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 of the contents of the “International Press Correspondence” as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective news-papers 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 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 Anglo-French Conflict and the Moratorium for Germany

by Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

Stinnes was in London. It is not certain whether Lloyd George spoke to him or not. It seems that the German visitors roused in the English ministers the same emotion which Heine expressed in verse: "Blame me not my lovely child but greet me not on 'Unter den Linden'. When we're at home everything will be all explained". At any rate, official assurance comes from the English side, that Lloyd George did not receive Stinnes. This denial has about as much value as official denials usually have. But the very fact that the English government has issued such a statement, proves that it must be considered of France's feelings in this matter; and it is. The government press at Paris sounded an alarm at Stinnes' trip to London. Stinnes was characterized by it as the Pan-German leader whose only dream is the subjugation of Russia, and who wants to carry on the war of revenge against the Allies, with the aid of the gigantic Heastern power. The London report that Lloyd George scored the visit of Hugo Stinnes was received with approbation at Paris.

In the meanwhile other reports are reaching France. From these reports it seems that Stinnes and Rathenau must have spoken at certain influential British political circles, and that these interviews bore some very substantial results. No less than three official communications reached Paris in one day. One of these came through the Reuter Agency, and intimated that England and France were still far from an agreement in the Turkish question. Another Reuter dispatch called attention to the fact that England could not possibly reduce its navy if France does not reduce its army. Thirdly, the English government sent communication to the Council of Ministers in Paris, in which it recommends the repeal of the military sanctions on the Rhine, and proposes the curtailling of all military control in Germany. When it is suggested to the French that they evacuate Dusseldorf, Dussling and Regensburg they at once become nervous. And when the recommendation is made that they limit General Nollet's staff, they become still more nervous. Both of these ideas, namely, the evacuation of the Rhine cities and the limiting of the Council of Allied Control in Germany, were entertained by the English government for a long time. But Briand's energetic opposition prevented their being carried put. The fact that England again raises these two questions, shows that it wishes to have the German question thoroughly settled anew. Moreover, it is clear that England acts as spokesman for the German bourgeoisie.

Nothing official is yet known from English quarters on the question of the famous moratorium plan. But the well informed London 'Daily Mail' says: "There is still one point which the English government cannot be asked to limit General Nollet's staff, because in the meantime the English government has undoubtedly accepted all the proposals made by the German bourgeoisie. A few days ago, the English Ambassador in Berlin, Lord D'Abernon, whose relations with the Stinnes group are well known, likewise left for London where he will collaborate in the government action which is preparation there." The English government however, and the capitalist circles which are behind it, do not confine their plans to financial questions. The best minds of the English bourgeoisie have for some time been busy looking for a solution for the economic crisis of their country. They seek to increase England's production at all costs. The burden of taxation is therefore to be lightened in every possible way. This is the main reason why England is ready to accept naval disarmament. Furthermore, new markets are to be won, and in connection with this pro-ject Germany's foreign exchange is to be saved in order that it may become a buyer of English goods. But the English bourgeoisie wants still more, and Stinnes also wants very much more. England's chief concern is still one of preventing France from getting control of all the essential coal and iron regions of Central and Western Europe. French capital seeks to in-trench itself in the German coal mines and in German industry, and thus to establish a great French industrial power in Eu-rop, against which England would be powerless. England
opposes this with all its might. France wants to expropriate the large German industries; England wants to aid them. English capital is ready to participate in German industry in any form whatever. The Stinnes plan of having the large German industries rob the Government of the railroads, and then borrow gold from the banks to buy them, is a plan to enrich the Russian people, and is only a rebirth of old English plans.

The realization of these projects would place great obstacles in the way of the French attempt to dominate Europe politically and economically. As soon as the French flag waves over the German factories, the French would be left with empty hands. France wishes to put through the Russian coup all by itself. Indeed, it does not want to deal with the Soviet government. It will seek to restore the Russian Monarchy first. The restored Russian empire is also to become a French colony, as the republics of Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., already are.

Stalin and the British do not intend to make any concessions to England in the German or the Turkish questions, or in the disarmament proposition. The capitalist press of Paris declares that if England desires peace in Germany, and if it does not want to make war on the friends completely evacuate Asia Minor. Furthermore, if England has suddenly lost all enthusiasm for the naval disarmament plans of Hughes—this is possibly correct because Japan's antagonism to the disarming of the German fleet, as well as to the world'sera may build as many ships as she pleases, but it should not shift the blame for the Washington failure upon France. And as far as the moratorium for Germany is concerned, France declares that in the next few years it will not be in a position to accept a postponement of the German payments. If some people insist upon relieving the German financial situation, they must furnish a substitute to France; this means that America and England should pay France as an indemnity, which they will be able to use to build up the fleet, or to evacuate Asia Minor. Furthermore, if England has suddenly lost all enthusiasm for the naval disarmament plans of Hughes—this is possibly correct because Japan's antagonism to the disarming of the German fleet, as well as to the world'sera may build as many ships as she pleases, but it should not shift the blame for the Washington failure upon France. And as far as the moratorium for Germany is concerned, France declares that in the next few years it will not be in a position to accept a postponement of the German payments. If some people insist upon relieving the German financial situation, they must furnish a substitute to France; this means that America and England should pay France as an indemnity, which they will be able to use to build up the fleet, or to evacuate Asia Minor.

