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 movements 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 as possible of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective newspapers and journals to the editors 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 inquiries 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 Fascisti Congress and the Strike in Rome.

by Umberto Terracini.

Many people entertained the illusion that the Fascist movement which expressed itself for and against certain political tendencies in national and international affairs, had some fundamental substance and a theoretical program under the theatrical savagery of its acts. This belief was sadly shaken in the few days in which the First National Congress of the Fascisti took place in the Augustus Theater in Rome.

The Fascisti movement was designated by benevolent critics as "a state of mind", which was to crystallize into a respectable and concrete political organism as soon as the crisis would be overcome and as soon, as the confusion caused by its arising at a time when a bitter social struggle was going on, was over.

This movement, however, proved to be nothing more than the "state of violence" of the capitalist class, not to be distinguished from the existing capitalist parties, and having no distinctive features of its own; a "state of violence", which was created for the defense of the main supports of the ruling class against the threatening advance of the proletariat. Next, it became more in a rush undertaking to make the destruction of the workers' strongest positions. At present it is continuing its activities in order to stop the reaction of the workers against their untold misery.

The main object of the Fascisti Congress was the founding of a Fascisti Party. Its forces, which until to-day have not undergone any political discipline, and which served in the interest of various contradictory political doctrines, and drifted with and that capitalistic current, were to be united into a sound organization. The leaders of the movement, with Mussolini, its founder, at their head, wished to free Fascist from abnormalities, to make it independent of them, and to separate it from the coalition of all capitalistic parties, which was formed in the last parliamentary elections in May, 1921.

In reality, however, the Fascisti movement, especially its Parliamentary group, finds itself at present in a very strange and most untenable position. In it were to be found politicians of all parties, who were tied to the organizations they came from: Liberals, Radicals, Republicans, Democrats, Nationalists, Ex-soldiers. The constitution of the first parliamentary group offered the curious spectacle of the peculiar migrations of the party of the delegates, who wandered from one side of the chamber to the other, giving rise to uproarious incidents, and threatening to cause the dissolution of the group in absurdity. Among others, I note the incident which took place when Mussolini shouted a Republican note in the Fascisti movement. The numerous monarchists who are fighting in the ranks of the Fascisti were fired with indignation against this tendency.

Besides, the leaders felt that the life of the movement had to be defended against its growing degeneration into a mere instrument of violence in the service of the bourgeoisie. The movement thus threatened no longer to serve in the general interest of the bourgeoisie, but to subordinate itself through local and provincial agreements, as the case required.

To transform the Fascisti organizations from a league of military bands into a party with a program and tactics, would have meant to lend it serious content and give it aims which might prevent its threatening degeneration and save it from this danger to its existence.

But that was impossible, because the Fascisti movement is nothing more than a special defensive weapon of the bourgeoisie in the present period of embittered class-struggle.

The Congress at Rome actually proved that Fascism might perhaps become a strong and mighty force, capable and powerful enough to influence the course of events in Italy.

However, it is absolutely unable to change its content or its way of acting. It will never have the state-organ as the foundations for its activities. Its activities in Parliament, in the State-Council, and in the cabinet, will in no way distinguish themselves from the normal and traditional activities of the capitalist-conservative parties. At the very most, it can only become the political arena for some new personalities. But the condition for its existence is that it remains the leader of open illegal armed conflict upon the streets and upon the fields, and that it be the historically-created instrument of violence for the capitalist interests.

The Fascisti movement is strong; for, in its storm-troops are to be found thousands of men who have had a military
training, who are well armed, and who are safe from prosecution. After a year of crime they remain untouched. The Fasci have strengthened the parties upon the basis of the powerful means at its disposal, and not because of its consciousness, nor because of its political and philosophical convictions.

This is true and is so well understood by the leaders that the entire surrender for the Congress at Rome (which is based upon the flash and of revolution, Socialists, did everything to encourage the concentration of uniformed and armed storm-troops in Rome, where they were to be seen with banners and standards, with names and symbolic inscriptions such as "The Desperate") was interrupted by Fasci. The Terrible, etc.But the fact is that the Fasci had an interest in the “Power Display” of the Fascist movement which is the apex of all their actions against the proletariat. They facilitated its impressive Congress because they felt assured that the Fascist movement would abide in the new situation that would act in the same manner after the Congress as before it.

The work done by the Congress was a series of walkyrids. At every moment the theater resounded with that deep cry with which the down-trodden proletariat, Central Italy and the Po became acquainted in a tragic manner.

The platform was the stage where the scenes changed from the most idiotic proclamations to the most insane motions. Odd questions of a personal and moral nature such as the embezzlement of funds by some Fascist leaders became principal questions and took up the greater part of the session. These were interrupted by provocative and challenging mass demonstrations which were made through the city streets.

The personality of Mussolini, whom the Fasci proclaimed as their “Army leader”, dominated the entire Congress, and his speech was the main attraction.

It is impossible to give even the slightest idea of this speech, because it lacked all logical coherence. According to the standard procedure with Fasciism, the presentation of all the capitalist and labor parties, show their emptiness and incapability of constructing a new and comprehensive political program, and then to shift to a presentation of evidence and a defense of the requirements of the new historical era upon which the Fascist Party with its 300,000 followers is basing their claim for power.

Criticism was not lacking. Mussolini dwelt lengthily upon the Communist Party, and made the assertion that Fascism had something in common with Communism, namely, the anti-democratic nature of the dictatorship. He defined the Socialist Party as a mere paper bugbear, whose strength is furnished by cowardly fear on the part of the bourgeoisie. The Republican Party, according to him, deserved pardon for all its mistakes and that of its "clericalists". The "National Fascist Party" (clerical), which draws its power from 30,000 priests, is to be criticized for its occasional anti-nationalistic and deleterious attitude.

But after he was through with the critical analysis, presented no synthesis whatever. His bary manegy upon the bloody deeds of the past leads to the presumption that the road to be followed by the Fascist movement in the future will still be one of unrestrained persecution of the workers.

But let no one imagine the political achievements of the Congress, under the supposition that the Fascist Party justifies its existence in Italy, we are led to the conclusion that it is a party of the strictest and most uncompromising conservatism, in which it had failed. It is not become useful only in case the monarchy proves too weak against the “enemies of the Fatherland”.

Certain labor-union tendencies on the part of individual Fascisti leaders who have not yet completely forgotten their past activities in the most advanced ranks of the workers prove nothing to the contrary. Pascella, for example, who is now the secretary of the Fascist League, was, until shortly before the war, secretary of the Piombino Labor Chamber, which under his leadership became famous for the organization of great and frequent strikes.

The results of the Congress, which are supposed to have formulated the outline for the final program of the Fascist Party, are as follows:

1. A freemason Anti-clericalism as a reaction against the Catholic National Party, which at its last Congress in Venice turned left.

2. Economic Liberalism as opposed to the system of monopoly and to every attempt at State-socialism.

3. National Fascism, free from every petty-bourgeois-parliamentary obstruction, as an ideal form of government.

4. Imperialistic Nationalism as opposed to the pacific tendencies of the middle-class and the international ideology of the proletariat.

The Fascisti Congress would perhaps have, passed off unnoticed, had the Roman proletariat not taken this opportunity for pointing the way to all Italian workers for the struggle against the violence of the reactionary forces, by carrying out their powerful and victorious strike.

The 40,000 Fascisti who had poured into Rome, came from the cities and provinces which are bleeding from the martyrdom of those who have suffered misery and want. With them they brought the habit and need for provocations and bands' tactics. They also intended to demonstrate their activity in the capital, which for reasons of international diplomacy, was avoided every war. The Fascisti leaders, with fixed, guns, pistols and bombs, they were able to reach Rome in special trains, without any interference by the government, and the full consent of the government. Blood was shed just as a division of Fascisti arrived. As the train passed the railroad station, the Fascisti opened fire against the workers. One worker fell to the ground dead. The news spread over the large ralitations like wild fire. The excited and embittered masses carried on the news of the crime and of the intended answer of the workers throughout every town. In a few hours the entire Roman proletariat was astir. The first conflicts took place on the city-streets.

