

- INTERNATIONAL -

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The Victory of the Communist International

By *G. Zinoviev.*

I have just received from Rome the following telegram dated October 4th:

"The Italian Socialist Party, after expelling the reformist centrist bloc, reaffirms unanimously its adhesion to the Third International.

The telegram refers to the present Congress of the Italian Socialist Party in Rome in which, at last, the break between the reformists and the centrists on one side and the maximalists on the other, has taken place. Comrade Maffi is one of the three comrades who were present at the Third Congress of the Communist International and represented till now the small fraction of the Communist International in the Socialist Party of Italy. They seem at the present time to have conquered the whole party, at last cleansed of all avowed reformists and centrists.

At the time when we write, we do not know the details as yet. It is very probable that the Maximalist Party, even after the breach with the reformists, will find the greatest difficulties before it becomes a true Communist Party. The acceptance of the 21 conditions of the Communist International will be brought before the Italian Maximalists. The Italian question will probably be debated most carefully before the Fourth World Congress. At any rate the event which took place within the Socialist Party of Italy are of great importance for the whole International. The great moral victory of the Communist International leaves no doubt.

The I.S.P. went through two hard years of errors before it adopted the right way which the Communist International had long shown it. During these two years the bourgeoisie, in league with the reformists, inflicted a severe blow to the Italian proletariat. The position of the Italian working class has been greatly weakened as a result of those mistakes of the Socialist Party. But with the honest desire to correct those mistakes, all may be well again.

Let us recall the basic facts. In 1919 the I.S.P., under the influence of the masses, was one of the first parties to signify their adhesion to the Third International. The reformists with Turati and D'Aragnona at their head did not dare to oppose this decision. In 1920 a large Italian delegation came to Moscow. In it were the future Communist leaders, Bordiga and Bombacci, as well as the chief leaders of the reformists, D'Aragnona, Dugoni and Company, and the leader of the maximalists, Serrati.

The whole delegation at first unanimously accepted the Communist International. It is only towards the end of their stay in Russia that D'Aragnona and Company came out openly with the reformist program. The first difference of opinion with Serrati and his group became apparent at the Second Congress of the Third International. D'Aragnona and Company returned to Italy and began there a pernicious campaign against Soviet Russia and the C.I.

In the fall of 1920 a most important movement appeared in Italy which finally took form in the occupation of plants and factories by the workers. At the most decisive moment, the reformists betrayed the working class. The bourgeoisie celebrated its victory. Serrati and his adherents, instead of overthrowing the treacherous reformists, attempted to defend them.

The Communists were too weak to take an independent stand. The bourgeoisie had won its first great victory over the proletariat. The offensive of capital developed. Fascism became daily more arrogant. The leaders of the I.S.P. sank lower and lower. It became apparent at that time that the international working class movement had become weakened. The reformists gained power. Led by the reformists, the I.S.P. sank to an agreement with the Fascists. The bitter cup of humiliation had been drunk to the dregs.

And now, after two years, the I.S.P. seems to have found the right way again. At the Leghorn Congress, the reformists presented only a small minority. Of 160 000 party members they counted only about 40,000. The mistakes of Serrati's adherence made it possible for the reformists to become a respectable power. The vote in Rome gave 29,000 votes for the reformist-centrist bloc and 32,000 for the maximalists of the C.I.

The reformists were supported by the trade union bureaucracy, by the cooperative officials, by the majority of the Parliamentary leaders and all the petty-bourgeois sympathizers. In the Summer of 1922, the reformist leaders believed their time to have come. Turati went to the king. The Parliamentary fraction declared that it no longer recognizes its subordination to the Central Committee. D'Aragnona and other reformist trade union leaders openly broke the agreements of the trade unions with the I.S.P. The understanding between the reformists and Fascists went on. The entrance of the reformists into a bourgeois government was openly discussed.

This overran the patience of the Socialist workers. The work of the young Communist Party of Italy has not been in vain. The eyes of the vanguard of class-conscious workers have been opened and the reformists finally driven out of the Socialist Party of Italy. The expulsion of the reformists was one of the most important of the 21 conditions which the Communist International had put up to the Italian as well as to other parties. Two years of defeats had been necessary to convince the Italian Socialists how justified were the demands of the Communist International.

Italy is not the greatest country of the working class movement. But certain tendencies, especially characteristic for the international working class movement appear with unusual clearness in Italy. This fact may be explained in that this country has always stood objectively next to a possible revolution. The counter-revolutionary role of the Second International has nowhere been so apparent as in Italy. D'Aragnona, the leader of the Italian reformists, declared recently in the heat of debate: "We reformists have nevertheless accomplished our purpose. We remained in the party to prevent that it go the way of revolution. We have been successful. The revolution has been avoided, and Italy spared the horrors of a civil war."

Never before has a reformist stated so openly why the reformists remained in the ranks of the Socialist Party*.

The Italian example also reveals the danger of the vacillations of those honest Socialists who up to now could not accept a final break with the reformists and half-reformists and are often convinced that the 21 conditions of the C.I. are a result of dogmatism and unnecessary impatience.

We told the members of the Independent Social Democratic Party in Halle that they would again fall into the nets of the Scheidemann Social Democracy if they did not accept the 21 conditions of the Communist International. This prophecy has been fulfilled. Two years ago the C.I. had declared to the Italian Socialist Party that they must either follow the traitors d'Aragnona, Turati and others, or return to the ranks which the C.I. was pointing out to them. The whole working class International may now see that the C.I. was right.

The decision of the Rome Socialist Congress is a significant sign of the times. The labor movement of the world is proceeding forward in spite of all obstacles. One year, half a year ago, our enemies spoke of the "decline of the Communist International". The class-conscious worker will now see that really revolutionary forces of the whole world are gathered only under the banner of the C.I.

The decision of the Rome Congress of the maximalists is a moral victory for our young Italian Communist Party. This young party is still suffering from many of the sicknesses of the growing period. But this party has done much for the Italian labor movement. Its splendid, heroic work accomplished a very responsible task and saves the honor of the Italian working class movement.

We wish success to all honest and earnest adherents of Communism in Italy.

