POLITICS

A Triple Crisis
by Charles Rappoport (Paris).

* * *

The desperate and theatrical gesture of over-clever Aristide Briand, the politician of national and international "conciliation", is not an ordinary political occurrence. It is a sequel and a beginning; the result of a profound capitalist crisis and the beginning of a parliamentary and presidential crisis. Politicians are only Chinese shadows projected on the screen of history by historical forces which are not understood by the marionettes of the political stage.

Capitalism had an historical mission: the development of the world's productive forces and the economic unification of the globe. Up to the world war (1914-1918) it brilliantly filled this role. Immense productive forces arose and revolutionized the world's industry and commerce. On the other hand the railroads, the transatlantic liners, telegraphy, wireless and the telephone destroyed distances and created the economic, industrial and commercial unity of the world.

But this necessary historical task was only accomplished by Capitalism according to the sacred commandments of its God Profit. Capitalism was well paid for its "work", while leaving its collaborator—labor—only a miserable pittance. The triumph of Capitalism signified the subjugation and enslavement of the working and peasant classes.

In its triumphal march to power and riches, Capitalism, developing universal competition, was condemned to incite nations, races and continents against one another. Capitalism at the apogee of its power became nationalist and militarist. The might of Capitalism and its will to imperialistic domination were unlooked for and unforeseeable.

But by that very fact it became a traitor to its historic mission. Instead of developing the forces of production it destroyed them with an intensity unprecedented in history. And instead of uniting the world it worked for its irreparable division, for eternal war. As every decadent regime, it did the opposite of what it should do. Marx would have said, "It submits to the law of history and, becoming its own negation, destroys itself".

Bourgeois statesmen such as Lloyd George have, if not a clear comprehension, at least a vague intuition of this situation. They desire to lead Capitalism back to its primal task—the development of production. After having destroyed and ruined Europe's economic system, the Lloyd Georges and the Briands demand its "reconstruction", naturally on a capitalist basis. But since they cannot confide in the vital task of reconstruction, which can only be carried out by the working-class after having revolutionarily seized power, to dying Capitalism become a destroyer—that is to say, militarist and nationalist—the capitalist crisis is without issue.

In France this capitalist crisis has been followed by a parliamentary crisis of which Briand's resignation is only a symptom. The fear of Bolshevism or of the Revolution—this delayed but inevitable reply to the world war—brought about the election of the Bloc National, a capitalist coalition of the first war. The French proletariat, carried out by the working-class after having revolutionarily seized power, to dying Capitalism, became a destroyer—this is to say, militarist and nationalist—the capitalist crisis is without issue.

But since the treasury of France will continue to remain empty, and the equally empty pockets of the German are in no condition to fill it, the government of the Bloc National will be unable to move from the spot and will be condemned to sterile agitation. M. "Poincaré-la-guerre" will not add one centime to the dilapidated fortune of the French treasury. The crisis will go on accentuating itself until the final collapse.

The parliamentary crisis is complicated by a latent presidential crisis. M. Millerand, the go-between and man of affairs of the Bloc National is an obstinate and very active nationalist. He is dissatisfied with the role of a signing machine which is, according to the Constitution of 1875, the sole function of the President of the French Republic. He intervenes upon every occasion in politics to serve the militarist and nationalist reaction which supports him. It was he who, in a telegram, partially made public, disavowed the Briand policy of international reconciliation without waiting for a vote of the Chamber as was his constitutional duty. M. Millerand only knows how to govern with personalities of recognized insignificance, such as M. Laguesse. He is obliged to enter into disputes with men who do not blindly carry out his orders, such as M. Millerand has been exposed. And the fight against the nationalistic and militarist policies of the Bloc National will ricochet against the President of the Republic and his assistant, M. "Poincaré-la-guerre". That will be the third, the presidential crisis.

The French proletariat thus obtains the first opportunity of forming its united proletarian front, demanded by the Executive of the Comintern, to fight the war policy of its government, active only in the service of a decadent and mortally wounded capitalism.

The Net Results of Cannes
by E. Sminell.

* * *

Through the resignation of the Briand Cabinet caused by the stormy greeting M. Briand received in the French Chamber from the Bloc National, the dominating coalition in the Chamber of Deputies, the Cannes Conference has suddenly come to an end. M. Briand while in Cannes received word that all was not well in Paris and that if he expected to continue the negotiations without the somewhat inconvenient accompaniment of severe criticism in the Chamber he would do well to come to Paris and attempt to put his house in order. However, the head-hunters were out for blood and M. Briand handed in his resignation. As a result the hearing of the German delegation, headed by
Dr. Rathenau, was broken off and the various Allied ministers prepared for hostilities with and against both the United States and France, and this time somewhat more ambitious attempts to bring to an end the "peace which has been raging in Europe since November 1918" has ended in thin air. Once again French militarist imperialism has not been able to reconcile itself to the reconstruction of Europe, and the.”