Nothing short of a miracle must take place in Paris, to enable Stinnes and his English friends to reach their goal. We will wait and see whether the miracle takes place or not.

Politics in Japan and the Premier's Assassination. by Kako Oba

The assassination of Premier Hara will undoubtedly affect a change in the political situation of Japan. Before we go any further into this matter, we must understand the following points:

1. What were the relations between the late premier and the "Hendro", the political group which always retained good relations with the imperial palace.

The present situation in the "Seiju-Kai", the political party whose leader was Hara, a highly intelligent and capable man who pursued a very clever policy.

The most important political leaders in Japan were Hara (leader of the "Seiju-Kai"), Kato (leader of the "Kok-Min-To"), and Vischer, Kato (leader of the "Ken-Sei-Kai"). There were also Osaki and Kato who sought to be the industrial Napoleon of these times; but unfortunately, he has the militaristic Napoleon of today—Marshall Foch—against him. The most cunning Stinnes and his English friends completely evacuate Asia Minor.

2. For an intensification of Japan's colonial policy in Korea, and the postponement of the time set for the evacuation of Siberia, which was to take place in the spring of this year. These two points in Hara's program show that he was on the side of the militarists.

3. Laws forbidding the meeting and organization of a legal Socialist or Labor Party.

It is understood that the Japanese proletariat did not at all sympathize with these parties. Even political parties like "Ken-Sei-Kai" and "Kok-Min-To" took up the fight for suffrage in recent years, and in the last session of Parliament, they insisted upon the evacuation of Siberia by Japanese troops.

The realization of these proposals would place great obstacles in the way of the French attempt to dominate Europe politically and economically. As soon as the French flag waves over the German factories, the French would be left with empty hands. France wishes to put through the Russian coup all by itself. Indeed, it does not want to deal with the Soviet government. It will seek to restore the Russian Monarchy first. The restored Russian empire is also to become a French colony, as the republics of Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., already are.

In the next few years, England must therefore shift the blame for the Washington failure upon France. And she may build up the fleet, or evacuate Asia Minor, with the aid of Hara, whose leader was Hara, a highly intelligent and capable man who pursued a very clever policy.

The most important political leaders in Japan were Hara (leader of the "Seiju-Kai"), Kato (leader of the "Kok-Min-To"), and Vischer, Kato (leader of the "Ken-Sei-Kai"). There were also Osaki and Kato who sought to be the industrial Napoleon of these times; but unfortunately, he has the militaristic Napoleon of today—Marshall Foch—against him. The most cunning Stinnes and his English friends completely evacuate Asia Minor.

Nothing short of a miracle must take place in Paris, to enable Stinnes and his English friends to reach their goal. We will wait and see whether the miracle takes place or not.
One Year of Soviet Diplomacy in the Orient
Summary of an Interview with G. Chicherin.

Friendly Peace with Turkey.

The year from November 1920 to November 1921 was especially characterized by the growth of the liberation movement among the peoples of the Orient.

Our first diplomatic relations with Turkey date from November 6, 1920. But a short time afterwards our relations with Angora were broken, because of the treaty made between Kingistan (Medjish) and Armenia's reactionary Dashnak government which had taken refuge at Alexandropol. This treaty had for its object the imposition of a Turkish protectorate upon all Armenia, although a Soviet government had already been formed there. Its main clause was the evacuation of Armenia from Cilicia. It is clear that this treaty, which later became the object of negotiations between Turkey and Russia. The Angora government, however, negotiated with the Entente. On March 7th Bekir Sami Bey, the Turkish plenipotentiary, received the evacuation of Armenia from Cilicia on the part of the Cilician government at the price of important concessions. On March 13th he concluded a similar accord with Italy. But in April, the National Assembly of Angora refused to ratify these treaties.

On February 2nd, the French and Russian governments arrived in Moscow. On March 16th a friendly peace was concluded. Georgia kept Batum as a base, which was recognized as the capital of the Adjara Republic. The political relations with Turkey date from February 2nd, when Ali Fuad's democratic cabinet fell (Medjish).

On February 26th, negotiations were started to conclude a treaty in the name of the Turkish government, after it had reached an agreement which promised to withdraw all support given to the Afghan tribes who were fighting against the Emir, furthermore to give powerful material aid to Afghanistan, and to indemnify for the losses caused by the Anglo-Afghan war of 1919. In their counter-proposals the Afghans demanded a plebiscite in the frontier regions, and this caused the failure of the negotiations.

On February 21st, the Russo-Afghan treaty was signed at Moscow. On March 24th it was decided that the Russo-Afghan government would have to introduce Co11-Protocols, which would lead to the political independence of the two countries and of the Oriental nationalities, the establishment of consular relations, right of transit for Russian commerce through Afghanistan, and a general collaboration of Russia in the technical and industrial development of Afghanistan.

In the spring of 1920, great reforms began in this country—the drawing up of a criminal code, abolition of slavery, etc.

Nevertheless, Dobbs stayed at Kabul and was not inactive there. The Assembly of Notables deliberated from November 7th to 11th over the English and Russian proposals. It ratified the treaty with Russia, however. On July 10th Comrade Raschukov, our representative at Kabul was warmly received there. The Dobbs mission returned to Moscow in September and there the Anglo-Afghan negotiations are being continued.