The way of the Italian proletariat is difficult and thorny, but the most difficult has been accomplished. The reformists, the agents of the bourgeoisie will be defeated in Italy also. Their mask will be thrown down. Better days are coming for the Italian working class movement.

We hope that the Italian example will be a lesson to the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. We especially advise the French Communist Party, meeting in Congress on the 15th of this month in Paris, that they think long and clearly about it. There is only one way open to all workers fighting against capital,—a way over temporary retreats, over small and large mistakes, over partial defeats,—the way of the Communist International.

POLITICS

The Greek Revolution

By Karl Radek.

King Constantine has been made the goat for the defeat of the Greek armies. An uprising has chased him from his throne, and the Greek bourgeoisie is anxious to preserve the monarchy and the throne for his son. Whether it will be successful our present knowledge of the situation, based on a few official

telegrams, which as usual, tend to paint the situation in brighter colors, does not permit us to draw any conclusions. We may gather from the telegrams that the revolution was directed against the war, but has no national character. We gather this from the news that the rebels oppose a Venizelos Government, the chief fomentors of the Asia Minor adventure. Should Venizelos again make his appearance on the political arena, for the safety of France, the result must be a sharpening of conflicts, and an acceleration of the revolutionary movement.

The conflict Constantine-Venizelos had no personal character. Venizelos is closely connected with the Greek bourgeoisie, especially the marine transport capitalists. It is for their benefit that he follows his policy of over-seas expansion. During the World War, Venizelos made all efforts to embroil Greece in a War with Turkey so as to annex a section of Asia Minor. Constantine's policy favored the Triple Alliance. His behaviour towards the Central Powers did not originate purely from personal likes—he had married the sister of Wilhelm II—but also because he hoped to break England's influence in Greece. The help of Germany and Austria would have insured a victory over Serbia and an alliance with Bulgaria; England's influence in Greece as one of the dominating powers of the Mediterranean would thereby have been overthrown.

Constantine became the leader of the petty bourgeois, anti-Bolshevik circles of Greece. Robbed of his power by the Allies in 1917, he abdicated in favor of his second son, Alexander. In December 1920, after the death of his son and the electoral defeat of Venizelos, he returned to Greece. But Greece was already engaged in war with Turkey and Greek armies occupied Asia Minor. Although returned to the throne by the pacifistic masses of the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, Constantine was forced to continue Venizelos' policy to avoid a conflict with the Allies. After entering into relations with the English banks through the Greco-English financier Basilus Sacharov, he had managed to obtain England's support which aroused the enmity of France, who saw in Constantine the representative of the English as well as the German interests.

The adventure into Asia Minor shook profoundly the financial state of Greece. The Greek foreign debt rose from 846 million drachmas in 1913 (one drachma then was worth a franc) to 4 billions at the end of 1920, and is estimated now at 10 billion drachmas. As the imports for the needs of the army increased, the balance of trade of Greece capsized. The increasing cost of living and taxation brought the crisis daily nearer. In 1918 a lively labor movement began in Greece; trade unions were formed. A Socialist Party was also founded, which joined the Communist International in 1920. In spite of its youth and of the fact that only 150,000 of Greece's 6 million population are industrial workers (750,000 with their families), the Communist Party which assumed the leadership of all the anti-war, strike movements, enjoys a considerable confidence among the population. All the time of its suppression by the government, its daily *Rizospastis* had a subscribers' list of 10,000. Its influence was already largely felt at the time of the November elections. The Government proceeded with the most cruel reprisals against the labor movement. The organizations of the Communist Party were destroyed, its leaders thrown into prison, the striking workers sent to the front. But in spite of all, the government was not able to kill the Party. It stands up again after every persecution; two months ago the government again threw into prison the whole Central Committee of the Party. The appeals of the Communist Party find response not only among the industrial workers, but also in a section of the peasantry and in the Army. The peasants of Thessaly are serfs to this day. Parliament, in which the big landowners control 80 votes, managed to sabotage even the ransom bill.

The agrarian movement assumes a continually more dangerous character. In the first year the government was compelled to suppress by force an armed uprising in Volo in which 20,000 peasants took part. The Army is in a state of disintegration; the government is able to hide the fact only by keeping the Army in Asia Minor. For a year, mass desertions, mass shootings, brutal persecutions of those soldiers guilty of spreading the Communist press are on the order of the day. Then came the defeat, and the anger of the population could no longer be stilled. The spontaneous demobilization, the seizure of the war

* To our French comrades: The declaration of D'Aragnona should give food for thought to our French comrades. They will then readily understand why such gentleman as Raoul Verfeuil, Fabre and Company have remained so long in the French Communist Party.

ships by the rebelling soldiers returning to Greece, the uprising in Athens finally led to the overthrow of Constantine.

It may still remain doubtful whether the Allies will remain in control of the insurrection and limit it merely to the deposition of Constantine and his replacement by his son George, or whether the young Communist Party may have sufficient strength to enlarge the movement; but at any rate, the uprising has destroyed all hopes of keeping the Thracian Army under arms. The spirit of this army was much below that of the Asia Minor Army; it was composed primarily of deserters who had fled from the battle front. Its disruption is inevitable and will proceed the more rapidly because Bulgarian and Turkish partisan troops have already begun to act in Thrace. These facts strengthen Kemal Pasha's chances to reconquer Thrace. Thrace may fall into Bulgarian or Turkish hands even if the Allies retain the Dardanelles.

The Crisis in the Near East

By A. Bolgar.

It would surprise no one if the present conflict in the Near East would again be solved by some insufficient compromise, in accordance with the diplomatic practice of the past year. Although we see that many circles, especially Italian, wish very hard for such a solution, it is doubtful whether a crisis of such magnitude can be postponed for any length of time. For we do not have to do here with a local, geographically limited crisis, but with a world catastrophe which is beginning in a most rotten point of Europe.

This political crisis would have a great importance even if it were not accompanied by a very serious economic crisis; we are in presence here of a conflict between French and English imperialism in which England has been losing slowly her traditional position of power, while France registers a victory along the whole line.

