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Appeal for the International Agitation Week of the Russian Relief

August 27th — September 2nd, 1922.

Workers of all parties,
Friends of the Russian people,
Friends of Peace with Russia!

With today the Russian famine relief work completes its first year of activity. And not without success. The Berlin Conference of all relief organizations in Russia, which met on July 9th, 1922, and which was participated in by the Workers' Relief, the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee, the Nansen Committee, the Red Cross organizations, the Quakers, the Children's Relief, etc., has been able to testify that the extent of the catastrophe has been effectively reduced. The help extended to the peasants has strengthened them morally, and given them the energy to sow an unexpectedly large area.

But a great danger still menaces Russia. The danger which a great and heroic people of 130 millions driven to despair by economic disintegration, represents to humanity. Is that danger overcome? We would seriously deceive ourselves, if we believed it; and the result would awaken us rapidly to the bitter, terrible reality!

For this is the truth: Russia, this year, in spite of favorable weather conditions, will produce a crop not much above one half the normal, due to the lack of plows, tools and machinery; and this is another truth: no return to peace, to convalescence, to an orderly state of affairs is possible as long as Russian production is missing in the world economic household.

Bread alone will not help Russia. What it needs are tools, to produce bread! Scythes and hammers, motor-plows and machines, locomotives and trucks. We need modern tractors to tear up the ground, for our plowing animals have been slaughtered; we need nails, screws, and machinery to produce nails and screws, for our machines are all defective, and our houses falling in ruin.

The capitalist lords of the earth, the imperialists who have drawn up the Treaty of Versailles know this, but they have sworn death to Soviet Russia. For the boundaries of Russia are also the limits to the capitalists' power. Therefore they set out to kill Russia by refusing it the credits necessary to purchase machines. Genoa and the Hague broke up when Russia

demanded credits without agreeing to give up the benefits of its dearly bought Revolution. Russia, the liberator, the people that first spoke the promise of peace to a world in the throes of a murderous war, Russia is to be reduced to the level of Morocco, of China, of India!

Or is Russia perhaps not "trustworthy", as the capitalists say? Offers no guarantee of repayment? True, it has annulled the Tzar's war debts, as all war debts must soon be annulled. It has gotten rid of its parasites, as the Revolution of 1789 chased from power the French parasites. Never will a freed people pay for the chains which enslaved it! History has never witnessed it! But the money which it borrows now to cultivate the land, to enjoy in peace the freedom, which it has gained with its blood, such obligations will be considered as a sacred debt to a friend who has helped it in its hour of greatest need. Russia will remain grateful to her friends, and the money they lend her, she will return with interest, and interest on interest. For Russia is rich. Her "black soil" under modern cultivation will produce the richest crops in Europe; her petroleum and her forests, her gold and her platinum are the surest guarantees for this. Her government has proved that of all the governments on this earth, it is the most stable. An I.O.U. signed by Lenin and Trotzky will retain its value when all the French francs, and the Italian liras, and the German marks are nothing but a faint memory. . . . Russia, the land of the future, will respect its debts to those who honestly wish to help it today in its work for that future. Russia lacks the means for reconstruction. The International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia, which is even now working at the reconstruction of Soviet Russia, has decided to raise an international workers' loan of three million dollars to help it run its undertakings in Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government will guarantee the punctual payment of interest and prompt repayment. Repayments and interest will be paid on a gold basis. He who takes a share in the loan, does so with the certainty not only of helping the reconstruction of Russia, but providing for his own future.

Workers, friends of Soviet Russia, friends of world peace, help the first International Workers' Loan for Russian

Reconstruction and you help yourselves. And to the working class we address a special appeal:

Do not forget the Russian worker who has fought and suffered for you five long years, as no workers have ever fought and suffered for their class before! The Russian proletariat has fought and won the first victory single-handed, but the victor is famished and in rags! The Russian worker did not ask you for help in 1917, but today he is exhausted, and needs your help. In Moscow 50,000 revolutionary heroes in the factories are in need of the most elementary necessities. Workers of Paris, of London, of Berlin, do you not wish to bring them some joy, do you not wish to make collections in your factories and send a gift to your Russian brothers? The Executive Bureau of the International Workers' Relief has prepared a special *package service* for that purpose. For each 1000 marks they will send a 10 kilogram package, including flour, meat, sugar, tea, milk, etc. to some Russian group of workers. Unions may arrange to send packages to their brothers in Russia. Workers, have your unions and other organizations contribute such packages to the starving Russian proletariat!

Another thing! The Russian Revolution and the famine have made orphans of hundreds of thousands of workers' and peasants' children. The fathers fell on the Koltchack front, or died of hunger. We must take the place of the fathers! The International Workers' Relief has decided to adopt and take care of 20,000 such children. They will be raised in proletarian children's homes, in the spirit of brotherhood and Socialism. The new generation is growing here, that will have to fight the final battle in our postponed war for Socialism! Let us help to make these children strong and capable. Germans and Dutchmen have enthusiastically contributed the Karl-Liebknecht-Rosa-Luxembourg Home. We must create dozens of such homes, for the number of orphans is great! Each country, each of the more powerful unions should consider it its duty to maintain such a home. It is the needs of the children that demand most immediate help. Therefore collect more money, give clothing and food to *Russia's proletarian children, our hope for the future!*

• The local committees of the Workers' Relief receive the gifts.

Comrades, Friends! We have pledged the week of August 27, to September 2, to Russia. Agitate, collect, work during that time

for *Russia's proletarian children,*

for *the Russian workers,*

for *the International Reconstruction Loan to Soviet Russia.*

The Foreign Committee for the Organization of Workers' Relief:

Anatole France — Clara Zetkin — Bernhard Shaw — Maximilian Harden — Maxim Gorky — Henri Barbusse — Henriette Roland-Holst — Käthe Kollwitz — Max Barthel — Alex. Moissi — Theodor Liebknecht — Adnersen Nexø — Willi Münzenberg — Arthur Holitscher — Prof. Eltzbacher — H. Vogeler — Dr. A. Goldschmidt — George Gross — Edwin Hoernle — Prof. Oesterreich — Marie Nielsen — Ture Nerman — Lindhagen — Höglund — Silvertsen — Edgar Whitehead — L. O. Frossard — Vaillant-Couturier — Madeleine Marx — Professor Forel — Otto Volkart — Fritz Platten — Kruyt — Brommert — Prof. Graziadei — Bombacci — Smeral — Kreibich. — Friedländer — Mathieu — Higuët — A. Martin (U.S.A.) — Henri Guilbeaux.

The Russian Representatives:

Smidovitsch. Eiduck. Chalatoff. Aussem. Dimitrensky. Hevitzky. Gutmann.

POLITICS

The German Crisis.

By Ernst Meyer (Berlin).