In the Khiva and Bokhara Republics we have carried on with success the work of Sovietizing and of emancipation.

Resumption of Relations with China.

We have resumed diplomatic relations with China. On February 3rd Chen-Kouen-Ping, the Consul-General of China, arrived at Moscow. The government of Peking agreed, in principle, to receive our representative. We were definitely informed on October 24th that it would receive our representative. We were informed on October 13th that it would receive our commercial mission. We immediately sent Comrade Poets to China.

The Far Eastern Republic has been officially represented at Peking since September, 1920, by Comrade Tourine.

Popular National Emancipation of Mongolia.

On May 26, 1921, the reactionary Merkulov took possession of Wulanssiok with the aid of Japanese bayonets. Ungern, leader of the White bands, who had occupied Mongolia with the backing of Japan, attacked the Far Eastern Republic.

The popular revolutionary government of Mongolia which had received hospitality in Russian territory and was in close contact with us, directed the national resistance against Ungern's bands. The troops of Soviet Russia, those of the Far Eastern Republic and of revolutionary Mongolia fought against Ungern and seized Urga, where a popular Mongolian government was established. The troops were then withdrawn to Moscow, in July, to withdraw our troops. On August 10th, we agreed to do so. On September 11th, we also agreed to assume the role of arbitrator between China and Mongolia.

On October 26th, negotiations were started at Moscow with the object of establishing lasting friendly relations between Mongolia and Russia.

The remnants of the White bands which have taken refuge in the North of Mongolia are being pursued there by our forces.

Negotiations with Japan.

Negotiations with Japan have at last become possible. On August 26th, pourparlers were begun at Doby between Japan and the Far Eastern Republic on the question of the coastal zone of the Japanese and the resumption of commercial relations. The Far Eastern Republic insisted that a representative of the Moscow government take part in the negotiations. Japan having consented, Comrade
Marchlewsky was appointed for this purpose, and he started out from Moscow on October 24th.

One can see from these facts the progress achieved in Asia by Soviet Russia which in the future will be recognized by all the oppressed peoples as a natural ally.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Czecho-Slovakia at the Cross-roads.

by A. Kreibich (Reichenberg).

More now than ever is it the duty of the European Communists to pay attention to Czecho-Slovakia. Not only because this state is of great importance in the development of Central Europe and cancer of the political malaise of which the Czech and Slovak successors of the Habsburgs fell into. With Kremel at its head and with Rasin who was the director of the largest Czech bank, a few members of the same party and Kremel's companion in high-treason as minister of finance, the first Government of the republic pursued a policy of the strictest economic isolation and complete separation from the other successor states, and mounted the high horse in national politics. But the shortage in goods of that time has disappeared long ago, and it becomes clearer from day to day that the state and its industries are looking forward to the export of manufactured articles. Now its relatively high foreign exchange as compared with other states and industries. Germany has risen in importance as a trading country. The West was not very promising. But the foreign exchange of the successor states sank lower and lower, and Germany's reparation burdens were in foreign currency in the laboratory of the mark. Unemployment in Czecho-Slovakia rose enormously. The coal-production had to be curtailed, and the stores of coke are assuming gigantic proportions. In Kladno the blast-furnaces are banked and thousands of workers have been discharged from the Vitkovitz Iron Works. A shortlived boom in the textile-industry does not alter the situation as a whole. This situation will grow still worse, especially if the crisis in Germany becomes more acute. Several Czech politicians have built up the theory of the "Isle of Fortune", as Czecho-Slovakia is designated by them, because this country is surrounded by countries of low rates of exchange. But a further depreciation of the mark for a possible capital export, would certainly drag Czecho-Slovakia down with it. By assigning all new expenditures to a special budget, the state budget in thus artificially kept in balance without incurring a bigger deficit. This method requires a credit which is partly being gotten. The greater part of the income is made up of a high turnover tax and an equally high coal tax. Moreover the military budget is growing, whereas the educational budget is shrinking.

In the national question the Germans are making less trouble. Due to the influence of the economic crisis and the threatening bitter social struggles, a moderation of the national radicalism made itself felt in the camp of the German nationalists; from that direction voices may be heard which sound compromise. The Government, which actually the Czechs have somewhat slackened, because it is self-evident that this state can also be used and employed in the interests of the money-bags. The national differences in Slovakia are already more important. Here the Government of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie is strong. Its main support is the old officialism which the Czecho-Slovakian Government inherited from old Hungary. This happened because the Czechs had no other officials who were versed in Hungarian law-making and management. Thus other than the Hungarian, Mr. Jr. Gyurek greets the people in Moravia; Dr. Klima, who under the Habsburgs was the chief of the secret political police in Prague, is now the Chief of Police of Raschau, the capital of Eastern Slovakia. Of course both of these men are thorough monarchists. Our comrades published serious accusations against an entire group of important Magyar officials who are systematically radiating the capital and indict them as agents of Horthy. All this is of no avail because the government considers the suppression of Communist as of greater importance. This system and the ruthless way in which the Czech capitalists and their Government have pursued their policy in Central Europe, are triumphant. "the end was the crash".

Growing Economic Struggles in Italy.

by Pippo.

Italy is passing through a new period of great economic disturbances.

