Kiev. Their untold wealth has been long famous. The moment has arrived when the value of these riches will be assessed for useful purposes.

The Commissariat for Foreign Trade has already devoted part of the confiscated riches for purchases from abroad. 300,000 poods of grain are arrived in Russia on the 10th of May. This wheat was bought with confiscated gold and confiscated jewelry.

Never perhaps has the Christian Church provided so much bread for the starving as now. Should she not bless the revolution? All treasures — in the shape of costly vestments, jewelry and so forth — of the Russian churches of all denominations were confiscated. The Soviet Government is determined to carry out the March decree with all thoroughness. *It will not suffer that one worker die of hunger before the gates of the churches which are overloaded with ikons adorned with precious metals and jewels.* The counter-revolutionaries in their attempt to make use of the fanaticism, the egoism and the ignorance of the most backward of the religious people against the starving and against the Soviets will be compelled to pay dearly for it. The sentence of the Revolutionary Tribunal of Shuga which condemned to death four of the persons responsible for the bloody outbreaks in the little town, among whom were two popes, constitutes for them a serious warning.

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

Open Letter to the Amsterdam International.

(R. T. U. I.) We learn from the newspapers that the congress of the Amsterdam International in Rome decided to address an appeal to the Russian trade-unions to "help realize the united front on the basis of a uniform organization of the world proletariat". We furthermore gather from the same source that President Thomas (he of Black Friday fame!) declared at the opening of the congress that "they were ready to accept the Russian workers into the folds of a uniform organisation of the world proletariat but not those who were usurping the right of speaking on their (the workers') behalf".

A similar declaration was heard from one of the secretaries of the Amsterdam International, Edo Fimmen. We see by all these speeches, declarations and resolutions that you propose to the Russian trade-unions that they affiliate with the Amsterdam International in order to bring about the united front. How should these proposals be understood? What does the Amsterdam International mean by the term "united front"? Why does it appeal to the Russian trade-unions to affiliate with it? Is it, perhaps, only in order to be able to count them formally as members of their International? Or to induce them to collaborate in the Labor Bureau under the auspices of the League of Nations? Or to interest them in the economic truce between labor and the bourgeoisie and thus in the strict enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles upon which are based all the activities of the Amsterdam International? How else can we interpret the declaration given by Jouhaux on behalf of the Amsterdam International before the Economic Commission at Genoa demanding "a reparation policy enabling Germany to fulfill her obligations". Note the fact that he said "Germany" and not the "German bourgeoisie". Obviously, German workers who paid for the world war with their blood should now be compelled to pay for decades, tens of billions of marks to the financial and industrial sharks of France and Great Britain. But, perhaps, you desire that together with the leaders of Amsterdam we participate in the drafting of another Versailles Treaty. But Jouhaux, Appleton, Compers and others already lent a hand in drawing up the Treaty of Versailles, that incorporation of shame

lessness, brutality and pillage! Why in the world do you request us to undertake such soul-saving labor? You invite us to surrender ourselves body and soul to the dirty game which you dare to call proletarian politics. We, however, have a different opinion as to what labor politics should be like and in the question of mutual relations between labor and capital we have entirely different conceptions. We hold that it is not the task of the trade union leaders, to crowd the antechambers of ministers and base the hopes of the proletariat upon the diplomatic conclaves of the great powers. To us it appears that the working class of Europe, which is at present paying for its reformist illusions and the trust placed in the bourgeoisie with wage reductions, lengthening of working hours and a lowering of its standard of living, must break with those forms and methods of the struggle which are fundamental to the Amsterdam International.

