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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 railways, 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 the instigator of wars. 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 irremediable 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 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 water. The entire band of civil and military war profiteers united in the Bloc on the 16th of November, 1919, to capture by surprise the confidence of the masses, insufficiently organized and wholly uneducated politically. They promised the people, tired by the war and burdened with mountains of paper signed by a state

in undeclared bankruptcy, the gold in the pockets of the Germans. "The Germans will pay!" But the German pockets are empty and not even parliamentary science has found a way to fill a vacuum by a vacuum. Naturally enough the Bloc National could not keep its word. At first it held Germany's unwillingness to pay responsible for this impossibility and then the weakness of the French government.

M. Briand, first-class dancer on the Parliamentary tight-rope, attempted for exactly one year to adapt himself to the idiosyncracies of the Bloc National. He played with words, with beautiful speeches and with parliamentary "tricks". The diplomatic conferences multiplied in number, but the treasury remained empty. The rivals of M. Briand ceaselessly denounced his wiles and demanded realities. M. Poincaré and the Clémenceau group exploited Briand's weakness and ended by obtaining his head.

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. Laygues. He is obliged to enter into disputes with men who do not blindly carry out his orders. M. Millerand has been exposed: And the fight against the nationalist 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 home.

Thus, another, and this time somewhat more ambitious attempt 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 with the British plan for Europe's reconstruction. French high finance has still two bogeys—industrial Germany and Bolshevik Russia. And, faced by the prospect that it would no longer be able to exercise military pressure on Germany, such as the threatened occupation of the Ruhr, by the possibility of the reduction of the French forces of occupation on the Rhine, and by the prospect of sitting down at the same table with the Bolshevik delegates at Genoa the French militarists have made their unwilling choice. They have not yet given up the hope of being able to crush the Soviet government by military force. And they 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 conclave would put the final seal on her isolation.

Not only are there differences in Europe between England and France, but the entire British European policy meets with the most bitter opposition from French capitalism. England's Continental policy is based on the economic restoration of Central and Eastern Europe in order to enable these impoverished countries again to become factors in world economy and markets for Britain's industrial products. This would, incidentally, reduce unemployment in England and thus eliminate a dangerous factor in English domestic affairs. In order to achieve this Lloyd George was prepared to go to the length of renouncing Britain's share in the indemnity to win over France and Belgium to this policy. This plan, however, was wrecked on the shoals of the French European policy.

Ever since the armistice France has been endeavoring to build up a Napoleonic 20th century empire on the continent—an empire based on its army of 900,000 men and connected not by territorial lines, but by the invisible threads running from the *Comité des Forges* to the principally coal and iron deposits in Central and Eastern Europe. Britain's domination of the coal and iron industry, the keystone of modern imperialism, is rather irksome to ambitious France. She realizes that as long as she is dependent on Great Britain for these key commodities she is condemned to play a secondary role in world politics. Therefore her desire to occupy the Ruhr, to hand over the rich coal and iron district of Upper Silesia to her vassal Poland and her attempts to bring the rich mineral deposits of Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia within her "sphere of influence". France has as her goal the building up of an industrial power on the continent which, commanding considerable coal, iron and petroleum (Galicia) would be independent of Great Britain and would even be able to compete with her on equal or more than equal terms in the world market. Therefore also the huge French outlays for the counter-revolutionary campaigns against Soviet Russia. She counted on the establishment of a reactionary Russian government completely under French influence which would afford France a preferential position in the exploitation of Russia's huge natural resources.

Naturally enough these two policies were diametrically opposed to each other and the efforts to reconcile them were automatically bound to fail. Recent history has shown that France has pursued a consistent anti-British policy both in Europe and in Asia Minor. The Angora agreement with Kemal Pasha had as its ulterior aim the loosening of the band of common interest between Turkey and Soviet Russia and the checkmating of England's policy in the Near East. For, with an intransigent Turkey preaching the *jihad* and under French protection, in uncomfortably close proximity to the Mesopotamian oil fields and the Suez Canal, England's Mohammedan empire was seriously menaced. This naturally resulted in the weakening of England's diplomatic position in the Supreme Council and obtained for France the victory in the Upper Silesian question.