When the delegates of the Communist International at the Berlin Conference, February 1922, demanded the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, ex-minister Mr. Vandervelde opposed the motion in the name of the Second International, on the ground that a revision would benefit Mr. Stinnes. It is then Mr. Vandervelde's opinion that the policy of the Entente imposes a lighter burden upon the German workers than upon the German industrial barons. In the meanwhile the policy favored by Vandervelde is bearing its fruits. The economic and political influence of Stinnes is growing, and the German proletariat sinks deeper into misery. The worker must bear all the burdens which the Entente forces upon Germany, while the capitalists have been

able to coin profits even out of the payments to the Entente. The announcement of new repressive measures against Germany by France also turns to an immediate blow against the working class. To the speculator, the fall of the mark means new gains; the manufacturer meets the depreciation by raising the prices of his goods, and increasing his exports; but the depreciation of the mark and the resultant increased cost of living brings the workers into a most difficult economic and political situation. The reprisals of France feed Germany's growing nationalistic hatred, and prevents the workers from concentrating their efforts upon the class struggle.

The rising cost of living menaces the very existence of the workers; the depreciation of the money is equivalent to a lowering of his wages. One has little idea in foreign countries of the misery of the German proletariat. When his wages equal but a few cents per hour, the German worker can exist only by frequent and long hours of overtime, and with the aid of his wife who also goes to the factory. Undernourishment is a very frequent occurrence, and all the diseases of malnutrition, including scurvy, rage in the country. Home work is more and more coming into existence. It sometimes exceeds twenty hours, and young children, under six years of age, often take part in it. The new increases in prices place the worker in an even more desperate situation; desperate acts by the starving population, such as looting of stores and markets are to be expected.

The Social Democratic workers' organizations, which support fully the policy of the government, do not undertake the least action to prepare the fight of the proletariat against the new dangers which menace it. They are satisfied with pitiful appeals to a government in which they are represented, appeals, which of course bring no betterment of the situation. They are afraid to force any serious measures of relief, such as the seizure of gold and property, which might alienate their bourgeois allies. And they denounce the more loudly the Communists, the only section of the proletariat ready and willing to begin the fight. True, their denunciations find hardly an echo in the masses; in many places the united front effected by the Rathenau episode was not fully destroyed. But the sabotage of the leadership of the Social Democratic parties and the trade unions greatly hampers any effective fight out of the present situation. The Communist Party, therefore, has increased its propaganda in the factories and in the unions. It intensifies the work of its fractions in shop and union, and takes advantage of every opportunity to organize the masses in the struggle against the increasing oppression and misery.

The coalition government remains totally passive in the face of the social dangers of its reparations policy. It does not seek to alleviate the sufferings of the workers. It has agreed to the financial control of the Entente, to prevent any serious taxation of capital. It raises the charges and taxes on all public utilities, especially the railways, when they know that it is the consumer who will have to bear the burden. It agrees, at the demand of the Allies, to reduce all expenses for social and educational purposes to balance the budget. The demands of the Entente are taken advantage of to refuse all aid to the starving working population of Germany.

But the government is always ready, by violence if necessary, to defeat the attempts of the workers to improve their conditions. Wherever the agricultural workers in Germany went on strike, the government sent its "Technical Relief Unit" as strike-breakers; wherever the workers rise to demand an increase of wages, the government uses its "mediative influence" to effect a compromise in the interests of the employers. Anti-social laws are being proposed to reduce the number of economic conflicts, and to facilitate the use of all repressive measures by police, court, and soldiery. The suspension of the *Rote Fahne*, the central organ of the Communist Party of Germany, hinders further the fight of the proletariat against the rising cost of living.

Not only does the government support the economic reaction, it also capitulates before the political reaction. The federal government retreats, step by step, before *Orgesch-Bavaria*. The three weeks suspension of the *Rote Fahne*, is one of the crassest examples of the government's cowardice. At the same moment when the bourgeois parties of Bavaria refuse to accept the proposals of the Federal Government, which amounts to a capitulation of the latter before the Bavarian rebellion, the Social Democratic Minister, Severing, at the demand of the same Bavaria, suppresses the *Rote Fahne* because it characterized the action of the Bavarian government as high-treason. The intensification of the class-struggle, the audacity of the political and economic reaction, the preparation of the workers for the coming war against oppression, in spite of the hindrances of the Social Democrats, these are the most significant occurrences in present Germany. The government is losing its influence; it can exist only with the support of the counter-revolutionary forces, and the entrance of

the Stinnes Party into the coalition is not so very distant. And the secession movement, nurtured by certain capitalist groups is assuming ever greater proportions. The policy of the governing parties in Bavaria tends towards a secession from the state and a union with German Austria under French control. The capitalists of the Ruhr-Valley seek to enter into agreement with the French heavy industrial capitalists for a common exploitation of the region, and the protection against any taxation by the German government. The repeated refusal of the Federal Government to agree to the allied demands only serves to strengthen the nationalistic propaganda; and so does the subsequent submission. The policy of fulfillment does not improve the relations between Germany and the Entente, and endangers the economic development of Germany. While the fall of the mark at first benefited German industry by augmenting exports, the time is coming when the restriction of the home market due to the ever decreasing buying capacity of the German worker's wages, and the ever increasing export of goods, will bring about a formidable crisis, accompanied by unemployment on a large scale. The incapacity of the bourgeoisie to overcome the after-effects of the war; the politico-economic conflicts which arise every time the Entente tries to enforce the Versailles Treaty; the increased misery of the masses in all capitalist countries of Europe, especially in Germany,—all this is undermining the very foundations of the capitalist system. The Communist Party of Germany possesses the will and the power to organize the rising discontent, and lead the working masses against the present anarchy.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Five Years of Trade Union Activity

By V. Kosior (Moscow).

During the five years which followed the formation of its central organization, the Russian trade union movement has grown and strengthened. The greatest revolutions in the world's history took place during its childhood years. This is what has given the Russian trade union movement its unique stamp; this is the source of its strength, of its historical role.

The first step in the organization of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council was taken at the third All-Russian Conference of the Trade Unions, on June 17th, 1917. In July of the same year the first battle of the Petrograd proletariat against the opportunistic, bourgeois, Social-Revolutionary government of Kerensky took place.

The third conference of the Trade Union Federation shows us the trade union movement in a variegated picture. Outside of the fact that the majority of the conference stood under the influence of Menshevik demagogues and petty bourgeois opportunists, the meeting presented no sharply definite form of trade union organization and had not decided on any clear principles which would determine their policy towards capital and the bourgeois government.

No single industrial union on an all-Russian scale was represented at the third conference. The great majority of local unions were only a few months old. Nevertheless the number of members represented there was fairly large. 967 unions and 57 central bureaus with 1, 120, 819 members were represented. The historical role of this conference, and its merit, was that it laid the foundation for the creation of a centralized national Federation of Trade Unions.

