Important Notice.

The English edition of the "International Press Correspondence" is sent free of charge to all labour and communist organs in England, America, India, South Africa, Australia and Canada. The editors urgently request that the articles be reprinted in the labour and communist press with the least possible delay. The object of the "Correspondence" is to supply the organs of the working class movement in these countries with reliable information and with points of view which are not found in the capitalist press and news agencies.

It is particularly requested that all editors: 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective news-papers and journals to the office of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence", and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information, and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and enquiries received will obtain immediate attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.

POLITICS

The Situation in Hungary.

by Bela Kun.

The following article is part of a more comprehensive essay written by comrade Kun immediately after the latest Habsburg rebellion had been reported and at the moment that the royal troops were advancing on Budapest. The following excerpt gives a good analysis of the situation in Hungary.

The liberal urban petty-bourgeoisie which had united with the Social-Democrats in the "Liberal Coalitions", never definitely demonstrated its sympathies for the republic.

In addition to this almost the entire Magyar bourgeoisie of former Hungary, all the Hungarian and in part German officers of the old army, gathered on Hungarian territory. This bourgeois ruffian which expected from the Habsburg Restoration the establishment of the oppressive Magyar regime, was also one of the supports of Kaiser Karl.
Moscow's Offer and the Howls of the Mensheviks.

by Wilhelm Koenen (Berlin).

The offer is not a new one. The recognition of debts was one of the peace conditions which William Bullitt brought back from Moscow in 1919, and which were first published in the "Daily Herald". The Allies at that time defined this condition. Are they going to reject the offer now?

(From the "Daily Herald" of the 31st Oct. 1920.

The old Kautsky stated in the first year of the Russian Revolution that "were the proletarian government in the East to succeed in maintaining itself for only one year", it would mean the greatest political advantage for the International Socialists. We then came through the 4th Anniversary of the successful Russian Revolution, the first stage of the World-Revolution. For 3 full years the proletariat of the East has maintained its control of Great Russia, against death and ruin, against White Guards and the Entente, against the bourgeoisie and starvation. Not only is the proletarian State unbroken and unshaken, but even in spite of its own miseries, and in spite of the failure of the proletarian of Central and Western Europe, misled by false leaders, Moscow has made an attempt to conquer and establish a position even within the capitalist robber-states, which have persecuted it until now with blood and iron.

When early this spring the Soviet Government finally decided to overcome the foreign boycott and in breaking its way through to the world-market, the course of negotiations between the proletarian State and the capitalist Powers for official recognition has not been broken. It is true, last September's Potsdam declaration was an attempt of an imperialist attack by Japan, England, France and their lackeys, Poland and Roumania. But the danger was avoided, and the Allied powers attempted to blackmail Russia for the guarantee of re-payment of the Czar's debts, by taking advantage of Russia's starvation. The Allied diplomatism was themselves caught in the dangerous noose with which they hoped to strangle Soviet Russia in its dire need. The Soviet Government agrees to the Entente demand for a payment of debts — not in obedience to their blackmailing attempt but, as the official, without a demurrer, rejection of the "Daily Herald" and Krassin's former negotiations prove, to renew the offer to pay interest upon new terms and special conditions. The Soviet Government makes demands of England, the dominating power of the Entente, real relief, the creation of the possibility of payment, assurance against military attacks, expressed official recognition and an invitation to an international conference on a basis of equality. The Allied political blackmail threat became an instrument to the hands of the Soviet Republic for forcing an officially recognized World-position, and for extending and facilitating the absolutely necessary economic intercourse with the world. Russia wants these economic connections at any price, and soon, and if all signers of the Entente, the imperialists, are one step nearer to the proletarian State in the East. They want to negotiate with it anew. Even the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", the chief organ of the German Stinnes group, who already is feeling as if it has been cheated, is compelled to admit in its November 1st issue, that the Soviet government has at any rate achieved a big diplomatic victory, by means of a promise, which under present circumstances has no positive value.

We however see how the waiting attitude of the international Menshevik-press compares with the above capitalist concession. Its torch-bearers are the fine brotherly pair: "Vorwärts" and "Freiheit". These defenders of Kautsky have, in their fanatical attack against the Communists, even their master's song of praise, mentioned above. On the 4th Anniversary of the great Russian Revolution, instead of recognizing the triple steadfastness of our Russian brothers, they howl: "Hurrah, Moscow capitulates! Bolsheviks declare bankruptcy!" Mad with false glee, the "Vorwärts" sneers: "The capitulation of Moscow is naturally a bitter pill for the Communists of all countries", and awkwardly attempts to play the Humanitarian. The "Freiheit" especially has found itself quite out of the game. But the papers did not both write about the hated world-revolution on the same day. The "Freiheit", the oracle of the eternally weak Hilferdings, writes that it is now clear, that the Communists have completely missed the social character of the Russian Revolution and have falsely estimated the part played by the classes.

"How false these stupid Bolsheviks were in seizing power in Russia, when they proved themselves able to hold and fortify it not only for one year, which Kautsky wished to refute, but for four years. And how wise!" — Stammer uses the very word — the Social-traitors of the 2 and 21 International were wrong after the civil-war, for they opposed the proletariat in all countries of Central Europe out of the power which had just been won, and when they maliciously played into the hands of the bourgeoisie with their game of "democracy".