The Anglo-French antagonism, itself but one of the many symptoms of the world crisis, contains all the elements which may precipitate this crisis. For this conflict presents very much the same character as that which brought on the World War. We furthermore see in it all those conflicts which an hypocritical Entente and a sham peace treaty have brought into the situation. The Greco-Turk war is just such a conflict in the long chain of events, which is proceeding to an open Anglo-Turk conflict. It is a striking example of imperialistic politics, and has special importance for the understanding of the past world crisis and of the possibilities for a new conflagration on a world scale.

The Turko-Greek war is a central problem of present world politics because it is closely connected with the following important problems:

1. With the existence of the Entente;
2. With the revision of the Treaty of Versailles;
3. With the whole problem of the Balkans and the Near East.

In connection with first problem we may point to the danger which the diplomatic defeat of Greece means to the power of England and to its position among the other world powers.

"Those who have supported the Turks in their hopes must either have lost faith in the Entente, or wish to end it. England has more interest in the question than any other country because of her responsibilities in India, Mesopotamia and Egypt. We must apply all our energy to the conclusion of peace in the Near East. But it must be a peace which secures the safety of the Greeks."

These are the words of the *Daily Chronicle*, and we hear constantly repeated from official English sources that the freedom of the Straits must be preserved, and Constantinople protected in all cases.

"The freedom of the Straits is one of England's greatest victories. England can never support a policy which would endanger this victory. For this would mean that the war which had been waged against Turkey with English weapons has been lost."

There is a good reason then, why England who otherwise is no fanatic supporter of the Peace Treaty insists upon the integrity of the Sèvres Treaty even against France, who in her turn is willing to make concessions on that point while insisting with almost perverse obstinacy on the observance of the other treaties.

The Balkan countries have been aroused by the possible crisis in the Near East; the news of the Greek revolution and its character are very slight; and even if the possibility of a

Greek attack against its neighbor countries is very slight for the time being, the strengthening of Bulgaria as a result of the Turkish victory and its effect upon Roumania and Yougoslavia are such that the Balkan crisis will be sharpened to such an extent that a provisory settlement cannot solve it.

What a second world war, starting as the first from the Balkans would mean, is clearly recognized in nationalistic circles, as we may gather from an article in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*:

"The danger of social upheavals and revolutions from which the victorious countries had been protected till now, might turn out, in case of a new war, to be more than a mere cloud on the political horizon, but may give right to those who claim that the social revolution in the capitalist states is not behind us, but ahead."

The old tricks of bourgeois diplomacy fail miserably before the situation. The policy of conferences from which the main interested parties will be cut off, as Russia and Bulgaria in the present case, cannot meet the danger. The crisis has lost none of its dangerous aspects; all compromise tendencies will not suffice to change the course of events. The menace of a new war will be fought by the revolutionary power of the proletariat.

Exchange of Notes between the RSFSR and Lettland

The Lettish diplomatic representative in Moscow has, under instructions from his government, delivered a note to the Foreign Commissariat in which the Lettish Government protests against the activity of Lettish Communists in Moscow, regarding this activity as an infringement upon the Peace Treaty and demanding its cessation. The occasion for this note was a meeting of the Lettish Communists in which they protested against the execution of the Lettish Comrade Purin, and at which a speaker declared that the Lettish Communists would not cease to fight for the overthrow of the present Lettish Government and the abolition of the Lettish State. The note points out that according to the provisions of the peace treaty no organization must be permitted whose activity is directed against the other party to the treaty. The Lettish Government therefore demands the immediate dissolution of the Lettish Communist Club in Moscow.

As an answer thereto the following note of Comrade Hanetzki, member of the staff of the Foreign Commissariat has been directed to the Lettish Government:

"In your note of the 24th August, Nr. 3728, you demand the immediate dissolution of the Moscow Lettish Communist Club on account of a speech made at a protest meeting held at the above named club.

I am compelled to express my extreme astonishment at such a demand. The Lettish Government which permitted recruiting for the Wrangel Army on its territory and promoted it, which—as has been established by original documents out of the Kerensky archives—granted support to the so-called *Administrative Centre* and permitted Lettland to serve as a preparation ground for the organization of the Kronstadt insurrection, and assists in the publication of calumnious and criminal lies of every sort against Russia and the Russian Government, including the vulgar accusation that the latter circulates spurious money,—this Lettish Government demands at the same time from the Russian Government the closing down of a Communist Club on account of a speech made at a meeting held there.

Communist clubs and the delivering of speeches in the same are allowed in Russia under the existing laws. Any kind of repression of the same would be without sanction even in the case when the speakers in their speeches criticise the government of another country or express their indignation over the hanging of one of their comrades and fellow fighters, as happened in the case cited by you.

My government stands firmly on the ground of the Peace Treaty and maintains clause 4 to its fullest extent. Speeches made in Communist clubs, however, cannot be compared with enlistments into the Wrangel Army or with relations with the *Administrative Centre*,—proceedings which are referred to in clause 4 of the Peace Treaty, to which you, Mr. Ambassador, directly appeal.

For this reason the demand put forward in your note cannot be complied with by my government. At the same time

I must remark that the public opinion of the broadest masses of workers and peasants of Russia would be considerably more peacefully disposed towards the Lettish Government if the Lettish Government would cease to inflict capital punishment against Communists. This public opinion is for my government decisive, and continually influences us in our relations to other countries.

Yours respectfully,
Hanetzki."

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

To the Paris Congress of the Communist Party of France

On the very eve of the Paris Congress of the Communist Party of France, the situation in the Party has become so complicated that the Executive Committee of the Communist International deems itself compelled, in addition to the documents already published, to address itself to the Paris Congress with the following:

1. The E.C.C.I. requests the Paris Congress to take a special vote by roll-call on the 21 points adopted by the Second World Congress of the Comintern. Both for the French Communist Party and for the entire Comintern it will be better to establish complete clearness on this question.

It goes without saying that if the C.P.F. desires to propose to the Fourth Congress that certain changes be made in the 21 points, the Paris Congress has full right to do so. Every proposition of the Paris Congress will be considered by the Fourth Congress with the greatest attention and thoroughness.