January 1918. The proletariat has seized power. On its demand the revolutionary Soviets disband the Constituent Assembly. The Congress of the All-Russian Trade Unions met in the midst of the revolutionary civil war. This condition did not favor the discussion of organization questions. The significance of this first congress is that it solved the important question of the policy and task of the working class and the relation of the trade unions to the state during the period of proletarian dictatorship.

The first congress did not represent a unified national trade union movement any more than did the first conference. Nevertheless the provisional All-Russian Central Council of the Trade Union Federation accomplished appreciable organization work. At the congress were represented all the cities and the border countries of Russia. 416 voting delegates and 75 consulting delegates represented 2,500,000 trade union members. There were represented at the congress, 19 All-Russian, 20 district, and 48 local trade union councils and 162 local unions.

The year following the first congress is one of intense, severe fighting for the Soviet Republic. The majority of the active elements of the trade unions are engaged bodily in this

struggle; the All-Russian Central Council is represented only by lesser-qualified members; but the work of organization goes on during this second period which sees the removal of the government from Petrograd to Moscow.

A short time after the congress of the Metalworkers' Federation, congresses were convened by the textile, leather, chemical workers, etc., which formed national organizations. At the time of the second congress there already existed All-Russian organizations of workers in all the most important industries, excepting mining. We must add that at that time the territory of the Soviet Republic was reduced by the occupation by German militarism and through the civil war. Most of the large coal producing sections and metallurgic centers were cut off from the central organization and this was the chief impediment in the way of a Miners' Federation.

The union of the separate railroad, post, and Soviet employees' organizations into a single federation helped greatly the work of organization. It is only slowly, and with difficulty that the old trade union notions could be eliminated, and the purpose and limitations of an industrial union clearly stated.

The decisions of the second congress agree with the dominant practices of that period. The basic lines were formulated, and it was decided to draw up a definite plan for the trade union movement.

January 1919. The second All-Russian congress met at a time when the white guards, supported by the western capitalists ruled the border states.

That is the reason why the delegates from the border states did not appear (Ukraine, Siberia, Caucasus). Nevertheless there, were present at the Congress 748 voting delegates and 131 consulting delegates, representing 3,500,000 trade union members. The fact that the number of cities represented had grown from 48 to 82 explains this growth of a million.

The decisions of the second congress on the question of state trade unions had a telling effect on the future development of the trade union movement. The importance of these decisions is not only theoretical, but also practical. The basic principles of the Russian trade union organization are founded on these decisions. The historical task of the first congress was to determine the mutual relations between the state and the trade unions. The task of the second congress was to give definite form to the trade union movement, based upon the experience of the preceding year.

The work of the Central Council between the second and third congresses, was carried on in a period of fearful civil war, of successive defeats and victories of the Soviet forces. During that period the Central Council had to "conquer" the Ukraine twice, and develop its work in the first and second occupation of Ukraine, when the trade unions had become permeated with the Menshevik spirit of "independence". Similarly in Siberia and the Ural, with this exception, that Koltchak practically destroyed most of the important trade union organizations.

April 1920. The third trade union congress. Thanks to the victory of the Red Army and the adhesion of border States to the Central Council, the Congress gathered a still greater number of delegates. For the first time was the whole Soviet Republic represented at the Congress. The representatives of those border states which had not yet been liberated (Baku for instance) came in an illegal way. The trade union federations had grown considerably. There were present at the third congress 1659 delegates, representing 5,250,000 members, that is, an increase of 40% over the year preceding.

The chief questions before the congress, were the necessary measures for economic reconstruction and the task of the trade unions in that work.

On the question of developing the organization, the congress passed a series of resolutions which called the attention of the active worker to a qualitative improvement of the trade unions and to the necessity of forming the unions into organizations of the masses.

Between the third and the fourth congresses, the Polish Army advanced against the Ukraine. The hopes for peaceful organizational work were destroyed. The front again demanded the attention of the working class. Nevertheless, the Central All-Russian Council strove to strengthen the federations. It is then, that the tendency arose which sought to reduce the All-Russian Federations to the least possible number, and to amalgamate these organizations wherever possible. The workers of the glass and porcelain industry united with the workers of the chemical and the sugar industries, etc. The number of All-Russian federations was reduced from 30 to 23.

The almost total discontinuance of membership fees, and the continued assumption of governmental functions by the trade union federations resulted in their financial dependence upon the Central Council. A great number of regulations and in-

structions appeared at that time to regulate the details of trade union organization in various cities and districts. The trade union week was put through all Russia. Mass meetings won millions of members to the trade unions. The number of functionaries in the local organizations of the Central Council grew, and permitted a closer connection between the provincial councils and the All-Russian council.

It is then that the memorable debate came up, on the question of the role and task of the trade unions. The decisions were formulated at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party and the Fourth Trade Union Congress.

May 1921. The new economic policy had come into effect. The congress drew up a series of reforms affecting the mutual relations between the trade unions. 2944 delegates took part at the congress, representing 8,500,000 members, a growth of over 60% since the third congress. The attention of the organization is drawn primarily to inter-federation organizations. District sections of the Central All-Russian Council are formed in all the border states.

January 1922. With the adoption of the theses on the new tasks of the trade union, ends the first period in the history of the development of the Russian Trade Union Federation. The new requirements of industry change the role and task of the federations.

It is too early now to draw any conclusions about the effects of this change. The collective agreements which have been, or are being reached, should convince every impartial man that it will develop in spite of the present difficult situation of the industries.

Our enemies may yell themselves hoarse, that the masses are passive, that it is "dead souls" whom we have united; we are accustomed to these lies. We know what we possess, and that is our power. We do not wish to blind ourselves to the fact that five years of desperate fighting, five years of destruction of our industries, have diminished the activity of the masses; but we know where the salvation lies, and we will bend our efforts in that direction. Our might, our energy which has destroyed the bourgeois state will now be concentrated upon the effort to reconstruct the proletarian state, industrially and culturally. And this is what our enemies can never achieve, our enemies whose whole evil lies therein that they have long since ceased to be revolutionists.

The Hungarian Trade Union Movement.

By Albert Kirally (Vienna).

In this third year of the counter-revolution the trade union movement is gaining strength. Under the pressure of the ever rising cost of living, the unemployment, and the tyranny of the employing class, the workers are joining the unions in masses. In the period which followed immediately after the fall of the Soviets, the wage fight could be conducted only under the cloak of a Christian-Social movement. Today, even those masses are striking, which left the proletarian organizations after the success of the counter-revolution and joined the Christian-Social unions,—the communal workers, the state employees, the workers in the city hospitals, the workers of the national tobacco factories, etc.