The overthrow of the Briand Ministry does not tend to increase American capitalism’s lukewarm desire to assist in the reconstruction of demoralized Europe.

The Bloc National has now succeeded in rendering France’s isolation complete. France realises that the great European country can no longer, because of the reduction of the French forces of occupation on the Rhine, count on the cooperation of the other powers. The French ministers are in a position to accept this isolation with the bribe of participation in an Anglo-French pact. In the meantime, the economic policy of France has been theoretically and in practice, as per expectations, a failure. France has not been able to realize that Genoa is only the prelude to the formal recognition of the Bolshevik government. If they go to Genoa at all, they do so only because they realize that France’s absence from this important concord will put the final seal on her isolation.

The political reaction, the manifold attacks by the Fascists who are carrying on their activities under the ever bolder protection of the government, the employers’ offensive which seeks the destruction of the labor organizations, and the reduction of wages, unemployment artificially increased by the employers which in turn seeks the defeat of the workers through starvation, and the crises which are used as a pretext for throwing the rebellious workers—particularly the Communists—into the street, all of these went to make up the conditions which the Communist party has been calling for. What the party actually needed was a period of rest in which to complete its own inner organization, with a foundation laid by the revolutionary struggle. That is why it was even possible for a plan dealing with the ejection of the Communists to be carried out, and not only at the front but also among the troops. The struggle is so much the more bitter, because the trade-union leaders are only reformists who fear that the organized masses are turning more and more towards the Communists. That is why the party is a power in spite of the doctrinaire alarm and provocation is due mainly to the great fear that obsesses the Fascists and the doctrinaire clique, namely, the fear of losing influence and power in the C.G.L.

The Situation in Italy!

The Conflict between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in League with the General Confederation of Labor.

by E. A.

**The political reaction, the manifold attacks by the Fascists who are carrying on their activities under the ever bolder protection of the government, the employers’ offensive which seeks the destruction of the labor organizations, and the reduction of wages, unemployment artificially increased by the employers which in turn seeks the defeat of the workers through starvation, and the crises which are used as a pretext for throwing the rebellious workers—particularly the Communists—into the street, all of these went to make up the conditions which the Communist party has been calling for. What the party actually needed was a period of rest in which to complete its own inner organization, with a foundation laid by the revolutionary struggle. That is why it was even possible for a plan dealing with the ejection of the Communists to be carried out, and not only at the front but also among the troops. The struggle is so much the more bitter, because the trade-union leaders are only reformists who fear that the organized masses are turning more and more towards the Communists. That is why the party is a power in spite of the doctrinaire alarm and provocation is due mainly to the great fear that obsesses the Fascists and the doctrinaire clique, namely, the fear of losing influence and power in the C.G.L.**
Thus great pressure was exerted upon the party at the Socialist Congress in Milan, with the more or less veiled threat that a "Labor Party" would be organized.

It is the task of the Communist Party to keep the trade-union organ alive. This is done with the aid of the Trade-Union Committee. From the moment of its foundation, demands are being heard for the calling of an extraordinary trade-union Congress, which is to deal with certain questions. Special demands were put by the Trade Union Committee in an appeal to the proletariat to the Italian Syndicalists, the autonomous Railwaymen's Union, and the C.G.L. itself.

These demands were as follows:

1. The formation of a united proletarian front.
2. That the proletariat should not surrender its gains; on the contrary, it should fortify itself, and extend them.
3. That all the attempts against the threatening extensive attack by the bourgeoisie should at once be organized, by means of setting to work on the preparations for and the carrying out of the general strike.

The C.G.L. turned a deaf ear to these demands, as if there were no such thing as a Communist Trade-Union Committee in existence; but as soon as our slogans began to find response in the masses, thanks to our persistent propaganda, the C.G.L. was compelled to call the Verona Congress, which resulted in a large number of resolutions, in support of our demands.

Our program would undoubtedly have won a decisive victory, if the Italian masses were not so permeated by the cult of the "party saints", the professors, D'Aragona, Baldesi and the other party and organization heroes, who have to show the emptiness of these "high monks".

We wish to remark incidentally that the trade-union leaders take advantage of every opportunity and that they use every possible pretext and disguise to express their opposition to the proletariat, which, as they are afraid, might endanger their personal position. We also wish to point out the great fear of the general strike, which dominates the trade-unions leaders, and their absolute refusal to think upon the simplest lines of the revolutionary class-struggle, in spite of their alliance with the Socialist Party.

