

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 4 No. 48

24th July 1924

Editorial Offices: Langegasse 26/12, Vienna VIII. — Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX.
Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 64, Schliessfach 29, Vienna VIII.
— Telegraphic Address: Inprecorr, Vienna.

CONTENTS

Arthur Rosenberg: Cologne—Eisenach—London.

Politics

Bertram C. Wolfe: The Struggle against Imperialism in Latin-America.

G. Dimitrov: The Situation in Bulgaria.

Economics

Marcel Fourier: The Critical Financial Situation of France.

In the International

J. B.: The Third Conference of the Communist Party of Palestine.

The Co-operative Movement

The Next World Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance.

Cologne—Eisenach—London.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

On the 22nd June last the representatives of the Communist parliamentary fractions of Germany and France met together in Cologne, in order to initiate common action against the Experts' Report. On the 29th June, 400 delegates from all parts of Germany assembled in Eisenach, in order to issue the protest of the whole working class against the policy of the German government. The Cologne conference was allowed to proceed without interference. At Eisenach the delegates to the conference were arrested by Herr Ebert's police. It is true that all those arrested were liberated on the same evening, as there are limits even to the absurdity of the actions of the German republican government. On the 16th of July there commenced in London the Conference of the Allies, which will once again "decide" upon the fate of Germany. The dictates of the Entente are this time to be rendered more palatable by the presence of a few statisticians of the German government.

The official German state apparatus is working feverishly in order to hinder the struggle of the C. P. of Germany against the Experts' Report. For this purpose the most ridiculous means are adopted. The chief manoeuvre consists of the prosecution of the central of the C. P. of Germany, the so-called Tchekalnia, with its 80 volumes of evidence in the hands of that specialist against the Communists, the Berlin judge, director Voigt and with allegations as to the use of cholera germs and other bogeys with which to terrify the public. The trial is intended to discredit the Communist Party in the eyes of the great mass of the population, and in addition to provide the pretext for imprisoning as many as possible of the leading functionaries of the Party and to abolish the immunity of the Communist members of Parliament. The present German law forbids the press to comment upon pending legal proceedings. With the will and knowledge of Herr Severing, the Social

Democratic Police Minister, the police are supplying the sensation-mongering newspapers with information as to the proceedings at the preliminary examination. The greatest eagerness in this connection is of course being shown by the Social Democratic press.

The Tcheka-Process is gradually developing into the greatest swindle of the 20th century. The alleged murders, on account of which the Communist Party is being prosecuted, exist only in the evidence of Herr Voigt. But the bogus trial has provided the pretext to search the whole of the apartments of the Communist fractions in the German Reichstag and in the Prussian Diet: a proceeding which is absolutely unprecedented in the history of parliament. This action, which of course brought nothing to light, was, as one might have expected, instigated by the Social Democratic president of the Landtag, Leinert and by the Social Democratic vice-president of the Reichstag, Dittmann. Another heroic act of the Social Democratic party was the suppression of the "Rote Fahne" for 14 days at the command of Herr Severing, and this on account of an article warning against acts of individual terror!

All these shabby manoeuvres can, however, not prevent the action of the C. P. of Germany against the Experts' Report and its supporters. The Social Democratic and the bourgeois parties were able to produce a certain degree of approval of the Experts' Report only because the masses had no notion of what was contained in this report. The more the details of the Dawes report become known to the proletariat, the more impossible will become the position of the Social Democratic Party. The Berlin organisation of the Communist Party is at present circulating the original text of the Experts' Report among its functionaries and in the workshops. If the Party succeeds in having only one communist in every workshop who possesses

the text of the Experts' Report, and who is in a position to read the chief paragraphs to his work mates, it will settle all the propaganda of the Social Democratic party.