As early as the spring, we wrote from Moscow in a pravda article on Russia's new attitude towards such renegades: "These poor heroes and their followers do not want to see the Social-revolutionaries clamber on the spears of the bourgeoisie, the latter now necessary, because the cowardly Socialists of other countries were incapable and unwilling to overthrow capitalism in their own countries. As the Communists in Russia have done by dint of the greatest sacrifices. If only the Socialists of other countries had made and suffered sacrifices in the same heroic manner in which the millions of Russian martyrs of the World-revolution are still daily and hourly doing, then the traitors of the Revolution would no longer to-day be so shamelessly whining over concessions."

If the treaties signify any weakness of the World-Revolution at all, they alone are to blame for it. We, however, see on the other side, entirely a triumph for Soviet Russia. After collapse of the White Guards, victorious after the civil-war, the three years of bloody war, after having beaten back attacks on all fronts, after the many grievous defeats of the Entente, the first proletarian World-power, though still in need and bleeding, is still standing strong and not even the new worlds gnashing their teeth find themselves compelled to recognize it as a power on equal terms, and qualified for negotiating. The proletarian state has thus won its recognition. Profit-seeking Capitalist wants customers, and its governments thus approach Bolshevism.

The Russian proletarian state is carrying on this struggle for admittance to the world-market, for economic relations, for internal peace and for official recognition, further by means of the Russian Relief Campaign, and for the recognition of its debts. It would indeed be a great sacrifice just now, if "starving Russia", were to sweat blood for years or decades in order to deliver the three billion gold rubles of the old Czarist debts to the capitalist robber-states. That is why it has established preliminary conditions and terms. It will negotiate these and demand its price. Already, with the English and French press advocating compromise and negotiations, which fact should be regarded as a favourable symptom, the signing of Russo-Italian trading treaty is reported in the immediate future.

The proletariat of Western Europe must help make the constant fight of our Russian brothers for a final peace and for economic recognition easier. Has not even the Amsterdam International declared, in opposition to the howling Menshevik-press, that the support of the Russian Soviet Republic is necessary for the liberation-struggle of the proletariat of Central Europe? Even the Amsterdam Trade-Union International has been forced during its conference in the name of the freedom of the Soviet Republic and for the carrying on of the struggle against domestic and international capitalism. By rising to energetic combat in Central and Western Europe, and by leading mighty armies to assist capitalist domination over the most powerful and the strongest proletarian state in all Europe, they are rendering the strongest support to our Russian brothers in their fight for international security of proletarian rule. By helping ourselves in our distress, we ameliorate Russia's need, by fighting for our own liberation, we are fighting for Russia's Freedom.

ECONOMICS

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Socialdemocratic Socialization-Fraud.

by F. Varga.

The new economic system of Soviet Russia confines the State economic control to the most important branches of industry, in which the larger establishments dominate: Mining, railways, manufacture on a large scale, the monopoly of foreign-trade and of the foreignOWER. The new system is based on the necessity to supply the proletariat, mainly to those "nice" branches of industry which are ruled by social-democrats of all shades in their programs of state-control or socialisation. And we hear the objection: "Why was it necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, when it was only necessary to put down the state economic control in Russia amounts to no more than we social-democrats aim to accomplish through socialization? Wouldn't it have been much wiser to have limited yourselves to the possible from the very beginning, than to have taken the
roundabout way through excessive extensions of the State control.  

This train of thought suffers from the error which is typical of the social-democratic way of thinking: it interchanges the economic "moderate" with the political and social "possible". We showed in our first article that the Russian Communists had no political power to offer, not even tos. It is this, after all, that is lacking by the organized sabotage of the bourgeoisie. On this very ground any attempt at partial-socialization would be wrecked. The experience which the social-democrats of Germany, Austria, Bohemia and Hungary made with their participation in the temporary way of the despised workers' government shows clearly how impossible a peaceful socialization, a socialization with the consent of the capitalists was. As long as the bourgeoisie has part of the governing-power, the state-socialization which is forced for the despotism of the proletariat, for the power to prevent all socialization, no matter how ripe for socialization a particular branch of production may be. The political condition for socialization is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which means the transfer of the complete state power into the hands of the proletariat and the political disfranchisement of the capitalist class. But even when the political power is in the hands of the proletariat, every attempt at partial-socialization is frustrated just as effectively by the capitalists as by the opposition of the working-class itself.  

This fact is shown us by the Russian and Hungarian examples. Those capitalists who are not to be deprived of their industries force the proletarian government to do so by sabotaging production. And they sabotage production partly in the interest of the class, partly in the interest of the despised workers' government as possible, and partly for ulterior motives. In the first stages of proletarian dictatorship, profitable production for the capitalist class is impossible because of the discipline of the proletarian state, working-discipline is a near kin of class-discipline. Those workers who politically are rid of the capitalists, or who politically are carrying on the fierce struggle with the capitalists as a class, will not slave away industriously and in a disciplined manner in the factories of the same capitalists. No matter if the proletarian government is determined to confine its expropriation policy to those branches of industry which are ripe, nevertheless the refusal of the capitalists of other branches of industry to produce necessitates a constantly extending and far-reaching expropriation.  

The limitation only to "ripe" branches of industry also fails because of the opposition of the workers. In Hungary for instance, we drew the expropriation line at those factories which employed up to 20 workers. But the workers in those factories which employed from 10 to 19 men could not see at all why they should be further exploited by capitalists. They got rid of the capitalists on their own account against the will of the Hungarian Social government, and it is the overruling social discipline of the capitalist state, working-discipline a near kin of class-discipline. Those workers who politically are rid of the capitalists, or who politically are carrying on the fierce struggle with the capitalists as a class, will not slave away industriously and in a disciplined manner in the factories of the same capitalists. No matter if the proletarian government is determined to confine its expropriation policy to those branches of industry which are ripe, nevertheless the refusal of the capitalists of other branches of industry to produce necessitates a constantly extending and far-reaching expropriation.  