Instead of recognizing historical events and the revolutionary demand in the ever-widening bottomless gulf between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, they entertain the petty-bourgeois illusion of being able to bridge over this wide gulf, and in this manner they support the power of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, and approve of the principle that wages may be reduced in the same ratio as the industrial profits and the cost of necessities fall. They thus adopt the same narrow view-point as the conservative bourgeoisie, which does not, however, reduce its profits in proportion to the growing unemployment and undernourishment of the proletariat. They do not recognize any conflict of interests, but rather solidarity between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, just as the C.G.L. party and its allies, even the believers in Menenius Agrippa down to our times do. They proposed to solve the labor and lock-out problems by means of an investigating committee consisting of an equal number of workers' representatives and government ministers. In this manner, since the workers will not agree to such unhealthy propositions, the only final judges between the employers and the workers will be of necessity be of the bourgeoisie, in accordance with the Marxist view, which the Social Democratic trade-unions bureaucrats have long ago thrown overboard. This would actually mean the defeat of the proletariat; but it would also mean "peace" in full bloom, not peace based upon equality, but upon open submission, that is, the unconditional surrender of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie by the masses.

The program seeks to halt the development of a movement against reaction on all fields in the same manner in which they throttled the splendid action of the seizure of the factories, working hand in hand with the capitalist government and the trade-union leaders. At the same time the government also stepped in as supreme mediator; on the one hand it groups the workers, for its own benefit, as it is natural under the bourgeois regime,—the proletariat would still have to fight, even according to the plans of the bourgeoisie, and attempt to improve his class position independent of the rise and fall of the bourgeoisie's profits.

The relation between the income of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie is based not upon moral, but upon dynamic factors. The whole social problem is only a question of power. That is why the Communist Party tells the masses that they must meet the united forces of the bourgeoisie with the united forces of the whole proletariat and with the aid of the general strike. The general strike will not yet grow into a revolution, but it may nevertheless lead to a contest for the working-class. First of all, a general strike will make the Italian syndicalists, the C.G.L., the autonomous Railwaymen's Union, and the C.G.L. itself.

We shall only point out how the Communist theses prepared the way, and how the necessity was recognized for the restoration of the revolutionary unity of the Italian proletariat, which like a blind man grooping in the dark, attempted in every possible way to overcome all obstacles which rendered its way unsafe, obstacles that are put in its way by the various parties and organizations, particularly the Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor.

A further example of this pressing need for a united front of the Italian proletariat, is offered by the various Committees of Defense which the Fascisti had recently set up, in order to call a general strike without any further deliberation—an opportunity offered by the Fascisti provocations during the Congress. Only one trade-union organization, that of the post and telegraph employees refused to join, under the pretext of "Federation Discipline", which could forbid any political strike not previously approved by the head organizations.

As a matter of fact the proletariat always stood together in former actions; but now it is a question of the search of the part of the proletariat for an organ of unity, and not of a temporary union for the preparation of actions. In this search, in these attempts to overcome the various obstacles in the way, in the main progress achieved by the Communist propaganda. The party does not yet assign names to these organisms, because they do not as yet display the structures which the party as a defensive strategy desires to construct. But it yet sees in them definite progress and considers them as a stage in the construction of such, which is certain of forming such structures, and which must lead to a more and more exact definition of the aim by the political party and to the revolutionary unity of the proletariat in the trade-union organization.

On the other hand the Communist theses find greater and greater approval in regard to the agricultural general strike, as the agitation among the workers is intensified. Interesting to note and of special political significance was the general strike called in Turin recently, as a protest against a conviction in a fascist trial. The strike was called for the withdrawal of the Fascisti from the city, as well as the printers' strike called because of a Fascisti attack, and many other strikes carried out in the manner peculiar to Italy. Interesting from the above point of view are also the numerous resolutions passed by the various organizations. The solutions of the various conflicts attempted by the trade-unions through negotiations with the industrialists and which always resulted in a loss to the proletariat, could convince a blind one of the inability and incapacity on the part of the trade-union leaders to master the situation with
**ECONOMICS**

**Tendencies in Agrarian Reform in Czecho-Slovakia**

by Ing. Stransky (Brünn).

**The rural inhabitants of Bohemia were for centuries so proletarianized that it was actually taken for granted that the political overthrow would also bring about a reform in the economic field. Before agrarian reform was carried out that the peasants and agricultural workers as well as the professional farmers would get an opportunity to make use of their own power and ability in the distribution of the land. The chief social-economic aim was to secure the best possible existence for all farmers and agricultural workers. This was to be accomplished in the following manner:

1. By building up a peasant middle-class, since the small peasant was constantly being proletarianized through the heavy burden of taxation and through the increase of his family, which was accounted for by the providing of estates among the farmer families and by collecting equal amounts of the best surplus products of the respective farms.

2. By providing the rich estates only to a certain extent, so that with a simultaneous pooling of surplus products the correction of the existing land apportionment could be carried out; with the remainder of these estates an equally good and permanent existence could have been secured for the agricultural workers (family).

The first thing to look out for in land reform was to see that the farms were protected from the zone of city-owned property, for otherwise, if building activities would not be restricted after the land reform, there would soon be no lots to be gotten outside of forest grounds without a loss to agriculture.

But the land reform proposal was used for political purposes, so as to be expected. Instead of agrarian reform, the law passed was merely a parcelling-out of the land. Instead of improving agriculture it resulted in an intensified proletarianization of the great masses and the city provision supplies sank lower and lower.