The entry of the Herriot Government into office gave the Social Democratic party and the bourgeois centre parties the opportunity to proclaim the most exaggerated promises and hopes. One only had to hear the enthusiastic speech with which Loebe, the former Social Democratic president of the Reichstag, greeted those twin stars, MacDonald and Herriot, in order to measure the extent of these hopes. But the young blossoms quickly withered. The attempt was made to render the Experts' Report more attractive to the masses in Germany by persuading them that the acceptance of the Dawes' Report would lead to the evacuation of the Ruhr area by the French. Meanwhile, the Herriot-Nollet government have plainly declared that the occupation of the Ruhr district is solely the affair of France and Belgium and of no one else. The evacuation of the Ruhr district is out of the question at present. Nothing will be spoken of or decided regarding this at the London conference. Besides this one has been able to perceive in the last few days that the Anglo-French antagonism has not in the least been abolished by the overthrow of Poincaré, and that a furious storm of opposition has been raised against the Herriot ministry because it does not in all respects sufficiently exhibit the Poincaré spirit, while Herriot himself is endeavouring to avert this attack by showing the requisite energy against Germany and England. Since the development of this state of affairs the "Vorwärts" has begun to sing very small. It only continues to plead that Germany must be allowed to enter the League of Nations, but the Social Democratic party has no longer any serious arguments in order to persuade the masses to accept the Experts' Report.

The Communist fraction in the Reichstag recently invited the factory councils of the large factories in Berlin to a conference in order to discuss the present political situation. This conference was attended by representatives from 55 big factories, among them being several Social Democratic and non-party factory councils. The conference declared unanimously against the Experts' Report and elected an advisory committee of factory councils which shall collaborate with the Communist Reichstag fraction. Preparations are being made for enlarging this committee by factory councils from the provinces.

The Cologne conference of the German and French Communist parliamentarians on the 22nd June was carried out with the most active participation of the Rhenish proletariat. At a mass demonstration of the Cologne workers, besides the German members of parliament, comrade Cachin also spoke against the Experts' plan. Representatives of the French parliamentary fraction also took part in the "Red Day" which was held at the same time in Dusseldorf and which was participated in by thousands of workers. The main result of the Cologne conference is not that the German and French Communist Parties are in agreement as regards the question of the Experts' Report, for that is expected from Communist parties as a matter of course, but that the CP. of Germany and the CP. of France, along with the CGTU., have agreed upon a detailed programme of action that will render possible a common struggle of the workers on both sides of the Rhine against Marx and Herriot. At the same time as the Communists and revolutionary trade unionists of Germany and France set up this indivisible fighting front, the French Social Democrats in the Chamber of Deputies granted the Ruhr credits! Thereby the difference between the Second and the Third Internationals has become perfectly clear to the most backward worker.

The working class had set the highest hopes in the labour conference in Eisenach, which Herr Jarres, with the help of the Social Democratic police officers, caused to be broken up. All the greater therefore were the efforts of the government and its spy apparatus to wreck this conference. In spite of all this it was possible for the conference to meet together and pronounce its approval to the resolution against the Experts' Report. By breaking up the conference, Herr Jarres and the Social Democratic party have only rendered a service to the revolutionary cause in Germany. The delegates have returned from Eisenach with the firm will to organise straightaway the fight against the Experts' plan and against the treacherous reformist leaders.

The London conference will render apparent the complete futility of the pacifist illusions. It will further drive home the truth that the working class have nothing to hope for from capital.

POLITICS

The Struggle against Imperialism in Latin America.

By Bertram C. Wolfe (Mexico).

I. Economic Importance.

The United States has \$ 4,000,000,000 invested in Latin America, over \$ 600,000,000 of which is invested in national debts.

It is the economic hinterland of the United States, providing it with raw materials (petroleum, minerals, agricultural products) markets for manufactured products and spheres for the investment of capital. The economic backwardness of Latin America makes it the more fertile field for capital exportation in the form of railroads, industries etc. Its governments contract loans of hundreds of millions every year.

II. Political Importance.

The United States has troops in six Latin-American countries. It has set up autocracies through subsidized revolutions and active military-financial support in a half dozen countries. In most Latin-American lands it has financial dictators. It is provoking military conflicts between the more powerful countries to weaken them and make their absorption easier (War between Chile and Peru and between Argentina and Brazil). In Brazil and Peru it is reorganizing the army and navy under American naval and military instructors, and introducing armament competition.