2. In view of the fact that a majority of the old Central Committee, to the surprise of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, did not expel from the Party Verfeuil and his adherents even after their shockingly anti-Communist actions, the Executive Committee of the Comintern is constrained to declare to the Paris Congress that it does not regard any more as members of the Comintern Raoul Verfeuil and those with him who had signed the well-known address to the Party which begins with the words "In the situation in which the Party finds itself" and so forth.

The text of that declaration sustains entirely the former declaration of the E.C.C.I. to the effect that Raoul Verfeuil and his adherents are deliberate enemies of Communism, who remained in the C.P.F. only for the purpose of disrupting it from within.

If the Paris Congress will differ from the E.C.C.I. on this question, the final decision on the issue will have to be made by the World Congress of the Comintern.

The E.C.C.I. requests once more the Paris Congress to pose sharply all the most important questions which at present are dividing the French Party. The severe lesson taught the Socialist Party of Italy, which only recently, after two hard years of mistakes and vacillations, was compelled to admit that the demands of the Comintern were proper, must not be allowed to pass in vain.

The Comintern feels confident that the Paris Congress will put an end to vacillations, and will create a real Communist Party worthy to lead the heroic proletariat of France.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Moscow, October 6th, 1922.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Party and the Trade Unions in Germany

By Fritz Heckert.

The beginnings of the German trade union movement. — The practice of the former Social Democratic Party. — The subordination of the Party to the trade union bureaucracy. — Its consequences: 1914. — Confusion of ideas after the Revolution. — The Communist tactics.

In Germany, more than in every other country, the question of the relationship between the workers' party and the trade union has at all times played an important role. We may justly say that the trade union movement in Germany owes its

life to the Social Democracy. Founded by Socialist workers, its development always remained bound up with that of Socialism. The anti-Socialist law of 1878 ruined at the same time both the party and the trade unions.

After their abrogation, the trade unions turned reformist and their leaders hoped to divert them from the influence of the Social Democratic Party. The political neutrality of the trade unions was affirmed, as well as the necessity for giving them an independent central direction. Perceiving a hidden motive in the plan, formulated by Karl Legien, of creating a "general council of the German trade unions" whose rights would be equal to those of the party, William Liebknecht sharply attacked the project at the Congress of the Social Democratic Party in Cologne, 1893. Accusing the trade union leaders of the intention to turn the masses away from the class struggle and to lead them to reformism, he declared that the independence of the unions would only be a concession to the bourgeoisie, accustomed as they were to regard labor organizations as subversive, and that all opportunism of this sort was only in adaptation to the bourgeois state. The majority of the Socialist workers under the influence of labor leaders all belonging to the Democratic Party, found the fears of William Liebknecht exaggerated. No one wished to believe that it would be possible ever to separate the party from the unions. The Congress of the Social Democrats decided that all members of the Party ought to belong to the trade unions while the trade union Congress enjoined its members to affiliate with the Party. The trade unions were regarded as recruiting fields of the Party.

When the revisionist movement arose about 1900, it hoped to gain support in the labor organizations. When, in 1903, Theodor Boemelburg, president of the bricklayers' union pronounced that celebrated sentence at the Congress of Cologne, "The trade unions and the Party are but one and the same", it was already then no more than a hollow phrase. The trade union leaders made use of the General Council of Trade Unions to extend their influence over the party and to attempt to dominate it. The Social Democratic Congress of Mannheim (1906) decided that the Central Committee ought to come to an understanding with the trade unions before any mass movement. In that way the General Council of Trade Unions became a new central executive organ of the working class. Certainly, in signing the pact of Mannheim, it assumed the same obligation on its part; but this cost it nothing, as it was resolutely hostile to all mass actions. Boemelburg declared, "The general strik is a general madness!" and unanimous applause drowned his voice.

When the imperialist war broke out, the victory of the trade union bureaucracy over the Central Committee of the party was an accomplished fact. On the 4th of August, 1914, the trade union leaders flatly declared that they would compel the leaders of the party to vote the war credits and to realize the fatal union with the bourgeoisie. The party capitulated unconditionally. The dictatorship of the Council of Trade Unions over the Social Democratic Party was so little concealed that when during the summer of 1915 a feeble opposition manifested itself in the party, the labor bureaucracy uttered the following threats:

"We must support with all our power the majority of the Central Committee of the party and urge it on to the path we deem good. And even if the opposition should seize power, we would not be able to remain neutral, and would be obliged to create a new party".

Fritz Ebert then received the warm congratulations of Leipart, the president of the General Council of Trade Unions, for having energetically emphasized the will of the Central Committee of the party to continue at all costs the policy of August 1914. The Social Democratic Party of Germany was preparing to follow the path of denials, betrayals and counter-revolution, under the impulsion of the bureaucratic trade unions, up to the eve of the November Revolution, up to August 8th, 1918.

Since before the war a small group of militant revolutionaries, under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg, had been battling to lead the trade unions back to the class struggle. But its efforts met with little success. Though gagged during the war, it was yet they who recommenced serious propaganda for revolutionary action in the trade unions. We have not forgotten that at the significant Congress of the Independent Social Democratic Party at Gotha, during Easter 1917, Hugo Haase exclaimed: "The trade unions are the most resistant ramparts of reaction. Without them the war would have been ended long ago!" But at no time did the leaders of the Independent Party cause a breach in these ramparts.

Since the war, during the Revolution, and up to the present, the labor leaders and the Social Democrats have persisted on the path they had traced before the war, and their constant collaboration with the bourgeoisie has been but the logical consequence of this spirit.

II.

During the Proletarian Revolution, nationalism, reformism, and the deeds of the trade union bureaucracy during the war and the revolution, produced such disgust in the end, that the workers came to the most divergent conclusions as to the relationship between the party and the trade unions.

Some thought that so much treason had been possible only because there existed two parallel organizations (party and trade unions) and that it was necessary to create a united political and economic organization.

Others believed the cause of the social-patriotic deviations to be found in the form of the trade union organizations. They advocated the establishment of unions on a federal basis, which would assure the broadest autonomy to every organization and locality.

Still others urged the most complete political neutrality of the unions.

The confusion was increased by the direct action of the working masses, organized in factory and workshop councils at the beginning of the revolution. From these direct actions the militants drew the conclusion that the epoch of trade unions had been ended and that it was necessary to replace them by factory councils.