The strike-movement was led by a "Committee of Proletarian Defense", which consisted of representatives from all revolutionary parties. The aim of this action was the withdrawal of all Fascisti troops from Rome. The Fascisti on the other hand, decided not to sit from the city until work had been taken up again. These two firm decisions which led to a light for delinquency. The government, which secretly aided the White Guards (the minister of war took part in the sessions of the Fascisti Military Committee) officially announced its neutrality in the light. The contest lasted four days. The workers' battalions which defended their armament, the women, children and old people, and organized storm-troops which gradually drove the Fascisti divisions back into the center of Rome. The attempt on the part of the Fascisti to attack the suburbs, led to real battles, in which many Fascisti banners were captured by the workers. The workers felt the consequences of inadequate armament. The proletarian victory which was accomplished by the isolation of the Fascisti in the center of the city, which was occupied by government troops, and which led to the withdrawal of all the Fascisti from Rome before the strike was ended, cost the workers of Rome seven dead and more than ten wounded, whereas the enemy lost only one dead and a few wounded.

But whereas the results of the movement are not to be based upon these mathematical figures. When we consider the significance of the Roman strike in the light of its political and psychological effects upon the Italian proletariat, we must conclude that it may mark the beginning of a new period of activity for the entire Italian proletariat. We may now consider that the period of inactivity, of stagnation, which is daily preached by the Socialists, has, in view of the results of the first successful attempt at self-defense, received its decree of condemnation. The Communist press of the force as soon to be born which will be the only way of liberating the working-class from the tragic yoke of Fascism.

Every revolutionary organization of Italy is again faced with the problem of arming the proletariat. After their defeat in the Italian war the Fascisti wanted to make use of the results which they had concluded with the Socialists a few months ago. This means the renewal of the capitalist attack in a still more bloody and violent form. This requires the preparation of an effective defense on the part of the working-class.
During the Roman strike and after it, the Communist Party formulated the following program of direct action:

"A weapon in every proletarian home!"

Communist storm-troop in every house in which workers dwell.

"Solidarity and readiness to fight in the ranks of all Italian workers!"

The Belgian General Election.

by J. Jacquermette (Brussels).

The P. O. B.

Since November 1918, the government of Belgium has been a coalition of the Catholic, Liberal and Socialist parties. Taking office soon after the armistice, the government of the "Sacred Union", which continued the war policy of the Hâve government, comprised six Catholics, three Liberals and three Socialists (Vandervelde, Anseele and Wauters). It was a liquidation government, charged with preparing the general elections of the basis of universal suffrage of all men over 21 yrs. of age.

The collaboration of the Social-Democrats, was, in the first place, decided upon by the General Council of the P. O. B. (Belgian Workers Party), and ratified by the National Congress after the departure of its three Social-Democratic members of the cabinet. They were appointed on a purely provisional basis and for a maximum term of six months. They remained one year and only formally departed with the general elections of 1919.

It has made notable progress in the way of increasing their representation in Parliament. They jumped from 39 seats in the former Chamber (elected under the system of plural voting — one vote for the poor and three votes for the rich) to 70 seats out of a total of 186 in the new. The Social-Democratic group was in numerical strength just behind the Catholics (72 deputies) and far ahead of the Liberals (95 deputies).

However, Coalition government was constituted. The Social-Democrats called it "the government of democratic union". It contained five Catholics, four Socialists and three Liberals. Having become a government party, the Belgian Social-Democracy acted as a majoritarian pressure group in the national government, and participated in the war-budget — which it called, to save its household, subsidies equal to those granted by the government to the bourgeoisie for the conquest of foreign markets.

The Belgian Trade-Union Commission had organized a "Trade-Union Week", during which the question of the control of industry was to be studied by the leaders of the executive of the various trades. The commission was paralyzed by later lavish, expensive palavers, nothing resulted but vague, very vague intimations of the demand for workers' control of industry, and no plan of action was contemplated, aside from the eventual introduction in Parliament of a bill.

The Trade-Union Commission had appealed for the collaboration of trade-union leaders from France, Italy and Germany. For France came Merzheim, the viliifier of the Bolshevik Revolution, and for Germany — Sassenbach, social attaché of the German embassy at Rome!!

A nationalist association of ex-soldiers used the pretext of Sassenbach's presence at La Louvière, a city near which the elections were being held, to organize a patriotic demonstration. The socialist workers, before such a provocative attitude of the Nationalists, energetically counter-demonstrated and several clashes took place.

A few days after this affair, the Nationalist associations of ex-soldiers organized a manifestation to avenge the insult to the national flag. This manifestation was paralleled by one organized by the Social-Democrats on the occasion of the dedication of a flag by a by a socialist ex-soldiers association.

This flag is red and carries as an emblem a soldier breaking his gun. The Socialist-Democratic minister Anseele dedicated this flag in person, in the name of the P. O. B.

The next day, a storm in the bourgeois press. The Liberal Minister of War, Deuze, announced his resignation in case Anseele remained in the cabinet. The Catholics and the Liberals stood behind the war-minister, and finally Anseele resigned together with the Social-Democrats.

It is fitting to add that in the discussion in the Chamber on these incidents the Social-Democrats indulged in a debauch of patriotism. They energetically protested against the imputation that they desired to cause insubordination among the troops. According to them, the soldier breaking his gun only signifies a pacifist hope for universal disarmament. They affirmed with particular insistence that national defense was a cardinal point of their program and that they were ready, if the Dutch were endangered, again to bear the brunt of battle, although they felt the supreme interest of the nation! into the bloody hell of war. Furthermore, they concluded by voting a resolution disavowing and condemning in the strongest terms any act of indiscipline or revolt on the part of the soldiers!

The Social-Democrat ministers remained outside of the cabinet, and a few days later, taking advantage of the designation of the Fleming Van Camvelaert as burgennaster of Antwerp, the Liberal ministers resigned.

At the basis of all these events was only the desire of the leaders of all the coalition parties to disengage themselves, in the eyes of the voters, from any entangling ties with the other parties. The Social-Democrats, who in Brussels, had two deputies, have lost one. The "middle classes", which had succeeded in electing one deputy in Brussels, no longer had the necessary number of votes. The "Frontpartij", Flemish activists, held their own, with perhaps a slight loss.

If one is to draw a general conclusion from the 1921 election, it can be said that it marks the old grouping around the standard of the traditional parties, a slight gain for the bourgeoisie parties and an insignificant loss for the Social-Democrats.

The Communists.

The young Communist Party participated in the elections in only two districts. The conditions in which the party was fighting were truly unfavorable. On the one hand, its numbers are still very small. It only possesses one French and one Flemish paper, each appearing but once a week, and financial means are absolutely lacking. On the other hand,
the party was formed by the union of the former very small party and the left elements in the P. O. B., which left the latter after the last Congress. The new Christian-Socialist party was almost exclusively composed of anti-parliamentarians, who, although yielding to international discipline, yet hesitate to employ the parliamentary weapon. Therefore, the strength of the party cannot not be estimated by the results of the elections. In Brussels, nearly 2,500 votes were cast for the Communist ticket, and in Verviers more than 1,000.

It is necessary for the development of Communist in Belgium, to stir up the anti-Semitic, majority, to lose the anti-Semitic, majority, to remove the veil a few days ago from the skeleton of the anti-Semitic, majority. The political will continue along the same path. But in an industrial country has been left the Social-Democrats out of account, that theme, under a Social-Democratic Congress, the working-class. A Social-Democratic Congress has been called for the beginning of December and we shall soon have definite information on that point. The backstairs discussion have already had their hour. What may be distinctly say is that the Belgian Social-Democratic Party does not immediately enter into the government, it will always be ready to collaborate. It remains in the ministerial antechamber ready to respond to the Revolution, the Social-Patriotic party is entirely abandoning the terrain of the class-struggle. They will turn toward the only real basis open to them, — the Socialism of the class-struggle — Communism.

The Government of To-Morrow.