The most zealous defender of parcelling-out was the Agrarian Party whose only interest was the assignment of small parcels of land at the governments' expense, thus binding the agricultural worker more than ever; this was done in order to retain a sufficient number of agricultural coolies in the villages, because migration into the cities and abroad was growing enormously.

There were only four persons in the whole republic who openly opposed parcelling-out. These were: Dr. Auerhahn-Statistical Director, Dr. BredeL, technician and former Secretary of Agriculture, Prof. Eulitz, president of the Department for the Reformation of the large estates as a more profitable proposition and because of the surplus production for the city inhabitants, and the writer of this article.

It was shown in an examination of the tax returns that the large estates were in this respect so unprofitable that their tax returns were very slight as compared to that of small estates and cottages and totally out of proportion to the land surface. This was the signal for uncontrollable parcelling-out of the land. It was also shown in a statistical survey of the distribution of the large estates that the farms were "absolute Communism" and since all of them are the bitterest enemies of Communism, the entire government together with President Mazarik were won over by them to prevent the possible realization of Communism through parcelling-out.

A second thing to which all of these gentlemen were won over was the increase of taxation. The carrying out of the land reform was of part of the parcels out of the land, which had been offered for sale to the government; then several estates were to be expropriated (particularly those belonging to foreigners, with the exception, of course, of those following to ruling sovereigns), and finally, by appointing Church from State, the confiscation of the church estates.

In the carrying out of this plan the following facts became apparent: firstly, that since the agrarian reforms were not undertaken in the whole country at the same time, the people at once understood that the agrarian law was a mere piece of paper; secondly, in those places where the estates offered for sale were actually to be parcellled out, in Pardubitz for instance, the proletariat did not at all possess the necessary means for buying the land, and furthermore, that the parcels of land were so far away from the homes of the peasants that if the peasant was compelled to refuse to buy the land for purely technical reasons. They did succeed, however, in parcelling out an estate here and there; but this does not at all mean and indicate that the economic reform is the work of the Land Bureau which can be considered as a purely business office for the exchange of real property. Many estates remained in the hands of the Land Bureau and it is becoming more and more apparent that under the Land Bureau's management they are more unprofitable than ever before. The government income shows that the peasant would be compelled to refuse to buy the land for purely technical reasons. They did succeed, however, in parcelling-out an estate here and there; but this does not at all mean and indicate that the economic reform is the work of the Land Bureau which can be considered as a purely business office for the exchange of real property. Many estates remained in the hands of the Land Bureau and it is becoming more and more apparent that under the Land Bureau's management they are more unprofitable than ever before. The government income shows that the peasant was compelled to refuse to buy the land for purely technical reasons. They did succeed, however, in parcelling out an estate here and there; but this does not at all mean and indicate that the economic reform is the work of the Land Bureau which can be considered as a purely business office for the exchange of real property.

**The Labor Movement**

**The Economic Crisis and the Trade Unions in Bulgaria.**

The following article is an excerpt from the report brought in by Comrade Kabakchiev to the 13th Congress of the General Trade Union Federation of Bulgaria. The Congress was held in Sofia from the 9th to the 11th of October, 1921, and was represented by delegates from the 19 trade unions embracing a membership of 30,000. The Editor.

**After the war, which cost Bulgaria dear, since almost one-half of the male working population either died on the battlefields or were maimed and crippled, a short lived "prosperity" set in. But this boom affected in the main only those industries which were running even during the war, whereas those industries which came to a standstill during the war could not resume work on account of the shortage...**
towards a constantly growing economic and financial breakdown, which promotes anarchy in our social, and confusion in our economic life, in short it is bringing about its complete downfall.

The working class which was employed in the factories during the war was subjected to cruel exploitation and great misery. The capitalists replaced the adult workers with children and women and took advantage of the situation in order to lengthen working-hours, to reduce wages and to repeal the moderate labor laws.

Although the prices of necessities increased 25-fold, the average increase of wages was only 10-fold. Add to this the long period of unemployment, the new taxes, the frightful housing-conditions after the war, and all other degenerating consequences of the growing economic crisis; and you get an idea of the extremely difficult and unbearable condition of the working class. The great increase in the death-rate among the workers, particularly in the cities, and the frightful mortality among proletarian children show clearly that denying capitalism is condemning the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie to physical degeneration and to death.

During the war the trade-unions were not in a position to combat the continually rising prices. But after the armistice, with the improvement which then set in, and under the influence of the rapidly growing Communist Party, the workers joined the trade-unions in masses, so that the trade-union membership was increased five-fold. They were then permitted to undertake a series of strikes and to carry them out successfully. But this short period of success was followed by the failure of the transportation strike, and then came the period of stagnation and relaxation for the labor-organizations. The economic crisis and the prevailing unemployment prevented the growth of the organizations and transformed the offensive into a defensive.