All of these attacks upon the sovereignty and independence of the various countries has aroused a growing current of bitter hostility to American Imperialism, which, because of the unity of language (Spanish), of traditions, of origin, of social structure etc. is gradually assuming a continental unity and continental proportions. The intellectuals are already directing this unity movement for joining 110,000,000 people and 20 countries in resistance to American imperialism. The Communists should be directing it.

Revolutions are brewing in Venezuela and Peru and perhaps in other countries. Only the presence of United States troops prevents (partially) revolutions against the governments set up in the occupied countries.

The political importance of the U.S. as center of world reaction gives great importance to these potential allies of the European proletariat and the Communist International.

III. Social Structure.

1. Big industries. These are mostly in the hands of American capital, English coming second. The concentrated proletariat thus finds itself faced with foreign capital. Foreign governments, especially that of the U. S., intervene in big strikes, using governmental pressure.

2. Native industrial capital. — weak.

3. Agrarian situation. The plantation system prevails in tropical parts. In almost all regions a few large landholders have monopolized the land. The overwhelming proportion of the population of Latin America consists of poor landless or almost landless peasants. In some countries (Peru, Mexico) there is a system of partial peonage and serfdom. In Argentina, there is a migratory rural proletariat. In all of Latin America the peasantry and rural proletariat is brutally exploited, is rebellious and demanding the redistribution of the land. There are continuous inchoate and badly organized peasant uprisings. Where revolutionary movements begin for any cause, they always tend to show agrarian aspects. (Mexico, Peru etc.)

The big landowners, backed by the Catholic Church and the native bureaucracy, and often in alliance with foreign capital are the backbone of international reaction. Any movement against foreign imperialism has the tendency to unite itself with agrarian revolutionary movements.

The small landholders are suffering severe oppression from American capital (packers in Argentina) and the large

landowners and are in a rebellious mood. The students, and intellectuals generally are in a state of unrest that has caused the following phenomena:

a. Alliance between students and workers. In Peru, for example, they are affiliated with the labour movement, and enter into its general strikes and revolutionary movements, and profess Communist and Socialist ideology. The leader of the biggest general strike in Peru was a student. His exile caused another big strike movement.

b. Tendency of the intellectuals to attempt to assume leadership of revolutionary movements, for the overthrow of autocracies (Jacobinistic tendencies).

c. Tendency of intellectuals to lead movements against narrow nationalism of the separate countries, in favour of a Latin-American unity against American imperialism.

IV. Communist Task in Latin America.

1. Communist activity has been inadequate, through lack of centralization on a continental scale. There has long been a revolutionary situation in Peru which made possible the foundation of a Communist Party there, but not until the Mexican Party learned of this by accident were the necessary first steps taken. All of Latin America offers fertile fields, but no one party can take care of this.

2. Connections have been unsatisfactory between the various parties. The connections of many of them with the C.I. has been almost nil. Lack of organic connection has meant lack of organic discipline. For example, in his printed report, to the V. World Congress, Zimoviev says of Chile that the International has no adequate information concerning the movement there, and this in spite of the fact that Chile has a fairly large Communist Party, control of the Chilean Federation of Labour which is affiliated to the Profintern and two daily papers. The same lack of connection and control holds in greater or less degree for Latin American parties. Instructions arrive very late or not at all. The parties learn of world congresses and world campaigns after they are over.

3. The language difficulty adds to this lack of connection. Instructions arrive in French, German, English and even Russian. The Latin-American proletariat cannot, like the European Spaniards, understand French, and still less any other language, such as English, German and Russian. The instructions do not even all arrive in one language. Seven parties functioning in a population of 137,000,000 inhabitants, need instructions in Spanish. It is not correct to point out the smallness of these parties, as for example the International does not measure the smallness of the number of English-speaking Communists in deciding the necessity of a service in English, but rather the number of English speaking inhabitants of the world that these parties may ultimately influence.