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The question will be put, what change was it that took place in Russia during the last four years, which makes the present reduction possible? Two essential changes took place. The bourgeoisie which sabotaged production at the beginning of the dictatorship, in the hope of being able to overthrow the Soviet government, is now, with few exceptions, convinced that the overthrow of the dictatorship is not to be thought of. Their resources which enabled them to live until now are exhausted. They find themselves compelled by necessity to make an attempt to organize enterprises even under the regime of the Soviets, and to be satisfied with existing conditions. On the other hand, the experience which the arms, the industry and the thorough political schooling which the Russian proletariat has gone through in the four years of the revolution is sufficient to show the overwhelming majority how indispensable this step was. In political and economic power, the Russian proletariat must go to school and learn from the bourgeoisie the science and application of economic organization.  

From this it follows: that in every dictatorship the necessity will come up for a complete socialization, that a peace-

ful agreement with the bourgeoisie on grounds of State socialism, touching only the "ripe" branches of industry, is a political Utopia, but that the starting-point of part of the revolution must everywhere be everywhere. If we take Germany for instance, where the relative number of industrial workers is incomparably greater than that of Russia, where every industrial worker is able to read, we have to take into account, where the ability to organize is altogether not to be compared with that in Russia, and where in case of a dictator-ship a way of joining Russia would quickly be found, so that the proletariat would not be compelled, as in Russian proletariat Russia, to take the complete control of all industries. In such a way, for instance, there would be no necessity for a step backward, as is the case in Russia. It must be remembered that the fact that Russia, the first proletarian state, existed four years in complete isolation within a capitalist world, made it necessary to use all the organizing talent, in which Russia was not at all rich, in the army and the state-machine. For the economic organization there remains only slight organizing ability. The survival of the dictator-ship of the proletariat, even though forced to make a step backward, is the deciding factor. As soon as the isolation of Russia will end, through the creation of new proletarian states, the organizing powers which to-day are bound up unproductively in the army and the states will be freed, and the state economic control can proceed forward. The proletarians of Europe must see that the slow development of the Revolution in Europe is one of the main reasons why the Communist Party of Russia was compelled to make a step backwards. If reproach had any sense at all, it would have been for not having been more active, for not doing enough to make the Russian Communists who deserve to be blamed. Under no circumstances however, are the unhistorical and false arguments of the social-democrats to be used: under no circumstances is it to be assumed that the proletariat of the various countries is able to organize itself altogether not or that an economic organization can be begun with the acquiescence of the bourgeoisie which is in possession of the political power, after we see where Russia is after four years struggle. Only an absolute ignorance of the meaning of the class-struggle, or a betrayal of the cause can lead to such a statement.  

Petrograd, Oct. 18th, 1921.  

Germany's Bankruptcy.  
by E. Ludwig (Berlin).  

On November 4, Herr Hermes, the finance-minister of the Fehr Republic officially started the taxation fight in Germany by presenting the tax-bill in the Reichstag. The taxation fight will go on till the central government has raised no more revenue than until now, and it will sharpen the opposition between the classes. For the long-hidden designs of the bourgeoisie to throw the war and reconstruction-burdens upon the shoulders of the masses, this battle is the fore-runners of the fight by the government's tax-laws which are outwardly intended to prove the good-will of the bourgeoisie in fulfilling its obligations regarding reparations. The big coalition between the financial bourgeoisie and the middle class, with the cloak of the protection of the bourgeoisie's strong-boxes was formed on November 5th in Prague under the leadership of the Majority Socialist Otto Braun as President of the Ministry.  

In this critical time for the German proletariat there appeared a very timely pamphlet by Dr. Eugen Pawlowski entitled "Germany's Bankruptcy" (published by the Communist International, Carl Hoym, Hamburg 1921, 189 pages).  

In an intelligible and clear style it gives to the comrade of the International the indispensable foundation for a critical judgement of this attempt at a stabilization of the German economy. In the war of the middle-class against the campaign of tax-robery which the bourgeoisie is preparing against them. With irreproachable figures, Pawlowski reveals just as unflinchingly every subterfuge and artifice devised by the manufacturers, by the financiers and their petty-bourgeois politicians, or by the agents of the Social-Democracy to paralyze and defraud the workers by means of taxes, as he pitilessly dissects the ruin of capitalists Germany. But at the same time he shows the working-class the method of the economic and governmental emancipation - the way which will aid in the framing of a positive proletarian taxation-policy, and as weapon in the proletarian struggle for freedom.  

This book should be in the hands of every workingman.
II.

The taxation-question in Germany is not simply a technical problem of taxation or financial policy. In clear contrast to the "vulgar economics" which, taking up Hillebrand's catchword, so widely prevalent in Germany, Pavlovsky assigns to the tax-laws and financial problems the central position in the ruin of Germany's capitalist economy in order to derive from that the imperialist bourgeois position is solving the financial question in the capitalist economic crisis.

With rich material, and with official statistics gathered for the government but often serving an entirely different purpose, Pavlovsky has come to the conclusion in his government-finances, Pavlovsky assigns to the tax-laws and financial problems the central position in the ruin of Germany's capitalist economy in order to derive from that the imperialist bourgeois position is solving the financial question in the capitalist economic crisis.

It is a drop of water on a hot stone.