To arrive at real revolutionary lucidity, the German proletariat had to undergo a long series of failures and defeats in its struggle against the capitalists and the State, in its efforts designed to establish new unions, in its attempts to put new trade union doctrines into practice.

In the course of these experiences, the number of workers grew who recognized that trade unions are necessary organizations, that they have certain definite, primary tasks to fulfill during the revolution and the period of transition from Capitalism to Socialism. On this basis it was possible to agree upon action.

Since 1920, sincere revolutionists have been convinced that the trade unions could tackle their tasks only on condition of definitely breaking with their former policy of collaboration of classes. This collaboration, in fact, subordinated the vital interests of the proletariat to the conservation of capitalism; sacrificed the eight hour day, wages, the production of labor. If the workers wish to maintain or improve their conditions of living they must defend themselves against capitalism; and the least resistance today has revolutionary consequences. In order successfully to oppose its class-enemy, the proletariat as a whole ought to stand up against it; whence the need for a united front, the first condition for proletarian action against capitalism. To this condition we can add another: the international concentration of the active proletarian forces. These conditions are well founded, and it is they that divide the proletariat into two opposing camps: one of the revolutionary class struggle, and the other of cooperation with the bourgeoisie.

The more the revolutionary influence extended into the unions, the more energetically reacted the trade union bureaucracy. To combat the latter, to defend itself, to enlighten the working class upon the dangers of cooperation with the bourgeoisie, the revolutionary workers organized in the Communist Party created fractions or "cells" in the unions. These new groups undertake systematically to win the unions for revolutionary action. They interest themselves in all the aspects of the workers' life and aim for united action of all the proletarian elements. The Communist workers of Germany have also commended the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International on the functions of trade unions.

The Central Committee of the German Communist Party has established a Trade Union Council which gives a single direction to all the Communist nuclei in factory, shop, or union, and organizes national and local groupings. We are benefitting today from the practical experience of 18 months of assiduous labor. In our struggle to conquer the unions we sustained grave losses. Thousands of good militants have been expelled from the unions by the reformist bureaucracy. The General Council of Trade Unions has just proclaimed that the principal task of the unions consists actually in fighting the Communist cells. Despite everything, however, we have succeeded in binding ourselves more and more strongly to the working masses. The elections of the factory committees, of local trade union committees, of representatives to the congress constantly attest to the growth of our influence. In 1921 the Communist who was a member of a "cell" was very simply expelled from the trade union organization. This year the Congress of German trade unions has recognized the Communist "cells", not legally to be sure, but actually. The bureaucracy had to yield before facts.

We are only in the beginning of our work, but we cannot doubt of success. We shall lead the trade unions back to the class struggle. Better yet!—Our revolutionary activity in the trade union movement strengthens it. If after so much deception the German trade unions still remain the organizations of the

masses they are, it is in a large measure thanks to us. It is our activity which has restored confidence to the workers.

The extension of the revolutionary movement among the trade unions cannot but proceed together with the extension of Communist influence over the masses. The unions are again becoming the recruiting field of the revolutionary political organization of the proletariat. And we are seeing the day approach when the party and the trade unions will constitute anew but a single revolutionary force directed against the capitalist system.

Towards Effective International Action

By A. Dunois (Paris).

On the day before the Congress the old International Federation of Transport Workers was going to hold at Vienna, a certain number of national organizations of railway and machine workers formed a propaganda committee which proposed henceforth to fight pitilessly against the fatal reformism of the labor leaders, and to cause the Syndicalism in the transport unions to become genuinely revolutionary in action.

On the day after the International Congress of miners, held on the 20th of August at Francfort, which only confirmed its tradition of sterility and verbal megalomania, a certain number of revolutionary miners held a conference at Essen, where they established a committee which, in word and deed, was also to attempt to lead the miners of every country to a revolutionary conception of their historical mission.

These are two decisive facts which proclaim a new era.

Miners, railway and marine workers, to whom might be added the metal workers, constitute the vital foundation upon which rests the entire edifice of capitalist production. Bourgeois society is at their mercy. They hold in their hands the keys to social peace or civil war. A strike in the textile industry, a strike in the building trade, even though they were absolutely general, would never threaten the security of Capital; while, any general strike in mine and transports, by shutting off the sources of life, would lead to fearful collapse.

The revolutionists have understood this, as well as the bourgeois and the reformist leaders. By directing their efforts in the future against corporations most essential to the existence of capital, they allow us to draw the practical conclusion that these unfold before us the last episodes in the world struggle between Capital and Labor.

The capitalist offensive has reached its height. After the strategic retreat that it was constrained to make everywhere in the year following the armistice, Capitalism, put at ease by the assurances of peace of the reformist leaders—those old indolent and doubting leaders whom the imperialist war has not taught anything—insolently raised its head again. And it began the battle against the hours of labor, against wages, against all the material and moral ameliorative measures previously agreed upon. A battle all the more impossible as it involved its life or death. It threw into the struggle all the resources of its strength and shrewdness. Faced with a proletariat doubly divided—divided internationally, notwithstanding the existence (entirely decorative) of the Amsterdam Federation; divided industrially, as was demonstrated in England, 18 months ago, by the failure of what was called the Triple Entente of Labor—Capitalism shows itself wisely ready to profit by the weakness of its adversary. It guarded itself well against forcing a general battle. It proceeded, on the contrary, by successive attacks. In England, railway and marine workers were crushed first; the same was then done in America. In France, the railway workers, despite a heroic defence, were beaten two years ago, and here we are on the eve of a general miners' strike, to which it is necessary from today on to draw the attention of the world proletariat.

Who, then, has beaten the miners of England? Was it the English operators alone? Alas! we know too well that it is not so. The miners of England have been beaten by their brothers in America, in France, in Belgium and Germany, who mined the coal needed by English industry; they have been defeated by their brothers, the railwaymen and seamen of America, of France, of Belgium and of Germany (not to speak of the railway and marine workers of England) who did not hesitate to transport to Great Britain millions of tons of foreign coal.

And who, then, has just vanquished the miners of the United States, if not the miners of England! It is the coal of Wales and Yorkshire which, transported to America, has been the reason for one of the most formidable strikes in history. And all this was done under the indifferent, the conniving eyes of the Amsterdam Federation which, with its 21 million members, pretends to be the greatest international force in the world.