The struggle of the organizations became more and more difficult with the new situation brought about by the post-war period, with the organization and centralization of the capitalists into trusts, associations and syndicates, with the open intervention of the government in defence of the capitalists, etc.

But at the same time these new circumstances made it easier for the labor organizations to direct the consciousness of the workers towards the threats of the immediate interest involved in the recognition of the necessity of the political struggle and the defense of the interests of the workers as a class, and even to make him comprehend the revolutionary slogans of the Communist party. It is through direct action, strikes, boycotts, the introduction of labor-control by the factory councils, the appropriation of the factories, etc., that the working masses are to secure their immediate interests; but at no moment are they to lose sight of their ultimate goal, that is the seizure of political power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat through direct action, strikes, boycotts, etc. It is not in the organization and centralization of the capitalists that the trade-unions need to be afraid of; but in the appropriation of the factories, etc.

For the purpose of carrying out these plans, the trade-unions are working in close cooperation with the Communist Party, so that there is the closest bond between the Communist Party and the trade-union movement and the Communist Party in Bulgaria. But at the same time there is a distinct division of the more individual tasks of these two organizations. As far as the trade-unions are concerned, their tasks are to work in the factories, to form the factory councils, etc., and the Communist Party in Bulgaria is working in the trade-unions, to carry on the economic struggle of the proletariat.

It is true that in the cities the number of organized workers belonging to the trade-unions is considerably larger than the number of party members. At the end of 1920, 16 of our large cities show a trade union membership of 60,000, whereas the corresponding party membership is only 3765. On the average the cities show that only 20% of the number of workers organized into trade-unions belong to the Communist Party. But this is an anomaly, which likewise betrays a weakness in our entire movement and which must be removed at all costs.

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A Letter from the Portuguese Railwaymen.

by Mario Castellsano.

Secretory of the First Congress of Portuguese Railwaymen.

** The Commission elected in December 1919 to organize the first Congress of the railwaymen of Portugal has for various reasons not accomplished its task. Several comrades who were members of it had to quit the railroad lines. In order, however, to hasten the formation of a union of such particular importance, the Committee of the Federation of Labor convened an inter-union conference at Oporto, October 2-3, 1921, where almost all railwaymen's unions of Portugal were represented.

The Conference nominated an organizing committee to work on the basis of the Federation of Railwaymen and to call its first Congress for January 5-7, 1922. Certain political events, however, that took place during October and November obliged the Committee to postpone the meeting of the Congress until February 5-7th. The following will be its order of the day:

1. Questions of organization.
2. International relations.
3. Wages and conditions of labor in Portugal and its colonies.
4. Hygiene, lodging, medical attendance.
5. Education of the railwaymen's children.
7. Administrative, technical and professional questions.
8. Orientation of the Portuguese Railwaymen in trade-union and international Congresses.
9. Necessity of cooperation with other local labor organizations, and with other national federations of railworkers in view of organizing a common defense.

We ask the unions and federations of railwaymen of other countries kindly to transmit to us forthwith all available information on the situation of our fellow workers (importance and extent of the railways, number of workers and of union members, the history of the railways and of the trade-union movement, importance of the traffic, annual revenue, wages of skilled and unskilled labor, political orientation of labor organizations, state regulation, disciplinary measures, etc.).

We should also like to receive certain information of a purely practical character, such as: the number of workers belonging to the trade-unions, the number of factory councils, the number of factory councils, etc., that is, the seizure of political power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc.; the political orientation of the trade-unions, and the vast resources of the state regulation, disciplinary measures, etc.

We shall answer all letters and communications that will reach us immediately and we shall keep our comrades informed about our work of organization.

Address all communications to: Comissao organisadora dos Trabalhadores dos Caminhos de Ferro, R. do Arco Amapre do Algre, 30, 2o, Lisbon, Portugal.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Jewish Communist Movement in Poland.

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

** The first issue of the "Communist Voice", an illegal bulletin published by the Communist Party of Poland, contains a resolution entitled "The Jewish Workers", from which we take the following data.

Party work among the Jewish workers has progressed favorably in the course of the last six months. Our party being illegal, the revolutionary struggle is carried on within the trade-unions. This trade-union movement is divided into national lines, the Polish trade-unions being led by the PPS, and the Jewish by the social-nationalist Bund. Recently the Central Committee of both these federations have agreed on "unity" which is, however, only to apply to bureaucratic leaders, the rank and file of both the Polish and the Jewish trade-unions continuing to be organized separately.
"Red Wings" exist in all Jewish trade-unions. They are being as savage as attacked by the Bund as their counterparts in the Polish trade-unions by the P.P.S., the only difference being that the Bund does not call upon the Secret Service for assistance in its endeavors. The Red sections in the trade-unions in Warsaw and Lodz are with the exception of the wings controlled by the Bund and the C.C.T. with the proposal to prevent the convocation of the minority congress was not called to carry out the split, but to exercise the responsibility for the split of the Confederation declared, however, strongly against organization along national lines and demanded that Jewish and Zion and United Socialists are the only difference being that the Bund refused to accept the offer. This connection we must mention that a group within the Bund, while the latter group have affiliated with the C.P.P., these desertions have of late assumed immense proportions, while the parties themselves are being compelled towards the left. The reason for this is to be found in the growth of revolutionary sentiment in the always more apparent sterility of Jewish opportunism.

