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 Situation in Hungary.

by Bela Kun.

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

Editor's note.

After the fall of the Soviet Republic the monarchist form of government was de jure set up in Hungary. The democracy, in whose name the counter-revolution had overthrow the Soviet Republic from within, could not last. After the social-democratic government had held out four days, the National Hungarian Kingdom was proclaimed by the White-Guard troops and the bureaucracy supported by the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the wealthier peasants. The commander-in-chief of the White Army was to be Regent until the election of the king.

The policy of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the wealthier peasantry was sharply opposed to that of the big landowners and the upper bourgeoisie. The White Terror troops who relied for their support on the two former classes not only massacred the lives of the capitalists of whom the majority were Jews, but even tried to consolidate the social basis of their rule by a distribution of land in the region between the Danube and the Theiss. Soon the feeble coalition of the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry was undermined because of the conflicting interests existing between the latter, producing food, and the former, consuming it. The peasant-party demanded the suspension of food-requisitions; the urban petty-bourgeoisie, which consisted for the most part of government officials, etc. suffered hunger as the price of food due to a staggering height. As a consequence of the White Terror the workers could not exercise any political power. The big landowners and upper bourgeoisie of Hungary took advantage of the conflict of interests, in order to try to ward off held out four days, the National Hungarian Kingdom was proclaimed by the White-Guard troops and the bureaucracy supported by the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the wealthier peasants. The commander-in-chief of the White Army was to be Regent until the election of the king.

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Moscow's Offer and the Howls of the Mensheviks.

by Wilhelm Koenen (Berlin).

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

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

The old Kautsky stated in the first year of the Russian Revolution that "were the proletarian government in the East to succeed in maintaining itself for only one year", it would mean the greatest political achievement. The Social-Democratic Socialists are living through the 4th Anniversary of the successful Russian Revolution, the first stage of the World-Revolution. For 3 full years the proletariat of the East has maintained its control of Great Russia, against death and ruin, against White Guards and the Entente, against the bourgeoisie and starvation.

Not only is the proletarian State unbroken and unhansen, but even in spite of its own miseries, and in spite of the failure of the proletariat of Central and Western Europe, misled by the opportunists of the Socialist International, which has been making an attempt to conquer and establish a position even within the capitalist robber-states, which have persecuted it until now with blood and iron.

When early this spring the Soviet Government finally succeeded in overcoming the foreign boycott and in breaking its way through to the world-markets, was a course of negotiations between the proletarian State and the capitalist powers for official recognition has not been broken. It is true, last September, the Entente threatened the Government of an imperialist attack by Japan, Japan, France, and their lackeys, Poland and Roumania. But the danger was avoided, and the Allied powers attempted to blackmail Russia for the guarantee of re-payment of the Czar's debts, by taking advantage of Russia's starvation. The Allied diplomats were themselves caught in the dangerous noose with which they hoped to strangle Soviet Russia in its dire need. The Soviet Government agrees to the Entente demand for a payment of debts in order to secure its blackmailing attempt by but as an indication from the "Daily Herald" and their blackmailing attempt by but as an indication from the "Daily Herald" and Krassin's former negotiations prove, to renew the offer to pay interest upon new terms and special conditions. The Soviet Government makes demands of England, the dominating power in the Entente, real relief, the creation of the possibility of payment, assurance against military attacks, expressed official recognition and an invitation to an international conference on a basis of equality.

The Allied political blackmail threat became an instrument in the hands of the Soviet Republic for acquiring an officially recognized World-position, and for extending and facilitating the absolutely necessary economic intercourse with the world. Russia wants these economic connections at any price, and soon; and all socialist and democratic capitalists, the proletariat, the old and new worlds grasping their teeth find themselves compelled to recognize it as a power on equal terms, and qualified for negotiating. The proletarian state has thus won its recognition. Proletary Capitalism is winning its customers, and its governments thus approach Bolshevism.

The Russian proletarian state is carrying on this struggle for admittance to the world-market, for economic relations, for internal peace and a favourable economic treaty, by further means of the Russian Relief Campaign and the recognition of its debts.

It would indeed be a great sacrifice just now, if "starving Russia", were to sweat blood for years or decades in order to deliver the three billion gold rubles of the old Czarist debts to the imperialist robber-states. That is why it has established preliminary conditions and terms. It will negotiate these and demand its price. Already, with the English and French press advocating compromise and negotiations, which fact should be regarded as a favourable symptom, the signing of the Russo-Italian trading treaty is reported in the immediate future.