For the masses, however, the new taxes are the beginning of further misery. All the taxes of the Wirth Program—the turnover-tax of 30 % and the inheritance-tax of 10 % with its 10 % deduction from all wages or incomes fall upon the workers wages, as well as the so-called property-tax. As regards the property-taxes, capital is spared in this way—as a consequence of the time the laying down of the plans for the taxes and the time when the payment will be due which will be in 1923 or 1926, the depreciation of money will reduce the tax-amount in favor of capital. It will be further increased by the failure to shift the burden for the payment of the new taxes, which are not be collected in one large sum at a time, but by quarterly payments which is an approach to an income tax and can be counted in with the costs of production.

The question arises which will happen with the new taxes, which are similar to the old.

The result is the further deterioration of living-conditions in all branches of labor. The financial situation of the government will be openly consummated. According to Pavlovsky's opinion, whether external bankruptcy will bring to an end the reparations-payments depends upon the attitude of the world powers. The internal bankruptcy, the stopping of the payments first if it is actually attempted. This being true, it is strange that the bourgeois has not declared bankruptcy long ago, in order to free itself from the burden of government debt. The fact is however, that the internal government-bankruptcy development into an overwhelming shaking-up of the whole government-structure. The bourgeois can create all the necessary preliminaries to government bankruptcy, but it will be consummated as a revolutionary measure of the proletariat which will eliminate the weakened bourgeois from the exercise of economic and political power.

IV.

The tax-fight will bring Germany's economic and financial collapse to a head. How should the working-class behavior during the tax-fight? Shall it stand by indifferent, as Curt Geyer and the KPD advise, in spite of the fact that in the bourgeois class-government all taxes fall upon them? Or shall it fight its way to freedom while the bourgeoisie no longer knows a solution? Shall the working-class put in motion a positive taxation-policy? To this question which he takes up in his investigation Pavlovsky answers "yes" with the strongest conviction.

The point of departure for the proletarian taxation-policy is the demonstration which leads towards the divergent conception held by a number that not all taxes can be evaded, that there are degrees in the evasion of taxes, based on the kind of taxes, and the status of the taxpayer, which cannot be evaded at all. This opinion is so true, especially for inheritance taxes, and so on to very large property-taxes, that it leads to a kind of tax which the author does not develop here very well the ground-rent tax. Lassalle has already demonstrated in his speech "The Indirect Tax and the Condition of the Working Class" that the ground-rent tax is evadable, though only with great difficulty.

Be that as it may, it is characteristic of the Ebert Republic, that neither conceived of an inheritance tax nor of a directly effective big-property-tax, but that on the contrary, in its legislation it is directly heading for an evasion of taxes on capital.

The first task which the proletarian must set for itself in the struggle against the suffering caused by the taxes, must be to be the levy of such a size that it can bring about a hard inflation, instead of taxes whose burden will fall on wage-incomes. In this respect the author agrees essentially with the Jen program of the German Communist Party (KPD).

This does not suffice in the hurricane of money-depreciation which causes the whole material life of the country to shrink for agitation purposes and for the Independent Socialist Party (USPD), but a means for avoiding a real class-explanation in the taxation-fight. But this must not be in the form of yields from mortgages on city and country properties, for the benefit of the Reich and the government's participation as a share-holder in industrial enterprises. This kind of actual value seizure does
neither hinder the evasion of taxes through the raising of prices, nor does it give the government control over production and prices. It therefore does not stop the course of the growing misery.

The real "gold-wealth" seizure which Powadowski calls for, is the seizure of goods-wealth in kind, and indeed, more than half if possible, to this in the way that it will be the government’s government, "to take all the economic machinery under its control, that is to say a uniform taking over of the whole of production and distribution of goods."

"State-capitalism then? No and yes", is Powadowski’s answer to this question, so warmly debated on the German Party. No as to the form which the seizure would take, as the expression of power with the existing class and labor conditions. Yes – as soon as the proletariat has changed these conditions in the struggle to seize the gold-wealth through the government. And the condition for this change is a great labor front to make the government a co-owner of the goods-wealth it must break the bitter opposition of the bourgeoisie, which, on the basis of Hilferding’s proposal, is already resisting to-day with all its might against the seizure of gold-wealth. The forced syndication of the outward form of the seizure of gold-wealth has as its political counterpoise the necessary strengthening of labor's government-power and with that, its control over government apparatus, which is now indispensable in order to be able to declare themselves in agreement with this state-capitalism. The seizure of gold-wealth which is the heart of a positive proletarian taxation-policy begins when the bourgeoisie’s taxation-policy ends. It destroys the narrow frame of the purely capitalistic view of the problem, and now goes directly to the great questions of the explanation of the idea of classes and the rebuilding of the economic structure.

Once more – this book should be in the hands of every worker.

Germany under Stinnes’ Dictatorship.

by August Thalheim (Berlin).

The social-democratic Premier of the new Prussian coalition government, in which the German People’s Party, the party of "big business" and finance, has entered, has delivered his inaugural speech. At the same time, industry and high finance are making an attempt on a large scale to deprive the German government of the last remnants of its power. The reparations demands, the next installment of which, 500,000,000 gold marks, falls due on January 15th, have plunged the state finances into a serious crisis. The deficit of the German state is variously estimated at from 120,000,000 to 130,000,000 million paper marks. The value of the mark, measured by its exchange value as against the dollar, which now is also low. That quotation of the dollar fluctuates around 300. The representatives of the municipalities who have already decided, as in this case, there are not even able to satisfy their most elementary needs. Bank in Germany are overdrawn, most of them experience feverish prosperity. German goods are sold, on account of the low exchange quotation of the mark, to defy all competition. And, since wages and salaries have not in any way risen in a degree corresponding to the depreciation of the mark, the fall of the mark has proved to be a source of enormous extra profits for industry and finance, obtained by means of an automatic reduction of the real wage. The country is becoming poorer and poorer. Finished and semi-finished products are flowing out of the country, a veritable selling out of Germany is in progress, the state finances are becoming more and more disorganized, and a small clique of financiers and manufacturers, under the leadership of the well-known captain of industry, Stinnes, are getting hold of the diminishing richness of the country. Finance has semi-tacitly worked at depriving the state of its chief power – the right of taxation. They have brought the petty-bourgeoisie-social-democratic government to its knees by the employment of the most severe measures, and now, under the pressure of the financial need of the government, they have ventured a step which means nothing less than the unreserved subjection of the state and the masses of the people to the rule of finance-capital.