The recent convention of the United Socialists witnessed a split within the ranks of that party, great numbers leaving both the right and the left wing. The former have joined the Bund, while the latter group have affiliated with the C.P.P. The Poale Zion has declared for the 21 conditions and approached the Comunist Party with the proposal to be allowed to enter it while at the same time retaining its autonomy (as a Jewish section of the International), unity of its proletariat was behalf of immigration to Palestine. Needless to say the Party declined the offer. In this connection we must mention that a really Communist group has developed within the Poale Zion. The Bund has been carrying on negotiations with the C.C.T. of the C.G.T. for at least a year, and in the Bund being that it refuses to out its nationalist leaders. The Communist group within the Bund is the object of various persecutions on the part of the party leaders.

In spite of its illegality our Party succeeded in convening a national conference of the Jewish organizations, which met in September and lasted two days. The 25 delegates present represented Warsaw, Lodz, Bielsk, Brest-Litowsk, Czenstochau, Plock, Kalisz, Radom, Kielce and Grodno. In its theses on party work among the Jewish proletariat the conference stated that Communism had developed considerably. It furthermore recommended that the Jewish language, paid attention to in the trade-unions and other organizations as far as possible. It declared, however, strongly against organization along national lines and demanded that Jewish and Polish labor cooperate as much as possible. The conference also disapproved of special political slogans being given out for the workers of different nationalities, and demanded absolute unity of the political action of all the proletarians of Poland.

The RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

The Executive Bureau of the R.T.U.I. to the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

Your reply noticed today, January 4th, in "Humanité". Moscow did not pick up this radiogram. The attempt to shift the ball to the split of the International Co-operation Generale du Travail to the Third International and the Red Trade Union International is a remarkable twisting of the facts. Did the Red Trade Union International expel the majority of the railwaymen from the C.G.T.? Did the R.T.U.I. expel 20,000 Tourcoing trade union members from the C.G.T.? Did the R.T.U.I. expel 100,000 workers from the C.G.T.? Did the R.T.U.I. expel the trade unionists from the Federation of Medical Employees or the federation of Medical Employees' Federation or the Federation of Medical Workers, etc.? You know as well as we do who split the C.G.T. Your proposal to, prevent the convocation of the minority congress which was called by Zindl and Freund, the result of the fight over the question by means of telegram and radios and again emphasize our readiness to meet together with your representatives. In this connection it is self-understood that both halves of the French C.G.T. must participate in order to discuss before the forum of the international proletariat that question which interests the movement in all countries—the question of the unity of the French proletariat.

The Executive Bureau of the Red Trade-Union International. Losovsky, General Secretary.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Communist International and the Cooperatives by G. Kravtsov (Moscow).

**Millions of proletarians are united in the cooperatives of Western Europe. These cooperatives attempt to eliminate the profits of the middlemen, a problem which the movement at present solves by forming cooperative stores and by founding enterprises of its own where commodities and foodstuffs are manufactured.

Though this scheme makes it, to a certain extent, possible to decrease the prices of commodities for the masses, it is obvious that it cannot be otherwise under a system based upon the exploitation of the proletariat in order to gain the surplus of its toil.

Hence the cooperatives, like any other proletarian organization, must accept the theory of the class-struggle in which they can render valuable help to the revolutionary parties and red trade-unions.

With labor in power the cooperatives will, during the period of dictatorship, be important organs for the distribution of goods according to the plans of a proletarian government.

The agricultural cooperatives and those of the home industries, in both of which are united small peasants and artisans, have the tasks of teaching their members collective work by means of highly developed machinery. These cooperatives must also serve as channels through which their members exchange their products against the goods manufactured by the large industries. This exchange is of great importance during the period of dictatorship, because it provides a connecting link between town and country.

Millions of workers and small owners being united in the cooperatives throughout the world it follows that the latter play a very important part everywhere. At the last Cooperative International Congress which took place in August last in Basle, Switzerland, 28,000 cooperatives with 19,000,000 members were represented.

The Communist International cannot afford to overlook the cooperatives.

At the Third Congress, following a report delivered by Comrade Mezherikoff, a resolution was adopted pointing out the necessity for forming a Cooperative Section in order to unite and guide the Communist and revolutionary elements in the cooperatives.

This Section must, in accordance with the Thesis on the Cooperatives adopted by the Congress, look for support in the nuclei and groups existing both legally and illegally in the cooperatives throughout the world.

The Section must endeavor to establish communication between the cooperatives, and the Communist Parties and revolutionary trade-unions on the other; it must also oppose the opportunist elements at present controlling the cooperatives.