The proletariat of Western Europe must help make the constant fight of our Russian brothers for a final peace and for economic reconstruction easier. Has not even the Amsterdam International declared, in opposition to the howling Menshevik-press, that the support of the Russian Soviet Republic is necessary for the liberation-struggle of the proletariat of Central Europe? Even the Amsterdam Trade-Union International has been appointed during the last few days by the Russian Soviet Republic and for the carrying on of the struggle against domestic and international capitalism. By rising to energetic combat in Central and Western Europe, and by leading mighty attacks against capitalist onslaughts, the proletariat is rendering the strongest support to our Russian brothers in their fight for international security of proletarian rule. By helping ourselves in our distress, we ameliorate Russia's need; by fighting for our own liberation, we are fighting for Russia's Freedom.

ECONOMICS

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

by F. Varga.

The new economic system of Soviet Russia confines the state economic control to the most important branches of industry, in which the larger establishments dominate: Mining, railways, manufacture on a large scale, the monopoly of foreign-trade and of the money and banking institutions. In other words, it limits it essentially to those "rare" branches of industry which are controlled by social-democrats of all shades in their programs of state-control or socialisation. And we hear the objection: "Why was it necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, why was it necessary to carry on a civil-war, when the state economic control in Russia amounts to no more than we social-democrats aim to accomplish through socialisation? Wouldn't it have been much wiser to have limited yourselves to the possible from the very beginning, than to have taken the
roundabout way through excessive extensions of the State-control.

This train of thought suffers from the error which is typical of the social-democratic way of thinking: it interchanges the economic 'moderate' with the political and social 'possible'. We showed in our first article that the Russian Communists had no such illusion. They were driven by the organized sabotage of the bourgeoisie. On this very ground any attempt at partial-socialization would be wrecked. The experience which the social-democrats of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary had with their participation in the government shows clearly how impossible a peaceful socialization, a socialization with the consent of the capitalists was . . . As long as the bourgeoisie has part of the governing-power, the state-approach of socialist forces will be in vain. To prevent in any way to power to prevent all socialization, no matter how ripe for socialization a particular branch of production may be. The political condition for socialization is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which ensures the transfer of the complete state power into the hands of the proletariat and the political disfranchisement of the capitalist class. But even when the political power is in the hands of the proletariat, every attempt at partial-socialization is frustrated just as effectively by the opposition of the capitalists as by the opposing forces of the working-class itself.

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

The limitation only to "ripe" branches of industry also falls because of the opposition of the workers. In Hungary for instance, we drew the expropriation line at those factories which employed up to 20 workers. Hall these workers in those factories which were fought by the workers in those factories which employed from 10 to 19 men could not see at all why they should be further exploited by capitalists. They got rid of the capitalists on their own account against the will of the Hungarian Soviet government, and not because of the questions of the Government to reestablish capitalism in the industries by force after it had been done away with by the workers. A revolution is far from a military parade, where everything can be calculated and defined beforehand. Every dictatorship will for a compelled to come up against the boundaries of the State economic further and further.

The question will be, "what change was it that took place in Russia during the last four years, which makes the present reduction possible?" Two essential changes took place: The bourgeoisie which sabotaged production at the beginning of the dictatorship, in the hope of being able to overthrow the Soviet government, is now - with few exceptions - convinced that the overthrow of the dictatorship is not to be thought of. Their resources which enabled them to live until now are exhausted. They find themselves compelled by necessity to make an attempt to organize enterprises even under the regime of the Soviets, and to be satisfied with existing conditions. On the other hand, the expropriations in the course of the last four years has taught the workers that they are not in a position just at present to conquer and organize the whole economic field. They must see that they must limit themselves in the organization of the industries, that they must buy the enterprises with the capital and buy it dearly, paying as price the new toleration of capitalist exploitation. The recognition of the above is very painful to many good Communist workers in Russia. Some of them rebel against it. But the thorough political school which the revolution has gone through in the four years of the revolution is sufficient to show the overwhelming majority how indispensable this step was. In possession of the political power, the Russian proletariat must go back to the methods of the bourgeoisie the science and application of economic organization.