4. The unions. The unions of Latin America are decidedly militant and quite without social-democratic traditions or interest in Amsterdam. Through lack of a Communist Spanish Press Service and centralized continental activity, they have been quite neglected. The Profintern has had no connection with the unions of Peru for example, which now, of their own accord, send a fraternal delegate. The anarchists of Spain send their newspapers and pamphlets to Latin America, with lies about Soviet Russia and about the C. G. T. U. of France etc., and there is no Communist paper to answer them in the countries where there is no party. Furthermore there is no press in the countries where there is a party. In Latin America, undisturbed by the breakdown of European economy as a result of the world war and is seeking adherents and allies in Latin America. The task of the Profintern is relatively easy if undertaken in an earnest and in a centralized fashion with press service, continental press etc., as is proved by the affiliation of the Chilean Federation to the Profintern almost without a struggle and the winning of 40% of the delegates to the last Argentinian Union Congress for affiliation with the Profintern.

5. The Parties. Some of the Communist Parties of Latin America are much stronger than is generally supposed. The Chilean party dominates the Federation of Labour of Chile. The Communist Party of Argentina has greater numbers in proportion to its population than the parties of England or the United States. Such parties should not be neglected and be without connections.

V. Concrete Proposals.

In view of the above political, economic and organizational facts, the following concrete proposals are offered:

1. Closer relation of parties with the International.
2. Centralization of the activities of all Communist Parties in the two Americas in respect to continental tasks and especially the struggle against American Imperialism, the seat of this centralization to be Mexico City.
3. Instructions of the International in Spanish.
4. Press service in Spanish. A selection from the Inprecorr. and the Profintern Bulletin may be combined in a small weekly service for this purpose.
5. Interchange of news service between American and Latin American Parties.
6. A conference of representatives of parties and left union blocs in Mexico City in December (during the conference of the Pan American Federation of Labour) to effect the centralization proposed above. The American and Mexican parties to be jointly responsible for such centralization for the present. The centralization to include Union and Political activities.

The Situation in Bulgaria.

By G. Dimitrov.

In the course of its forty five years existence as a politically independent state, Bulgaria has experienced not a few reactionary regimes, but when compared with the present reaction which is raging, all these reactionary regimes of the past seem the merest child's play.

The working class and the peasant masses are robbed of all rights and rendered the prey of the bankers and speculators. All workers' parties are dissolved. Their press is annihilated. Their best representatives are killed, flung into prison, or driven into exile.

In the background of this political reaction, the gangs of bankers and speculators are busily engaged in pitilessly exploiting the working masses of the country.

The result of one year's misrule by the fascist reaction offers the following picture.

Up to the coup d'etat the dollar cost 92 leva; its present price is 140 leva. Thus the Bulgarian currency has suffered a depreciation of over 40 per cent.

In June 1923 the bank notes circulating in the country equalled 3,800 million leva; in January 1924 they had already reached 4,300 million leva.

Whilst the state budget for 1922/23 amounted altogether to five milliard leva, the budget of the Zankov government for 1923/24 amounted to 6.2 milliard leva and that for 1924/25 to 7 milliard leva. The outgoings for one year for the army, the police and prisons amounted alone to one and a half milliards. Before the coup d'etat the expenditure for the police amounted to 1,476,777 leva annually; it now amounts to 15,388,520 leva..

The indirect taxes have been increased by 2 to 3 milliard leva. The tobacco tax has been increased by 365 million leva. The land taxes, which fall upon the peasants, have also been increased by 340 million leva while the tax upon limited liability companies has only yielded 3 million leva.

Foreign trade for the year 1923 showed an unfavourable balance of 2257 million leva (imports 5153 millions, exports 2896 million leva). In the first three months of 1924 imports amounted to 1184 million and exports to 882 million leva.

There is a very big decline in agriculture. The area given to Autumn sowing in the year 1923 was 11 million hectares, as compared with 13 million hectares in 1922, i. e. a decrease of almost 15 per cent.

Prices have increased from June 1923 to June 1924 by 30 to 50 per cent. The price of bread has increased from 5 to 7 leva per kilogram, meat from 24 to 30 leva, salt from 4 to 6 leva etc.

ECONOMICS

The Critical Financial Situation of France.

By Marcel Fourier (Paris).

