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 overthrown 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 on the former classes not only menaced 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 Adriatic in favor of the rural petty-bourgeoisie. The peasantry was undermined because of the conflicting interests existing between the latter, producing the 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 prices of food rose 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 wrest the power from the troops and the bureaucracy. The White Terror had indeed reestablished private property but it disturbed the capitalists by its legal and illegal measures.

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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 from Moscow in 1919, and which were first published in the "Daily Herald". The Allies at that 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 position of success, if for one year", it would mean the greatest political achievement of International Socialism. Now we 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 unhacked, 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 social-democrats, for months the proletarian government has been making an attempt to conquer and establish a position even within the capitolistic 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-market, in course of negotiations between the Soviet Republic and capitalist countries, the powers for official recognition had not been broken. It is true, last September, the Soviet Republic was threatened with the danger of an imperialist attack by Japan, England, France and their allies. But both parties were caught in the dangerous noose with which they hoped to strangle the Soviet Republic, for winning an official recognition and payment of debts by taking advantage of Russia's starvation. The Allied diplomats were themselves caught in the dangerous noose with which they hoped to strangle the Soviet Republic in its November 1st issue: "Moscowfs capitulation is naturally a bitter pill for the millions of Russian martyrs of the World-revolution, as the French and Russian proletariat and the triple steadfastness of our Russian brothers, they howl: "If we succeed in maintaining itself for only one year, this peace treaty will be a favour-able symptom, the signing of Russo-Italian trading treaties were incapable and unwilhng to overthrow capitalism in their own countries, as the Communists in Russia have been done by dint of the greatest sacrifices. If only the Socialists of other countries had made and suffered sacrifices in the same heroic manner in which the millions of Russian martyrs of the World-revolution have fought and heroically perished, the World-Revolution would no longer to-day be so shamelessly whining over concessions.

If the treaties signify any weakness of the World-Revolution it all, they alone are to blame for it. We, however, see the other side, entirely a triumph for Soviet Russia. After collapse of the White Guards, victorious after the civil-war, the three years of bloody war, after having beaten back attacks on all sides. After the many months of continuous struggle with the first proletarian World-power, though still in need and bleeding, is yet so strong that the strongest capitalist powers of the old and new worlds gnashing their teeth find themselves compelled to recognize it as a power qualified for negotiating. The proletarian state has thus won its recognition. Profit-greedy Capitalism needs customers, and its governments thus approach Bolshevism.

The Russian proletarian state is carrying on this struggle for admittance to the world-market, for economic relations, for internal peace and for official recognition, further by means of the Russian Relief Campaign and the recognition of its debts. This would indeed be a great sacrifice for capital, if in using 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 right as a power equal to the rest of Europe. Already, we have seen how the Entente compromise and negotiations, which fact should be regarded as a favour-able symptom, the signing of Russo-Italian trading treaty is reported in the immediate future.

The Soviet proletariat of Western Europe must help make the constant fight of our Russian brothers for a final place and for economic reconstruction easier. Has not even the Amsterdam International declared, in opposition to the howling Menshevik critics, that the support of all the Socialists is necessary for the liberation-struggle of the proletariat of Central and Eastern Europe? Even the Amsterdam Trade-Union International has been appealing during the last few weeks for aid to the Russian Soviet Republic and for support against domestic and international capitalism. By rising to energetic combat in Central and Western Europe, and by leading mighty attacks against capitalist rule in our own countries, we will be of the strongest assistance to the struggle 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 E. 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 and with benefit all the branches of industry which are managed by social-democrats of all kinds either in 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 for years, when the economic control in Russia amounts to no more than the social-democrats aim to accomplish through socialization? Wouldn't it have been much wiser to have limited yourselves to the possible from the very beginning, than to have taken the

brate, but for four years. And how "wise" — Stampler uses the very word — the Social-traitors of the 2 and 2½% International were when, after the November days of 1918, they tricked the proletariat in all countries of Central Europe out of the power to reconstruct just been won, and when they publicly revenged into the hands of the bourgeoisie with their game of "democracy"!" As early as the spring, we wrote from Moscow in a press-article on Russia's nouveau riche tragedied:

"These poor heroes and their followers do not want to see that concessions to capitalism could only have become necessary, because the cowardly Socialists of other countries were incapable and unwilling in their own countries, as the Communists in Russia have been done by dint of the greatest sacrifices. If only the Socialists of other countries had made and suffered sacrifices in the same heroic manner in which the millions of Russian martyrs of the World-revolution have fought and heroically perished, the World-Revolution would no longer to-day be so shamelessly whining over concessions.