At the present time can prophecies be made? What may be stated is that the working masses influenced by the P. O. B. are more and more opposed to further collaboration with the bourgeoisie. However, it is likely that the leaders will not hesitate to attempt again the constitution of a Coalition government, while seeking to create an opposition of the right and the extreme left. On the eve of the elections, the former minister of Sciences and Arts, the Nationalist and Social-Democrat, Desclée, declared that it was not doubtful not to participate in the government immediately after the elections, but that the Coalition system would be of no advantage as an alternative. He added that the latter by itself could not extricate the state from its economic and financial difficulties, but that the Social-Democrats should wait until they were in the morass up to their necks before the aid from abroad.

The other Social-Democratic leaders develop the same theme, under a different form and state that no government can leave the Social-Democrats out of account, that numerically, it is the second party in the Chamber and that it is interested in going against the working-class. A Social-Democratic Congress has been called for the beginning of December and we shall soon have definite information on that point. The backstairs discussions have already had their hour. What may be distinctly say is that the Belgian Social-Democratic Party does not immediately enter into the government, it will always be ready to collaborate. It remains in the ministerial antechamber ready to respond to the first approach of the bourgeoisie. Having become a government party, the P. O. B. will continue along the same path. But in an industrial country such as Belgium, the working masses will finish by having their word to say. The workers see more and more clearly that the Social-Patriotic Party is entirely abandoning the terrain of the class-struggle. They will turn toward the only real basis open to them, — the Socialism of the class-struggle — Communism.

**ECONOMICS**

**Republican Perplexities.**

by V. Stern (Vienna).

Austria has just as little reason as Germany to celebrate in a specially festive mood the third anniversary of the "Republic" (the Social-Democrats are not even courageous enough to speak of an anniversary of the Revolution). The political retreat is also not so evident to every worker here as in Germany, for the reason that here we never advanced as far as they did in Germany. But on the other hand the economic collapse is so much the more horrible and depressing, notwithstanding the decline in unemployment.

The Austrian crown has fallen to less than a thousand part of its pre-time value, and it is falling still further from day to day. The new Christian-Socialist finance minister Görtler who permitted the Jewish bank director Rosenberg as finance adviser by the Pan-German and Christian Socialists, that is the anti-Semitic, majority, removed the veil a few days ago from Austria's financial skeleton. Even the most incurable optimists were horror-struck at the sight which was uncovered thereby. For the first time any government before this list to unemployment government-debt. In order to give less awe-inspiring figures, the minister based his calculations on the value of the crown for the first half of October. Meanwhile the crown has fallen to half the value it had then, and yet the government-debt thus reckoned, amounts to no less than 670 milliards, that is, more than 100,000 crowns for every person of the population. As this debt is to a great extent a foreign one, it has for this very reason attained to inconceivable proportions. The yearly deficit for 1922, reckoned on the basis of the same exchange-value, will amount to 165 milliards, actually more than double amount, even if the government should utilize all plans not as yet considered. The huge financial deficit is realized as comprising in 85 milliards, or more correctly double the sum. The food articles still under control such as bread, fats, sugar, milk, will therefore rise in price. The price of a loaf of bread in a few days had reached a cent. The suspension will increase at least tenfold. Bourgeois newspapers calculate that in that case the minimum for existence will be an income of a million crowns a year. The new indirect taxes being planned will make it impossible for the poorer classes. Railroad fares and freight rates are tripled. A five-fold increase in the price of tobacco is already decided upon. The new railroad-fares are to bring in 32 milliards. The raising of the price of tobacco is especially irritating, as the sale of tobacco already brings in 5,500,000 crowns net profit, and so it is impossible to use the argument of deficit as in the case of the railroad and post. On top of all that, the government announces a law which will permit landlords to quadruple the rents so that the government-fiscal revenue can be increased by an another alternative. He added that the latter by itself could not extricate the state from its economic and financial difficulties, but that the Social-Democrats should wait until they were in the morass up to their necks before the aid from abroad.

The other Social-Democratic leaders develop the same theme, under a different form and state that no government can leave the Social-Democrats out of account, that numerically, it is the second party in the Chamber and that it is interested in going against the working-class. A Social-Democratic Congress has been called for the beginning of December and we shall soon have definite information on that point. The backstairs discussions have already had their hour. What may be distinctly say is that the Belgian Social-Democratic Party does not immediately enter into the government, it will always be ready to collaborate. It remains in the ministerial antechamber ready to respond to the first approach of the bourgeoisie. Having become a government party, the P. O. B. will continue along the same path. But in an industrial country such as Belgium, the working masses will finish by having their word to say. The workers see more and more clearly that the Social-Patriotic Party is entirely abandoning the terrain of the class-struggle. They will turn toward the only real basis open to them, — the Socialism of the class-struggle — Communism.
action is stronger than ever. A very small incident is characteristic of this.

A recruiting-agent for the Hungarian bands, by the name of Rakonie, was appointed by the Christian-Socialists as government-official on the Social-Democrats base the immense clamor in order to give the semblance of a "fight against the Reaction". Then there was quiet, and Rakonie is still a government-employee. During the Kari rebellion, the government issued a report over Kari's death. After the failure of the adventure, the Social-Democrats nevertheless make peace with the Christian-Socialists. Rennier, who, needless to say, simply made a parliamentary attack against the Christian-Socialists, is too far (1) according to the opinion of his party and he was reprimanded. The secret Coalition is once more in order.

In spite of all this, the Social-Democracy controls the masses through its powerful organization, its press, the prestige of the Party and, last but not least, through the maliciously concealed, most brutal of Terrors which is at work to keep the masses within its ranks. The small Communist Party still has to struggle against an iron wall of calumny, mistrust, and terrors, but it is winning out. Through tenacious interior organization work, through firmness and activity. This must soon show outward success, for the triumph of the Capitalist and Social-Democratic policy presents an excellent intuitive method of instruction.

State Capitalism Before and During the Dictatorship.

E. Pawlowski.

When we read the utterances of the international Communist press on the question of state capitalism, we find some of them to be erroneous. The main errors in this fact, that they speak of state capitalism, without examining the situation of the political power in the state where the co-called state capitalism exists. We can sharply distinguish three economic systems, from which all of which are equally designated by the words state capitalism.

The first form is the state capitalism in a capitalist state. In the capitalist state, the government is the executive organ of the bourgeoisie's interests, the state, the organized strong-arm of the capitalist class. Here state capitalism consists of institutions which protect all the members of the property-owning class against the possible special interests of individual capitalist groups. We find for instance, a strong capitalist movement in all countries for government control of railroads, the post-office, and the telegraph, and recently in England for government control of coal-mines. It goes without saying, that government ownership of this sort, and that the government takes care of the coal-mines, will lead to the social relations of state power absolutely untouched. The state, acting as owner and manager of enterprises, is only an individual economic being in the midst of Capitalism; the state enterprises are managed in the same manner as the workers are exploited just as much as in the private capitalist enterprises.

A second variety of this state capitalism is the so-called "war-socialism", of which the one existing in Germany during the war is the most typical example. The free control by the capitalist over the goods produced by them is taken away and transferred to government organs. It was determined by the state how much of a certain article should be produced. The state fixed the selling price. No change whatever took place in the relations of power within the state itself. The armed forces took over the task of defending the hands of the bourgeoisie. The state acted in the interest—or at least in the presumptively interest—of the ruling classes as a whole.

A third form of state capitalism may be considered: State capitalism as a stage of transition. Just at present there are a number of countries in Central and Eastern Europe which are facing bankruptcy. The only solution is through the expropriation of the means of production on a large scale. The German working-class is fighting for this; the motto of "seizure of gold value" is only a vague and ill-chosen expression for these endeavours. In substance it means: the seizure of a great part of the private means of production for government purposes. The bourgeoisie is offering bitter opposition to such an expropriation of the means of production. The reason is self-apparent: next to the armed force, the direct control of the means of production is the main factor in the power of the bourgeoisie. It is only exceptional that in the interest of the class as a whole, the bourgeoisie leaves the management of certain economic enterprises like railroads, post and telegraph, to their state, because such enterprises might become a dangerous factor for the state capitalism. The tax-fight in Germany, Austria, Poland and in all other countries of Eastern Europe has for its purpose the expropriation of large parts of the means of production. This struggle is therefore nothing else than a struggle for or against the expropriation of the means of production. Should the proletariat be the victor in this fight, the state will acquire many large economic enterprises, which the state will have to manage and manage. That is state capitalism again. The question is only: would this be a capitalistic or a proletarian state capitalism? Certainly neither of the two. The state organization which after a successful tax-fight would lead to the expropriation of a great part of the property-owning classes, would no longer be a capitalist state in the old sense; but neither would it be a proletariat state. It would be a sort of transition state, a new type of state, whose further development would be determined by the positions of power and not by the character of the state.
The October Production in the Don Basin.