The Section was created and commenced activities in August last. It can be maintained, however, that the conditions for these activities are very favorable. Apart from its political activities, the Section must deal with the trade and credit operations between the cooperatives in various countries. This, however, leads to the setting up of an international wholesale buying agency, and an international cooperative bank.

Two representatives of the Russian cooperatives having joined the Central Committee of the International Federation of
Cooperatives it became necessary for them to formulate the differences between their political position and that of the cooperatives which are all for political neutrality and which in their basic convention declared their solidarity with the principles of the League of Nations, clamoring for admittance to its Labor Bureau.

The Section sets itself the task of bringing about everywhere communication between the producers' and the consumers' cooperatives and to broaden the activities of the Communists in the cooperatives.

The Section must, finally, take steps towards the realization of the resolution of the Third Congress providing that a Congress of all revolutionary cooperatives be called.

Activities of the Communists in the cooperatives have just commenced, and it is the duty of our members to try and intensify these activities in a manner befitting the cause. It is our task to gain points of support in the cooperatives which heretofore have been the exclusive domain of the opportunists of all shades.

We must prepare the hundreds of thousands of proletarians in the cooperatives, belonging neither to the Communist Parties nor to the revolutionary trade-unions, for the struggle against Capitalism.

One should not underestimate the importance of the Communist activities in the cooperatives. It is a well known fact that the cooperatives provide the opportunist parties with financial support. It is our task, nay, our duty to bring this practise to an end.

At the Socialist Congress at Copenhagen in 1910, the cooperatives were named as the third communist activities in the cooperatives. It is our task to make these cooperatives support the Communist Parties and the militant trade-unions in their struggle against Capital.

Wherever workers' cooperatives exist we must form Communist nuclei within them. All Communist Parties must entrust the work within these nuclei to special sections which must be in closest communication with the International Section in Moscow.

These are the tasks before the Communist Parties in regard to the cooperatives.

**IN SOVIET RUSSIA**

**Private Enterprise Before the Proletarian Court!**

by Joseph Schneider (Moscow).

Moscow, Dec. 16, 1921.

**Yesterday at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the cases of 40 employers, charged with circumventing the labor laws, came up for hearing in the People's Court. The great hall of the "Dom Soyuzov" was filled. A great crowd was compelled to remain outside. The chairmanship was held by Comrade Smirnov and by two members of the court, comrades Vassil and Moz. The defense the court appointed Komodov, Ozep, Riazansky and Sokolov. Comrade Radek representing the trade-unions acted as prosecutor.**

At the opening of the session the defendants asked the court to adjourn the case on the ground that the defense had not gathered enough evidence in the cases of many of the defendants and that it had not been given sufficient time for a more careful investigation of the case. After a short deliberation it was decided to adjourn the cases against 6 of the defendants and to try the others.

According to material gathered at the inquest, it seems that the above-mentioned private employers, who according to the economic policy had been granted free initiative in the economic reconstruction of the republic, had, by means of circumventing the labor laws, used that privilege for purposes of personal gain and profit. The investigations of the Moscow District Trade-Union Organization, ascertained that the defendants in question sought to exploit the workers in violation of the statutes of the R.S.F.S.R. The following facts were established: 1. Infringement upon the daily working hours law (14-16 hours). 2. Hiring of workers without the interposition of the Labor Exchanges. 3. Refusal to pay insurance fees for the workers. 4. A flagrant and most shameless exploitation of minors and children who were worked 1 1/2 to 2 times the number of hours fixed for adults.

After the prosecution presented its case the defendants and witnesses were examined and at 9 o'clock in the evening the court adjourned.

The cross examination revealed the true conditions of the workers under private enterprise. It was proved for instance, that a boy suffering from tuberculosis was working from 9 to 10 hours a day (50 hours a week) in a shop, a task that is a common every-day occurrence in the capitalist countries. This boy was employed without the consent of the Labor Exchange and the latter's representative testified that the employment of such children shall never have permitted the assigning of a tuberculous boy to such work.

The owner of a tea house was asked how much he was paying an old relative of his who worked 12 hours a day in his place, and he gave the following characteristic answer: "When she died I shall be allowed to raise her wages.

The prosecution pointed out that it was the judiciary's duty to see that the new economic policy which permits the small industries to develop, should not be misused by unscrupulous speculators for purposes of circumventing the labor laws. The defendants were sentenced to compulsory labor for a period not exceeding 6 months and they had to pay fines up to 15,000,000 rubles.

The court went on to add that under our new economic policy, the courts go from strength to strength, from this decision how Justice is practiced in a workers' government.