The French franc has again sunk considerably in the last few days. Are we faced with a repetition of the currency panic which occurred in January of this year? In financial circles, those who claim to be in the know connect this considerable fall in the French valuta with the report of senator Beranger who, in his capacity as general reporter on the budget, delivered on the occasion of opening new credits under the title of "repayable expenditure" — i. e., to be repaid by Germany!

After M. Beranger announced the "balancing" of the budget of the year 1924 and even declared that an increase of revenue of some hundred millions francs was by no means an impossibility — which appears to be more than doubtful! — he was compelled to give an exact account of the current national debt of the French Republic.

According to his calculations, our interior public debt exceeds 277 millions francs (paper francs) and our outer national debt 39 milliard gold francs, that is, according to the present value of the dollar, 156 milliard paper francs. Thus the total debts of France amount to 432 milliard paper francs or 133 milliard gold francs.

What these figures, which can in no way be concealed, mean, may be judged from the fact that they are not far from expressing the sum total of the national wealth of France.

Great as they are they have to be faced. They represent a national debt which the state cannot conceal, but which it cannot openly announce without declaring itself bankrupt.

With this state of affair there are wide circles of the bourgeoisie who recommend as a remedy — inflation. Their conclusions are as follows: The state owes its subjects 277 milliard francs in pensions, treasury notes, war bonds etc. These 277 milliards now already represent a little more than a quarter of their original value expressed in gold francs. Now, let the franc fall still lower, let it follow the splendid example of the Austrian and the Hungarian crown and of the German and Polish marks and the 277 milliards interior state debts will in fact, represent nothing.

This concealed bankruptcy would be nothing more and nothing less than a piece of expropriation; but an expropriation of the small people. A two edged sword. It is true the great industrialists thereby run no risk, as they suffer no serious loss by the collapse of the French valuta. On the contrary, they thereby gain the possibility of "dumping", that is, the capturing of the foreign markets owing to the cheapening of the products of their industries, because the costs of production are reduced in a country with a falling valuta. On the other hand, a country, the currency of which has collapsed, is placed under definite economic conditions — terrible increase in prices etc. — which naturally have a revolutionising effect.

It must also not be overlooked that when the franc falls (and with it the interior debt), the outer debt, which is payable in gold francs, continually increases in an alarming manner and becomes more oppressive. And if at present the English and American financiers are granting credits to France, it is certain that in the event of the French government pursuing a policy of inflation they would immediately demand guarantees which would cover their claims.

Thus the financial problem remains insoluble under the bourgeois regime. The tactics of the bourgeois government, whether right or left, consist solely in muddling along with the present state of affairs as long as possible, until everything will be arranged, somehow or other — in the next war.

It is the task of the Communists, however, to expose the incompetency and brutality of the bourgeois financial politicians, and in particular to show to the small investors in loans, who have blindly cast and still continue to cast their savings into the bottomless pit of bourgeois finance, under the rule of the bourgeoisie they will not be able to avoid ruin.

The wages of the workers have fallen by 40 per cent as compared with 1922. At the same time 80 per cent of the factories and works have abolished the eight hour day.

On the other hand, the profits of the banks and joint stock companies offer quite another picture. The profits are enormous. For example, the Commercial and Industrial Bank with a capital of 6 million leva had a net profit of 1,900,000 leva (35 per cent); the Bank for Export and Import (capital 3 million leva) has a net profit of 1,020,000 leva (30 per cent); the international joint stock company, "Maritima" (capital 5 million) has a profit of 1,700,000 leva (34 per cent); the joint stock company "Gentshev" (capital 3 million leva) has a profit of 1,400,000 leva (43 per cent); the insurance company "Balkan" (capital 5 million leva) has a profit of 3 million leva (60 per cent); the United Industrial Bank (capital 4 million leva) has a profit of 4,400,000 leva (110 per cent); the industrial joint stock company "Isgrév" (capital 1,050,000/leva) has a profit of 1,700,000 leva (105 per cent) etc.

In the sphere of foreign politics the Zankov government is driving the country into conflicts, with Yugo-Slavia on account of Macedonia, with Greece on account of Thrace, with the Soviet Union on account of the Wrangel troops, whom it welcomes with open arms. In order under these circumstances to retain the support of France, England and Italy, it is prepared to concede to them valuable resources of the country, as for example the state-owned "Pernik" stone quarry.