All sections of workers now affected have been compelled to defend their interests against the offensive of the employers.
The Italian capitalists like those of other countries are trying to reduce wages under the pretext that industry is passing through a crisis. For three months the wool-workers—about 50,000 men and women—have been engaged in a prolonged strike. The workers are supported in their movement by the trade-union front because the masses desired it, but who at the conference in order not to displease their god D’Aragona voted against the communist resolution on the unity front of the proletariat.

During the three months of the wool-workers’ strike the General Confederation of Labour took no interest whatsoever in the struggle. Its only action in this matter was the issuing of a manifesto to the public in which, after mentioning the various phases of the struggle, it urged the acceptance of the award. We are quoting here without comment the concluding part of the manifesto:

"We believe that in the interests of our economic life which now more than ever demands a solution of the present crisis a just award on all the question arising out of the conflict should put an end to the strike and thus prevent serious losses. Therefore we appeal to public opinion and its spokesmen in order that our efforts may not be in vain!"

We are sure that the proposal of the trade-union leaders will gain in vain. It will be accepted not on its own opinion, but by the wool capitalists too! For let it be remembered that in Italy in a struggle between capital and labour the party recommending the acceptance of an award of a conciliation board admits its own defeat.

In Venezia Giulia the number of strikers is about 14,000. The organization is under the leadership of the Communists who since the beginning of the struggle have demanded that it be spread over the whole of Italy. They declined of course all responsibility as to the result of the struggle.

The determination of the workers is remarkable. In order to understand that one has to read the appeal issued by the women of Trieste: "Strikers! rely upon us! The proletarian women of Trieste have proved that they are ready for sacrifices. They are strong, hardy, noble, and not deprived of rights by accepting assistance from the class enemy. We call upon you: ‘Forward!’ We shall not look on quietly while children are begging for bread. The maternal love that drives the hussies to attack will serve us as an example.”

This document shows that the proletarian masses of Italy are still revolutionary. It is only to be regretted that this proletariat is being led by such social-traitors as the leaders of the trade-unions. Let us hope that the work commenced by the Communist Trade-Union Committee will soon meet with success. Two objects have to be attained:
1. The defeat of the offensive of the employers and the Fascists and a counter-attack against them.
2. The liberation of the General Confederation of Labor from the bureaucrats and its transformation into an organization of the class-struggle, which will unite the iron battalions for the storming of the stronghold of the bourgeoisie and the establishment on its ruins of a new Communist society.

Unemployment in Sweden.

A.B. The period of the world war, or, strictly speaking, the years 1916, 1917 and 1918 comprised a period of great prosperity for Swedish industry. The climax was reached in 1918. The number of industrial enterprises amounted to 9,828 in 1915 and 10,518 in 1918. The total number of workers in these industries rose from 373,936 in 1915 to 385,280 in 1918. The value of the products of industry amounted to 5,037,000,000 crowns in 1918. It was higher by 13% than the corresponding sum in 1917, and higher by 33% than the corresponding sum in 1916. These successive increases in value were the result of a rise in prices, and not of a larger output of goods.

After the end of the war the industrial situation became worse, but it improved again perceptibly at the end of 1919, and at the beginning of 1920. This improvement was followed by an unprecedented general depression. The number of unemployed, which had risen to 231,230 in 1919, amounted to only 136,242 in 1920, to 7.4% in 1920, to 25.2% by May 1921, and it has finally risen to 27.4%. On September 1, 1920 there were 60,000 workers in the factories whose owners were members of the Manufacturers’ League. On May 13, 1921, the skilled wage workers in these factories. Part-time work was resorted to in these enterprises as well as in the smelting works because their production amounted to only a third of their output in the corresponding months of 1920. The total number of unemployed, including unorganized workers, is 100,000.

On account of a lack of statistical material it is impossible, at present, to show in definite figures the effect of unemployment on the economic situation of the working-class. Everything, however, points to the necessity to show the workers the priority of government action in this matter. The question of unemployment is of vital importance for the working-class, and if the government is not prepared to take swift action the Executive Committee of the Trade-Union Confederation should begin the fight. The other demands were the following: socialization of industry, checking the reduction of wages, the help for the agricultural industries. In later congresses the Executive Committee of the Trade-Union Confederation remained inactive.

As the unemployment and the part-time workers realized that the Congresses had not been carried through, they established the Swedish Employers’ League. On December 31, 1921 the Congress convoked the General Congress of the Trade-Union Confederation and its affiliated unions, together with the Syndicalist organizations, the leagues of the unemployed, etc. The Congress urged the Trade-Union Confederation and its affiliated unions to the Congress on the very first day, declaring that they had no instructions to concur in any decision which might result in their organizations to pay for unemployment support. The Congress demanded resolutions on the question of government and municipal relief works, on the payments of full wages to these workers according to the existing wage standard, on the question of unemployment aid, etc. The Congress represents a great number of the important labor groups. The government did nothing. The Congress also drew up a resolution dealing with the factory and superior economic councils, as well as a resolution dealing with the forms of organization and aims of the trade-unions.

The Congress has decided that it favors, in principle, the beginning of a general strike on September 4th. The Congress left the manner of action to be decided upon by the trade-unions, the local organizations, and the unemployment leagues. Thanks to the government, the struggle will take place in a period of months.