However, England's position has been considerably strengthened in the last few weeks through the settlement of the Irish question and the Anglo-American alignment at Washington. Through France's attitude at Washington she has succeeded in gaining for herself the distrust of America. The American attempts to make the business of preparedness for war less expensive went on the rocks because of the obstinate French demand for increased armaments. This found its echo in a resolution introduced into the United States House of Representatives, directly aimed at France, which stated that "whereas the proceedings of the armament conference have disclosed a determination on the part of certain debtor nations of the U.S. to expend large sums of money on additional armament, Congress desires that the government advise such nation or nations that payment will be acceptable". This threat has all the more force

since the already overburdened French budget would be actually swamped were America to demand merely the payment of the interests on its huge advances to the French government. Mr. Gerard, a very influential American political leader, recently spoke of France in the following terms: "... the world face to face with a new and growing menace, the revival of French imperialism and the recrudescence of the Napoleonic dream of conquests." 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. The English newspapers in close touch with the government openly speak of the taking place of the Genoa economic conference with or without France's participation. The Bloc National desired an English agreement to come to France's assistance in case of "attack". But it is and will not be ready to pay as the price for this pact the carrying through of the English plans for the restoration of Germany and Russia. The "Manchester Guardian" intimates in its issue of January 11 that a general European agreement somewhat on the line of the Four Power Treaty at Washington should be substituted for the proposed Anglo-French pact. It then rather meaningfully concludes "France claims to be protected, and protected she must be. But Europe also claims protection. Is not her claim at least as strong?"

The long series of Allied conferences and Supreme Council meetings since the Armistice has had another added to list. Cannes has ended like all its predecessors, indecisively, but with this difference the others broke up with an agreement to disagree, while Cannes was exploded by the eruption of the most portentous parliamentary crisis in France since pre-war days. It marks the official burial of the tottering Entente.

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 Fascisti 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 had to fight under, since it was founded. What the party actually needed was a period of rest in which to complete its own inner organization, with a foundation laid by organizing a Communist fraction within the Socialist Party so that the reactionary storm could not hurt the young party. At present, however, the party is a power in spite of the many difficulties in its way. Under the above described conditions, one of the greatest difficulties to deal with, was the more than passive attitude of the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.L.) and the Socialist Party.

The main difficulty lies in the fact that most of the trade-unions belong to the C.G.L., which is in turn bound to the Socialist Party by a treaty of alliance, and is therefore directed by Social Democrats. This shows clearly that the Socialist fight against the Communists is also carried on in this field, and indeed, 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 it was even possible for a plan dealing with the ejection of the Communists to be brought up and that is also why storm-troops were organized, not to attack the bourgeoisie, but to be used against the Communists, as was recently demonstrated in Milan where at a bakers' convention three were killed and several badly beaten. Without the driving force of the Communist Party, as applied in the Trade-Union Committee, and without the instinctive force of the working masses themselves, the Italian proletariat would be steered to destruction by the C.G.L. The C.G.L. does nothing to prepare for the attack against the bourgeoisie, and almost nothing to strengthen the resistance of the workers against the reaction and the employers' offensive. The Socialist Party does less than nothing. This fact becomes evident when we consider that the entire anti-Communist and Maximalist alarm and provocation is due mainly to the great fear that obsesses Serrati 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 organs alive and this is done with the aid of its Trade-Union Committee. From the midst of the masses, 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 proletarian organizations of the Italian Syndicalist Union, 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 first of all, the resistance 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 minority vote for our theses, in spite of the absurd voting system. 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. We shall have to expose 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 idea of proletarian unity, which, if realized, 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 every bourgeois party and every exploiter all the way from 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', employers' and government representatives. In this manner, since the workers will not agree to such unhealthy proposals, the only final judges between the employers and the workers will 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 through open treason. It is in this way that they seek 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; the movement was stranded and nothing more was heard of factory control. And now, trials for rebellion and scandalous decisions form the order of the day. The sacrifices of the proletariat were brought to naught by the traitorous trade-unions.

The Communist Party program deals with the wage and unemployment questions in the light of the class-struggle. Granted, for the sake of argument that the bourgeoisie would regulate their profits so that the workers' lot may be improved (as far as such an idiotic act can at all be expected); granted also that the bourgeoisie seeks to improve the living conditions of the workers, for its own benefit, as 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 should keep all their forces in readiness and 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 conquests for the working-class. First of all, it will halt the reaction and will make the masses conscious of their own power and enable them to carry on successful revolutionary activity. The C.G.L. opposes the solutions proposed by us and pursues the policy of "From case to case". In practice this means that it disapproves of any action which is undertaken without its knowledge or against its will, such as strikes here and there. The brave proletarian fighters who alone are the victims of the bourgeois hounds, are thus time and again abandoned to more or less heavy defeats. The Socialist Party, due to its close cooperation with the C.G.L. was subject to the latter's influence and the influence of the actual traitors of the reformist group which determines the whole line of activity for the party. The attitude of the passive and pacifistic trade-unions corresponded to its Parliamentary attitude and to the treaty of peace between the Socialists and the Fascisti. As the occurrences in Rome show, the Fascisti broke the agreement which really had no result but the increase of Fascisti attacks. The value of the bourgeois government from the point of view of the C.G.L., may be judged from the Socialist criticism of the present government, which aims at the increase of the government forces, and which it wishes to see *stronger and stronger*.