In the year 1920—21 the Don region produced:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Production of coal (in 000 tons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>23,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>29,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>33,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>30,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>24,700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>18,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>9,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>11,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>18,400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>33,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

besides 1,500,000—2,000,000 poods which were produced on the small coal fields which were leased.

In October 33,000,000 poods of coal, besides 5,000,000—6,000,000 poods produced on the leases, making a total of 38,000,000—39,000,000 poods of coal. In October we gained a victory. Not only did the gross production increase, but the net production also increased. The Don coal-region consumed for mining purposes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Consumption of coal (in 000 tons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In March</td>
<td>14,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In May</td>
<td>10,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In July</td>
<td>8,600,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

so that in July our net-production amounted to only 500,000 poods of coal. In October 10,000,000 poods of coal were used up in the process, thus leaving a net production of 23,500,000 poods for this month.

The worker’s capacity for production also increased. One miner produced:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Production of coal (in poods)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>3,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>3,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The causes responsible for our victory are to be found in the efficient collective supplying of the worker with bread in the piece-work wage-system, in the concentration of the most important fields and in the extension of the labor-unions’ powers.

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Meeting of the National Council of the Italian C.G.L. at Verona.

by A. Bordiga.

The session of the National Council of the C.G.L. (General Federation of Labour) took place at Verona from the 5th to the 8th of November. After the General Congress this council is the most important body of the C.G.L.; it consists of representatives of all the local trade councils (in Italy every province has its Labour Council) and of all the National Unions. In contradistinction to the Congress the National Council does not consist of delegates directly elected by the local organizations but of officials of the Labour Councils and Unions. These officials do not even consult the committees of the separate local Unions before their appearance at the National Council. This time the meeting of the National Council was of especially great importance. The calling of this council had been demanded by the Communist Trade-Union Committee three months ago; by means of an open letter, which was accompanied by a mandate of the Executive Committee of the Party, it put forward a proposal of proletarian action against the offensive of the employers and the various Italian trade-union organizations (Confederation of Labour, the Syndicalist Union and the Railwaymen’s Union) were asked to call their National Council in order to consider the communist proposal and to form a united Committee of Action with a view of carrying into effect. The purport of the proposal was the establishment of a united front of all the workers’ organizations in order to combine the various partial local struggles, which resulted from the offensive of the employers, to put forward definite important demands and to attain these demands by a national general strike of the entire working-class. The open letter of the Communist Trade-Union Committee contained the following demands: an eight-hour working day, recognition of the existing rate of wages, proper assistance to the unemployed, control of the workers on questions of dismissal from employment, the rights and liberty of organization.

In view of the urgency of these proposals the calling of the National Council and not of the General Congress was demanded, and at the same time began an intensive agitation amongst the masses in favour of the action proposed by the communists. From August till now a large number of meetings of various local councils have expressed the view that the proposals of the communists, which, however, did not find support from the leaders of the organization. The syndicalists and anarchists of the Syndicalist Union also greeted it with little enthusiasm, while both the employers and the government (which was being led by an anarchist-socialist coalition) expressed approval but only in words and not by deeds; the socialists of the General Federation of Labour bluntly declared themselves against the proposal. At first the trade-union leaders ignored the proposal, which was presented by the Communist Trade-Union Committee. They were, however, compelled soon to give up this policy, as in the masses the dissatisfaction with the negative attitude of the C.G.L. was constantly growing. The Executive then issued their own proposal which consisted in a demand to the government to establish an Inquiry Commission in order to inquire into the condition of industry and to as to whether the demands of the capitalists for a reduction of wages at the C.G.L. and the Socialist Party in connection with their proposal, by recognizing the eventual award of this Inquiry Commission, actually recognizes the principle that the wages of the workers may be reduced if the profits of capital decrease.

This ridiculous anti-socialist formula just as the proposal for a Commission of Inquiry itself caused attacks from the communists whose energy increased in view of the growing strength of the masses. In the meantime the situation became more tense as a result of the attempts to reduce wages. In many branches of industry notice was given of the existing agreements and wages were reduced; in the textile, metal and chemical industry struggles commenced. At the end of October the metal workers in the province of Trieste and in Liguria were on strike, while in the province of Piedmont and in Lombardy a strike was threatened. Apart from that, all over Italy the wool-workers were striking and in various places there were demands of lesser importance. The metal workers was growing and the communists were able to greatly strengthen their position in the National Council of the F.I.O.M. (Federazione Italiana Operaio Metallurgici—Italian Metal-workers’ Union) and the Executive Committee. They were, however, compelled soon to express approval but only in words and not by deeds; all sorts of excuses were used in order to ignore entirely the actual following of the parties (as recorded by the numbers of votes) as well as those where the socialists were in the majority. The leaders of the trade-unions were compelled to call together the National Council for the 5th of November. Short notice was given in order that the members of the National Council of the Communist party, of the syndicalists and of the anarchists, representatives were also elected to the Committee of Action of the metal workers. A strike in that important branch of industry was approaching; while the government accepted the proposal of the C.G.L. to establish an Inquiry Commission, the employers opposed it because they wished a fight.

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The next day the workers met under the chairmanship of F. De Fante. They were, however, compelled soon to express approval but only in words and not by deeds; all sorts of excuses were used in order to ignore entirely the actual following of the parties (as recorded by the numbers of votes) as well as those where the socialists were in the majority. The leaders of the trade-unions were compelled to call together the National Council for the 5th of November. Short notice was given in order that the members of the National Council of the Communist party, of the syndicalists and of the anarchists, representatives were also elected to the Committee of Action of the metal workers. A strike in that important branch of industry was approaching; while the government accepted the proposal of the C.G.L. to establish an Inquiry Commission, the employers opposed it because they wished a fight.

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In Lombardy notice was given of a strike of metal workers to begin on Monday the 1st of November, which actually amounted to a strike on a national scale. On Sunday, a day before that, the government and the reformist leaders developed feverish activity. At last they succeeded in obtaining from the employers concessions which, notwithstanding the opposition of the communists led to an understanding. Thus, the strike which ought to have commenced on Monday was declared off. The settlement, according to which the status quo had to be maintained, was not of much importance. It became in reality a silent acceptance of the Commission of Inquiry and of the famous principle, that wages have to be cut down if it is proved that the capitalists find themselves in a difficult position. This agreement, however, only serves the workers as it prevented the struggle in Lombardy, while in Liguria, Trieste and other parts of the country the strike continued. The agreement was to be ratified at a meeting of the metal-workers of Milan, but the meeting was prevented by a fight between the communists and socialists. By superhuman efforts, the reformist leaders, those agents of the government, who believed a campaign of the Communists to be imminent, succeeded in stopping the movement of the workers of the metal industry by an agreement which became the subject of heated discussions.

Such was the situation when the conference at Verona commenced. There were about 200 delegates present, amongst them about 60 of the communist opposition. Between the two
The opposition against the trade-union leader's equal weight in the Trades Council and in the National Committee enlarged by a representative of the Party Committee thus all its actions were consequent and clear. The socialists were held together by their fear and dislike of the communists. Had only the votes of those actually affiliated in the local organization, the trade-union leaders possibilities for all sorts of machinations.

At the conference the communists were animated by the strict discipline which distinguishes our minority in the C.G.L. They took their directions from the Communist Trade-Union Committee and its representative in the Trades Council, thus all its actions were consequent and clear. The socialists were held together by their fear and dislike of the communists. The Socialist Party, as united with the C.G.L. by an "alliance", was not represented. At the end of the meeting a telegram of the Party Executive was received stating that the party was not represented as Serrati was abroad. The whole of the socialist press, however, especially "Avanti", was at the disposal of the Confederation of Labour.