In 1921, the employers have been gradually reducing wages. As a consequence of the lack of official statistics, it is impossible to state, with certainty, the average proportion of wage-reduction. Wages of important labor-groups were reduced by 20% in 1920 and 50% in 1921. The number of unemployed rose from 10,000 on December 31 of the current year. The enterprises adhering to the Swedish Employers’ League employ 300,000 workers in normal times. They have decided to reduce wages considerably, and to abolish the yearly vacation. The manufacturers of machinery have decided to reduce the minimum hourly wage of the workers in the neighborhood of Stockholm from 90 Ore to 63 Ore. This measure will affect 60,000 workers. The manufacturers of matches want to reduce the workers’ wages by respectively 33 1/3%, by 40%, and even by 50%. The employers in the wood industry want to reduce the wages by 55%, those of the shoe industry by 35%, of the leather industry by 40%, etc. The same thing is true of the machinery and the industrial workers. The congresses are working since October 24th without any agreement. The big landowners insist on reducing the wages from 02 Ore to 58 Ore an hour for day wages, and from 1,075 crowns to 775 crowns for yearly wages.

The Communist Party of Sweden is doing everything within its power to improve the conditions of the unemployed and those still working. The trade-union agitation which severely criticized the reduction of wages and the yielding attitude of the trade-union leaders was carried out by the Trade-Union agitation League, under the control of the Communist Committee of the C.P.S. The Parliamentary factors are trying as far as possible to influence the decisions of the working-class.

Before the elections to the Riksdag, the Executive Committee of the C.P.S. addressed itself to the workers with an appeal whose main points were the overturn of the government in a parliamentary way, the formation of a ministry which would be
under the control of the labouring-masses, and which, on account of the pressure exercised by the masses, would call an extra session of the Rikdag for the purpose of fighting against unemployment.

The calling of the Unemployment Congress, whose decisions were of great significance for purposes of agitation, was the work of the C. P. S. The activity of the Party as regards unemployment was very favorable to our principles and has strengthened the situation of the workers in their relation with the bourgeoisie. This conduct of the Party has increased the sympathy for the Communists, as was clearly shown by the number of Communist votes at the elections for the Rikdag.

On the day that the Social Democratic ministry was formed, the Communist Party Congress at Stockholm drew up a programme (the most important of which is an extra session of the Rikdag to combat unemployment, and 2. the increase of trade with Soviet Russia and the recognition of the Soviet government.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Italian Socialist Party by G. Zinoviev.

At present we are already in a position to draw conclusions from the development of the Italian Socialist Party.

The doings of the S.P.I. are undoubtedly of international importance for us. Among the most important events in the international labor movement, an understanding of the development of the S.P.I. is a necessary condition.

Even after the Livorno Congress, at the end of 1920, when the left wing, consisting of 98,000 members, broke away from the party and formed the Communist Party, the S.P.I. retained the outward-ward features of a great political party. The S.P.I. also won a comparatively big victory in the parliamentary elections of last summer. In reality however, the S.P.I. is degenerating. After the Livorno Congress the number of left wing members of the S.P.I. still had 112,000 members; 98,000 followers of Serrati (Center) and 14,000 reformists. During the year between the Congress at Livorno and the one in Milan, the leaders of the S.P.I. followed the wishes of Serrati and Turati and systematically accepted all those reformists, who since 1912 had been excluded from the party. According to the figures published by the Italian Communists, which have not been disputed by the followers of Serrati, 15,000 reformists, who had formerly been excluded from the party, returned to it in the past year. And in spite of this considerable gain of the reformist wing, the party lost at least 30,000 members during the period between the Livorno and Milan Congresses, which ended recently, the S.P.I. counted hardly 80,000 members. When we subtract the 15,000 avowed enemies of Socialism who returned to the party, we have only 65,000 left. In other words, in less than one year the S.P.I. sank to a little more than one half of what it was, 192,000 to 65,000.

This figures alone suffice to show us that Serrati’s policy is bringing about the ruin of the party.

Still more important are the figures which disclose to us the groupings within the S.P.I., and its new structure, which is characterized by the CNTV betrayal. At the Livorno Congress the entire party, including the Communists, had 170,000 members. The reformists had only 14,000 votes, i.e., less than one-tenth. Serrati and his friends did not want to break with this one-tenth, and preferred to break with 60,000 Communists. At the Milan Congress, which ended recently, the S.P.I. counted hardly 80,000 members. When we subtract the 15,000 avowed enemies of Socialism who returned to the party, we have only 65,000 left. In other words, in less than one year the S.P.I. sank to a little more than one half of what it was, 192,000 to 65,000.

This figures alone suffice to show us that Serrati’s policy is bringing about the ruin of the party.

Still more important are the figures which disclose to us the groupings within the S.P.I., and its new structure, which is characterized by the CNTV betrayal. At the Livorno Congress the entire party, including the Communists, had 170,000 members. The reformists had only 14,000 votes, i.e., less than one-tenth. Serrati and his friends did not want to break with this one-tenth, and preferred to break with 60,000 Communists. At the Milan Congress, which ended recently, the S.P.I. counted hardly 80,000 members. When we subtract the 15,000 avowed enemies of Socialism who returned to the party, we have only 65,000 left. In other words, in less than one year the S.P.I. sank to a little more than one half of what it was, 192,000 to 65,000.

This figures alone suffice to show us that Serrati’s policy is bringing about the ruin of the party.