The trade union statistics for 1921 record in Hungary (baranga included) 37 trade unions with 146,400 members and 4 office workers' unions with 23,772 members. Outside of these there are also the illegal, independent organizations of the railroad workers, the governmental employees and the household servants. At the present time the number of organized workers has reached 200,000. About 40% of the urban proletariat is organized; of the rural proletariat, almost none. The Union of Agricultural Workers which included 1300 members in 1917; 40,950 in 1918; 580,000 in 1919 (under the Soviet Republic); 1,241 in 1920;—today has a membership of 3400.

The number of organized workers during the past five years was as follows:

Year:	Dec. 1917	Dec. 1918	Dec. 1919	Dec. 1920	July 1921
Form of					

Government: Monarchy	Karoly	Soviets	Horthy	Horthy	
Membership:	214,228	723,937	1,663,189	153,822	184,172

and to date 200,000. We see that this number has now almost reached that of 1917. Just as in 1917, railroad workers, communal employees, street car employees, governmental employees and servants are forbidden to organize. These workers are organized in weak nationalist and Christian-Social unions, formed and led by the higher bureaucracy.

The Christian-Social trade unions are dying out, in spite of all governmental support.

The last elections have had a tremendous influence upon the organized workers. By violence, by disfranchisement of the in-

dustrial and especially of the agrarian proletariat, the landowners and the financial capitalists were able to secure 165 seats out of 245, which together with the 24 Legitimist seats, gives the counter-revolution 189 seats as against 30 for the petty bourgeoisie, urban and rural, and 24 for the Social Democracy. Of the 24 Social Democratic deputies, 23 are trade union secretaries. The trade union bureaucracy sits in Parliament. The Socialist Party of Hungary, (among them, the former Socialist-Communist secretaries), denounce the "Bolshevik" Revolution. Nevertheless, under pressure from the masses, the SP. and the radical petty bourgeois opposition had to include in their demands a "general amnesty" and the "abolition of internment". This they did officially in Parliament, on June 28th.

If the Communists did not conduct an energetic fight for the most elementary liberties, for the liberation of our revolutionary heroes, the Social Democrats and the bourgeois radicals would never rise beyond mere phrases.

The legalized white terror, in possession of all the means of espionage and oppression, strangles every legal Communist activity. And this suppression of the Communists is supported by the Social Democratic trade union bureaucracy. At all political and trade union meetings, they declare: "We shall ruthlessly suppress any tendency towards the left" (i. e., those who advocate the class struggle will be interned or banished). This is what takes place in the trade unions, with few exceptions. Those who are freed are asked. "Have you reformed?" that is, "have you renounced Communism?"

In the workshops, all differences between Social Democrats and Communists disappear. The exploitation of the proletariat is such that the workers have to fight for the most primitive human rights. The Communists lead the struggle, take the initiative in all proletarian movements (under a Social Democratic cloak for the present), and influence thereby the trade union movement. The actions of the Communists have often prevented the betrayal of the trade union leaders in wage fights. And here appears a great danger. The Communists must see to it that the Social Democratic trade union deputies do not sacrifice the struggle for economic betterment to apparent parliamentary successes.

In Hungary, after the Revolution, the Social Democrats had first occupied the ministerial posts. Today, after two revolutions and two counter-revolutions, the reformist, Social Democratic movement has reached its goal. The leading office holders of the trade unions sit in Parliament. A part of the proletariat rejoices, applauds the "good speakers" and lays great hopes on the parliamentary fight. Another part realizes that the S.P. is searching for the old ways, the old tactics: compromises with the bourgeoisie to the advantage of the aristocracy of labor, and at the cost of the agricultural proletariat. The first, golden weeks of Social Democratic order will soon be over. It is the duty of the Communists to unmask this reformistic parliamentarism. A part of the Hungarian proletariat realizes clearly that this parliamentarism will not lead to a victory of the proletariat, and is preparing in the shops and in the unions for the coming class war. The existence of a Communist Party of Hungary would hasten the process.

The Situation in China and Japan.

(From Reports presented to the Executive of the Comintern).

The Japanese Communist Movement has been persecuted and forced to resort to illegality. The development of a party has nevertheless been rapid and today comprises 50 branches. The trade union federation, *Yuai-Kai*, which comprises 300,000 members is the most susceptible to Communist influence. On the 1st of May imposing workers' demonstrations took place. They have often formulated the demands presented by our Party.

Since 1920, Japan has been going through a serious economic and financial crisis. The Chinese and Siberian markets have ceased to absorb its products. The Japanese bourgeoisie is suffering from this; hence its hostility to the policy of intervention pursued in the two countries by the reactionary military party in power.

Communist influence is spreading in the country.

Chinese policy is almost entirely dictated by foreign power. The social classes in China, now in process of formation, do not exercise any direct political influence. An important nationalist movement exists in the South. It is supported by the recently formed bourgeoisie; *Sun-Yat-Sen* is the leader. But this movement does not arouse any response among the peasants who form the vast bulk of the Chinese population. The Chinese peasants are not generally proprietors but small farmers. The complexity of their situation is such that up to the present we have not been able to elaborate an agrarian program. In the centre of China, in the Shanghai region, which is ruled by foreign

capital, modern large-scale industry is in the process of creation. The workers' organizations have not yet been able to free themselves of the ancient mediaeval traditions. It is otherwise in the South, where *Sun-Yat-Sen's Party*, the *Gou-Min-Dang*, exercises a great influence over the working-class. In certain cases such as the seamen strike, this party has collaborated energetically with the workers. In Canton, the most sound trade union organizations have already 50,000 members. The strongest is the Seamen's Union with 12,000.

The interior political situation in China is very complicated. The intrigues of the great capitalist powers lead to incessant fights between the different factions. The struggle between Sun-Yat-Sen (Canton government) and the Peking Government has set the Southern liberals against the Northern reactionaries.

In the South, the conditions are favorable for the formation of a Communist movement. But our comrades have not yet succeeded in making contact with the working masses. They carry on a sectarian activity which they excuse by the pretext of illegality. The Chinese youth, especially those in the schools, are in sympathy with Socialist ideas, but have not yet succeeded in passing over to practical action.

According to a report made by Comrade Marchlevski, who lived for a long time in the North of China, there is no workers' movement. An innumerable proletariat exists in the towns. The rural population is several centuries behind that of the European countries. A numerous body of intellectuals, professing advanced ideas, sympathizes with the Russian Revolution and Communism, but remains aloof from political life and contents itself with studying Socialist literature in exclusive circles. The civil war might precipitate the social development of China. In the present state of affairs our Chinese comrades should attempt to pass over from theoretical to practical activity.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

The Great Red Drive into the Miners Federation of Great Britain.

By J. T. Murphy (London).

The Blackpool Conference of the Miners Federation of Great Britain is over. The Amsterdam International retained its hold on the M.F.G.B. 118,000 votes, was the reception given to the resolution calling for the miners of Great Britain to line up and affiliate to the Red International of Labor Unions. This is the first time that such a resolution has appeared in their national conference.