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

The taxation-question in Germany is not simply a technical problem of taxation or financial policy. In clear contrast to the "vulgar economy" which, taking up Hulleferd's catchword, so brilliantly反对 it, the German bourgeoisie struggles with the contradiction in its government-finances, Paulowski assigns to the tax-law and financial problems the central position in the ruin of Germany's capitalist economy in order to derive from that the impossibility of the bourgeois government solving the financial question in the capitalist economic crisis.

With rich material, and with official statistics gathered for the government but often serving an entirely different purpose, Paulowski throws light on the inevitable decline of German capital, and shows the decrease in the productivity of labor as a result of the decomposition in the two elements which compose it—the production element and the intensity of labor. Germany—through the ruinous war—has lost its real components—its agriculture and industry—and since the war they have not appreciably improved. The cornfield-cultivation and cattle-raising have dropped by 25% to 30% in comparison with the years before the war. The consumption in bread has fallen by about 30% on the average for every person of the population, and meat by 73%. The mortality from tuberculosis has risen to an overwhelming degree. The majority of the population has been thrown back to the level where they have to purchase their minimum necessities of life, which are rising continually in price. This is the result of the glorious war and of the bourgeoisie's two-year effort at reconstruction.

Individual doubts as to whether the idea of Germany's "improvement" and the "crisis of under-production" has theoretically sound enough to explain Germany's capitalist ruin in all its phases must recede before the inevitable conclusion that there can be no possibility of the tiding over of the crisis in Germany. All the more, as Paulowski arrives at the conclusion that there can be no talk of recovery from the crisis in Germany. Only one supplement is perhaps to be desired for the second edition of this book, namely, going over to the new immense concentration of industry and its effects on wages, manufacturing orders in the decrease of unemployment, in trivialization and the advance of capital. At the appearance of these phenomena of immense concentration the Social-Democrats and their friends about the "retrograde" so far as to derive from them the tiding over of the German crisis. A few pages would be enough to prove that this concentration can only accelerate Germany's ruin and so confirm the result of Paulowski's researches. At this point Paulowski remarks that the growing misery of the workers, on the confusion in foreign-exchange and the selling out of goods in the economic field, the attempted intrigue of German capital with Western imperialism, at the Wiesbaden model, bears the same hypocrisies lineaments as all of German capitalism.

III.

The final, clearly apparent effect of economic ruin is the collapse of government finances. The staggering sums needed to cover the government's international needs and for paying the reparations, the growing deficit of the government's budget show the importance of the tax-question as well as the powerlessness to solve the problem for the bourgeoisie. But even the fabulous figures given by Paulowski have already in the few weeks since the appearance of his book been surpassed by the lightning-speed of developments. One week 75 billion mark paper marks as the deficit for the financial year of 1921-22. And Minister Hermes, has announced it in the Reichstag at 110 billion marks, without counting 35 billion for raising officials' salaries for which there is no money available. For 1922-23 Hermes sets the deficit at 60,000,000,000 marks, counting the new taxes. What is more he has based the value of the mark on 1.20, a thing which belongs to the past. According to the present exchange value of the mark the deficit has tripled; to say the least.

One billion paper marks inclusive of the 50 billion interest-bearing reparations-debt. If the entire reparations-debt is included, the sum stands at 2158 billion paper marks. Even this fabulous amount has since been increased through the mark depreciation. As a way out of its financial chaos, outside of the ephemeral hope for the better judgment of the Entente, the German bourgeoisie has only its new tax-laws which the German can bring in altogether 42 billion paper marks (Paulowski erroneously gives the income from the new taxes as 80 billion; he counts old and new taxes together).

It is a drop of water on a hot stone. For the masses, however, the new taxes are the beginning of further misery. All the taxes of the Wirth Program—the turnover tax of 30% on all sales, the 55% tax on the sale of land, with its 10% deduction from all wages or incomes alike fall upon the workers wages, as well as the so-called property-tax. As regards the property-taxes, capital is spared in this way—as a consequence of the time when the payment of the plan's plans for the taxes and the time when the payment will be due which will be in 1923 or 1926, the depreciation of money will reduce the tax-amount in favor of capital. It will be further increased if we shift the burden of the agricultural tax which will not be collected in one large sum at a time, but by quarterly payments which is an approach to an income tax and can be counted in with the costs of production.

Felix Pinnauer, a financial editor of the "Berliner Tageblatt" had to admit a few weeks ago, that it was impossible for German capital to shift the burden of all previous property-taxes in their full amount. The same thing will happen with the new taxes, which are similar to the old.