Still more important are the figures which disclose to us the groupings within the S.P.I., and its new structure, which is characterized by the CNTV betrayal. At the Livorno Congress the entire party, including the Communists, had 170,000 members. The reformists had only 14,000 votes, i.e., less than one-tenth. Serrati and his friends did not want to break with this one-tenth, and preferred to break with 60,000 Communists. At the Milan Congress, which ended recently, the S.P.I. counted hardly 80,000 members. When we subtract the 15,000 avowed enemies of Socialism who returned to the party, we have only 65,000 left. In other words, in less than one year the S.P.I. sank to a little more than one half of what it was, 192,000 to 65,000.

This figures alone suffice to show us that Serrati’s policy is bringing about the ruin of the party.

Still more important are the figures which disclose to us the groupings within the S.P.I., and its new structure, which is characterized by the CNTV betrayal. At the Livorno Congress the entire party, including the Communists, had 170,000 members. The reformists had only 14,000 votes, i.e., less than one-tenth. Serrati and his friends did not want to break with this one-tenth, and preferred to break with 60,000 Communists. At the Milan Congress, which ended recently, the S.P.I. counted hardly 80,000 members. When we subtract the 15,000 avowed enemies of Socialism who returned to the party, we have only 65,000 left. In other words, in less than one year the S.P.I. sank to a little more than one half of what it was, 192,000 to 65,000.

This figures alone suffice to show us that Serrati’s policy is bringing about the ruin of the party.
the workers from the rear. Since that day the leaders of the SPL, who had been rapidly going towards the right, had been regularly betrayed and disarmed in their attack. Then the bourgeoisie took up the offensive and began to crush the Italian workers with the aid of the White Terror Fascists. The reformists gained courage through the attack of the bourgeoisie. They called themselves "Co-opers" and opposed the bourgeoisie. In other words, they are following the example of Scheidemann and Noske. Livio Agostini, one of Serrat's followers, wrote recently, "We, who heard the mutinous cry of the masses against the adherents and authors of war and war, who watched the complete submission of the incapable and helpless bourgeoisie, we were at that time (1919), compelled by Communism—the Communism which had triumphed in Hungary and Russia, the Communism open which was then raging in Germany and which shook the whole of Europe in the birth-pangs of the new future—to win immediate victory in our country."

But after all, the bourgeoisie fortified its positions, the "enraged" mass quelled down, the flowers withered, the fire died out, and Serrat and all his friends made haste to capitulate before the bourgeoisie.

The very first false speeches of Serrat and his friends, at the Second World Congress of the Communist International warned us to be careful. It was the duty of the CI. ruthlessly to persecute the Italian traitors. Our friends who accused the CI. of an uncalled for severity against the SPI. were absolutely in the wrong, and the result of the Milan Congress will convince all sincere adherents of the CI. that the latter was in the right. We should not be accused of too great a severity against the SPI., we should rather be accused of not having been sufficiently mild. The minority also does not expect much from the Milan Congress. The minority also has become wiser through experience and which shook the whole of Europe in the birth-pangs of the new future—to win immediate victory in our country.

Before the Milan Congress, one could still hope to succeed in saving the SPI. from the catastrophe. These hopes have now vanished. The SPI. will pursue its path, and the end will be a bitter and disgraceful defeat of the reformist betrayal. Only gradually, step by step, one group of workers after the other which are still supporting the SPI. will be won over by us to our side. In the last year several thousands of workers no longer subscribe to a newspaper, because of its pro-SPI. line. Such are the SPI. do not and cannot exist in very solid numbers, but they are strong enough to persist and to be dangerous to the working class. Many workers, disappointed by the betrayal of their leaders, have become obstinate in their refusal to participate in politics at all. Many of them, intimidated by the bourgeoisie and oppressed by the unemployment and by repression, are attempting to hide themselves for a while. In spite of all this, the future belongs to the young CPI. Recent events tend to show that our CPI. is beginning gradually to win the sympathy of the workers. At the congress of the metal workers of all Italy, which has just ended, the Italian communists received nearly one-half of the votes. The strike in Trieste was led by the communists. If we make no mistakes, (and the CI.), which has become wise through bitter experiences, will not everything to warn the Italian comrades against mistakes) we shall quickly win over the overwhelming majority of the Italian working class to our side. And the SPI. will in its present conditions be a mere anachronism and an obstacle to the communist party.

The fate of the SPI. is a warning to all. It is a classical example of the fact that Reformism will entirely devour him if he offers it only a finger. The dead seize the living. It was reformism that ruined the SPI. The thing condemned to death by history must die. "The dead shall sleep peacefully in their graves! . . . ."

The Communists should increase their energy tenfold in order to shorten the period of decay and disappointment created by the betrayal of the SPI. The Italian Communists can and will liberate the Italian working-class from slavery.

Monsieur Fimmen and his Colleagues

by W. Lada.

An editor of the Dutch Social Democratic organ "Het Volk" has interviewed the secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, M. Fimmen, shortly after the end of the recent trade union disarmament conference. He asked what the opinion of the participants in the conference was at the Washington Conference, and received the following interesting reply (cited from the Communist organ "De Tribune" of the 22nd November):

"All the participants were not of the same opinion on this question. The majority did not want peace and any-thing from the Washington Conference. The minority also did not expect much to result from the Conference, but nevertheless hoped that at least something would come of it. In reality, no one places any confidence in 'disarmament'. My opinion is already known. I consider the entire Washington Conference as an extremely dangerous comedy, staged in order to hoodwink the workers and to make them ruin their own action, from a fight against militarism, from the erection of a power which could start action and the general strike will eliminate the threatening danger of future war."