The National Association of Industry demands as conditions for the extension of the strike the post-office and the other government-owned enterprises to private capital, the abolition of all government control and restrictions of industry and commerce, a retribution in the number of public employees, etc., etc.

At the same time, the freeing of finance and industry from any real taxation is demanded in disguised statements. The government bureaucracy has already yielded in some respects to the manufacturers by the drafting of laws, designed to abolish the existing day-light and night-fatigue laws. The Lirth government had originally planned the taxation, even if in limited measure, of the real capital value of industry. The various stages of the capitalism of the petty-bourgeois democracy to "big business" are now only more clearly pictured by the commercial correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt", Dr. Pinner, as follows:

"Originally the German government planned to obtain the gold necessary for the reparations demands by means of the real "Confiscation" of the hitherto untaxed real capital of the productive strata. Then the general confiscation of real capital turned into a voluntary credit action mainly because the government did not possess a money fund to back these advances with sufficient unimpeachability or energy. And now this voluntary credit assistance is only to be granted if, instead of an intervention of the government in private ownership, an encroachment of private ownership in the economic domain of the government takes place. In a really general manner and according to the precedent established when the "big business" program of coal socialization was offered as a substitute for the propositions of the Socialization Commission a short time ago, Meara, Stinnes and Silverberg have turned the tables. There is no doubt that they would not have made their proposals had they not been of the opinion that in the giant undertakings which they desired to lift from the state’s shoulders, and which they considered as an obstacle and not in the hands of the state, they would be able to make sufficient profit."

The situation is here clearly described. The diffident start of the petty-bourgeois democracy’s attempt to compel the participation of Industry and finance in the German nationalization program is now, in capital’s ruthless dictation of its conditions to "Democracy", which lead to an open dictatorship of the clique of big manufacturers and financiers.

The situation three years after the November Revolution marks the complete bankruptcy of the social-democracy of the revolution within the limits of bourgeois democracy. But it means more than the bankruptcy of the revolution. It means the unceasing, clear and naked putting of the question of the proletariat-socialistic revolution of Germany to the test.

For the country, in a word, the population stands face to face with the small capitalist clique led by Stinnes. It is now a question of whether this clique appropriates the state and takes over its control or the masses take over the state to establish the workers and to place industry and finance under a thorough control.

In this struggle which of necessity must flame up and which the Communist Party is preparing energetically to lead, the social-democracy is chained to the destiny of Capital. In this struggle waives a cult of interest in the "big business" and it is manly that it leaves the masses in the lurch in all the economic conflicts rendered necessary by the increase in prices. The Independent Party has rendered the struggle in this struggle to a closely bound to the majority of the bourgeoisie, thus, opening the way for the party of the working-class in this struggle, and that paralyses a priori its will to combat, let alone that its leaders are thoroughly impregnated with a faith in the superior strength of capitalism and the helplessness of the working-class.

The workers and officials of the railways were the first to raise a sharp protest against the plunder of the state railways to private capital. The government seems to be ready to put through some sort of compromise. However the first stages of this controversy may turn out, they must inevitably lead to an intensification and extension of the class-struggle.

It is extremely probable that the Stinnes group has undertaken its large scale offensive in conjunction with various groups of English capitalists. It is an open secret that the German government in large part requires the assistance of the proletariat of the Entente countries through an inflexible struggle against the continued predatory plundering of Entente-capital, called "Reparations". The fight against the oppression of the German working classes by a greedy band of capitalists must be carried on from the interior and the exterior simultaneously. The economic and financial collapse and the enslavement of its working-class means a substantial and immediate peril for the proletariat of the Entente countries. It is the fantastic "Yellow Terror" of Europe, the danger of the reduction of the working-class of the Entente countries to the level of the German coolies.
THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The 7th of November in Italy.

by Humberto Terraccini.

In past years the Italian proletariat used to celebrate the day of the Russian Revolution most solemnly. The 7th of November 1919 and 1920 was a holiday for the Italian workers, and since those were its days of bitter struggle, which saw the two workers' uprisings of revolution, activity, that holiday was like a battle, and the memory of the triumph of the Russian workers was hurled as a challenge to capitalism and the State. A day of rest was established and carried out by all industrial and agrarian organizations. Elaborate demonstrations were to be organized and supported by the capitalists, who were clear of all fears for the proletarian avalanche, and in great meetings the joining with the First Communist Republic and international solidarity with it were praised and strengthened. All labor and agrarian organizations also started from the patriotic anniversaries of the same month. Inasmuch as the proletariat did not at all participate in the capitalistic celebrations, it celebrated the demonstrations in memory of the revolution. In a number of places, for example, all factories were running on the 4th of November, the anniversary of the victorious signing of the armistice, in spite of the factory-owners' order for a holiday, whereas on the 7th of November, workers' meetings were completed in solidarity, although the bosses threatened discharges and penalties.