The result is the further deterioration of living-conditions in all branches of labor without attaining the financial aim which is the setting up of an equilibrium in government economy and the establishment of a firm foreign exchange. The question stands of an inheritance and when the actual threatening government bankruptcy will be openly consummated. According to Paulowski's opinion, whether external bankruptcy will bring to an end the reparations-payments depends on whether the internal bankruptcy, the stopping of debts payments will hit the government first. It is being true, it is strange that the bourgeoisie has not declared bankruptcy long ago, in order to free itself from the burden of government debts. The tax is a fact, however, that the internal government-bankruptcy developed into an overwhelming shaking-up of the whole government-structure. The bourgeoisie can create all the necessary preliminaries to government bankruptcy, but it will be consummated as a revolution by the political measure of the proletariat which will eliminate the weakened bourgeoisie from the exercise of economic and political power.

IV.

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

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

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

The first task which the proletariat must set for itself in the struggle against the suffering caused by the taxes, must be the levying of such taxes to the maximum extent, to the maximum extent and to the maximum extent of evasion, instead of taxes whose burden will fall on wage-earners. In this respect the author agrees essentially with the Jenar program of the German Communist Party (KPD). But this is not suffice in the hurricane of money-depreciation which caused the 100,000,000 mark to crumble away the moment it is collected. The proletariat must strike harder in order to protect itself from further misery. It must bring into realization the seizure of "gold-value," a thing which for the Social-Democrat Party means agitation purposes and for the Independent Socialist Party (USPD) but a means for avoiding a real class-explanation in the taxation-fight. But this must not be in the form of yields from mortgages on city and country properties, for the benefit of the Reich and the government's participation as a share-holder in industrial enterprises. This kind of actual value seizure does
neither hinder the evasion of taxes through the raising of prices, nor does it give the government control over production and prices. It therefore does not stop the course of the growing misery.

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

"State-capitalism then? No and yes" is Powlowski's answer to this question, warmly debated in the German Party. No, not as long as it is a question of a government as the expression of power with the existing class and labor conditions. Yes, as soon as the proletariat has changed these conditions in the struggle to seize the gold-wealth through the government. And it must change these conditions by its own power. To make the government a co-owner of the goods-wealth it must break the bitter opposition of the bourgeoisie, which, on the basis of Hilferding's proposal, is already resisting today with all its might against any assertion of the forced syndication of labor.

The outward form of the seizure of gold-wealth has as its political counterpoise the necessary strengthening of labor's government power and with that, its control over government property. A selling off of the government is no longer possible by a spurious declaration that the government is able to declare themselves in agreement with this state-capitalism. The seizure of gold-wealth which is the heart of a positive proletarian taxation-policy begins where the bourgeoisie's taxation-policy ends. It destroys the narrow frame of the purely capitalist approach to the problems of the state, and leads directly to the great questions of the explanation of the idea of classes and the rebuilding of the economic structure.

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

Germany under Stinnes' Dictatorship.
by August Ithalheimer (Berlin).

The social-democratic premier of the new Prussian coalition government, in which the German People's Party, the party of big business and with that, finance, ace, has entered, has delivered his inaugural speech. At the same time, industry and high finance are making an attempt on a large scale to deprive the German government of the last remnants of its power. The reparations demands, the next instalment of which, 500,000,000 gold marks, falls due on January 15th, has plunged the state finances into a serious crisis. The deficit of the German state is variously estimated at from 120,000,000 to 170,000,000 million paper marks. The value of the mark, measured by its exchange value as against the dollar, has sunk so low that the quotation of the dollar fluctuates around 300. The representatives of the municipalities have recently declared that, under present circumstances, they are not able to satisfy their most elementary needs. Hand in hand with the state of affairs inside the country, a period of great fear for the German goods is able, on account of the low exchange quotation of the mark, to defy all competition. And, since wages and salaries have no way risen in a degree corresponding to the depreciation of the mark, the fall of the mark has proved to be a cause of immense extra profits for industry and finance, obtained by means of an automatic reduction of the real wage. The country is becoming poorer and poorer. Finished and semi-finished products are flowing out of the country, and the German economy in its present phase is in progress; the state finances are becoming more and more disorganized; a small clique of financiers and manufacturers, under the leadership of the well-known captain of industry, Stinnes, are getting hold of the diminishing riches of the country. "Big business" is standing in the way of the working class, and preserving the state of its chief power -- the right of taxation. They have brought the petty-bourgeoisie-social-democratic government to its knees by the employment of the most severe measures, and now, under the pressure of the financial need of the government, they have ventured a step which means nothing less than the unreserved subjection of the state and the masses of the people to the rule of finance-capital.