You appear to think that we would accept pompous platitudes about unity as a substitute for the real struggle. But you delude yourselves if you assume that the Russian trade unions do not understand these bland phrases and delusive resolutions. What then is the meaning of your decision and what do you want? You wish that we should struggle together with you against the bourgeoisie. Agreed! We were fighting all the time and will go on fighting, extending a brotherly hand to everybody from your ranks who opposes the bourgeoisie. But this is not the question at issue, because you do not want a united front with us in order to fight the bourgeoisie but to conclude a compromise with it. *To this we cannot agree.* The bourgeoisie can strangle us if it is powerful enough to do so; it can, as is usually the case in strikes and lockouts, compel us, to accept disadvantageous conditions, but no matter what the outcome—in victory and defeat we always remain revolutionaries and proletarians. For this reason we must reject your proposal that the Russian trade-unions affiliate with the Amsterdam International. We have the revolutionary Red Trade Union International to which all revolutionary trade unions belong and which has adherents in every country. All the organizations of the Red Trade Union International are our honest friends and enthusiastic followers and we see no reason whatsoever why the Russian trade unions should leave the R.T.U.I. for the Amsterdam International. On the contrary—all reasons are in favor of our staying where we are and inducing an ever greater number of revolutionary organizations and workers to join the same organization. This, however, must in no circumstances whatsoever be taken to mean that we abandon the united front. We are ready at any day and at any moment to enter together with you upon a struggle against the enemies of our class. We are prepared to support any attitude and any action of yours provided it is directed at the bourgeoisie, the exploiting class. There is not one man in the whole world, no matter how antagonistic he be towards the Russian proletariat and the Russian revolution, who before the working class could deny that the Russian revolution, who before the working class could deny that Russian trade unions have done everything in their power to further the cause of labor and that they have mustered their whole energy to bring the heroic struggle of the working masses to a victorious end.

We are in perfect agreement with both the program and the tactics of the Red Trade Union International and welcome its decision for the creation of a united front, but only for joint actions and not for joint platitudes. Hence we say to you quite frankly and before the working class of all countries, "The Russian trade unions will not affiliate with the Amsterdam International because we have nothing to do with it. We are prepared to struggle together with you and to march forward together with you, just as you can always count on us whenever the help of the Russian proletariat becomes necessary in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. But we warn you not to rely on the Russian trade unions while you are occupied with filling the antechambers of ministers and with concluding compromises with the bourgeoisie.

In order to enable the workers of the world to decide whether or not our attitude is correct we propose the following: We are ready to admit an official representative of the Amsterdam International to the Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress, which will take place in September, in order that he may together with representatives of the R.T.U.I. explain his views on both the tasks and aims of the trade unions and the forms and methods of labor's struggle on a national and international scale. We propose, furthermore, that representatives of the R.T.U.I. be admitted on an equal footing with the other delegates to the coming National Trade Union Congresses in Germany (June) and Great Britain (September) in order to enable international labor to decide which of us is right.

Finally we propose that special meetings be arranged in the principal European cities (Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, London, Glasgow, Sheffield, Dublin, Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Milan, Vienna, Berne, Petrograd, Moscow, Kharkov, Ekaterinenburg, Odessa) at which representatives of the R.T.U.I., the Russian trade unions, the Amsterdam International and the other trade unions in the respective countries can freely explain their attitude. If you, are convinced of the integrity of your point of view, if you hold that we, the Russian workers, are mistaken, it should be all the more easy for you to agree to our proposition. We, the Russian trade unions, would gladly take a part in this discussion before the international proletariat. Only after we have defined our attitude to labor and the latter sees what divides us will it be possible to judge which parts of your proposition can be accepted and which declined. As long as you refuse to agree to public debates and discussions, your resolutions will be so much waste paper. The chasm between us can only be bridged by action and in the struggle. We have suffered too much during the revolution, we have paid too dearly during the last few years to allow ourselves to trust in your words. We believe in deeds, and only in deeds.

To resume: we are ready to mount the platform in any city of Western Europe and in any labor meeting and explain in detail the reasons of our attitude. Do you accept our proposition?

Yes or no? We trust that the Amsterdam International will meet the Russian trade unions halfway and make all necessary arrangements in the interest of the organization of a joint discussion of all problems of interest to labor and subsequently of joint action against the enemies of our class.