It is thus that the Socialist Party and the trade-unions fight the Communist program for the sole benefit of the capitalist class. Nevertheless, the Communist principles are constantly gaining adherents. Suffice it to say that in spite of the Socialist propaganda for *passive* resistance against the Fascisti attacks, the Italian workers in every part of the country are beginning to react in a distinctly militant manner and sometimes they even assume the offensive.

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 groping 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 Proletarian Defense", which had the best opportunity in Rome 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 *organism 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, lies 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 and offensive organ expects them to have; yet it sees in them definite progress and considers them as a stage in the process, 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 organizations.

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 factory seizure trial; furthermore, the general strike in Rome 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

their policy of "From case to case". Forced by circumstances, the proletariat must accept our theses which require the mobilization of all its forces for the general strike. It is thus it will find the right revolutionary road and "it must succeed!"

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. The agrarian reform was to be so 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; this was to be accomplished by dividing the rich estates among the farmer families and by collecting equal amounts of the best surplus products of the respective farms.
- 2- By dividing 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 farms, cooperative farms).

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, as was 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 the emigration 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. Bredlik, technician and former Secretary of Agriculture, Prof. Dr. Krejci, who were all for the retention 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 uncontrolled parcelling-out of the land.

At that time the various parties who took a reserved attitude on the matter of land reform, claimed that the equalization of the farms would be "absolute Communism" and since all of them are the bitterest enemies of Communism, the entire government together with President Mazaryk 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 particular interest. First, those estates were to be parcelled out, 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 belonging to ruling sovereigns!), and finally, by separating 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, that in those places where the estates offered for

sale were actually to be parcelled 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 respective owners 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 an increase in the annual turnover of land, so that the *Land Bureau* may 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 of 1920 showed that all the estates belonging to government institutions, such as the agricultural schools and charity institutions, with the only exception of the estate at Lana—the president's residence, yielded good returns.

Such is the condition of agrarian reform in Czecho-Slovakia at the present time. It is absolutely uncertain whether the agrarian law will be passed at all or not. The estate owners are again riding the high horse, and the Land Bureau means a heavy burden to the state. No benefits are to be derived either from the law or from its partial execution.

We thus see that the jealousy of the capitalists and also of several "proletarian" parties—who always combine jealousy with hatred against the Communists—is able and willing to sacrifice an improvement of the general welfare, be it ever so small, rather than pass the agrarian reform law which is distinctly beneficial; and only because it smells of Communism.

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 Kabaktchieff 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 242 delegates sent by 18 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 of raw material, machines and capital. Under such conditions the industries could not employ all of the demobilized workers and in many cities there were unemployed. But when the 1920 crisis set in, unemployment increased to a frightful degree. Thousands of workers were thrown out of work for a very long time. Unemployment reached its highest point in the summer of 1921; even intensified agricultural labor and the constantly working mining industries were unable to provide all of the city workers with employment. It is only recently that some industries have gradually begun to resume work.

The other peculiarity of Bulgarian economic development after the war is that it is in large degree controlled by foreign capital. After the war Bulgaria, a country which was always economically dependent upon the great capitalist countries, completely lost its economic independence and became a mere colony of the Allies. Italian, English and other capitalists are buying up the larger industrial and business enterprises; the Bulgarian capitalists are accepting the participation of foreign firms; the large European banks are becoming the complete masters of all economic and industrial riches of the country and at the same time of the government finances. The development of production fell under the influence of the great Western powers, and reacts (though irregularly) to every fluctuation, crisis and shock of world capitalism. The consequences of this situation for our country are more ruinous than ever, because of its poorly developed productive forces, its complete financial breakdown and foreign economic control. The irresistibly continual depreciation of the Bulgarian leva, and the complete uncertainty and insecurity which dominates the inner as well as the international relations of Bulgaria, show beyond a doubt, that irrespective of the weak and short-lived economic revival which followed the war, and irrespective also of a new boom which may follow the present crisis, capitalism in Bulgaria as well as world capitalism are not in a position to renew the forces of production, or to develop and perfect them; on the contrary, capitalism is drifting

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 high 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 decaying 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 thus able 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 worker from the defense of his immediate interests to 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, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the organization of Socialist production.