Until last year the Italian proletariat did not permit its victorious march towards seizure of power to be halted by any obstructive acts calculated to paralyze the triumphal march of the proletariat, and celebrated with greatest enthusiasm the commemoration of the greatest victory of International Communism. The first week in November of this year finds the Italian proletariat in a totally different situation: their battle-front broken by the capitalistic offensive, and their battles routed in several places where the consequences of the change of tactics of the workers' Front and the Fascist Front turns against them. The conditions of all强大 were the worst and the most helpless, the movement of the unions which was not yet subdued, or perhaps an exaggerated but just reaction against the triumphant encroachment of the whole proletarian front, or as a result of local conditions and of the infiltration of the Fascist element. In the military system and the social-democratic leaders, the workers declared as a mark of the triumphal march of the capitalist system a traditional symptom of the struggle between political parties. In reality however, the Fascist movement was an occurrence as much as the Fascist Front is a consequence of the worker-social and agrarian classes, who well understand that if the gains won by the workers in these 3 years of glorious struggle were to be taken away from them, it was necessary to break up their organizations. The workers, if it was strongly organized in the big unions and in the numerous co-operatives, was unconquerable. It was therefore necessary to destroy these defensive positions. Hence, the burning down of the Chambers of Labor of the co-operatives of the meeting rooms, in order to break up the masses which were strongly united in these class-organizations. The results were safely attained, mainly because of the sluggishness and incapacity of the labor and social-democratic parties, which answered the criminal acts of the Fascist with a waving, passive propaganda or sank into complete pacific lethargy.

The direct results of the destruction of the proletarian organizations showed themselves first in the country where, after the defeat of the Social Democrats, the Fascist party set touvre their representatives was killed, the peasants were exposed to the brutality of the landowners. These made short work of all agreements and assurances which they annulled, and after the section of the farm-workers' union was abolished, a Fascist agricultural organization was established, into which the farm-workers were to be drafted by force. With this organization which was established for their purpose the landowner drew up agreements, which were soon violated and the annulment of all his rights.

The great mass of peasants was defeated still more easily. As a result of their working relations, the agricultural workers who were divided into very small sections over the whole country, could not at all undertake a defensive action, especially with the leaders of National Agrarian Union repeatedly crying, "Let everything go!"

Having restored in the country, the capitalist forces turned against the industrial workers, and discharges, lock-outs, wage-reductions, and the cancelling of agreements were the results of the defeat of the workers. Once more we see the history of the defeat of the Social Democratic party by the organized opposition, and reduced the struggle to a thousand little episodes in the face of the general capitalist offensive. One category of workers after another, textile workers, workers, clerks, and metal workers, saw themselves left in the lurch and were compelled to accept new and worse working-conditions.

Instead of consolidating the thousand and one individual struggles into one great action, the C. G. L. left the various sections to fight for their own local conditions and their particular habitual methods of fighting. Of course these could not gather that power which would have been made possible through the concerted action of the unions.

The weavers have been on strike for the last months, whereas the other textile workers were compelled to accept a considerable wage-reduction. And the striking weavers are in the meanwhile still waiting for the fulfillment of the promise for solidarity which was so readily given by the C. G. L. for the participation of other trades in the strike-movement. In the last few days the workers employed in the chemical industry have obtained a very favorable solution of their local conditions within their power to prevent spontaneous action by the masses. The metal-workers have begun local negotiations, as was desired by the bosses, instead of renewing their wage-agreement upon a national basis, as was done in the past as a result of the organization. So it is that while the workers in Venezia Giulia and in Liguria have been out on strike for the last two weeks, a strike is announced in Piedmont and Lombardy.

Likewise in other districts it seems impossible to find a basis for negotiations. Nevertheless, the organizations persist in their splintering of policy which breaks up their forces into a hundred local actions, whereas the capitalist offensive progresses with solidarity and method all over the country. The labor unions, as labor unions, therefore make a proposal which seeks to settle the question of wage-reduction, but it is absolutely absurd and deliriously plain that it will only serve to furnish new power to the capitalists and to weaken the workers still more.

The C. G. L. demanded that a commission should be created to deal with a general inquiry into industrial relations, said commission to consist of representatives of trade-unions, employers' associations and government representatives. To be presided over by a representative of the State and to constitute a higher neutral organ. The labor union commission declared, that in case the employers could show a reduction in their profits, the workers would accept a reduction of wages. This proposal was received with enthusiasm by the proletariat, which is so enthusiastically created on the 6th of November. After the 6th, to call a national congress, which took place in Verona on the 6th of November. The discussions and decisions which took place there
will determine the development of the future actions of the Italian proletariat; and the results of the voting show the strength of the Communist Party among the masses.

The anniversary of the Russian Revolution thus coincides this year with exciting and serious days for the Italian proletariat and for its future, which is to be determined in the first weeks of November.

But all this will not make it forget the great event of the Communist Party. They also will apply the memory of the sacrifices of their Russian comrades, to their own sufferings at the present time.

While the Socialists are keeping quiet and are asleep, the Communist Party has organized, a series of propaganda demonstrations for Russia, reaching into hundreds, in all industries and agricultural centers. These are intended to link the Italian proletariat with the great event the memory of which they are celebrating. More than 500 meetings have taken place during the first week of November, and the C. I. T. has appointed 15 speakers who already have started their propaganda-tour.