The National Association of Industry demands as conditions for the extension of credits for the government the surrender of the state to the big owners of the other-own enterprises to private capital, the abolition of all government control and restrictions of industry and commerce, a retraction in the number of public employees, etc., etc.

At the same time, the freezing of finance and industry under any tax demand is demanded in diametric statements. The government bureaucracy has already yielded in some respects to the manufacturers by the drafting of laws, designed to abolish the eight-hour day and to paralyze the workers' right to strike. The Wirth government had originally planned the taxation, even in limited measure, of the real capital value of industry. The various stages of the case show clearly that the bourgeois "big business" in financial and economic questions is very clearly pictured by the commercial correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt", Dr. Finner, as follows:

"Originally the German government planned to obtain the gold necessary for the reparations payments by a special, so-called real 'Confiscation' of the hitherto untaxed real capital of the productive strata. Then the general confiscation of real capital turned into a voluntary credit attack mainly because the government did not succeed in putting the obligatory credit with sufficient unanimity or energy. And now this voluntary credit assistance is only to be granted if, instead of an intervention of the government in private ownership, an enroachment of "state-capitalism", the government takes place. In a really genial manner and according to the precedent established when the "big business" program of coal-socialization was offered as a substitute for the propositions of the Socialization Commission a short time ago, Mees, Stinnes and Silverberg have turned the tables. There is no doubt that they would have made their proposals had they not been of the opinion that in the giant undertakings which they desired to lift from the state's shoulders, and which they considered as an asset for the state, and not in the public and useful for the state, they would have been able to make sufficient profit."

The situation is here clearly described. The diffident start of the petty-bourgeois democracy's attempt to compel the participation of big industry and big finance in Capital's ruthless dictation of its conditions to "Democracy", which lead to an open dictatorship of the clique of big manufacturers and financiers.

In this situation three years after the November Revolution marks the complete bankruptcy of the social-democracy, of the revolution within the limits of bourgeois democracy. But it means more than the bankruptcy of the revolution. It means the unceasing, clear and naked putting of the question of the proletarian-socialist revolution in Germany. The reaction of the population stands face to face with the small capitalist clique led by Stinnes. It is now a question of whether this clique expropriates the state and takes over its control or the masses compel the state to expropriate these robbers and to place industry and finance under a thorough control.

In this struggle which of necessity must flame up and which the Communist Party is preparing to energetically lead, the social-democracy is chained to the destiny of Capital. In this country has entered into the camp of the "big business" and it is manifest that it leaves the masses in the lurch in all the economic conflicts rendered necessary by the increase in prices. The Independent Party has rendered big business powerless to this struggle and on the basis of the socialist trade-union bureaucracy, one of the decisive factors in this struggle, and that paralyzes a priori its will to combat, let alone that its leaders are thoroughly impregnated with a faith in the superior strength of capitalism and the helplessness of the working class.

The workers and officials of the railways were the first to raise a sharp protest against the theft of the state railways to private capital. The government seems to be ready to put through some sort of compromise. However, the first stages of this compromise may, and is more likely to lead to an intensification and extension of the class-struggle.

It is extremely probable that the Stinnes group has undertaken its large scale offensive in conjunction with various groups of English capitalists. It is an open secret that the bourgeoisie of capitalist government in Germany is to-day nothing but the puppets of one or another Entente government. Germany to-day is merely a colony of the Entente.

The first to take the offensive against Stinnes' attempted dictatorship are the German workers. But in order effectively realize this demand, they must quickly lay to the work the rivalry of the proletariat of the Entente countries through an inslexible struggle against the continued predatory plundering of Entente-capital, called "Reparations". The fight against the oppression of the working class means a substantial and immediate peril for the proletariat of the Entente countries. It is the first fortiing step toward the working-class of the Entente countries to the level of the German coolies.
THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The 7th of November in Italy.

by Humberto Terracini.

In past years the Italian proletariat used to celebrate the day of the Russian Revolution most solemnly. The 7th of November 1919 and 1920 was a holiday for the Italian workers; and since those were its days of bitter struggle, which witnessed the sudden rise of revolutionary activity, that holiday was celebrated like a battle. The memory of the triumph of the Russian worker was hurled as a challenge to capitalism and the State.