But the hate of the working masses of the people against the bankers and speculators is on the increase, while the working masses are organising a united front and are busily engaged in preparing for the coming into power of the workers and peasants.

This mood found expression during the recent elections for the provincial and municipal councils, which were carried out under a fearful reign of terror. In all the important parts of the country, especially in the towns, the elections resulted in the repulse of the offensive of the Zankov government.

At the municipal elections in the towns the government received 72,000 votes as against 90,579 polled by the opposition, and many thousands of votes were cast for the communists, but which were declared to be invalid.

The Zankov government feels that it is losing foothold before the sweep of the rising wave of indignation of the people and of the growing movement of the working masses. It is therefore carrying on a still more furious and reactionary policy and has recourse to a series of political murders of popular leaders, among them recently being the leader of the peasants union, the member of parliament Petrov.

The organ of the national liberal party (the party of industrial capital) "Nesavissimost" (Independence) gives the following estimation of the present position in the country:

"The results of the provincial and municipal elections prove only one thing, that no security and peace prevails in our country, because, objectively considered, the influence of the destructive elements is not only not weakened, but has become stronger. We are now experiencing in Bulgaria a war, because the fronts are set up for fresh bloody struggles. The destructive elements, which are welded together in the united front, have already gone over to the offensive... And if in spite of everything (exceptional laws against the communists and the peasant population) we see their magnificent successes in the elections, it means that their strength and their influence is by no means broken. At the present time our country is experiencing, not a struggle between political groupings, but a fight for victory between sharply distinguished tendencies, for the victory of different methods of state administration... The tendencies which appear as the representatives of bolshevik ideas, have actually realised the united front. Actuated by similar motives to seize power, they have sunk their minor differences of opinion and are proceeding determinedly to one end — the annihilation of the ruling powers..."

The bourgeois paper has, in a sudden fit of candour, let out the truth. The facts are as stated. In Bulgaria the fight is proceeding over "different methods of state administration": Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the fascist government, or dictatorship of the proletariat by the workers and peasants.

The fronts are sharply drawn. The forces are being mobilised, the decisive struggle is no longer distant. The days of the fascist reaction in Bulgaria are numbered.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Third Conference of the Communist Party of Palestina.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The Communist Party of Palestina was founded in 1920 by Jewish emigrants and, under the name of the "Jewish Communist Party", at first belonged to the world union of the so-called left organization "Poale Zion". After the negotiations between the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the world union with regard to the latter's affiliation to the Communist International proved abortive, the party broke away from the world union and commenced independent negotiations for entry into the Comintern. These negotiations ended some months ago with the recognition of the Communist Party of Palestina as a section of the Communist International.

The third party Conference which took place a little while ago and which was attended by a representative of the Executive Committee, was confronted with the great tasks which arose as a result of the party entering the Comintern. During the party's years of existence it has — in the face of embittered struggles against the opportunist workers' parties, hiding under the banner of Zionism, on the one hand and against the political immaturity and unorganized state of the broad masses of the Jewish workers on the other — endured three years of strict legality and suffered constant persecution by the English mandatorial powers, which has resulted in the formation of a kernel of conscious and courageous party members which none of the other oriental parties possess. The chief task of the party now is to permeate the strata of the working population and to take over their leadership.

The Conference proved that the party is quite up to its eyes in a number of resolutions, all of which were unanimously accepted, the conference formulated the tasks facing the masses of the members on the political, trade-union and communal field. On the one hand certain boycotting-putschist tendencies which had prevailed in the party have been entirely liquidated, on the other hand it was evident that there remains no longer a trace in the party of national chauvinism which prevailed among the Zionist Jewish emigrants.

At the Conference there was present for the first time an Arabian comrade as the representative of the Arabian group of party members. In his greetings to the Conference he emphasised that the few Arabian comrades who are already in the ranks of the Communist Party of Palestina, signify only a beginning. Behind me, behind us, there stand thousands and thousands of oppressed workers, who await our call in order to burst the chains of the oppressors. And along with us there will rise the thousands of poor Fellahins who are tired of the burden of century-long serfdom... Work among the peasants, who in Palestine as in the whole Orient constitute the most important part of the native-born population, was also dealt with at the Conference. Greetings were sent to the recently formed Moscow Peasants' International, in which their attention was called to the exploited peasant masses of the Orient.