In the meanwhile the Communist Central Committee is distributing thousands of manifestos for the aid of Russia, and illustrated cards and pamphlets; and the collections which were monopolized by the social-democrats received new momentum through the enthusiastic action of the Communists. At the national Trade-Union Congress, a Communist was present who in the course of the heated discussions announced the program for the 7th of November, in order to link the souls of the delegates with the first anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and in insisting upon the necessity to be described the spirit in which the Italian workers are to-day commemorating the first Worker’s Republic. No longer rejoicing over the years past, no more foolhardiness, no pride, no belief that the real progress was made by the International Secretariat in the first days, and the positive child in the anniversary-day, but on this 7th of November 1921, there stands before the eyes of the Italian proletariat, as a light in the great darkness, the motto: “The Revolution is already in the world – to believe in it and to lay our hopes in it is our task.

THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

The Activity of the International Secretariat of Communist women.

by A. Kollontay.

The task of the International Secretariat of Communist Women consists of awakening the working-woman from her age-long passivity, of giving her confidence in herself, of drawing her into factory movements and of obtaining her entrance into the Communist International.

The International Secretariat is at present composed of the following comrades: Klara Zetkin, Hertha Sturm (Germany), Lucie Collard (France) and three Russian secretaries attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, comrades Litina, Kasparowa and Kollontay. The latter is a member of the Executive as well. One of the secretaries has charge of liaison with the Red Trade-Union International.

At the present time the International Secretariat is devoting itself to two campaigns: Firstly, relief for Russia, and as most important, aid for mothers and children, and secondly a protest against the aggressive policy of the bourgeois states against Soviet Russia. In August the International Secretariat through its Berlin representatives addressed an appeal to the working women of the world for the famine-stricken in Russia – an appeal which found an immediate response in several countries. The Women’s Section of the Swedish Communist Party has taken over the maintenance of a children’s home in the famine-distressed regions. Collections and conferences have taken place in Germany.

Besides the measures demanded by the Executive for relief to the famine-stricken, the International Secretariat has drawn the attention of women in all countries to the necessity of rescuing the children victims of the famine. The International Secretariat has decided against the sending of starving children from the famine regions to foreign countries for political and economic as well as purely practical reasons. It invites on the other hand, the Communist Women’s Sections of various countries to assume the care and maintenance of all the children of the famine regions, or of children’s asylum, according to their resources. When the French or English workingwomen know that the lives and being of all the children in a given locality depend upon their activity, it is not to be doubted that the intensity of their work will be increased ten-fold.

Such acts will have an undeniably beneficial influence upon international solidarity. But in order that they assume the real shape the former acting as a bridge between comrades into Russia and the International Secretariat must establish a permanent connection between those supported and foreign countries. The second measure under consideration in the struggle against the famine in the international relief of children by children. The initiative of proletarian children ought to be able to show itself in such acts of solidarity which will strengthen the bonds of international brotherhood in the coming generation. In this respect the simplest gestures of assistance, such as gifts of school notebooks, pens and slates, for the suffering children, are of material as well as moral aid.

The International Secretariat is also occupied with the organization of Communist Saturdays for the benefit of the famished children. They may be distributed to the families of children in the most stricken regions in the form of clothes in the making of children’s clothing, etc. The Secretariat is also devoting its attention to the question of unemployment of women. Its organ is the “Working Women’s International”.

IN THE CAMP OF THE ENEMY

The Paris Socialist Congress.

by Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

The French Socialist Party held its annual congress at Paris from the 30th October to the 2nd November. In an article in the “Populaire” for the 3rd of November, Blum sums up the results of the congress and congratulates himself upon the enthusiasm and tone by which it was marked. In the opening paragraph, he strikes the keynote of the congress, which included tendencies as violently opposed as Boncour and Longuet, in the statement that nobody took away with him the bitterness of a defeat, or the conscience-troubling pride of an advantage gained over comrades. Nothing precise, nothing constructive was done by the congress. The outward unity which we unmasked at figure, was one of the main results of the new party. The debates brought forth resolutions of condemnation, resolutions that we have for a long time called “white negroes”, which are only affirmations of impotence.

Two important questions were on the order of the day. One, destined for foreign consumption on which they depended for lively discussion and for the maintenance of the party’s esprit de corps was the eternal myth of the reconstruction of the International. The other, the question of electoral tactics, was much closer to the heart of the majority of the delegates, although it was not of such an elevated nature. That was the burning question in the French Socialist Party.

At the close of the Radicals’ congress, held in Lyon under the presidency of M. Herriot, certain advances had been made to the socialists in connection with the founding of the “League of the Republic” by the bourgeois patriotic reform parties. These advances suggested the collaboration of the Socialists in the policy of a coalition of the Bloc of the Left and many of them let themselves be won over to the idea. The bourgeois press did not fail to point out the small difference between the majority of 1400 votes which had rejected the coalition in the Federation of the Seine and the minority of 700 votes in its favor and 900 not voting who accepted it more or less.

It will be recalled that in the recent vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies, the abstention of the Socialists enabled the Briand-Barrhis-Boumezay cabinet to almost double its majority in a crisis which threatened a new winter of Reaction. And did not the right deputy of the North, Ingelas, congratulate M. Daniel Vincent, Minister of Labor, on the very eve of the congress, for having “done his duty” during the textile worker’s strike?
The spirit of the abandonment of the principles of the class struggle, always gaining ground in the Party, was also manifest at the congress, even if it did not yet dare to express itself in resolutions. Mautrangen, speaking for the BoncourtBarthe group, proclaimed his faith in the Radical party and concluded with the words: "I take into account present conditions, not to work for the Revolution in which I do not believe, but for social progress in the republic and in democracy.

Furthermore, the left wing was twice violently attacked, in part in the persons of Longuet whom certain delegates wanted to hold responsible for the decay of "Popular" and for certain omissions in the reports. But the slogan was: Peace, and the matter was quickly restored. Although the majority of the congress knew perfectly well in what direction it was going, it rejected the alliance with the Radicals for the present.