A day of rest was established and carried out by all industrial and agricultural organizations, and elaborate demonstrations were to be held in the streets of every city. The streets were clear of all loafers for fear of the proletarian avalanche; and in great meetings the joining with the first Communist Republic and international solidarity with it were praised and strengthened.

The date of the 7th of November was also shared from the patriotic anniversaries of the same month. Inasmuch as the proletariat did not at all participate in the capitalist celebratations, it celebrated the demonstrations in memory of the revolution with so much more pomp and unity. In 1919, for example, all factories were running on the 4th of November, the anniversary of the victorious signing of the armistice, in spite of the factory-owners' order for a holiday, whereas on the 7th they were all closed. The workers, on the contrary, had done everything within their power to prevent spontaneous action by the masses.

Until last year the Italian proletariat did not permit its victorious march towards seizure of power to be halted by any obstacle; it struck from the factories supported by the capitalist industrial and agricultural classes. The day of the 7th November was celebrated with greatest enthusiasm as the commemoration of the greatest victory of International Communism.

The first week in November of this year finds the Italian proletariat in a totally different situation; their battle-front broken by the capitalist offensive, and their battalions routed in several places where the consequences of the change of tactics by the Communist Party and of the brutality of the bourgeoisie towards the workers are really felt. The proletariat retreated to a defensive position, in order still to be able to hold a few strongholds of their class-organization; that is why it cannot in the least repeat its deeds of past years.

The knowledge of the reasons for the Fascist action are well understood. From the very first the Communists recognized it as a symptom of the capitalist counter-offensive against the defeated working-class, whereas the capitalist and social-democratic parties called it a consequence of the war-psychology which was not yet subdued, or perhaps an exaggerated but just reaction against the proletarian encroachment of past years, or as a result of local conditions and of the opportunistic policies of the general leadership. It was the degeneration of the capitalist system and a traditional symptom of the struggle between political parties.

In reality, however, the Fascist movement was an occurrence called forth, organized and supported by the capitalist industrial and agricultural classes and aimed at restoring the position of the bourgeoisie which were already isolated in this class-organization. The results were easily attained, mainly because of the sluggishness and incapacity of the labor and social-democratic leaders, who answered the criminal deeds of the Fascist with a worrying, passive propaganda or sank into complete pacificist lethargy.

The direct results of the destruction of the proletarian organizations showed themselves firstly in the country where, after the municipal offices were set afire, and the so-called cooperation of the peasants was suppressed, the workers were exposed to the brutality of the landowners. These made short work of all agreements and assurances which they annulled, and after the section of the farm-worker's union was abolished, a Fascist agricultural organization was established to wipe it out. The farm-workers were to be drafted by force. With this organization which was established for this purpose the landowner drew up agreements, which aimed at the reduction of the peasants' wages and the annulment of all their rights.

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

After having succeeded in the country, the capitalistic forces turned against the industrial workers, and discharges, lock-outs, wage-reductions, and the cancelling of agreements were the results of the defeat of the workers. The capitalists, by the failure of the social-democratic tactics which suppressed every organized opposition, and reduced the struggle to a thousand little episodes in the face of the general capitalist offensive. One category of workers, the metal workers, saw themselves left in the lurch, and were compelled to accept new and worse working-conditions.

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

The weavers have been on strike for the last months, whereas the other textile workers were compelled to accept a considerable wage-reduction. And the striking weavers are in the meanwhile still waiting for the fulfillment of the promise for solidarity which was so readily given by the C. G. L., for the participation of other trades in the strike-movement. In the last few days the workers employed in the chemicals factories were cut in wages completely stopped, although the bosses had threatened discharges and penalties.

Likewise in other districts it seems impossible to find a basis for negotiations. Nevertheless, the organizations persist in their splitting of policy which breaks up their forces into a hundred local actions, whereas the capitalist offensive progresses with solidarity and method all over the country.

The labor-union commission has made a proposal which seeks to settle the question of wage-reduction, but it is so absolutely absurd and deplorably plausible that it will only serve to furnish new power to the capitalists and to weaken the workers still more.

The C. G. L. demanded that a commission should be created to deal with a general inquiry into industrial relations; and a commission to consist of representatives of trade-unions, employers' associations and government representatives, to be presided over by a representative of the State and to constitute a higher neutral organ.