The struggle from the very outset centered not so much on questions of principle as on questions of the respective influence of the two groups. The communists protested frequently against the dominant position of the employers' leaders and the systematic wire-pulling used by the trade-union leaders.

In order to appraise correctly the voting at this conference it is necessary to take into consideration the following:

1. The place of the minority of the Confederation of Labour of 1920. That means a number of votes was assumed which in the meantime had decreased by half. This was directed against the communists as the votes recorded for them came from really老鼠 whose voting power with the communists during 1921 and had adopted their proposal while hundreds of thousands of non-existing numbers were taken to be in favour of the caucus because it could not be proved that they had been present. Therefore, the proof for the communists was the only means of retainting their votes and even this did not always succeed. It will suffice to instance the case of the Agricultural Workers' Union. It has a membership of 200,000 if all the communist votes had been voted for 80,000 members. (This enormous decrease in membership is to be explained by the effect of the Fascist activities in the rural districts.) The communists had a minority which would have formed a big percentage of the 200,000 if really existing organizations which had not been affiliated in 1921 had been allowed to vote.

2. In accordance with the rules, the votes were recorded in a peculiar manner. One and the same organization is twice represented on the National Council—once through the Trade Unions and the second time through the industrial unions.

The metal workers' branch of Milan, for instance, voted first as part of the Milan Trade Council, then as a part of the National Metal Workers' Union. Therefore the votes recorded—those of the Trade Council and those of the Metal Workers' Union—divided by two. Should all organizations be represented, for instance the votes of the Milan Metal Workers should be of equal weight in the Trades Council and in the National Union. It is true that the Metal Workers are, as a rule, not affiliated in the National Unions. But the metal workers' branch of Milan, when the National Council record their votes, the result would scarcely differ. However—the advantages of trade-union "Democracy" are well known! The opposition against the trade-union leaders makes itself strongly felt in the local organization, the trade-unions and the communists.

3. The communists have not only the right to represent many organizations especially the minorities of trade-unions and Trades Councils, where often the number of the communal votes is almost equal to that of their opponents.

4. The votes of all organizations which had not discussed the communist proposition of the defence of the leaders' obstruction—were quietly counted as recorded for the socialists.

The vote taken at Verona was absolutely fictitious. Should one correctly appraise the real strength of the two groups, the latter would appear more favorable to the communists. This, however, is not being recognized by the employers and the fictitious figures which show that the communists received 417,000 and the socialists 1,326,000 votes. In order to come to a correct conclusion one has to take into consideration the fact that had the votes of the Trades Council been allotted, the communists would have received 500,000 against 260,000 of the Socialists. Had only the votes of those actually affiliated in 1921, who number about 1,000,000, been recorded there would have been 300,000 in favour of the communists and 600,000, since the socialists have lost many more votes than the communists. This means that, at a properly organized congress, where all minorities would be represented and those organizations which had not made up their minds as to the issues at stake were excluded, the communists could prove that the majority of the organized workers are behind them. Should that be attained, the machinery of dictatorship of the trade union bureaucracies would be destroyed.

The communists demand that a general congress be called, because they do not recognize the vote taken on the question of the international which showed a majority for Amsterdam; they did not participate in it as they consider that only the general congress has the authority to decide this question.

The handover took a manifesto announcing that they will increase their efforts to conquer the trade-unions, since the conference at Verona has proved that the position of the communists in the trade unions is stronger than ever. The communists are by means of a new-grown net of communist groups and Communist Trade Unions Committees, controlled by the party. The latter will manage to attain control of the General Federation of Labour, and thus to create a proper basis of representation instead of the present one which affords the trade union leaders possibilities for all sorts of machinations.

At the Congress, the struggle now going on in every trade union organization will be continued; it will bring new victories to our side. The struggle for communist trade union activity: affiliation to Moscow, the closing of the ranks of the proletariat, i.e., the creation of an united proletariat front against the increasing offensive of the employers. Quite apart from the policy of the Communist Party towards the trade unions it lends a clear expression in the resolution put forward by the communists at the Verona conference.

This resolution reads:

"Whereas, the readiness to replace the economic struggle of the working-class organizations by an award of a commission in which the representatives of the employers, the government and the yellow trade unions are more numerous than the representatives of the proletarian trade unions, means the retreat before the employers' offensive and the forsaking not only of the class-struggle but of the very existence of working-class organization, all the more so as such action would include the recognition of the principle that a reduction of wages is justified if it corresponds to the political and economic situation and the opposite revolutionary solution towards which the proletariat is driven in its attempt to defend its vital interest and in the development of its economic struggles, and whereby, the resistance of the trade unions to the demands of the employers can not lead to a real proletarian victory if the struggle is being carried on in every locality and industry separately and not as a whole of the proletarian class organization, which to the governing class seems the only way out of the present situation and a means to keep up its political and economic domination, and to prevent the opposite revolutionary solution towards which the proletariat is driven in its attempt to defend its vital interest and in the development of its economic struggles, and whereby, the resistance of the trade unions to the demands of the employers can not lead to a real proletarian victory if the struggle is being carried on in every locality and industry separately and not as a whole of the proletariat organization;

"Whereas, the resistance of the trade unions to the demands of the employers can not lead to a real proletarian victory if the struggle is being carried on in every locality and industry separately and not as a whole of the proletariat organization;

It is resolved, that the National Council of the General Federation of Labour declares after a careful analysis of the serious situation in which the Italian proletariat finds itself, that the proletariat's gains, as a result of the work of all the members and the whole of its energy towards the defense of a number of demands which are of vital importance to the working-class and mean real proletarian gains, and the maintenance of which is essential to the very existence of the organizations. These demands are:

a) An eight-hour working day.

b) Actual recognition of the existing agreements of industrial and agricultural workers and no reduction of wages which is not justified by a reduction in the cost of living.

c) Maintenance of the unemployed and their families; all costs accruing therefrom to be born by the employers and the state.

d) Inviolability and recognition of the right of organization.

e) Control by the organization of promotions and dismissals.

"It is resolved, that the National Council declares that these demands can be attained only by a united front of the
workers of all callings and of all unions, by concerted action and by combining all struggles and wage movements in order to make compelling the demands of the workers and to strike a blow for the working-class. This Council therefore resolves to elect a Committee of Action, which must immediately communicate with the representatives of all other proletarian organizations of Italy with a view to the carrying out of the strike and to make the movement in accordance with the principles embodied in this resolution in order to combine the separate struggles of the workers, to direct them against the employers' offensive and thus to accomplish the objectives of the Council.

A few words in conclusion. In the struggle between the communists and the trade-union bureaucracy which consists of the ultra-reformist elements of the right wing of the Socialist Party, the struggle with which at the present time a majority has lost all its importance. Only a few followers of Serrati are not yet prepared to play the part of servants to reformism and have refrained from voting. They, i.e., the "maximalists", who are not prepared to obey every order of D'Aragna & Co. hardly obtained 18,000 votes out of 1,800,000. (In our opinion the actual collaboration finds its expression not so much in a possible socialist-bourgeois minority of to-morrow as in the present C. O. L. which already quite openly stands on the platform of the solution of present industrial and capitalist crises). This fact is very instructive to many people who think that a large part of the Italian masses can be gained by a policy of the Socialist Party and of uniting with its "left wing". The Socialist Party of Italy is only a shadow as compared with the reality of that "Party of Labour" which has been founded by the C. O. L. and its clique of leaders.

Shifting to the Left. by Eugen Paul (Prague).

The working-class movement of Reichenberg and of Czechoslovakia is in general big enough to make a gigantic step forward. Large groups of the textile workers union, which has its headquarters at Reichenberg, the center of the Northern Bohemian textile industry, have been revolving for a year or so against the right-wing of the Social-Democratic Party, which in the past two years has been so preoccupied with the most rapacious kind of speculation attracted thither by the alluring business opportunities offered by the reconstruction of the devastated regions. That movement was not spontaneous, however. For months the masses had been stirred up by a revolutionary minority which in spite of many difficulties strove to bring them to a better comprehension of the class-struggle.

Causes of the Movement.