"Let us remain alone," said Paul Faure, adding, "Besides events are stronger than we are. We do not know what may be imposed on a great party."

The Bloc of the Left, said Leon Blum, "would be more disadvantageous for the bourgeois parties united therein than for the Socialist Party..." and he refused to support it, waiting for the vote on electoral reform.

To tell the truth, it was easily seen in the atmosphere of the congress, the fruit was not yet ripe. They had to let the Radicals make new proposals, the last carrying with them the danger of being considered as too bitter by certain socialists who still believed in the revolutionary phases of the Congress. That is why the delegate Renaudel expressed what he said, "It is not for us to make the first step: the electoral law will take place two years from now and there is no reason why they should bind themselves, but the door remains open, wide-open.

The congress took a vote and proudly announced that it had a definite electoral tactic. This consists of not having any at all. It announced that it had a program and it repeated twelve years later—the reformist program of 1908.

In the international field, great speeches were made in which paternalism and mistakes of the revolution were lauded. It was a little family affair, very well managed.

Van Koell, Ledebour, Debroukere, Tseretelli, Hugger, Tom Shaw, Santiago, Vinter, Engberg and Serrati had been invited as guests. Once more there was a lot of talk concerning the reconstruction of the International. Renaudel was willing to forego the election of the Communists. Ledebour eulogized the Wirth formula, a formula for a Congress of the Social-democrats and proposed the sending of letters to the Second and the Third Internationals.

Bracke concluded by saying, without irony, that nothing was more dangerous than "the supposition that international unity would arise from the cleverness of the leaders rather than from the desire of the proletarians themselves." Nevertheless, the proposal for an international conference was adopted and the Vienna bureau was once more instructed to issue invitations, to both sides. It is needless to describe how the reconstructors reviled and threw mud at the "communist adventurers" and at the Third International before inviting them.

These were the essential characteristics of the Congress of the Socialist Party. It was a congress of bluff, of parade; a congress to create an impression where nothing was decided on. All the questions which came before it remain hanging in the air. It continued to cherish the dream of uniting in one International the assassins of Karl Liebknecht and his disciples, the Ministers of kings and the Commissars of the proletariat.

The real reconstruction of the International is in the growing consciousness of the proletariat which is more and more freeing itself from the bonds of petty-bourgeois socialism and is attaching itself to the Third International. The orientation of the French Socialists is plainly right (in spite of the presence of some "poor relations" in their ranks). They are laboriously recruiting their members and the right and it is under the influence of this recruiting that they are establishing their reformist program in accord with the C.G.T. (Confederation Générale du Travail). Their organ, the "Populaire," has a monthly debit of 35,000 francs and lives on the funds of the Belgian party. Its daily circulation in Paris is 2,100 as compared with 80,000 of "Humanité."

In short, the influence of the Socialist Party in France is almost nil. It is in many cases limited to the personal influence of its most noted deputies. Its orientation to the right, its hatred of the Russian Revolution and its insane vote-catching is destroying its prestige with the proletariat masses.

Its daily declarations, its entire attitude, and last but not least its congress, make it merely a pawn ready at the command of its leaders to be thrown in the election balance in favor of the bourgeois parties.

APPEALS

Save Spain's Revolutionaries.

Everywhere "Dato-murderers" are being arrested. Already 70 comrades are sitting behind prison walls of Spain under the charge of having murdered Datos. There are no proofs or evidence but the bloodthirsty murder-camarilla of Spain is trying by these means to bring all Communists and Syndicalists that they can lay their hands on to the gallows.

Enticed by the millions, which the Spanish government has offered as reward, the Berlin police have started a regular hunt after Spanish revolutionaries. Anyone, who has the reputation of being a communist or syndicalist, is branded as a "Dato-murderer" and delivered over to Spanish justice.

Comrade Fort and his wife Joaquina still await, as alleged "Dato-murderers", the decision over their threatened extradition and again they have suspected the syndicalist Nia and the communist Arlandis and have arrested them in Berlin, as a "Dato-murderer", although they have not been in Spain at all during recent months.

And so the persecution goes on and is extending to other towns. Ever more urgent therefore is it to raise the cry: Workers of all lands, prevent the extradition of Spanish revolutionaries!

What can be done? What are the facts?

All the Spaniards, arrested abroad, are not to be regarded as having had any connection with the murder of the murderer Dato. It is an established fact that one of those, who carried out the sentence of death on the murderer Dato, has already unfortunately fallen a victim to the Spanish justice; a second one, however, the Anarchist Coranellas, is in safety in Moscow and enjoys Russian right of asylum.

All the other prosecuted ones are wanted by the Spanish authorities, as conspirators or accomplices, simply because they are leaders or supporters of the workers movement in Spain, whom they are trying by execution and murder to exterminate at all cost. And so they are hunted from land to land as hated political enemies.

The act of political necessity, which was carried out on the murderer Dato, is no murder but an act of despair of the oppressed workers. There was no other way out, since their power was not sufficient for a revolution. But some means of tightening the oppression of the cruel Datos administration on the workers of Catalonia had to be found, in order to arouse in Spain and in the rest of the world opposition to this regime. Even bourgeois circles, who stood far from the act, felt that it lightened the political situation.

No treaties between states can justify the extradition of persons, falsely accused. Mass demonstrations and the pressure of labour organisations must prevent the capitalist governments from delivering up the Spanish comrades to their political opponents. The proletariat must win for its champions an international right of asylum.

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