Further, particular attention was devoted to communal work in the colonial countries, where the administration of the country is in the hands of the imperialist powers, self-government in part of the cities becomes of special importance. The present municipal administration, as was the case in the time of Turkish rule, still lies in the hands of feudal cliques who enrich themselves at the cost of the poor population. The English government of course does nothing to bring about a change in this. In the sphere of communal work the Conference recognized the possibility of collaboration of the working class with the petty bourgeoisie of the town, as both classes are interested in the abolition of the present system.

Finally there was dealt with a number of minor, practical questions: organization question, work among the women, the Red Relief etc.

Nineteen delegates from different parts of the country took part in the Conference. They met in a time when the incitement of the Jewish right parties against the Communists, the repression of the government, and the anti-bolshevik campaign of the big land owners had become more intensive than at any other time. The Conference was compelled in order to elude the

watchfulness of the English spies to meet at three different places. It was impossible to discuss any profound problems, as the great majority of the delegates consisted of workers, who could not afford to lose a day's work, unless they wished to run the risk of losing their jobs.

But the sympathy of the Arabian workers, the interest which in spite of anti-communist propaganda was evident among the workers for the conference and its results, the fighting and self-sacrificing spirit which inspired the assembled delegates, leaves no room for doubt that the third conference of the Communist Party of Palestina was in fact an important turning point, in that the slogan which the Executive Committee of the Comintern gave to the party when it was accepted into the ranks of the proletarian vanguard: "Become the territorial mass party of the Palestine working class!" is approaching its realisation.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Next World Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance.

The XIth International Co-Operative Congress which will be held in Ghent from the 1st to 5th of September next, will be an extremely interesting world congress. In the first place because this Co-operative Alliance (the head quarters of which are in London) stands at the head of one of the most powerful mass movements and comprises about 90,000 co-operative societies in 28 countries with a membership of forty million families; in the second place because the Alliance not only embraces the workers co-operative societies of all capitalist countries, along with a number of petty bourgeois co-operative societies, as well as peasant retail co-operatives, but there is also affiliated to it the powerful co-operative movement of the Russian Soviet State. Thus reformist and petty bourgeois co-operative illusionists will assemble together in Ghent along with Communists, just as they have sat for some years together on the Executive. Hence, in Ghent, sharp struggles between the two tendencies will doubtless be fought out.

Ever since the formation of the Alliance in the year 1895 there have been conflicts at the congresses between the proletarian and revolutionary co-operatives and the reformist, petty bourgeois middle class co-operatives. The latter have always gained the upper hand and the proletarian opposition has always remained a small minority. At the last congress of the Alliance in August 1921 in Basle, the majority passed a new statute, by which the baldest co-operative illusions are made to constitute a programme.

On that occasion the right wing of the German, Swedish and French co-operatives set up a sharp front against the further membership of the Russian Co-operatives, as under the Soviet power they had become organs of the proletarian dictatorship and no more corresponded to the sacred Rochdale ideal of "freedom and independence". These notorious co-operators have since then left no stone unturned in order to instigate a systematic campaign of calumny against the communist co-operators of Soviet Russia and at the same time against their comrades in the other countries. For the approaching congress in Ghent there is planned nothing less than the expulsion of the millions of Soviet co-operators.

It is worthy of note that in the last few years, the Alliance — in spite of its neutrality — has come completely under the influence of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals. On the 24th of May 1924 there took place in Paris a joint sitting of the Alliance and of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation, at which was submitted a communication from the Second International, which again appealed for the closest coalition of the three great movements. This political question of co-operation with the reformists forms to-day the central question in the Alliance. Up to the present it has been successfully dealt with behind the scenes, but at Ghent it must be fought out in the open.