In a preceding article I explained the origin of this movement which had for its sole aim the prevention of a new reduction of wages at present insufficient for the excessively high cost of living in this region in North Bohemia, where this movement has been a prey to the most rapacious kind of speculation attracted thither by the alluring business opportunities offered by the reconstruction of the devastated regions. That movement was not spontaneous, however. For months the masses had been stirred up by a revolutionary minority which in spite of many difficulties strove to bring them to a better comprehension of the class-struggle.

Since the armistice, and indeed up to the last few months, the Social-Democrats of Reichenberg-Tourcoing were content with a policy of class-collaboration, which, however, had not brought much good to the workers. Several months ago, while at Roubaix there still existed a certain amount of confidence in these men and their reformist methods, at Tourcoing, and more especially at Halluin, the workers rid themselves of such methods whose value they knew.

These methods had run their course in the year 1920, when the proletarian of the textile industry of the North had to accept "a reduction of 30 centimes per hour, without being able even to put up the least resistance."

The employers knew this new spirit, but did not credit it with the value which it really possessed, and they underestimated the extent of its penetration among the masses.

It was thus, that at the beginning of August the employers decided to engage in battle for two purposes. The first was to force a new reduction of 20 centimes an hour; and the second was to assassinate the labor-unions which would be too influential. Their weapons were the police, which in the districts in question had been directed against the revolutionary spirit penetrated these labor-bodies.

On the employer's side there were 300 big manufacturers of the Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing region, combined into a "Consortium", with two large fortunes at its head which the war and the German occupation had made them larger in any way, but in which, on the contrary, it had grown. As secretary there was a rogue by the name of Ley, a workingman's son, himself a workingman who had been somewhat of a anarchist before the war, and had risen in the world by selling himself and betraying his former comrades.

This unscrupulous individual had been a lackey to the "Kommandantur" during the occupation, an auxiliary to German ex-labourers in any way, but in which, on the contrary. It had grown. As secretary there was a rogue by the name of Ley, a workingman's son, himself a workingman who had been somewhat of an anarchist before the war, and had risen in the world by selling himself and betraying his former comrades.

This unscrupulous individual had been a lackey to the "Kommandantur" during the occupation, an auxiliary to German ex-labourers in any way. But in the contrary, it had grown. As secretary there was a rogue by the name of Ley, a workingman's son, himself a workingman who had been somewhat of an anarchist before the war, and had risen in the world by selling himself and betraying his former comrades.


After seventy-six days of battle which at times was very violent, the workers of the Roubaix-Tourcoing region, belonging to the textile industry so long exploited by the heartless employers, have just gone back to work without having been able to terminate successfully the task which they had undertaken.

At a delegate meeting called by the Executive two days ago, out of the 500 Reichenberg delegates only 70 appeared including the officials of the Executive. Yet the clique would not be true Amsterdamers had they prepared to give way because an overwhelming majority expressed itself against them. God forbid! They are trying by the severest possible pressure and terror to frighten, by a sort of moral blackmail, the working-class into submission. The council has denounce the employers those workers who are distributing leaflets directed against the bureaucracy. These methods will of course not help them, on the contrary, they will only hasten the conclusion of the present struggle.

This great agitation of the Reichenberg workers is of still greater importance in view of the fact that the Czech workers are about to embark upon a serious wage struggle and the control of the situation of the Czech textile district has reached a stage where a general strike can be only delayed but hardly prevented by all the cunning of the clique. In this situation the powerful action of the Reichenberg textile workers against the faithful allies of the capital's mean a tremendous shifting to the left of the whole of the working-class movement of Czechoslovakia. So much the more since the apparently unshakable Reichenberg clique formed up till now the backbone of the social-democracy of this district, which is now being broken by the unexpected action of the Reichenberg textile workers.

"And yet it moves!"

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fashion, and by his sole means reducing tens and tens of thousands of workers to the greatest misery.

During these three months he was to be the accursed soul of this criminal action, and in order to constrain the workers to beg for mercy he was to succeed in bending the government, the magistrates, police and the army to his purpose. It was to employ all means, including the worst, in order to triumph.

On the workers' side—In spite of the decisions, always favorable to the workers, which were given by more or less official bodies before which the questions were put, the employers never ceased to insist upon wages to reduce wages. Denied from their batteries at last they spoke of unemployment, took up the theme so dear to the ears of the Labor Confederaté centralists—this of the "general interest," of "economic reassurance," asserting moreover that this reduction was necessary for the revival of business in the large region.

Before such an assertion the workers' conscience awoke. At first there was stupor, then anger, then a cool determination. The next day an hour at two turns, whatever may be the cost of living. More than 60,000 workers entered the battle at once. The proletariat had suffered too long a time. It was at its rope's end, determined to undergo the last sacrifices in order to impose the right upon those who live in wealth from its labor and its misery. The discipline imposed upon it seemed an unbearable chain, it felt the need of throwing itself into "direct action," its militants would lead it wherever they wished.

The first week, however, was calm.

The "Consortium" tried to disunite the movement with the aid of more or less clean manoeuvres. The response was not long in coming; working-class associations by the employers, the discussions, the tendencies which had taken on a formidable acuteness since the secession at Tours and at the Congress of the C. G. T., in Lille in July all this awakened resistance.

Who then was able to cause such a perfect unity of action in coming.

Thus the decision was taken—with some rare exceptions all the organizations entered the battle in order that the employers should not succeed in their dishonest designs.

The General Strike. Thus the decision was taken—-with some rare exceptions all the organizations entered the battle in order that the employers should not succeed in their dishonest designs.

But though the strike broke out, it appeared that the general strike was held by the labor-bodies of Roubaix-Tourcoing with the very will of those who caused it to break out. Too many contrary influences brought it about that the general strike did not achieve what one had a right to expect from it, and less than fifteen days after it had broken out, the general strike came to an end without the strikers or the "Consortium" being forced to reduce their pretensions even by the smallest amount.

From that moment on, it was easy to foretell what would be the end, unless the Central Strike Committee would decide to take into consideration the suggestion of our communist comrades of Tourcoing and give up the methods made use of for more than a month and a half, which ended with nothing, except compromises which the workers refused to listen to.

The employers' offensive. The General Strike. Thus the decision was taken—-with some rare exceptions all the organizations entered the battle in order that the employers should not succeed in their dishonest designs.

With the general strike ended, the employers thought that the textile workers were going to make honorable amends, and to start the factories working again with this new reduction of salaries.

But there again they were very much mistaken, for the duel continued—determined, ferocious, decisive. Although the workers suffered the direst misery, they were determined to struggle to victory in their just cause. The workers of Roubaix-Tourcoing had already been fighting. The attempt was made to bring about a conference before an arbitrator and they were certain of easily proving to this arbitrator the justice of the workers' cause.

About October 15, while the battle continued on the side of the workers with very legal tactics, a formidable offensive started from the side of the "Consortium" against all the militants and even the strikers.
Before everything else the employers' side made sure of the aid of the government and the police.

The prefect Nodin, as a good watch-dog for Capital, did everything within his power to break up the movement. Whereas, during an interview, the president of the Cabinet, M. Briand himself, congratulated the militants on their good behaviour in the street, and during all this time was given to flood the region with a host of military and police.

At the same time there was an avalanche of private letters addressed to workers—these letters written in such tricky, Jesuitical terms that inevitably a certain uneasiness was bound to grow up within the ranks of the strikers.

Next there was an avalanche of posters, all of them just as ignoble and insulting to the private life of the militants, which was calculated to enlarge the breach made in the ranks of the workers by the first massacre.

Finally, for a whole week, the officers, the policemen, the prefect-officers, raised the home of the workers, in order to hasten the disruption within the ranks of the workers. And then, suprême massacre, one fine morning the sires began to blow, and the doors to open under the protection of the armed forces of the state.

A movement for resumption of work became immediately apparent. The centers subjugged by the methods and the men of reformism surrendered in part.

At Lannoy this movement of resumption of labor began, and on the 14th there was a consolidation of the workers towards Wattrelos like wildfire, stopping only at the gates of Tourcoing.

At Tourcoing thanks to the confidence inspired by the men of action and by the active methods applied to them, the evil did not penetrate; and up to the last day, when it was deliberately decided to go back to work this was a compact block which was to remain in the battle.