Ready for the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeois system, we remain,

The All-Russian Central Trade Unions Council

The Presidium: (signed) Andryev, Antinov, Dogadov, Korostylev, Kubyshev, Losovsky, Rudsutak, Schmidt, Tomsky.

The Executive of the R. T. U. I. to the French C. G. T. U.

After a careful study of the statutes that were published in the *Libertaire* and in *La Vie Ouvrière* dealing with the *French Confédération General du Travail Unitaire* (Unitaire General Confederation of Labor—C.G.T.U.) the Executive-Committee of the Red Trade Union International considers it necessary to call the attention of the members of the C.G.T.U. to the following:—

1—The present draft of the statutes is based upon the decentralization of the struggle of the working class, a fact that must be looked upon as exceedingly dangerous for the French proletariat in the face of the concentrated and centralized power of capital.

2—This decentralization which is seen in the granting of all control over finances to the local unions, as well as in the right granted to every union to carry on the struggle wherever and whenever it considers it necessary, will lead the workers of France towards a series of defeats, for the simple reason that the workers will only be able to oppose the well-organized army of our enemy class in small isolated divisions.

3—The statutes contain the mechanical discharge of labor leaders chosen for responsible posts; in fact those leaders who deserve the absolute confidence of the revolutionary workers. This mechanical discharge of leaders is called forth by abstract principles and fear of functionaries, and can not support the least criticism because such a procedure would make it impossible for the proletariat to develop a number of well-schooled leaders who understand complicated social economic problems and whose knowledge constitutes a necessary prerequisite to a successful class struggle. The mechanical elimination of leaders will in no way insure any labor organization against bureaucracy or misuse. The struggle against bureaucracy can only be carried on by means of a regular, wide-awake indefatigable and systematic control of the activities of the chosen organs and persons by the union members themselves.

4—The statutes are based upon the principle of the equal representation of unions and federations, regardless of the size of their respective membership. With such a form of representation, neither the national nor the local congresses, or any of the higher organs of the trade-union movement will be able to reflect the

interests of the working masses faithfully. With such a method it is possible for a majority of delegates to reach a decision while the majority of organized workers may be against it. Under such circumstances, the tactical carrying out of the various decisions (and this depends solely upon the activity and revolutionary initiative of the working masses themselves), will be rendered considerably more difficult and the most important decisions of the Trade Union Executive run the danger of remaining scraps of papers.

5—The new statutes leave questions of an international character absolutely untouched. From the statutes it is not clear whether the C.G.T.U. is at all in favor of an international amalgamation of trade union organizations or not, and what is still less evident is its attitude or relations to the Amsterdam International and to the R.T.U.I. This silence on such a vital question can be explained only through the desire of their formulators to remain isolated and to enter into no relation whatsoever with the international organizations of revolutionary trade unions. Such a shortcoming cannot possibly be permitted, because not a single one of the labor federations can or should pass over nor can any of these turn a shoulder to international problems, if it makes any claim at all to be a revolutionary class organization.

6—All the points here mentioned make it impossible for the central organization of the French trade unions to become a real fighting organization, and they furthermore exclude the concentration of the whole revolutionary energy of the working class, as well as the struggle of the latter against organized capital.

7—Of course every national organization has the right to adopt such statutes as it sees fit. The Red Trade Union International cannot challenge this right, but it considers it its duty to express its opinion and to communicate it to the members of the C.G.T.U.

Moscow, May 13, 1922.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Rule of the Rats.

by A. Badulescu (Bukharest).