The Amsterdam Federation allowed the perpetration of this unpardonable treason of one proletariat against the other, of one body against the other, without uttering a single word.

Are we going to let it persevere in its crime unpunished? Are we going to allow it to defeat to-morrow the strike of the miners of France by the aid of English coal, Belgian coal, by coal given for reparation?

It is unfortunately rather late for the work of resistance, whose mighty forces were exhibited the other day at Essen under the auspices of the Red International of Labor Unions to be plainly efficacious. The essential point is that it has been undertaken and may lead to good results; that the revolutionary miners of every country, as well as the railway and marine workers, may be effectively united. may in the future combine all their efforts in practical action

We are entering upon a period in which the class struggle will overleap traditional frontiers and the old national limits. Only *unity and international action* on the part of the workers will finally overthrow capitalism. That is why the recent meetings at Essen, coming after the establishment of a propaganda committee among marine, railway, and dock workers, can be regarded as events of capital importance in the proletarian movement. It is no longer the time for a union of words only, but for one of action. And Moscow shall win over Amsterdam.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Organization of Production in Soviet Russia

Its general principles.—Its condition in 1920.—The Supreme Council of National Economy.—The Provincial Councils.

By V. Miloutin (Moscow).

The economic administration of Soviet Russia is based upon two principles: 1. The direct participation of the broad masses of workers and their unions in the management of production; 2. The Socialist centralization of production, co-existent with the exercise of the broadest powers of initiative by the local industrial administrations.

From the beginning of the Revolution, from the time when the factory and shop committees formed, to be followed by unions embracing as early as 1920, 6,500,000 members, the Russian workers have taken a most energetic part in the organization of production.

The All-Russian Congress of the Supreme Council of National Economy decided in 1920 that "the organization of production must rest essentially upon the unions . . ." The most important questions of political economy are determined by the Supreme Council of National Economy in conjunction with the Bureau of the Central Council of Trade Unions. The actual operation of industrial enterprises is in every instance controlled by the unions.

Their administration and direction, however, belong exclusively to the organs of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The representatives of the trade unions in the colleges of industrial centers are subordinate to the S.C. of N.E.

In case of a conflict between the S.C. of N.E. and the Central Council of Trade Unions the question is put before a joint general assembly of the two organs which gives the final decision.

These regulations are not derived from theory; they are the result of long, daily experience. All the members of the S.C. of N.E. as well as almost all the responsible workers, are moreover, appointed with the approval of the Central Council of Trade Unions. The most important positions in the direction of industry are assigned to persons judged the most capable both by the trade union organizations and the Soviet organs.

Finally, the central and local economic organs convene conferences of labor delegates chosen by shop and factory for the purpose of studying questions relating to work and production.

In this way the working masses of Russia are directly interested even in the functioning of production. In the future as in the past our political economy will aim to arouse in each worker an understanding of the importance of his task. We attach special importance to this characteristic of our plan of

production as one to be broadly realized and appreciated; our goal, in one word, is *conscious* production.

Let us now pass to the management of production regarded as a whole. We will remark, first of all, that it is inaccurate to say, as has been done only too often, that the Soviets proceeded chaotically to hasty and to general nationalization.

By July of 1920 all productive establishments, large and middle-sized, had been nationalized; 4,500 (approximately) small enterprises remained unnationalized.

Of the 6,000 enterprises, 2,910 were directed by the Supreme Council of National Economy and about 3,500 by the local (provincial) Economic Councils. The S.C. of N.E. had the right to regulate production in those enterprises belonging to the second category; the distribution of the products of their labor cannot take place without its assent. The first category of enterprises nationalized were by far the most important.

In a general way the nationalized enterprises appear as follows:

By the force of circumstances we have been led to trustify the enterprises and to concentrate production in those best supplied with tools. In July 1920 we had 179 state trusts. Certain industries are completely trustified.

The most important trusts are: machine construction (16 large factories), electricity, textile (40 establishments), sugar refining.

All the branches of industry constitute with us an entirety, a united whole. For capitalistic competition the Soviet Power substitutes a unified plan of national economy.

This unity is also carried over to the relations between agriculture and industry.

A unified system of national economy, rationally centralized, organized by the organs of the Soviet Government, in the functioning of which the large masses of workers directly participate,—this is the basis of our production.

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According to the Soviet Constitution the S.C. of N.E., an institution equal to the People's Commissariats, constitutes, as all the Commissariats, a section of the All-Russian Soviet Executive Committee. The president and vice-president of the S.C.N.E., appointed by the Executive Committee, belong to the *Sovnarkom*, or Council of People's Commissars.

The S.C.N.E. is responsible to the *Sovnarkom*, which can annul its decisions, and to the All-Russian Soviet Executive Committee.

At the head of the S.C.N.E. is found a committee of 21 members appointed by the *Sovnarkom* upon the recommendation of the Congress of the S.C.N.E. and the Central Trade Union Committee. The composition of the Committee is revised each year; partial changes can be made at any time.

The Central organization of the S.C.N.E. is divided into three groups:

I.—The Bureau has five sections with the aid of which it elaborates the general plan of production for the year and directs its execution. These are:

1. The Production Commission which studies the programs of production of the various industries.

2. The financial-economic section which studies the estimates of outlay and the budgets of the central and local economic organs, and subsidizes them.

3. The Utilization Commission which formulates the plan of the distribution of products (this commission includes a representative from the Provisioning Department).

4. The section of industrial statistics.

5. The Unity Section which maintains contact with the provincial Councils of Economy.

II.—The industrial sections, 50 in number, corresponding to the branches of industry. At the head of each of them stands a director or a Committee of from three to five persons appointed by the S.C.N.E. with the approval of the Central Committee of the Union concerned. The social composition of these industrial sections was as follows in July 1920: workers 30 %, specialists (technicians, engineers) 35 to 40 %; various callings (accountants, clerks) 25 to 30 %. To recruit this staff for the direction of in-

dustry has been particularly difficult, most of the qualified specialists belonging to the bourgeoisie.