At Roncq and at Halluin which were more decidedly won over to Communism and to its methods of direct action, the struggle ended to the advantage of the workers with a renewal of the force of the working-class to organize for battle.

This time the “Consoriture” directed its most decisive blows on the points which appeared to it most vulnerable.

Without embarrassing itself by formulas which seemed to be the foremost preoccupation of the Central Strike Committee, the Consortium directed the battle clearly on political grounds.

In addition to the posters insulting the private life of all militants, other posters were full of the writings of trade-unionists: the workers inclined towards reform and disidence—writing either against the “Russian Revolution”, and the “proletarian government” or against the Communist Party.

On Wednesday October 19 it was noticed that a number of workers resumed labor in a majority of the factories. On the next day the number increased tenfold. Friday, the 2nd was an inauspicious day for fighting to the last. A resolution of a militant of Roubaix, the laborers crowded to resume work to such an extent that “I was ashamed of it.” By Saturday, the 22nd, the resumption of work was complete and on Monday the 24th, the demonstration which came from Tourcoing towards Roubaix was apprized of the fact that most of the factories were in operation.

In view of such a state of things the Strike Committee of Tourcoing, after having fully weighed the consequences of its move, decided on the 30th for the resumption of work for Wednesday November 2nd, and demanded the Central Strike Committee to make a decision immediately.

The leading reformists of Roubaix did not come to this meeting of the Central Committee for reasons more or less obvious.

It is impossible to take up one by one the events of these last eight days of the strike, but what we ought to do without any sort of reserve whatsoever is to draw the lessons from this labor battle, and they are many.

About the C.G.T., also, there is not much to say. It had the opportunity to get back again into the good graces of the workers. Buried in its policy of self-denial, it was incapable even of fulfilling its promises.

The fighters of Roubaix, seeing nothing but promises, seeing that the roads to concession were never definitely closed, that the struggle ended to the advantage of the workers. Buried in its policy of self-denial, it was incapable even of fulfilling its promises.

The last fifteen days, out of the 4000 strikers remaining in the struggle, five to six hundred and rarely as much as 800 participated in the demonstrations held in Roubaix, while at Tourcoing and Halluin all the workers took part in the demonstrations.

Conclusions.

The conclusions which we can make are the following: Never, in spite of everything that might have been said, was the movement essentially economic. It immediately took on the aspect of a social movement, and all the forces of reaction hastened to join hands in order to defeat the workers.

Wherever the Reformists and Socialist Dissidents (for there is no difference between the two) tried to apply their policy of “cooperation” of the employers and the workers, there was defeat and dishonoured.

Wherever the Communist spirit directed the action, there was success, or the preservation of the force of the union-organization. For example: Roubaix—a loss of 50% for the textile union.

Tourcoing—There were 8,000 organized workers before the strike, and the week following the resumption of work, the number of union-workers was 12,000.

Halluin—A Communist, and Wam de Watine, Secretary of the Union is at the same time aid to the Communist mayor of Halluin. At Halluin the workers resumed labor after having obtained satisfaction and with all the workers, numbering 4000, joining the unions.

The anti-socialist policy of the labor-unions, the ignorance of political economy, has just struck a decisive and mortal blow in the course of the strikes in the North.

The Dissidents among the syndicalists and the political elements have realized it very well. No manoeuvre was overlooked by the them, in spite of all deceitful and pleasant appearances.

Not having succeed previously in driving out the militants of the C. S. R. (Comités Syndicalistes Révolutionnaires) and the communists, the politicians and the immovable officials of the syndicalism of the “Union Sacrée” attempt now to exclude the militants and the unions who saved the honor of the workers in this battle, instead of working for the regroupment of forces within the union organization.

After having thrown out the Minority militants and the communists from the Co-operative of “Peace” at Roubaix they would like to get rid of them by throwing them out of the “Confédération Générale du Travail” under the rather odd pretext of “indiscipline”.

They will not succeed, and Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Halluin will become so many fortresses of Communist Syndicalism, joined by other, numerous forces (which to-morrow will be the majority) which, fully conscious of the necessities imposed by the class-struggle, are preparing to join the revolutionary organization of workers—The International of Red Trade Unions of Moscow.

THE INTERNATIONAL

Communist Prospects in France.

by Albert Treint. (Paris).

In June 1920, after the the defeat of the railway-strike, the same situation existed in France as the one which exists in Italy today.

The French bourgeoisie felt itself tottering during the strikes in the Paris district in 1919, at the time of the mutinies in Chartres and Toulouse, on the occasion of the sailors' return from the Black Sea, and then again later in February 1920 during the railway-strike.

The Revolution has been twice within reach of the Italian proletariat—the first time in 1919, when the small shop-keepers went down to hand over their store-keys to the Labor Exchange as the only real authority; and the second time in 1920, when the workers seized the factories.

In the confusion following the war the leaders of the labor movement in France as well as in Italy were in a position to jump straight from the railway strike into the good graces of the workers. Buried in its policy of self-denial, it was incapable even of fulfilling its promises.

The drowsy torpor and the reforms of the labor organizers committed the bourgeoisie had for too long imposed on it the task of organizing, if not for production, at least for counter-revolutionary repression.

Tired of futile struggles in which the interest of their class was betrayed, persecuted, thrown into the street, and abused
in every way by a heartless employer-class, many workers gave up their effort in despair, and abandoning revolutionary action, they restricted their horizon and became addicted to social asceticism and passive submission of the family.

The weakened, overworked, brutalized working-class could not resist falling asleep for a moment. The result was lower wages and long work-days. The employers make haste to wake them up by new blows.

The elite of the workers felt themselves honor-bound to mount guard in the Communist Party, and in the Comités Syndicalistes Révolutionnaires (C.S.R.).

The workers will unite sooner or later in the labor-unions, as a result of the everyday-growing men's interests. Even workers lacking a revolutionary education have always been more powerfully attracted by the grouping according to trades, than by grouping according to doctrine.

With regard to the struggle of the future, and foreseeing the necessity of revolutionary education for the working masses in the labor-unions, the French Communist Party has decided to put the question of the relations between the Party and the trade-unions as first on the order of business at the Marseilles Congress.

This question which has been easy to solve everywhere else, is of a particularly delicate nature in France. Syndicalism has had its development in France organically, independent of spin in the V.E.R. group, attributing political and economic value only to Syndicalism, which, according to them, can become the sole real Communist Party after only a few changes in its organization. Then there is the Monatte group, constituting a Communist-Syndicalist Party, through an official opposition to the Communist Party. The Monatte group distracts politicians and think that the co-existence of a Communist-Syndicalist Party with the C.P. is capable of exercising a beneficent influence on the latter. If I grasp Mr. Monatte's idea, it means that criticism coming from the outside, from a specifically workers' communist organization, will be more wholesome and effective for the Communist Party itself, than criticism made by Communist-workers within the Party. The Monatte group recognizes the utility, and even the necessity of coordinating syndicalism's action with that of the Communist Party, for precise ends.

With regard to the Marseilles Congress, I believe that I shall have the opportunity of returning to these delicate and complex problems. The foreign comrades must realize that these problems come up under quite an original form in France.

I do not know if the Verdier group is determined to cleave inflexibly to its present position. That would be a great misfortune.

I know this — that between Monatte's Communist-Syndicalist Party and the Communist Party there are only misunderstandings arising from sentimental mistrust and petty disagreements of a secondary order. I hope that the leadership of both parties will make France be spared from achieving revolutionary unity only in the far distant future and only drive them thereto by bitter necessity.

Monatte's Communist-Syndicalist Party cannot reasonably expect to unite all the trade-union masses. It can only exercise a curative action in the case of an isolated community, on condition that it remains a doctrinal group within syndicalism.

The fusion with the Communist Party which I know is impossible immediately, and which I believe the future will render possible, will in no way violate the organic autonomy of the trade-unions.