For the purpose of carrying out these plans, the trade-unions are working in close cooperation with the Communist Party, so that there is a strong ideological and organization bond between 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, we must frankly say that they have not yet measured up to their particular tasks. First of all it is the duty of the trade-unions to carry on the economic struggle of the masses not only during periods of economic "prosperity", but also during economic crises. It is just this that they failed to do to any satisfactory degree during the years 1920-21.

Secondly, the workers who are organized into trade-unions constitute a very small part of the city and village proletariat, in fact less than 10%; hence the anomaly in the relations between the trade-union and the Communist movements, namely, that the former has less members than the latter. The Communist Party membership exceeds that of the trade-unions by about 10,000. This anomaly is a sign of weakness on the part of our movement and represents a danger for our future revolutionary struggles. The trade-unions will not be in a position to carry out their tasks during and after the revolution unless they embrace the overwhelming majority 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. So for example, at the end of 1920, 16 of our large cities show a trade union membership of 26,722, 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 another anomaly, which likewise betrays a weakness in our entire movement and which must be removed at all costs.

A Letter from the Portuguese Railwaymen.

by *Mario Castellsano.*

Secretary 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 General Confederation of Labor convoked 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 out the basis of the future Industrial 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.
6. Equal ranks and wages in Portugal and its colonies.
7. Administrative, technical and professional questions.
8. Orientation of the Federation of Railwaymen in trade-union and international Congresses.
9. Necessity of cooperation with other local labor organizations and with other industrial federations in view of organizing a common defense.

We ask the unions and federations of railwaymen of other countries kindly to transit 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 technical order on the organization of the railways, the mechanical power employed, the existence of electric lines, the tons of merchandise drawn by locomotives on flat ground and on a grade, the average number of cars in a train, the income from passenger and freight traffic together or separately, and the respective advantages of electricity and steam as motive power.

The Portuguese railwaymen, about to organize along industrial lines, need the cooperation of their brethren abroad. They should also like to establish immediate international relations believing that in view of the powerful international organization of the bourgeoisie, international solidarity and an offensive and defensive alliance of the workers are of decisive importance.

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 Maiquer do Alegrete, 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 an article entitled "The Communist Movement among 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. The trade-union movement in Poland is divided along 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 savagely 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 the strongest fractions, more and more Reds always being elected into the Technical Commissions and Trade-Union Executives. At the recent conventions of the Jewish clothing, textile and leather workers Red Groups were working quite openly. At the leather workers' convention a resolution was adopted favoring affiliation with the Red Trade Union International and sending greetings to the Communist Polish deputies.

The crisis in the Jewish opportunist parties (Bund, Poale Zion and United Socialists) is an indirect result of Communist activities. Though single groups have always been leaving these parties and joining the C.P.P., such 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 and 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 Communist Party with the proposal to be allowed to enter it while at the same time retaining its autonomy (as a Jewish Section) and the right to carry on its propaganda on 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 E.C. of the C.I. for at least one year, the reason of the failure so far being that it refuses to oust 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, Bielostok, Brest Litovsk, Czenstochau, Bendzin, 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.

The Executive Bureau of the R.T.U.I. has sent the following radio to the Bureau of the Amsterdam International Federation:

"Your reply noticed today, January 4th, in 'Humanité'. Moscow did not pick up this radiogram. The attempt to shift the responsibility for the split of the Confédération Générale 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 strikers? Did we throw out a number of unions from the French 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 to protect trade-union unity, would have been unacceptable even if it could have been executed. The congress was not called to carry out the split, but to exercise the moral pressure of the organized workers on their leaders of the C.G.T. for unity. The proceedings of the unity congress demonstrated that the revolutionary syndicalists are prepared to do everything within human power to protect the unity of the C.G.T. at any price. Unity can be maintained if the leaders of the C.G.T. renounce the system of expulsions, and in case they do not at-

tempt to reduce the revolutionary minority to silence and forcibly to transform revolutionary workers into reformists.

"In fullest agreement with the unity congress we are prepared to do everything to ensure the unity of the workers organized in the economic field in France. We believe it to be impossible to carry on a discussion on such an important 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 a question which interests the labor movement in all countries—the question of the unity of the French proletariat.

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

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Communist International and the Cooperatives

by G. Kramarov (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 attempts to solve 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 can bring but little direct relief to the masses. 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 reader 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 Meshherjakoff, 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 on one hand 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 cannot 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 Basle 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 form of the labor movement, after the political parties and trade-unions.

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 trial before a special session of 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 Vassin and Maximov. For 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 1½ 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, a fact which for Russia is unheard-of, but which is a common every-day occurrence in the capitalistic countries. This boy was employed without the consent of the Labor Exchange and the latter's representative testified that the employment office would 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 dies, she shall be buried at my cost".