**Public Health and the Fight against Venereal Disease in Soviet Russia.**

**In Soviet Russia as well as in other countries of Europe venereal disease reached terrifying proportions during the war and the post-war period. But whereas in Western Europe the fight against this scourge of humanity is carried on rather meagerly, in Russia it is being waged most energetically despite the tremendous obstacles in the way.**

The proletarian government made the greatest efforts during the civil war in order to remove the attendant ills of the great international slaughter in this sphere as well. Unfortunately, it was impossible to carry through in a practical and efficient manner all the necessary measures on account of the uninterrupted fight with the White armies and bands as well as on account of the disturbed state of industry due to Soviet Russia's having been long under the most deplorable conditions, created by the capitalist blockade. Hence it is self evident that all plans for an effective fight against venereal disease could not be carried very far, but had to be restricted to a rather limited field.

With the end of the civil war, that is, with the end of the Wrangel adventure, as well as with the lifting of the blockade it was possible to commence intensive activity in the fight against the disease which had raised mortality to tremendous proportions and reduced the percentage of the physically and morally sound population.

With this aim in view the People's Commissariat of Public Health put aside a number of buildings and created a staff composed of the ablest specialists on skin and venereal diseases who had been readily offering their services hitherto in the existing clinics. With the aid of the capital loan, the workers' aid of the Government, was carried to a successful conclusion and the means put at the disposal of the doctors made it possible to inaugurate the opening of the new State Institute for Experimental Venereology and a Venereal Disease Hospital on December 11th. The Institute is composed of a section for experimental venereology and a clinical station with beds for 250 patients. Contrary to the custom in Western Europe these are treated individually and free of all charge. The section for experimental venereology has at its disposal the latest work of scientists of this field, among them a Wassermann apparatus for blood testing, and can be favorably compared in respect of equipment with any Western European establishment of the same nature.

In addition to the experimental and clinical treatment of 250 patients the Institute gives instruction to 300 young doctors, which, taking into account Russia's backwardness in the field of medicine, is of the highest importance. How much the lack of doctors and necessary relief and medicaments contributed formerly to the spread of these diseases will be best seen by the fact that formerly only a small percentage of men suffering from venereal disease could receive treatment. No woman at all...
could receive it. The newly opened Institute for Skin and Venereal Disease, which immediately after its opening began work with great energy at once brought about a change of procedure. The Russian medical world that had hitherto a passive attitude to all decrees and instructions of the Soviet Government, greeted the establishment of this institute with great enthusiasm as was proved by the speeches and congratulations delivered by well known professors and specialists. The absolute necessity of the undertaking as well as the active part played by the Government in the solution of this very difficult problem can scarcely find a parallel in any other land and may well be recognized from every standpoint as an excellent example to follow.

**Famine Relief—Economic Relief**

by Willy Munzenberg.

*From the very beginning of the proletarian relief action it was clear to every far-sighted comrade that this action was not to be confined to bare food relief, but that if the proletariat of Western Europe really wished to help, it would have to devote its efforts to a far-reaching support of Russia's economic reconstruction. The catastrophe visited upon Russia by nature through a series of disastrous droughts and famine years was not only a greater but a more difficult to overcome, by the catastrophic breakdown of Russian economic life as a result of many years of war, the blockade, the sabotage of the counter-revolution, etc. A few figures will serve to illustrate this. In 1913 the coal production of Russia amounted to 638,000,000 poods, whereas in 1920 it dropped to 250,000,000 poods. In 1913 the production of pig iron was 259,000,000 poods; in 1921, 6,000,000 poods. In the spring of 1921 the output of Russian industries dropped to 20% of the pre-war output. Of course, it is as yet impossible for the Western European workers who are themselves oppressed and exploited, and who are as yet cut off from the field of production, to understand the magnitude of the task and means necessary for the reconstruction of the Russian economic life. This can be accomplished only by organizing the economic and trade relations between the industrial West and agrarian Russia on a large scale. As long as there are no social workers' republics in the West, Russia will have to deal with the capitalistic West—for better or for worse. The vast masses can aid only inasmuch as they bear pressure upon their governments to resume full economic relations with Russia. But the workers and above all our trade-union comrades can do still more. Many Russian factories are at a standstill to resume full economic relations with Russia. This only the locomotive repair shops of Podolsk suffer mostly from a lack of certain single machines or even essential substitute parts for these machines. The following table shows the chief important substitute parts for these machines.

**The Campaign of the Swiss Communist Party for the Famine Stricken.**

*It was to be expected that the relief campaign in Switzerland would find very difficult going, since unemployment is continually on the increase and reductions of wages have been put through in almost all industries although the cost of living has not yet gone down. Thus, our relief campaign which was conducted under the banner of the Communist Party, had to rely in the main upon the members of the Party and sympathizing workers. Nothing was to be expected from the bourgeoisie and the public. The municipal council of Zurich has just appropriated 10,000 francs for the famine-stricken upon the motion of the Communists. Although our campaign can no longer record successes such as at the beginning of the campaign, it will, however, be continued and the workers themselves in direst need will still have a mite for the starving in Russia.*

**The Enlarged Session of the Executive of February 1st.**

*According to a telegram from Moscow, the enlarged session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International set for February 10th, has been advanced to February 1st.*

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

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