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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 foundation with the political structure. We showed in our first article that the Russian Communists had no intention of socializing all industries. They were driven to it by the organized sabotage of the bourgeoisie. On this very ground any attack at partial socialization is futile.

The experience which the social-democrats of Germany, Austria, Bohemia 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 a dictatorship is not formed of the proletariat and the apparatus and an organized force in its hands, it also has the power to prevent all socialization, no matter how ripe for socialization a particular branch of production may be. The political condition for socialization is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which means: the transfer of the complete state power into the hands of the proletariat and the political disfranchisement of the capitalist class. But even when the political power is in the hands of the proletariat, the attempt at partial-socialization would be wrecked because of the general loosening of working discipline. In the capitalist state, working-discipline is a near kin of class-discipline. Those workers who politically are rid of the capitalists, or who politically are carrying on the hardest struggle with the capitalists as a class, will not slave away industriously and in a disciplined manner in the factories of the same capitalists. No matter if the proletarian Government is determined to continue its expropriation policy to those branches of industry which are ripe, nevertheless the refusal of the capitalists of other branches of industry to produce necessitates a constantly extending and far-reaching expropriation.

The limitation only to "ripe" branches of industry also fails because of the opposition of the workers. In Hungary for instance, we drew up to 20 workers. But the workers in those factories which employed from 10 to 19 men could not see at all why they should be further exploited by capitalists. They got rid of the capitalists on their own account against the will of the Hungarian Soviet government, and it was of course out of the question for the government to reestablish capitalism in the industries by force after it had been done away with by the workers. A revolution in a capitalist state can be calculated and defined beforehand. Every dictatorship will for a time be compelled to extend the boundaries of the State economic control further and further.

The question will be put, "what change was it that took place in Russia during the last four years, which makes the present reduction possible?" Two essential changes took place: The bourgeoisie which sabotaged production at the beginning of the dictatorship, in the hope of being able to overthrow the Soviet government, is now — with few exceptions — convinced that the overthrow of the dictatorship is not to be thought of. Their resources which enabled them to live until now are exhausted. They find themselves compelled by necessity to make an attempt to organize economically under the regime of the Soviets, and to be satisfied with existing conditions. On the other hand, the experience which the Russian proletariat had on the economic field, in the past four years has taught the workers that they are not satisfied with the present poor and already insufficient economic conditions. They must see that they must limit themselves in the organization of the industries, that they must buy out the organizing ability of the bourgeoisie, and buy it down, paying a new tollation of capitalist exploitation. The recognition of the workers' right to property is impossible. Some of them rebel against it. But the thorough political schooling which the Russian proletariat has gone through in the four years of the revolution is sufficient to show the overwhelming majority how indispensable the workers' self-help is.

In possession of the political power, the Russian proletariat must go to school to learn from the bourgeoisie the science and application of economic organization.

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

f ul agreement with the bourgeoisie on grounds of State socialism, touching only the "ripe" branches of industry, is a political Utopia; but that the surrender of part of the ground won is not everywhere necessary. If we take Germany for instance, where the relative number of industrial workers is incomparably greater than that of Russia, where every industrial worker is able to read, write and count, where the ability to organize is altogether not to be compared with that in Russia, and where in case of a dictatorship the proletariat would not be compelled, as in Russian proletariat was, to fight the capitalists on all frontiers. In such a country for instance, there would be no necessity for a step backward, as is the case in Russia. It must be remembered that the fact that Russia, the first proletarian state, existed four years in complete isolation within a capitalist world, made it necessary to use all the organizing talent, in which Russia was not at all rich, in the army and the state-machine. For the economic organization there remains only slight organizing ability. The survival of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even though forced to make a step backward, is the deciding factor. As soon as the isolation of Russia will end, through the creation of new proletarian states, the organizing powers which to-day are bound up prodigiously in the army and the states will be freed, and the state economic control can proceed forward. The proletarians of Europe must see that the slow development of the Revolution in Europe is one of the main reasons why the Communist Party of Russia was compelled to make a step backward, if not to it, then it would be the slow European proletariat and not the Russian Communists who deserve to be blamed. Under no circumstances however, are the unhistorical and false arguments of the social-democrats to be heeded. They must be believed that the dictatorship of the proletariat can avoid or that an economic organization can be begun with the acquiescence of the bourgeoisie which is in possession of the political power, after we see where Russia is after four years of struggle. Only an absolute ignorance of the meaning of the class-struggle, or a betrayal of the cause can lead to such a statement.