This must not be taken as indicating the full strength of the R.I.L.U. in the Miners Federation. These votes came only from the South Wales contingent. The supporters of the Red International had not made the same amount of headway in the other districts and consequently, the strength of their influence is not shown in the vote, because the delegates attending only vote the majority view of the district from which they come. None the less, South Wales does not stand alone.

Nor does the voting at the Blackpool Conference represent the present situation in the Miners Federation. We warn the miners of other countries that Mr. F. Hodges may appear to speak in the name of 900,000 miners, but there are at least 200,000 of these who have no time either for Mr. Hodges or the Amsterdam International.

Nor do we hesitate to affirm that the effect of the discussion at the Blackpool Conference has been to shake the influence of Amsterdam in the Miners Federation as never before. From every coal field in the kingdom, delegates who had been machined into voting for Amsterdam are sending inquiries to us about the Red International and its program. For the first time they have been roused to take the measure of this question, Moscow versus Amsterdam. They have discovered that they belonged to the Amsterdam International, but when, where, how and why they had ever joined, they do not know. It was the *status quo* and remained so by virtue of the general indifference to internationalism. That indifference has now been swept away by the challenging call of the Red International of Labor Unions. Therefore we say, that rather than be impressed by the magnitude of the vote against us, the voting should be regarded as a portent, a shadow of coming events.

Blackpool saw more than the casting of 118,000 votes in our favor. It saw the beginning of the first real attempt to organize the strength of the R.I.L.U. influence in the Miners Federation, in the form of a powerful minority movement within the Federation. The need for such a movement has been felt for some

time. Our influence has been rapidly growing, but was lacking in organized expression and leadership. The R.I.L.U. Bureau and the Communist Party recognized this weakness and only two months ago set the pace for a campaign right through the organization, setting up special committees to conduct the work of agitation.

Many of the districts had already elected their delegates to the conference by the time these districts were reached. Notwithstanding this fact the results have been excellent. The Blackpool Conference registered the beginning of a great R.I.L.U. victory. Arising directly from the conference and the agitation we have conducted, a new militant leadership has sprung up, which challenges the old bureaucratic gang; an organized leadership from amongst the miners, which will mobilize the present minority forces with a view of winning the Miners Federation completely to the Red International of Labor Unions. An organized minority movement has thus been set into motion.

The lead comes at the moment from South Wales. Comrades Davis and Cook, who led the Conference on the Red International resolution along with Comrades Abblett, J. Thomas and Dagger, all of whom are prominent official leaders of the South Wales Miners Federation, have led the way with a clarion call to the whole Miners Federation of Great Britain.

Great discontent exists throughout the Federation. The great downward push in wages since the lock-out of 1921, the bitter suffering of the miners and their families throughout the length and breadth of Britain, the refusal of the leaders to face the demands arising from these terrible conditions, all these are contributing daily to inspire the miners to look for a new lead.

The new lead has come and it cannot help but gather strength in face of the utter incapacity of the present leaders to measure up to the great task of saving the miners from complete starvation conditions.

The minority movement of the miners requires the complete reorganization of the Miners Federation, the fusion of the county organizations into a single industrial union, the elimination of non-unionism from the coal fields, the repudiation of the Amsterdam International and the tackling of the miners' problems on an international scale by the building of the Red International of Labor Unions, the admission of the Russian miners into the International Miners Federation and its affiliation to the Red International.

Never in the history of the working class movement has the international character of the workers' struggle been so clearly demonstrated to the masses. And never in the history of the Miners Federation have their leaders demonstrated such incapacity to deal with the everyday struggles of the miners, or shown such treachery in the face of urgent demands.

Mr. Smith told the American miners, *while in America*, that the British miners were 100% strong in support of the American miners' strike. On his return to England he has shown himself to be the echo of Mr. Hodges, the pioneer of the "industrial truce", the aspiring politician, and has done nothing to substantiate his American pronouncement. Mr. Hodges and Mr. Smith went to Frankfort, to "support" the American miners to the extent of 3 shillings per miner on strike, whilst refusing to do anything to stop the export of millions of tons of coal from Britain which it is known are going to defeat their American comrades. International union blacklegging is a problem they are afraid to tackle.

The 1922 Blackpool conference marks the beginning of the fight of the revolutionary miners' minority against such cowardly and treacherous leadership. 1923 will see that minority near to becoming a majority. *Look out! The great red drive has begun in the Miners Federation of Great Britain and nothing can stop it!*

The R. I. L. U. and the International Trade Unions Federation.

By Andrés Nin (Moscow).

The International Federations are today as they have always been in the past the most powerful ramparts of reformism. Their most noted leaders are furnished by the A.D.G.B. (German Trade Union Federation) and the greater part of their Central Committees are in Berlin and in consequence find themselves under the direct influence of the most typical representatives of reformism. This German, and consequently, collaborationist influence is reinforced further by the fact that half of the most important adhering Federations (Woodworkers, Engineers and Transport Workers, etc.) belong to the German organization.

The reformist leaders are so firmly fixed to their posts and have created such a powerful bureaucratic apparatus which reduces to a minimum the initiative of the masses whose will

has to encounter innumerable obstacles in order to find expression, that the fight of the opposition, revolutionary elements against these leaders has become very difficult. Nevertheless it is of the greatest interest and of the highest importance for the conquest of the workers' movement by the revolutionary elements. This has been fully understood by the R.I.L.U. which has devoted its particular attention to this task. On the occasion of the Charter Congress, representatives from the Central Committees of the Russian unions met in Moscow with the foreign comrades of the corresponding industries and trades. Many conferences were held. They exchanged information on the situation of the proletariat of the various industries and trades in their respective countries, and studied with the greatest care the most appropriate method for the winning over of the International Trade Union Federation. In accordance with the decision of the Congress which decided that the revolutionary unions should remain inside the federations in order to conquer them from within, no heed was paid to those who proposed the immediate formation of independent federations, and it was decided to form international propaganda committees to conduct the fight in accordance with instructions furnished by the Congress.

Fifteen committees were formed: Engineers, Miners, Textile, Transport, Building, Typographical, Woodworkers, Provision Workers, Leather Workers, Clothing Workers, Municipal Workers, Teachers, Chemical Workers, agricultural Workers and clerical professions. Since their formation these committees have done very intensive work. The savagery with which they have been attacked by the organs of the International Federations shows how efficacious has been the tactic employed. At the most important international congresses, the delegates of the All-Russian Trade Union Federation or the representatives of the national revolutionary minorities have made the voice of the opposition heard, and have defended the slogans and propositions of the Propaganda Committee. It would be very difficult to give a detailed exposition of the work accomplished by these committees, but we shall give a broad outline of the results attained.

In the course of one year the Propaganda Committees have succeeded in creating an opposition movement in every national federation. In the wood, building and transport industries, this opposition has become a real menace to the reformist leaders.