This is what Roumanian public opinion calls its present government, which is in the hands of the three brothers Bratianu. The epithet is derived from the 1907-1911 period, when after the liberal government reestablished the bourgeois regime by shooting over 11,000 revolting peasants, the three Bratianus began their great grab upon public property. But such a marauding scheme cannot possibly go on without the brutal persecution and oppression of the really democratic part of the population, the proletariat. Thus the great anti-labor terror, started in 1907, and which reached its apex in 1909, is still continuing against labor organizations of all sorts, and the Communist trial now in process has reached its highest point. But now the time for silence has passed. The old desire, long cherished by the *Boyars* and oligarchs, to conquer Transylvania without the Transylvanians and Bessarabia without the Bessarabians, could not be fulfilled. These two nationalities, particularly the Bessarabians, could not bear in silence the brutality of the governments imposed upon them by the grace of the King of Rumania. The latest event in a long chain is the protest voiced by the Bessarabian students, whose Executive Committee represents over 5000 students of Roumanian Universities.

Following is a translation of their protest:—

To the Public Opinion of the Country!

Citizens!

The Bessarabian student-body, which has voiced its protests against persecution a number of times, feels it necessary to appeal to public opinion once more. Since our last protest, the situation has not changed a bit. Since then, more students have been seized from our midst to become the victims of the rack and of the maltreatment, which has become the rule.

The same is true of those of our colleagues who are already being tried. The student Timotei Marin has been beaten. We most indignantly protest against the endless

terror used against us, as well as against the endless terror system practiced in the prisons.

We demand the right to live!

By that we understand not only physical life, but the right to think and the liberty to create. We have been persecuted for our ideas long enough. This fact has been substantiated during the Communist trial by a witness, Bratu, the Dean of the University at Jassy.

We demand the right to live! Also for our Bessarabia, about whose fate we cannot remain indifferent. We protest against the regime under which this province has been suffering for the last four years. We protest against the turning of Bessarabia into a colony of lawlessness, into a region of unbridled wantonness of the almighty oligarchs. The blood of those persecuted and of those executed rouses our bitterest indignation. We call the attention of Roumanian public opinion to this state affairs. Bessarabia resembles a cemetery. In Bessarabia, all opinion, all ideas, all initiative and cultural activity are being assassinated. Frightful moans are heard everywhere!

While the gang of speculators, the oligarchs of finance and the police, are celebrating their victory, the population is driven into the most frightful misery.

At the same time, the Roumanian youth, which is faithful to the people, is being destroyed; students are to be found in all prisons and cells. In the tragic comedy of Deleul-Spirei alone, (the Bukharest district where the Communist trial is going on), twelve students are taking part. These students have to undergo an inquisitorial torture of the middle ages. Execution in this case is superfluous. The accused are assassinated long before the judge pronounces his verdict. And such cases are not exceptions, but the systematic practice of an iron hand, which for the last four years has been outraging all political opponents.

The Bessarabian student body most vehemently protests against this terror. We protest against those who have outlawed us and who have ostracized us from all civilized society. We protest against the persecution, the rack and against the use of any and all methods destroying Bessarabia's spiritual life.

Were hereby appeal to you intellectuals, the press and the students of other provinces in the name of humanity, in the name of the numberless victims of the White Terror of Bessarabia, and in the name of those languishing in prison! Raise your voices together with us and demand the inalienable rights of man. Let us cry together "Enough of blood!" Long live the freedom of thought and creation!

The Executive Committee
of the Bessarabian Student Body.

This appeal was reprinted by almost all Roumanian newspapers. Foreign politically thinking people will also take notice. But the situation will not change, for the onslaught of international reaction is advancing. If this appeal does not act as spur to an even crueller treatment of the prisoners in Roumania, it will be as unheeded as a call in the desert. The same fate awaits the words of Dean Bratu, of the leader of the Peasants' Party Dr. Lupu, of the leader of the nationalist party Professor Jorga, and those others who appear as witnesses at the present trial, and who passionately plead for the accused and for freedom of thought. Neither has public opinion proved to be a remedy. The Prime Minister, Bratianu, who stated a few months ago that the hunger-strike declared by the prisoners left him absolutely cold, had the audacity and cynicism to declare, on the eve of his departure for the Genoa Conference "I am going to Genoa to participate in the progressive development of the culture of humanity!"

This phrase needs no comment! Let us hope that united international action will help us.