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 offence consisted in the following

- 1- In having lengthened the working hours.
- 2- In having exploited minors by employing children under 14 longer than the law permits.
- 3- Neglect of workers' insurance.
- 4- Evasion of the Labor Exchange.
- 5- Non-compliance with the fixed wage-scale.

The fourth count was treated with greater severity because in employing workers, the employers gave preference to peasants since they were fully aware of the fact that these peasants were ignorant of 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 courts of the capitalist governments may learn from this decision how Justice is practised 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 negligently, in Russia it is fought 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 on account of the disturbed state of industry due to Soviet Russia's hermetic isolation from other lands and from the world market 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.

Only 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 was it 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. The work of preparation which with the extraordinary 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 Skin and Venereal Diseases at Moscow on December 11th. The Institute is composed of a section for experimental venerology 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 venerology has at its disposal all the latest weapons of science in 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 its investigation 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 taken a passive attitude to all decrees and establishments 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 absolutely disinterested character 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.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

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 most frightful drought which lasted for months, was rendered worse and so much the 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 1,038,000,000 poods; in 1920 it was only 466 million poods. Naphta production in 1913 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 means of production, to furnish the materials 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 only because of the lack of certain single machines or even essential substitute parts for these machines. So for example the locomotive repair shops of Podolsk suffer mostly from a shortage of electric lamps. At present these shops repair 50 locomotives a month, whereas if they had 1500 more bulbs they could increase their output by 30%. 850 25 candle power lamps, 200 50 c. p. lamps, 100 200 c. p., 100 400 c. p. and 200 600 c. p. lamps are needed. Above all there is a great lack of agricultural implements. The following table shows the chief needs of the famine-provinces.

Province	Number of Farms	Plows	Seeders	Reapers and Binders
Samara	312,804	136,000	17,000	12,500
Saratov	435,076	83,000	10,000	7,500
Astrakhan	198,492	24,000	3,000	2,250
Urals	43,275	9,000	1,200	850
Turgai	140,992	36,000	4,500	3,250
Kazan	445,888	34,000	6,800	5,000
Simbirsk	305,513	45,000	7,400	4,000
Ufa	500,543	82,000	10,000	7,500
Orenburg	344,592	76,000	9,700	7,000
Viatka	593,661	100,000	12,400	9,000
Stavropol (Kuban)	178,213	70,000	8,700	6,350
Total	3,698,949	715,000	90,700	63,200

The supply of several hundred power plows would be of inestimable value for the creation of a better and more highly developed agriculture in Russia. It is the duty of the Western trade-unions to aid in procuring these necessary articles. It is indeed impossible for many workers and comrades to make continual sacrifices from their wages in spite of their great willingness to do so. But many workers would be only too glad to work a few hours longer in their factories or even to put in

an extra Sunday and to contribute the product of such overtime to Russian relief. It is upon this task that our comrades in the unions should in the next few weeks concentrate their efforts for Russian relief. The Communist shop delegates and functionaries in particular could do much for Russia and aid greatly in its economic reconstruction. They must urge the other workers at the shop meetings to make a certain number of machines and tools produced in the particular factories for Russian relief; as a small group they must set the example. *On the one hand they are to see that the employees themselves contribute a certain number of tools or single machines, and on the other that the employees put pressure to bear upon the management to sell tools and machines at an exceptionally low price.* This suggestion should be taken up without delay by the active comrades in the factories where agricultural implements are manufactured. The work must be organized and carried out in the form of a regular campaign. If we set ourselves to this task with any will and energy at all we should be able to furnish a large percentage of the needed articles in German, English and American factories.

To work then! For the reconstruction and security of Soviet Russia. The first shipment of tools and machines to Soviet Russia must be made by the end of January; the last shipments by the end of February, so that they will arrive in time to be used in the Summer sowing and in the new field work.

Trade Unionists! Prove your international solidarity in deeds!

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 government rendered any extension of the campaign very difficult. Up to the end of 1921, 130,500 francs had been collected. Of this sum Zurich collected 47,000 francs and Basle 41,000 francs. That is twice as much as the total of the collections of the Social Democrats and the trade-unions together. In addition to the collections six carloads of clothing and foodstuffs were gotten together.

The Red Cross and other bourgeois committees recently commenced their collections, but no results have as yet been made 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 on 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:

Notice.

We call the attention of all editorial staffs to the fact that henceforth the articles and notices of our "Correspondence" are marked by an initial double star (**). We request that in reprinting the double star be printed as acknowledgement of source.

The Editors.