In the metal industry the revolutionary tendency, although somewhat slow, advances progressively and surely. Everywhere there are strong opposition minorities. In Bulgaria, Russia and Norway, the executives have been completely captured. In Czecho-Slovakia, out of 75,000 organized metal workers, 35,000 are under Communist influence; in Italy nearly a half. In Germany most of the local sections are in the hands of the Communists. There are further unions expelled because of their revolutionary tendencies.

In the transport industry, the opposition is strong in every country. In Australia, Norway, New Zealand, Holland and of course in Russia, we can rely upon large forces. The transport workers of China and Japan are also under revolutionary influence. In Germany the Seamen's Union (Schiff-fahrtsbund) adhered to the R.I.L.U. The number of seamen in the A.D.G.B. is insignificant. A few months ago propaganda bureaus for the seamen of all countries were formed in Novorossisk, Odessa, Sevastopol, Batum, Feodosia, Petrograd, Archangelsk, and have achieved great results in the diffusion of revolutionary principles. Under their initiative, public meetings are held, Russian and foreign papers are published. Other bureaus have been formed in other European ports.

The International Transport Workers will hold their Congress in Vienna on the 2nd of November. A Russian delegate will probably go there to take part, but a refusal to admit must be expected. The reformist leaders demand from the Russian unions as they have already demanded from the Bulgarian, that in order to be admitted they withdraw from the R.I.L.U.

The Woodworkers' Federation has 800,000 members, of whom 380,000, nearly a half, are from Germany. Their president is Arnov, the successor of Leipart, who continues to play a great role in the Federation, which is the most reformist. We have also everywhere strong opposition sections. In Germany 120,000 members are under our influence. In Finland, France, Bulgaria, Holland, Italy (30,000), Jugo-Slavia, Norway, Russia (160,000 members), there are trade union executives who take their stand on the revolutionary platform. In England we can count on a strong opposition which is making daily progress, and some of whose local organizations are directly affiliated to the R.I.L.U. In Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Spain and other countries, the opposition gains ground daily. In Czecho-Slovakia there are two central organizations; the German, with 13,000 members adhering to Amsterdam and the Czech, with 28,000 members adhering to the R.I.L.U., having been expelled from the General Trade Union Federation.

The Woodworkers' International finds its main supports in England, Germany and Austria. In other countries its influence is less considerable and in America non-existent.

The International Federation of Building Workers has its offices in Hamburg. Of its 800,000 members 460,500 belong to Germany. The opposition in this country is very strong. It suffices to mention the expulsion of Brandler, Bachmann and Heckert, whose revolutionary activity in the trade union field caused serious alarm to the reformist leaders. In Czecho-Slovakia, the German Union of 39,000 members is reformist, and the Czech (40,000 members) is under Communist influence. In Austria 25% of the 80,000 adherents are for us; in Italy the Communist section is very powerful and conducts its action against the reformist leaders with admirable energy and discipline.

The twelve national federations in America are all reactionary and do not adhere to the Building Workers' International. The opposition is making good progress, notably in Chicago and San Francisco.

The English Building Workers' Union (400,000 members) adheres to Amsterdam but does not take part in the International Federation.

A Congress has been called for the 3rd October, to which the All-Russian Trade Union Federation, has been invited. This Congress will be of very great importance, because in spite of this invitation we know that the intentions of the reformist leaders have not changed with regard to the revolutionary elements. We are able to say that a secret conference will be held in Amsterdam in which will be decided the continuation of the expulsion policy and its recommendation to the Builders' Congress.

This sketch of the progress of the revolutionary opposition will show the importance of the work accomplished by our propaganda committees. At the 2nd Congress, there will be held conferences at Moscow, in which comrades from all countries will participate. We shall be able to verify the work accomplished and adapt our future work to circumstances. To sum up:— in the most important International Federations, half of their forces are with us, to the advantage of the R.I.L.U., that its influence is exercised over a greater number of countries. If the reformist leaders continue their splitting tactics we shall be obliged to consider, in spite of ourselves, the creation of new International Federations. The progress that we have already made, allows us to suppose that our effectives will be far superior to those of the reformist organizations. In the words of comrade Lozovsky, on the occasion of the preliminary proceedings for the formation of the international Propaganda Committees: "The R.I.L.U. does not propose to split the International Trade Union Federation, but nevertheless it does not fear it. For each attack of the reformists, for each of their attempts to expell the revolutionary unions, we shall answer with a counter-attack, by the creation of international revolutionary groupings of trades and industries. Our committees will not transform themselves into Red Industrial International Federations, except in the case where there is no other way for the revolutionary elements of a given branch of industry.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Crisis in Switzerland

By Jacob Herzog (Zürich).

Among the so-called "neutral" states, the Swiss has the following advantages; it is centrally situated; the composition of its population from three of the most important European nations gives it a sort of cosmopolitan polish; its capital tax is the lowest in Europe; its banking system, the so-called *bank-secrecy*, is excellent; its government is still strong enough to resist the revolutionary attempts of the proletariat. With these advantages at its command, Switzerland has been able to attract foreign capital on a large scale, since the world war. In a way, Switzerland has become a large European banking institution. It is not only the Germans and the Austrians, who are removing their capital to Switzerland; Frenchmen, Englishmen and Italians have not been lagging behind. The amount of capital which has thus found a berth in Switzerland cannot be estimated, due to the afore-mentioned *bank-secrecy*. But that it has assumed formidable proportions is evidenced by the mushroom-like growth of mortgage companies. These companies are international trusts which make their seat in neutral countries, to escape the capital tax, and include citizens of that country among the directors.

Their "business" is often pure fraud, but in most cases they actually represent the union of foreign capital and industries with domestic banks and industries. For instance, the most important metal, textile, chemical, and shoe companies are attached to such international trusts in Switzerland.

Swiss industry, if it wishes to progress, has no other way than this international incorporation, which it must follow to its ultimate consequences. The economic conditions force it to do so with the result that production is continually decreasing and being shifted into low-valuta countries. This has a disastrous effect upon the Swiss population which is primarily industrial. In 1910, the 3,759,000 inhabitants of Switzerland were occupied as follows: Agriculture, 29%; manufacturing, 48%; commerce 11%; government and professions, 6%. 7% of the workers are employed in small shops with 20 or less employees; 22%, in shops with 21 to 100 employees, and 71% in large factories of more than 100 employees.

Switzerland is one of the countries which is suffering most from the present crisis. The result may be the complete destruction of its industries. A study of the chief factors will show the condition of the crisis.