III.—Each of the industrial sections is composed of sub-sections: a) technical-administrative; b) financial; c) educational, etc.

The industrial sections direct the trusts and the important establishments of the first category. Their contact with the local organs is assured by analogous sections in the Provincial Councils of Economy.

The latter, in each district, are organized on the model of the S.C.N.E. At their head is a Committee of 3 members.

The Provincial Councils of Economy are divided into metallurgical, textile, mechanical, electricity sections, etc., subordinated at the same time to the industrial sections of the S.C.N.E. to whom they present their estimates of outlay and from whom they receive general instructions.

The Provincial Economic Councils, direct the establishments of the second category (nationalized enterprises of secondary importance), supply them with raw materials, organize their administration, but dispose of the products of their labor only with the consent of the S.C.N.E.

They appoint the directors of the sections with the approval of the trade unions. They organize smaller united locals when the need for them arises.

The various Councils of National Economy hold congresses each year, and their resolutions on matters of political economy are immediately transmitted by the S.C.N.E. to the Council of People's Commissars and to the All-Russian Soviet Executive Committee which give them the power of law, if there is reason for it.

Beside the S.C.N.E. four economic commissariats function independently: Agriculture, Provisioning, Finances, Transportation. Their representatives take part in the S.C.N.E.

The connection between the Commissariat of Agriculture and the S.C.N.E. is accomplished as follows: the sections having charge of the Cooperatives, improvements, the management of the Soviet agricultural estates, are common to both bodies.

The S.C.N.E. is bound to the Commissariat of Transportation by a commission which formulates the monthly program for the transportation of merchandise. The plans of provisioning are devised jointly by the commissariat concerned and by the S.C.N.E. The food products are distributed by the commissariat, the material necessary for production is distributed by the S.C.N.E.

The Commissariat of Finance distributes the paper money among the Soviet administrations; but production is financed by the S.C.N.E.

This general structure and these relationships among new institutions are evidently not positive. All our attention, all our daily labor, tends to simplify this mechanism and to make it more elastic. It has its faults, we do not dispute that. The working class, taking power for the first time, has not been able to organize at once the desired staff of competent industrial administrators. None the less, its economic organization is solidly established. In the place of a chaotic capitalist economy we are witnessing the birth and development in Russia of an economic system based on Socialist principles.

APPEALS

To the Revolutionary Marines of the French Navy

(Message from the Sailors of the Red Navy of Soviet Russia.)

At the beginning of last April the All-Russian Conference of Communist Sailors of the Workers' and Peasants' Navy, convened at Moscow, addressed the following message to the honorary members of its organization, comrades *Marty* and *Badina*, imprisoned by the present government of France:

"The All-Russian Conference of the Communist Sailors of the Navy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic greets in your persons the sailors of every country, and the people who aspire to further the work of

the Proletarian Revolution begun by the workers and peasants of Russia.

The great revolutionary deed such as was your refusal to fire on the workers of Odessa sets a memorable example and gives you the right to occupy a place of honor in the Executive Committee of our Communist Conference. Be courageous; the hour of deliverance approaches!

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!"

Several months have passed since then. Our expectation of the approaching liberation of the prisoners has been partly justified. *Badina* and several other sailors have been freed by the French Government under pressure of the working masses. *Marty* remains incarcerated, but agitation continues outside the walls of his prison.

In this situation we consider it important to impart to you, comrades of France, our conviction and our hopes.

France appears today as the bulwark of world reaction. Upon her rests the greatest responsibility for the failure of the conferences at Genoa and The Hague. France, directed by a handful of financiers and generals remains the most bitter adversary of Soviet Russia.

France, by the imperialist policy of war-mad Poincaré and his political allies, is preparing a new world war the horrors of which will far surpass those of the war just ended.

This France is not, can not, be the true representative of the millions of French proletarians—workers, sailors, soldiers, and impoverished peasants.

We firmly believe, nay, we know, that the descendants of the French Communards cannot be traitors and renegades to the great work left uncompleted by the heroes of 1871. To them belongs the last decisive word as to who shall determine the final role of France in the history of humanity.

And we are firmly convinced that the hour approaches day by day when the just anger of the French proletariat will turn against Poincaré and against all of the criminal governments.

The liberation of *Badina* and the energetic demand for the freeing of *Marty* are landmarks in the development of the proletarian revolution in France. Instructed by the Russian Navy's experiences of long years of revolutionary struggle, we send you our fraternal greetings, while reminding you, sailors of France, that only the determined and united direction of the Communist Party can aid you effectively in your future struggles and assured you in the final reckoning, of a decisive victory.

The revolutionary movement in the Russian Navy goes back to 1824. But up to 1917 it did not have, nor could have, complete success in large measure, because it was not unified under the direction of a political party truly revolutionary, and defending in deed, not alone in words, the interests of the proletariat.

Since October 1917 our Red Fleet has rallied itself under the Communist flag. Now, at the end of the fifth year of the Social Revolution, it counts with honor numerous proofs of combat. And it remains resolved to battle until the triumph of the international proletariat.

Take your stand, comrades, with the Communist Party. Do not allow yourselves to be hypnotized by the soothing sermons of false Socialists. Do not lower your heads under the painful blows of repression. Prepare yourselves, act, keep unceasingly before your mind this same task to struggle against your capitalist system. Demand the recognition of Soviet Russia, follow to the end the path indicated to you by the Communist Party.

The navy is the most important revolutionary force in each country. The navy of imperialist France which counts in its ranks so many courageous revolutionists, will not be the last to perform its revolutionary duty. In the struggle of the working class of France a great historic role devolves upon it.

Long live the revolutionary marines of France!

Long live their union under the flag of the Communist International!

Workers of all countries, unite!

OUR PROBLEMS

The Tasks of the Fourth World Congress

By Ernst Meyer (At present in Moscow).

The Fourth World Congress has as one of the first items on the agenda, the subject "*Five years of Russian Revolution and the Perspectives of the World Revolution*". The 4th World Congress will not merely review the 5 years of Russian Revolution, but during the whole of the deliberations it will consider and estimate the results and experiences in Soviet Russia, and will have to draw further conclusions therefrom for the activity of the Communists. The struggle of the Russian workers to capture the power of the state was not easy. Still more difficult was it for the Russian peasants and workers to maintain the possession of the state power. The struggles have been victorious. The Soviet Power both from the military point of view and the point of view of foreign politics is more consolidated than ever. The difficulties which the proletarian state has yet to overcome on the road to pure Communism are enormous.