The labor-union commission declared, that in case the employers could show a reduction in their profits, the workers would accept a proportionate reduction of workers' wages, because the formula for the union's actions: "both the profits of the capitalists and the wages of the workers must be reduced at the same time".

It would be superfluous to show how absurd is this economic formula, which betrays an absolute ignorance of all essential laws which has accepted the program of production of this attitude of the unions which is so enthusiastically championed by the Socialist Party, is really due not so much to their ignorance of the fundamentals of economics, as to the simple fact that the Italian Social Democrats have transferred their political tactics into the industrial field.

The inquiry on the industrial situation is nothing more than a method of preventing a direct conflict between the proletariat and the capitalists —a conflict which the Socialists avoid at all costs.

This inquiry into the administration of the country and in the coalition practice of the Socialist Party, and a manifestation of the official entrance of the party into the circle of constitutional parties, which expect a solution of the social crisis only through the state. It is interesting to note that the same attitude was taken first by the Fascists, who energetically defended it in their press, while their Central Committee officially directed its members to support it.

At the beginning of the above mentioned crisis, the Communist Party issued the following manifesto: "Concerted action by the Communist International, and the centralized and immediate actions of its position", and its first declaration was argued in a detailed discussion at the Congress of the Trade-Union Confederation, from a point of view which interested all workers. After 2 months of propaganda and agitation, a majority of the workers has accepted the program of the Communist organization, and has thus forced the reformist leaders of the C. G. L. to call a national congress, which took place in Verona on the 6th of November. The discussions and decisions which took place there
will determine the development of the future actions of the Italian proletariat; and the results of the voting show the strength of the Communist Party among the masses.

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

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

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

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

THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

The Activity of the International Secretariat of Communist women.

by A. Kollontay.

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

The International Secretariat is at present composed of the following comrades: Klara Zeiten, Hertha Sturm (Germany), Lucetta Piccioni (Italy) and three Russian secretaries attached to the Executive of the Communist International, comrades Lilina, Kasparowa and Kollontay. The latter is a member of the Executive as well. One of the secretaries has charge of liaison with the Red Trade-Union International.

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

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

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

The International Secretariat is also occupied with the organization of Communist Saturdays for the benefit of the homeless. They can be conducted to the satisfaction of the working people and the clothes in the making of children’s clothing, etc. The Secretariat is also devoting its attention to the question of unemployment of women. Its organ is the “Working Women’s International”, published in German at Berlin, started last April. The International Secretariat has sent an organizer into the Far East, and is making preparations for the first conference of the women of the Near East.

In general, we may derive the greatest satisfaction from the progress made by the International Secretariat of Communist Women. It may be said that it has, in one year of activity, succeeded in establishing itself on a solid foundation in the femininan proletariat and that it is to-day able to effectively collaborate in the work of the Communist International.

IN THE CAMP OF THE ENEMY

The Paris Socialist Congress.

by Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

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

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

At the close of the Radicals’ congress, held in Lyon under the presidency of M. Herriot, certain advances had been made to the socialists in connection with the founding of the “League of the Republic” by the bourgeois patriotic reform parties. These advances suggested the collaboration of the Socialists in the policy of a coalition of the Bloc of the Left and many of them let themselves be won over to the idea. The bourgeois press did not fail to point out the small difference between the majority of 1400 votes which had rejected the coalition in the Federation of the Seine and the minority of 700 votes in its favor and 500 not voting who accepted it more or less.

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

Furthermore, the left wing was twice violently attacked, in part in the person of Longuet whom certain delegates wanted to hold responsible for the decay of “Populaire” and for certain omissions in the reports. But the slogan was: Peace, and order, and order, as a way to save the unity of the party. When the majority of the congress knew perfectly well in what direction it was going, it rejected the alliance with the Radicals for the present.

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

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

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

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

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

Van Koll, Ledebour, Débroutère, Tseretelli, Hugger, Tom Shaw, Santiago, Vinter, Engberg and Serrati had been invited as guests. Once more there was a lot of talk concerning the reconstruction of the International. Renaudel was willing to forego the exclusion of the Communists. Ledebour eulogized the Wirth government, attempted a partial apology for the Goeurte. Concerning the International, all of the French Socialists is pleased with the sending of letters to the Second and the Third Internationals.

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

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

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

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

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

**APPEALS**

**Save Spain’s Revolutionaries.**

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

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

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

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

**What can be done? What are the facts?**

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

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

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

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