1. *Unemployment.*—In Switzerland there were, in February 1920, 4,979 unemployed; in February 1922, 146,302 unemployed; at the end of June, 90,085 unemployed a slight reduction, as we see, for the past few months. This is due to the increased activity in the season industries (construction, agriculture, tourist industries, etc.), to the subvention of export industries by the government, and not least, to the tendency of prices in low currency countries, to reach the world market scale. Unemployment will increase with the coming of winter, with the continued depreciation of the currency of Germany, Austria, etc., and with the withdrawal of state subventions.

2. *Conditions of Trade.* In 1913, the export reached 867,069 tons; in 1920, 931,715 tons; in 1921, 547,925 tons,—a fall in exports of 37% as compared with 1913. In 1920, the exports amounted to 3,277 million francs; in 1921, 2,140 million francs. The export of chocolate for instance, fell as follows:

1913 quarterly average	4,200,000 Kgms.	= 14,500,000 francs
1921 4th quarter	2,432,900	= 12,069,000
1922 1st quarter	1,166,600	= 5,308,000

Quantitatively the export is therefore $\frac{1}{3}$ of that before the war. The freight income of the federal railways in 1921 was 53 million francs lower than in 1920.

The catastrophic drop of the Swiss stocks shows clearly the condition of our industries. It is clear that a state subvention of a few millions will not suffice to maintain our industries for any length of time. Billions are needed, and our small country whose chief source of income are the customs, cannot furnish them. Our industrialists are trying to help themselves by radical reductions of wages, (which in some cases, have already reached the 1914 level), by prolongation of the working day, above the 48 hour week; by shut downs; by a shifting factories to foreign countries, etc. The number of factories subject to the factory laws was 8887 at the end of 1919, and only 8297 at the end of 1920.

The number of bankruptcies has been as follows: 1918 = 266, 1919 = 343, 1920 = 435, 1921 = 657, and in the first quarter of 1922, already 184. In the last few months 50 factories have removed to France alone. The chocolate manufacturers have established factories in all the neighboring countries. This tendency is becoming more and more noticeable in all industries.

An even acuter agricultural crisis has followed the industrial crisis. Swiss agriculture before the war furnished milk for the production of dairy products to the value of 350 million francs, one third of which went abroad. The chief buyers, were Germany and the United States. Both countries have ceased to purchase Swiss cheese. Enormous quantities are lying in storage in the country, and cannot be disposed of. Unemployment and the reduction of wages have reduced the buying power, and therefore the consumption, of the indigenous population. This explains why agricultural investments bear such a low rate of interest. This rate was, 1901-1905 = 3.07%; 1906-13 = 3.65%; 1914-19 = 5.58%; 1920 = 5.85%; 1921 = 0.20%. The cultivated land is mortgaged to the extent of 8 million francs, or one half the value of the land. The interest on mortgages and loans constitutes 25% of the farmers' production costs. The low demand forced the peasant to reduce the prices of his products. This has brought him into a desperate situation. Many of them can no more pay the interest on their debts. The number of bankruptcies in the agricultural industry is growing. The agricultural organizations demand as relief, a state subvention for the dairy export industries, an embargo on meat and milk imports, increased food prices, lower mortgage rates and lower wages.

The Swiss crisis is not over. It has assumed a chronic, lingering character. The bourgeois press adopted for a time an optimistic tone, but after the failure of the International Economic Conference, and the continued depreciation of the German mark, they have resumed their wails of woe. The bourgeoisie is totally incapable of bringing any relief. It adopts methods which attempt to revive one part of the industry at the expense of another. This and nothing else would mean the salvation of the Swiss industry, — a great possibility of export, a certain rise and stabilization of the depreciated currencies, a considerable increase of the buying power of Central Europe, and the opening of Russia as a field for our export. And this it not to be expected in the near future. The crisis is thereby prolonged, our industries ruined, capital becomes more centralized, and the people pauperized. Switzerland is becoming a mere vault for European capital.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Cooperative Conventions of 1922.

By Karl Bittel (Esslingen).

This year's conventions of the cooperatives in the various countries have shown that the *proletarian opposition* is growing. The differences between the *masses*, which are the basis of the consumer's cooperatives, and the *leaders*, acting on purely business principles, appear more and more clearly. While the proletarian opposition wants to make of the cooperatives an organ of the class struggle which would support the party and the trade unions, the leaders hold on to the asinine dogma of "political neutrality", and believe that the cooperatives will serve to overcome the class differences. Circumstances are forcing them however to concede, little by little, to the demands of the proletariat.

The convention of English Cooperatives in Brighton, at the beginning of June, gathered 1700 delegates. The striking thing was the presence of a great number of women delegates who are playing a most important role in the cooperative movement. For the first time, the convention was presided by a woman, Miss Evelyn Davis, the former General Secretary of the Guild of Women's cooperatives. In her opening address she pointed to the necessary democratic reforms within the movement to render it more fit to fulfill its task in relation to capitalism. She spoke very warmly of the Soviet Cooperatives.

General Secretary, Comrade May, spoke for the Cooperative International. He merits our sincere thanks for his defense of the Soviet cooperatives in the International.

The most interesting questions raised at the English Convention have been, for years, those concerning the International. The break-up of the Cooperative International at the beginning of the war was again brought up, and the problems of its reconstruction discussed. The London vote of censure was rejected. The question of cooperation with the Labor Party and the trade unions roused a lively discussion. A credit of £605,700 was voted to the striking miners. A resolution was passed to create a cooperative daily newspaper. Most remarkable was the unanimous acceptance of a resolution presented by Perry of the Cooperative Party, demanding the revision of the Versailles Treaty. In this resolution we find the following passage:

"The Congress further recommends that, that in order to secure peace, any government accepted by a people shall be recognized by the other governments."

which, we believe bears direct reference to Russia.

Comrade Polovtsev spoke at the international evening. She was heartily greeted. She appealed to the congress to promote the practical reconstruction of the Cooperative International by actual inter-cooperative trade. For the first time again, the German Central Union was represented by three delegates.

The English Guild of Women's Cooperatives held its Congress in Portsmouth on the 20th and 21st of June. The independence and activity of the Women's Guild was demonstrated again, in a resolution, that not only a purely cooperative newspaper should be founded (which would cost over 10 million gold marks) but a political trade-union-cooperative newspaper.

At the Congress of the French Cooperatives in Marseilles the Communists led a sharp attack against the bureaucracy of the cooperatives. Comrade *Henriet* (Paris) reproached the central organization for not having fought sufficiently against

the profit and turnover tax, and pointed out that this was due to the efforts of the leaders to work in harmony with the bourgeoisie. Our comrade demanded that the cooperatives change their tactics and join the ranks of the revolutionary workers. He criticized further the inimical attitude of the cooperatives towards Soviet Russia, and their failure to meet the present economic crisis.

Poisson of the central organization accused the opposition of aiming at the destruction of the cooperatives, and demanded a vote of confidence for the Central Executive. At the final vote it appeared that 218 cooperatives stood in the opposition. A resolution was adopted demanding an energetic campaign against all indirect taxes, especially against the sales tax. On the motion of Lévi, a cooperative bank was founded.