In Central Europe too, whose social foundations were greatly shaken during the autumn days of 1918, the revolutionary struggle has not so quickly succeeded as the Communists of all countries expected. While in the first years following the conclusion of the imperialist peace, the Communists immediately took up the fight for the ultimate aim, the conquest of the state power, the Communists of all countries which are still capitalist, have now set up the so-called proximate aims, which are intelligible to the working masses and which are calculated to gather the whole working class under the banner of Communism and the struggle for which must immediately become a struggle for the attainment of the final goal.

The Fourth World Congress will have to test and examine all these experiences in Soviet Russia and in the capitalist world. This necessity for self-understanding also finds expression in that the discussion of an international program as well as of the programs of the various sections of the Communist International has been placed upon the agenda of the World Congress. It is true, no final decision will be reached upon the international program, as the preparatory work is not sufficiently advanced. But the reports to be delivered and the work of the Program Section will form a good basis for further discussions in the Communist circles of all countries. The report of Comrade Zinoviev upon the activity of the Executive and the further tactics of the Communist International will at the same time provide the opportunity of deciding the much debated question of the transition demands or proximate aims. Although the resistance against the tactics of the united front and against the proximate demands set up by the Communist International has been reduced within the Italian and French Parties and in the smaller groups of the German Party, only the authoritative decision of a World Congress will finally close the discussion upon this topic. At the same time, every Party and every Party group will be pledged by this decision to carry out loyally and with all their energy the tactics of the united front in their own country.

The necessity for fighting with closed ranks, will have to be particularly pointed out in the reports on the offensive of capital and the struggle against the Versailles Peace in connection with the home and foreign politics. The transition demands arising out of this struggle against the capitalist offensive and the Versailles Peace can in a generalized form find a place in an international program of the Communist International. The formulation of such demands does not mean that these demands will be actually reached in the prescribed form but only that these demands must be the rallying point for the struggle of the broad masses. The struggle for one of these demands is sufficient to roll up the whole front of the class struggle and lead to the realization of the Soviet Dictatorship.

The question of the tactics of the united front which stands for discussion along with the report of the Executive is therefore immediately connected with the program question. The question of the tactic of the united front and the program question mutually complete each other as practical and theoretical sides of the same problem: by what means and under what slogans will the Communists of all countries most rapidly and most successfully arrive at their goal.—*the realization of Communism.*

The Second International, before, during and after the war, set reformist work and revolutionary work against each other

giving preference to successful reformist work and abandoning all revolutionary work. The practice of all the Menshevik and Social Democratic Parties show that the renunciation of revolutionary work has also hindered the improvement of the living conditions of the working class. Reform work is only successful when it is conducted in a revolutionary spirit and when it leads immediately to revolutionary struggles. How little the formulation of concrete, proximate demands has converted the Communist International into a reformist International, is shown by the ever-widening chasm between the Communist International and the Second and 2½ Internationals

The efforts of the Communist International at the Berlin Conference to form a proletarian united front and to organize a proletarian world congress were answered by the Second and 2½ Internationals with increased fury against the Communists. Nothing is more disagreeable to the Menshevik and Social Reformists than the fact that the Communists stand up most energetically for the daily needs of the workers. Theoretical debates upon the advantages of the proletarian dictatorship or of bourgeois democracy are perhaps welcomed by them. But as soon as they are faced with concrete facts, and are summoned to a struggle against the enemies of the working class, they get into a rage and seek by means of abusive campaigns against the Communists to confuse the working class and to isolate the Communists who are forcing them into the struggle. In Germany, for example, the trade union bureaucracy, the Independents and the Social Democrats, directly after the movement following the murder of Rathenau, issued the slogan: "have nothing to do with the Communists", because the tactics of the Communists during this movement were more dangerous to the Social Democrats than if the K.P.D. had been isolated.

The campaign now being conducted in Germany by the trade union bureaucracy for the expulsion of the Communists is also a proof of how dangerous the trade union tactics of the German Communists have become to these trade union leaders who are so friendly to the employers. If the World Congress deals this time with the trade union question it will in the first place have to confirm the tactic of remaining within the trade unions and of carrying on the revolutionary work there. In so far as the trade union bureaucracy systematically excludes the Communists, the World Congress will have to discuss the appropriate measures of defence, for it is clear that the Communists cannot stand idly by and watch the systematic splitting of the trade unions; but all such measures must be calculated to unite those who have been excluded.

In addition to these most important problems, the World Congress will have to discuss a number of problems which relate to separate practical questions. Besides the oriental and colonial questions and the agrarian question, which have already been discussed at the international congresses, the World Congress will discuss the education question which occupies a special item on the agenda.

The report upon the work among the youth will not be a mere report but it will exhaustively deal with the difficulties and problems that have arisen in the youth movement as a consequence of the changing situation. The interest which the Communist International constantly has for the Women's question is shown by the fact that at this congress there will again be delivered a special report upon the position of the work amongst the women. The great importance of the Cooperative movement will also find expression in a report upon this question connected with a report upon the International Cooperative Conference. Finally the congress will bear witness to the universal interest of the working class in the proletarian famine relief for Soviet Russia in a report upon the Famine Relief for Soviet Russia.

The Communist International regards its conferences not as parades which merely have outward effects, but as days of serious work of self-examination and understanding over the future struggle. The Communist International does not shrink from openly discussing the weaknesses of individual parties. As in the past year, many of the failings of the Communist Parties were openly dealt with, so this time the World Congress will by a special item on the agenda devote itself to the question of the French Party which has revealed many critical symptoms. The Communists know no sensitiveness. They regard every pronouncement even when they lead to critical conclusions as brotherly assistance. They accept every decision of the whole International in the spirit of proletarian solidarity and discipline, both of which are indispensable in order to be able victoriously to overthrow our mighty antagonist, the bourgeoisie, and along with it, its allies, the Social Democrats.