Thus the Washington Conference has, according to Fimmen, no other aim than the disarming of the workers and the prevention of their struggle against capitalism. "Our opinion as well, M. Fimmen, but in the beginning of November the English labor party—in others words the English Social Democrats—insisted on a declaration which only aimed at a political organization which "most heartily greeted" the Washington Conference and expressed the hope that it would lift the armament burden from the shoulders of the people in the world. But on 11 November, Joubert, the vice-president of the Amsterdam International signed in Geneva in the name of all the trade-union leaders with the aim of the Executive and the president at their head—in the name of Mertens, Oudegeest, Lepars, Wisselius, Baldest, Caballero, Poulton, Walker, and J. H. Thomas—signed a telegram to Harding in which the Geneva Conference expressed the conviction that the Washington Conference would "create a lasting and solid work", in order finally to bring about world peace, but they would hesitate to "serve the cause of humanity in an actual way."

What do you think of that? M. Fimmen? Do not your colleagues, the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International also belong to those who throw dust in the workers' eyes?"

The Convention of the Austrian Social-Democracy.

by V. Sern (Vienna).

The Austrian Social Democracy, the leading party of the International, is slowly gaining ground in the world. In practically every country it is gradually moving forward even further to the right than the Scliedemann Party: in theory, however, it is so elastic as to consider it as mere trifle one day to glorify Bolshevist methods as right and necessary (naturally only for distant countries and periods) and the next day to state with cynical frankness that it is the task of the working-class to serve as cheapest handyman to the bourgeoisie and to offer the latter the heaviest sacrifices. A particularly crass aspect of this spirit is seen in the attitude of the Social-Democratic Party leadership during the last convention held in Vienna (Nov. 26th-27th).

The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" itself says that this convention brought nothing new and served the purpose only of making clearer party policy, insisting that the proletariat is an essential part of the Social Democratic membership there begins to appear and neither the careful managing of the convention nor the even more careful reporting can completely fill up the fact—a constantly growing appreciation for the Communist criticism of Social-Democratic policy. The Social-Democracy employs the method of saying very little publicly about the Communists, making it thereby appear as if Communism deserved no notice whatever in Austria. The Social-Democratic subbies in large degree upon the power of attraction residing in its comparatively large numbers as against the small Communist Party. That is why they confine themselves to fighting Communism through secret terror without living in the workshops, through unheard-of calumny behind the stage, etc. Since, however, deadly silence will not do away with existing facts, the convention was devoted to the countering of Communist influence. All reports of the Secret Investigation Commission, the face of the serious Communist indictments, which were employed by a certain speaker of the opposition in the Social-Democracy.

Otto Bauer undertook to weaken the most serious accusation, to meet it head-on, namely, that the Social-Democracy quietly allows itself to be deviated in questions of the greatest moment to the proletariat, and that its financial plan itself helps the government to practise usury upon the masses. He found nothing else to oppose than that the proletariat, which is forced to the defensive against capitalism, that therefore the victory of socialism is impossible in little Austria although the working-class is here stronger outside of the Parliament that the labourer in the factories. "Austria, the enemy of Turkey and the Social-Democracy must, therefore, patiently suffer being outvoted in Parliament. He denied with effrontery that it was the Social-Democratic financial plan which made it possible for the government to adopt the measures which
bear so heavily upon the masses. And yet when Gartner announced for the first time his program of taxation comprising hundreds of millions of dollars for the benefit of the masses, he made a political proclamation that the major part of this program had been borrowed from the Social-Democratic financial plan. That the Social-Democratic policy in the entire world is responsible for the great proletariat is the national crisis which necessitates the radical solution by in silence, as well as the fact that the gathering of revolutionary forces and the ruin of the capitalist industrial system are moving onward with rapid strides. The theory that the workers, who are more numerous than the capitalists, must simply yield at all points, where, for internal or external reasons, it cannot wield complete mastery, is, therefore, the newest achievement of this master in the invention of pretexts for the class war against the proletariat.

More interesting still is Bauer's revelation concerning the "System of Persuasion." In other countries, says he, there reigns a system of force in opposition to the proletariat; in Austria, on the other hand, there is the "system of persuasion" by means of which not every state can rule, and he hastened to add that the system is exercised by those who do not form part of the Government. Thus he shamelessly admitted that the "persuasion" of the Social-Democratic leaders brought the masses to take their sacrifices in favor of the possessing classes which the proletariat elsewhere is forced to accept only by the employment of bloody violence. The Social-Democracy confesses itself to be a working substitute for the false guards and false parties, which Communist here cannot call to its orders on a sufficiently high scale.

Eldersch, formerly food-minister, sought to render palatable for the delegates the entry of the Social-Democracy in the fight against the rising cost of living. He thought that this certainly hard task might be lightened by senseless slander of the Communists. According to him the Communists demand that the State deficit be covered by the printing of bank notes. In reality the Communists are engaged in a passionate struggle against this form of financial management. But Eldersch made this statement so as to convey the impression that but one choice is possible—that between the rise in the cost of living and the printing of bank notes. That is why he kept silent about the Communists' demand that the deficit be covered by forcible contributions from the possessing class. Had he stated that clearly, his opposition to it would have appeared inexplicable to every Social-Democratic worker.