The Belgian Cooperative Congress took place in Lutlich at the end of June. We have received no report as yet.

The Congress of the Swiss Cooperatives took place in Olten, July 18th, and lasted 1½ hours. The fall in prices had dealt a serious blow to the consumer's leagues, enormous losses were sustained and desperate measures advocated to meet the situation;—lower wages and longer working hours. At the end of the Congress a Women's Cooperative League was founded.

The Finnish Convention took place in Helsingfors at the beginning of June; the Swedish in Stockholm.

The German Cooperative Convention was held in Eisenach, in the middle of June. The proletarian opposition registered a victory against the bureaucracy. Its former economic policy (free trade) on account of the frightful losses it caused to the proletariat was completely changed. The disastrous taxation policy of the trade unions had already been repudiated in the course of the year, and the Communist motto: *no taxation of the Consumers Leagues*, adopted. In general, the majority of the delegates again proved themselves ignorant of the requirements of the cooperatives at the present time. For instance, the demand of the Communists that self-help should be increased to its limits and state and regional help demanded before applying to any bank, to maintain the independence of the cooperatives from banking capital, was emphatically rejected. And this at a time when the necessity of governmental credit is as clear as day! A collective fight against the sales tax was also refused. The Cooperatives disgraced themselves again in their attitude toward Soviet Russia. For instance, *Kaufmann* supported the refusal to send an inquiry commission to Russia, (a proposition which all other countries had accepted with enthusiasm), on the ground that he refused to travel as "guest of the Soviets". The Russian delegation, led by comrade *Rosovsky*, which had come uninvited, was treated in such fashion that it was compelled to leave the hall in protest. A resolution demanding more energetic relief for the Russian famine sufferers, was defeated.

The Russian Cooperatives met in Moscow during the first week of July. 700 delegates were present; 583 Communists and 117 non-partisans. The congress enlarged its plan to unify the cooperatives, and pointed out the necessity, that the cooperatives become a part of the Soviet system, and exist for the benefit of the workers' government. *Theirs were the greatest tasks in the reconstruction of Russia, and the protection of the Soviet Government assured them such possibilities for development as no other cooperative movement in the world possessed.* It is only in Russia that the government has given all possible help to the cooperatives in their industrial enterprises. It is only in Russia that the Commission for Work and Defense (the highest economic institution) ordered the state industries to furnish credits to the cooperatives. The cooperatives have been granted the greatest possibilities to organize the international cooperative exchange on the largest scale.

The Congress greeted heartily the admission of the Soviet cooperatives into the Cooperative International, and the cooperation of the non-Soviet Russian cooperatives which had formed a fraction at the congress and sent their representatives to the Administrative Committee. The Western European cooperators were greeted with enthusiastic applause, especially Clara Zetkin, who addressed the congress in the name of the Executive of the Comintern.

POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

The Old Man Kautsky.

By E. Ludwig (Berlin).

During those months in which the Communist International is preparing its program, all writings dealing with the question of the transition period to Socialism, have a claim to our earnest attention, no matter from which camp they come. But

whoever takes up Karl Kautsky's new book bearing the above title, will be deeply disappointed, although the work and activities of Kautsky during the last few years undoubtedly prepares the intelligent reader to moderate his expectations from this writer. The book contributes no word, no idea, towards the solution of the actual problems so vital to the proletarians of all parties. In fact Kautsky does not even see these problems, the more or less exhaustive treatment of which is essential to any sane program of the proletarian revolution.

In 338 long and unbearably tedious pages, Kautsky deals with Erfurt and Görlitz, with Guild Socialism and the regulation of production, with God and the World; but over one thing he is silent: the form of capitalism in its final phase which it practically entered upon with the world war. According to Kautsky, (the man of the "peaceful proletarian revolution", in which the proletariat, under the protection of the Weimar Constitution and ballot in hand, is to defeat the armed German, nationalist, Fascist bands), capitalism is still in the peaceful stage of 30 years ago when he wrote his *Erfurt Program*. The nature of capitalism, he expressly declares in his book, has not altered in the last 30 years. Imperialism, the world conflict of the hostile powers for the last exploitable areas of the earth, the reparations problem and Soviet Russia, depreciation of currency, the employers' offensive and the first forcible rebellion against the slave yoke,—all these according to Kautsky, are "mere episodes in the normal course of capitalism and therefore also hindrances to the proletarian revolution."

It is obvious that he is shutting himself off from all serious investigation of the present economic and political phase of capitalism, in divergence from all previous development, by a violation of facts. Kautsky carefully avoids every earnest scientific analysis of the problem. Whoever regards imperialism and world war, *a priori*, as mere annoying episodes hindering capitalism, is unable to perceive their economic functions and their integral part in the law of capitalist development itself, and therefore cannot at all comprehend the methods of Marxism. He cannot set himself the task, which should be the very core of every Socialist transition program:—the concrete understanding of the final phase of capitalism which was actually inaugurated by the world war, and the task for the proletariat resulting therefrom. The problem so set out theoretically, overthrows Kautsky's artificial formula to the effect that the proletarian revolution is untenable. The developments of the last few weeks in Germany, with the imminence of civil war also refute this view. The proletariat as the Angel of Peace, clad in nothing but a ballot of the Ebert Republic, is as grotesque a caricature as Kautsky's substitution of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the coalition government. He proposes in all seriousness, "on the basis of the experiences of the last few years", to substitute for the revolutionary dictatorship, demanded by Marx as the only possible form of government during the transition period, the following:

"Between the time of the purely bourgeois and the purely proletarian state, there is a transition period from one to the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which, as a rule, the government will assume the form of a coalition government." (Page 106.)

The Government of Stinnes, Wirth and Hilferding as a substitute for the proletarian dictatorship,—this is the content of the whole of Kautsky's book.

The fear of force and civil war drives the old gentleman to the most odious reformism. After 25 years, Bernstein takes his revenge on Kautsky. He not only gives up the future of Socialism in exchange for a little piece of social reform; he sacrifices his own past, his life work,—the Erfurt Program. Whilst he formally defends it against the Görlitz Program, he shrinks behind the screen of "transformation" on all decisive points in face of the criticism of Bernstein, as for example on the question of the middle class, the increase of misery, the crises. And this, at a time when the world crisis, starvation and destitution, the proletarianizing of the middle class, almost literally conform to Marx's teachings.

With his *Program of the Proletarian Revolution*, Kautsky at last abandons the final aim of Socialism. According to him, it will not be long before capitalism is again functioning normally. And then the time will have come for "peaceful growth" into a Socialism with ability to draw rent and profit through a "powerful struggle of the proletariat without using force".

And the man who writes such nonsense takes it upon himself to inveigh against Communism and Lenin. Karl Kautsky has become his own grave digger.