For the present I want to consider Monatte's Communist-Syndicalist Party and the Communist Party as the two as yet separated halves of the real French trade-union movement. Amending their timid attitude of being shame-faced communists and half-way syndicalist, the members of the Communist Party will try to win over the trade-unions to Communism. They will offer no offense thereby to the Communist-Syndicalists, who follow Monatte's formula. In any case they have the right (and for them it is a question of dignity) to uphold their point of view against that of other syndicalist factions. Besides, as long as it will be to question better organized and more powerful trade-unions in the trade-unions can always be counted upon — the Party will keep up a most vigilant watch there.

But when Monatte's Communist-Syndicalist Party will have been fused with the Party, then Communism will really be able to lead forward the organized masses with an increased force toward revolutionary victories which will enlarge and reinforce the initial victory of the Russian Revolution.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Daszynski, the P. P. S. and Europe

by A. Ledr (Warsaw)

Mr. Ignaz Daszyński is positively dissatisfied with Europe! Our comrades (read: social-patriots of the same creed as Mr. Daszyński and his political friends, as well as the French, Italian and English socialists) have a curious conception of the Bolshevik Party (P. P. S.) in Poland and finally of Poland herself'. This, at all events, Mr. Daszyński asserts in a leading article of the first number of a new "Propaganda Bulletin", which the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) is distributing in the United States.

It appears that all the above mentioned socialists are unjustly attacking, nay, even vilifying the P. P. S. At all events Mr. Daszyński loudly declares: "Nobody in the world has a right to treat my party with contempt or even to attack it". He especially emphasizes the fact that in June 1920, when the Western European workers had to choose between Poland, the new "imperialist power", which in reality is but a miserable tool in the hands of imperialist France, and Soviet Russia, "a million of workers of the whole world". The P. P. S. laments that the Western European workers had to choose between Poland and the P. P. S., which is attributed to the novelty of the thus created international situation. Therefore, Mr. Daszyński's party is ready to appeal to "real Bolsheviks", as well as to "false Bolsheviks" for an "enlarged" European socialists. He wishes: "to create for Socialist Europe a new service which will supply truthful information on the activity of the P. P. S."

Mr. Ignaz Daszyński pretends to be far more naive than one should expect of a party leader and a late vice-president of the Polish Council of Ministers.

It is no in consequence of wrong information that the conscious socialists look upon the P. P. S. "with contempt" or are attacking it. Therefore the friends of Mr. Daszyński will not succeed by means of a French bulletin in rehabilitating themselves in the eyes of the European workers. It is really not sufficient to assume the pose of a repentant sinner and to assure Europe that the P. P. S. members are neither nationalists nor militarists, neither pro-Jews, nor anti-semites, neither heroes nor traitors. For the word "traitor" means suffice to convince anybody.

I hope that the leadership of the P. P. S. will be satisfied with the real activity of the P. P. S. and Europe.
of the reestablishment of an independent Poland and to organize them for that purpose. It was an organization of "knightly" or "nationalistic" character. It was a reorganized version of the old, more or less, repressed nationalities of the Russian empire were nationalisms, the spirit of which was not new. They placed the cause of the working-class at the center of their activities. The Central Powers and the so-called German Revolution turned the P. P. S. and its leaders, which, meanwhile, had become the recognized leader of all petty-bourgeois and democratic nationalists, from vanquished again to victorious. French imperialism, which for many decades took no interest whatsoever in the sufferings and aspirations of the Polish people, which it had bound itself up for good or evil with Russian Tsarism, now required an independent Poland as a barrier both against Soviet Russia and the conquered but still much feared Germany. Pilsudski now rapidly turned from a mercenary of the German Kaiser into a serf of French imperialism.

Pilsudski's party, the P. P. S., followed him faithfully all the time in his internal as well as in his foreign policy. During the liquidation of the so-called Socialist Revolution in Russia, the P. P. S. was not responsible either by active supporting Pilsudski's policy or by its passive attitude. The imperialist war of robbery against Soviet Russia, the militarist reaction in Upper Silesia, the Lithuanian adventure, the militarist-nationalist rule in Poland itself with its barbarities against the communists, the financial breakdown of the Polish state—in all these crimes committed by the new-born Polish imperialism the P. P. S. has its share of responsibility. Without the support of the P. P. S., with its weak policy of compromise that knows only one aim, one ideal—a greater and more powerful Poland—these crimes would have been impossible. Let us not forget that the head of the first Polish cabinet—Premier Pilsudski, a member of the old Polish party, Marshal, was arrested, together with the former vice-president of the council of ministers. Has not the P. P. S. stood together with the bourgeois parties, assumed responsibility for the policy of the different Pilsudski cabinets by supporting them in Parliament? Have they not demanded that the Pilsudski government arrest the foreign minister, who raised the question of the "national-emergency"? Has not the P. P. S. with the bourgeois parties, assumed responsibility for the policy of the different Pilsudski cabinets by supporting them in Parliament? Have they not demanded that the Pilsudski government arrest the foreign minister, who raised the question of the "national-emergency"? Has not the P. P. S. with the bourgeois parties, assumed responsibility for the policy of the different Pilsudski cabinets by supporting them in Parliament? Have they not demanded that the Pilsudski government arrest the foreign minister, who raised the question of the "national-emergency"?

Mr. Daszyński declared that the P. P. S. consisted of real traitors! Traitors are not that betrays the same international solidarity to which they appeal daily in the interest of the P. P. S. But the following quotation from Mr. Daszyński is just a repetition of the usual accusations:

"The social-democrats despise and abhor them because they, as agents of Polish imperialism, have assisted in cutting Upper Silesia from the "Vaterland". The English workers of the Labour party regard them merely as supporters and servants of Pilsudski, the foe of the peace of Eastern Europe. Even the French social-patriots cannot understand how the Polish 'socialists' can play the part of voluntary or involuntary ally of Russian imperialism against the interests of the working-class in their life every day. Thus, after three years, the P. P. S. finds itself surrounded by such an atmosphere of open hostility that it has to leave the Second International without being able to join the 2½ International. The glowing patriots can now find no home in the socialist family."

Mr. Daszyński wails that the Polish mark is losing its value day by day. Consequently, he declares, the success of the P. P. S. propaganda must remain small and insufficient. In this we quite agree with him. Are Pilsudski's secret funds of the P. P. S. now empty or are they denied to the P. P. S.? We need not, however, bother here over these financial questions of Mr. Daszyński's party activities for the moral and political side of the matter is clear. But the question of how the P. P. S. regards itself, in its relations to Russian imperialism, has an indispensable significance for the working-class. It has however no chance of attaining this object. International solidarity is possible only between real internationalists. Nationalist and chauvinist parties which, like the P. P. S., are saturated with the poison of imperialism must necessarily remain isolated in the midst of their enemies.

**APPEALS OF THE EXECUTIVE**

**Against the Extradition of the Spanish Revolutionaries.**

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has issued the following appeal:

"Workers, Comrades!

The German police, which is unable to find Kapp and Lütwitz, and the murderers of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogisches, Sylt and Erzberger, has arrested, Luis Nicolai Forti and Lucia Joaquima Concepcion, the alleged participants in the assassination of the German Socialist leaders who has offered as reward for their extradition. The enormous profit to be made in the high foreign exchange value of the pesetas as against the mark incited the raging reactionaries to various excesses even before the Spanish government had demanded their extradition. It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that both the accused, even if, as alleged, they are responsible for this assassination, did so for political reasons. The right of asylum is an institution of all nations which protects political criminals if they succeed in escaping the police of their own country. It is the duty of the German working class to see to it that under no circumstances are Forti and Concepcion delivered over to their executioners. Employ every means to influence the masses to put pressure on the government to refuse their extradition. Set forth the work organized in the trade-unions and the social-democracy in motion, in order that they may constrain their leaders, members of the government, to prevent the extradition.

Workers of other countries! Join this action of the German proletariat against the extradition of the Spanish comrades who have avenged the oppressed Spanish proletariat.

The Spanish and the German counter-revolution is employing the assassination of Dato as an opportunity for condemnation of brutal penalties of Spanish communists and syndicalists. Spanish communists have already been arrested in Berlin and Riga. The entire proletariat must thwart the extermination campaign of the Spanish counter-revolution. Unite in a mighty joint demonstration which will compel the German government to refuse the extradition of the arrested comrades.

Executive Committee of the Communist International."