We Communists naturally welcome the fact that the principle of 1921 of political neutrality has, as a result of the pressure of events, been abandoned. We now demand, of course on the basis of proletarian democracy, a coalition on equal terms, that is to say, the simultaneous linking up of the Profintern, (R. L. U.) and of the Comintern in the Alliance, plus the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation and the Second International.

What will the co-operative democrats have to object against these elementary democratic demands? Do they not correspond to the actual fact that a considerable portion of the co-operative members, on the trade union field, are tending not towards Amsterdam but Moscow, and on the political field not towards the International of social traitors but to the International of revolution?

Thus the organ of the English co-operative societies, the "Co-operative News" of May 17, contains a direct provocation of the communist members, when it points out that probably at the next Congress in Ghent the demand will be put forward that connections be set up with the Moscow International and that the acceptance of this proposal would have serious complications in all continental countries and also in England, which would jeopardise the whole future of the Alliance. We agree with this journal when it goes on to say that all affiliated bodies should cast their vote at the election of the Executive Committee of the Alliance in order to ensure that the Alliance shall possess the real authority of its constituent bodies.

We trust therefore that the co-operatives in all countries will lose no time in providing their members with full information regarding the approaching Congress and will alter the old methods of election. Up to the present, however, we notice that the election of delegates is carried out behind the scenes in committees. The election of delegates, however, concerns the democratic right of self-determination of the members.

Therefore, members:

1. Demand an immediate general meeting of your co-operative society!
2. Demand information regarding the agenda of the Congress!
3. Elect from your own ranks reliable class conscious comrades, who at Ghent will see to it that the International co-operative movement does not become a reformist play-thing, but a powerful factor in the working class fight for emancipation!

Special Number

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint.

INTERNATIONAL

PRESS

Vol. 4 No. 49

24th July 1924

CORRESPONDENCE

Central Office: Langegasse 26-12, Vienna VIII. Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 64, Schloßbach 29, Vienna VIII. Telegraphic Address: Inprecorr, Vienna.

The V. World Congress of the Communist International

Continuation of Discussion on Report of the Executive.

Thirteenth Session.

Friday

Stewart spoke of the Italian situation and the

Communist Party

...the situation in Italy at the present time... it is not possible... the situation may be... If our Party... at the head of the movement... struggle with fascism may develop... that at some time... the Italian masses... knows that... wave of revolution... sweep... the whole bourgeois regime... will attempt to... the path of democracy... may choose... way... consolidate its position... become conscious of the fact that... political life of Italy... the class... to face up... It is certain that... proletariat will again take up the struggle... fight which will lead to victory... a Manifesto to the Workers of Italy (The Crimes of the Fascists*).

Ercoli Italy

...of the Centre group explained why they... from the left wing with which... twenty years of the Party. He said

* This was published in No. 29 of "Inprecorr"

At the moment when the Communist Party was formed, an agreement was reached between us and Bordiga, because we based on his conviction that our Party must be based on the struggle against the right and against the centre. We are still convinced today that it is the only basis upon which a Communist Party can be developed in a country. Bordiga was approached by the International with the proposal that the Italian Party be formed on a basis which limited its mass working ability, and which detached it from the masses of the masses and from the street work movements.

Our Party was constituted at a time when the defeat of the labour movement in Italy was inevitable. Under such circumstances the new party was faced with a problem of life and death, and the policy pursued by the leaders in the first years was a good one, even if it was not in full accord with the policy of the International.

Today the conditions of the proletarian movement in Italy are fundamentally different from those of two years ago. Our Party has won for itself an inshakable position among the best sections of the working class, but it must now shoulder the task of becoming a mass party. This problem cannot be solved unless we give up the theories of Bordiga and unless we modify the spirit in which the Bordiga group has been leading the Party in recent years.

Zinoviev spoke of a rift between Bordiga and the Communist International. We hope that we may be spared the necessity of making this choice.

We shall now state our opinion on Zinoviev's report. On the whole we are in agreement with his report, which furnished a basis for complete definition of the points on which the Fourth Congress and the Enlarged Executive of June left the doors open to "right" deviations. But we also ask that we should not content ourselves with a formula, but that we should endeavour to define its political and historical value.