But this bluff alone was not enough and so Eldersch asserted proudly that the reduction in the high cost of living must not be effected at once but gradually and that the fight for a real wage condition (or the condition that we call wages) is the first step towards a great Social-Democratic will. According to him the Social-Democrats will bear nothing of the Control of Production did not appear clear. Should the employers even consent to an increase in wages—and wages cannot, indeed, remain the same forever—it would not be possible to reduce them as they are now. Moreover, the Social-Democracy has not hitherto shown any opposition when the government introduced new burdensome taxation, without bothering with the proletariat.

Finally Adler perspired over the International. He asserted that, whereas at the last convention one might still have entertained the idea of entering the Third International, now things have progressed so far that one might consider whether it would not be advisable to return to the Second International. Since, however, one cannot know whether capitalism is to hold out much longer or to fall it is best not to form any binding alliance with any side. This is typically Friedrich Adler.

Despite all this the discussion shows the quickening influence of the clear Communist attitude comprehensible to every proletarian. But the management and leadership of this discipline won of course. Every motion of the party leadership was passed unanimously. Well-meaning motions of na"ve members and local groups, for the fight against clericalism, for modern matrimonial law, against "Kongrua" against the monarchist reaction, against high prices, etc. were either turned down or referred to the Parliamentary Fraction or the Executive Committee and thus given a first class burial. The new-old Executive Committee will act as if its policies have won the approbation of the masses of the proletariat.

In truth, this last convention showed, so far as that was possible, that the policies now practised by the Social-Democracy puzzle the masses. The consequences of these policies, growing rapidly, if not seriously, will do the rest to open the eyes of numberless proletarians.

**RELIEF FOR RUSSIA**

**The Communist International's Relief for Russia.**

The total of the wage donations, which in accordance with the suggestion of the Communist International, have been contributed by the Communist parties of the world, has exceeded by far the reputation for the Russian famine-stricken, has reached the sum of 80,000,000 German marks. On the 1st of November the total was 20,000,000 marks. However, when the results of the collections on November 7th are known, the total of the donations will reach 100,000,000 marks. The Berlin workers' Relief Committee has done all in its power to turn the collected sums into food as quickly as possible. During October the following shipments were made by the Berlin Committee:

The German steamer "Siegfried" with 60 carloads of food and medicines and a shipment of food via Reval; the Swedish steamer "Miranda" from Stockholm to Petrograd. In November the steamer "Beckland" with 100 tons of flour, sugar and rice and the steamer "Werner" with 200 tons of rice, beans and tea left Hamburg for Petrograd. A steamer left Copenhagen with sugar, cocoa and condensed milk and the steamer "Delphin" with 400 tons of rice, tea and coffee left for Petrograd. 30 carloads of flour arrived from Bulgaria at the beginning of November. On November 12th the steamer "Frida Holm", flying the flag of the International, arrived at Petrograd from Sketlin with a cargo of 400 tons of flour, 100 tons of beans, 100 tons of rice and 1,000 tons of sugar and coffee. On the 17th of November a steamer left Marseilles for Odessa with a cargo of 1,000 tons of rice and 200 tons of clothing. The cargoes of all ships were handed over to the Central Relief Committee which took care of the transport of the food into the hungry regions. The food thus far shipped suffices for the daily maintenance of 50,000 people until the next harvest.

**The White Terror**

**An Appeal of the Spanish Comrades.**

Comrade Arlandis, member of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade-Union International, who had been arrested in Berlin upon the demand of the Spanish police, has just been released and deported from Germany. From his countryman, Luis Nu"eza Fort and his companion, together with Comrade Nin, are still menaced, although the Madrid bourgeois press (El Sol and El Heraldo) have ironically declared that the international protest of Labour has had no effect. The White Terror continues to rage in Spain, where the inquisitors, the executioners and the hirings of the most reactionary employing class in the world are at work. Comrade Arlandis has signed an appeal to the German workers in the name of the National Confederation of Spain, from which we quote the following passage:

The Spanish government has had the German police arrest revolutionaries who are accused as accessories to the murder of M. Dato, and whose extradition is demanded. Under no circumstances must these men be handed over to the inquisitors. For two years the Spanish proletariat has been suffering under a reign of terror comparable only to that of White Hungary. For two years the organized workers of Spain have been imprisoned and tortured in jail by the thousand. The leaders of all labour organization have been outlawed. Merely being a trade-unionist is usually punished by lock-up. Since the beginning of 1921, more than 600 of our comrades have been killed by the police or by the assassins in the pay of the bourgeoisie. Two members of the Executive Committee of the National Confederation of Spain, comrade Boal, secretary, and comrade Feliu, have been assassinated by the police and have been skilfully tortured.

We do not know if the revolutionaries imprisoned in Berlin actually took part in Dato's execution. But if they should have, they would be participants in an undoubtedly political act of legitimate defense against reaction which has butched hundreds and thousands of workers. Comrades! Prevent their deliverance to the inquisitors. Support us against the reaction in Spain.

For the National Confederation of Spain

H. Arlandis.