Petrograd, Oct. 18th, 1921.

Germany's Bankruptcy.

by E. Ludwig (Berlin).

On November 4, Herr Hermes, the finance-minister of the Ebert Republic, officially started the taxation fight in Germany by presenting the tax-law in the Reichstag. The taxation fight will occupy the center of attention in political life, even more so than until now, and it will sharpen the opposition between the classes. For the long-hidden designs of the bourgeoisie to throw the war and their salvation-production upon the shoulders of the laboring masses, become a living actuality through the Wirh government's tax-laws which are outwardly intended to prove the good-will of the bourgeoisie in fulfilling its obligations regarding reparations. The struggle between the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic bureaucracy for the protection of the bourgeoisie's strong-boxes was formed on November 5th in Prussia under the leadership of the Majority Socialist Otto Braun as President of the Ministry.

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

In an intelligible and clear style it gives to the comrades of the International an economic explanation for a critical judgement of Germany's financial situation and of the significance of the tax-fight, whose final outcome is of no less importance for the proletarian parties of other countries, than for the German proletariat.

Above all it is an effective weapon in the hands of the German workers, no matter to what party they belong, for defense against the campaign of tax-robery which the bourgeoisie is preparing against them. With irrefutable figures, Pawlowski reveals how many millions are embezzled by the manufacturers, by the Junkers and their petty-bourgeois apologists, or by the agents of the Social-Democracy to paralyze and defraud the workers by means of taxes, as lie pitilessly dissects the ruin of capitalist Germany. But at the same time he shows that the democratic and governmental-finance collapse — the way which will aid in the framing of a positive proletarian taxation-policy, and as a weapon in the proletarian struggle for freedom.

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

The taxation-question in Germany is not simply a technical problem of taxation or financial policy. In clear contrast to the " vulgar economics" which, taking up Hillefergs's catchword, sets the recovery of Germany's economy against the confusion in the government, Pavlovsky demonstrates the connection 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's solving the financial question by any means.

With rich material, and with official statistics gathered for the government but often serving an entirely different purpose, Pavlovsky demonstrates the inevitable collapse of the German capitalism and shows the decrease in the productivity of labor as a result of the two elements which compose it—the production element and the intensity of labor. German capital came out of the war well-nigh ruined in its two real components—its agriculture and industry—and since the war the net output of its exports has fallen by 25 % and that of its imports by 35 billion for raising officials' salaries for which there is no money available. For 1922-23 Hermes sets the deficit at 60,900,000,000 (Paw. 610). It is the collapse of government finances. The staggering 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 its powerlessness to solve the problem for the bourgeoisie. But even the fabulous figures given by Pawlowski have already in the few weeks since the appearance of his book been surpassed by the lightning-speed of developments.

Pawlowski reckons 75 billion paper marks as the deficit for the first ten months of 1922-23. Reich 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 10,000,000,000 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.

The government's deficit is now 100 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 by the new tax laws.

As a way out of its financial chaos, outside of the ephemeral hope for the better judgment of the Entente, the German bourgeois has only its new tax-laws which can bring in altogether 42 billion paper marks (Pawlowski erroneously gives the income from the new taxes as 80 billion; he counts old and new taxes together).

IV.

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 Wirh Program—the turnover-tax of 30 % for every sale of goods, the income-tax with its 10 % deduction from all wages or incomes all fall upon the workers wages, as well as the so-called property-tax. The latter, regarding the property-taxes, capital is spared in this way—as a consequence of the time which will pass between the laying down of the plans for the taxes and the time when the payment will have to be made. These taxes which will be of less than 1 %, will reduce the tax-amount in favor of capital. It will be further possible to shift the burden of these property-taxes because they will not be collected in one large sum at a time, but by quarterly installments which is to say, it can be counted in with the costs of production.

Dr. Felix Pinner, the stock-exchange editor of the " Berliner Tageblatt" had to admit a few weeks ago, that it was impossible for his government to count on any of the 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 thus—whether and when the actual threatening government bankruptcy will be openly consummated. Accidental government-declension to pay for its reparations-payments will bring to an end the reparations-payments depends on the attitude of the world powers. The internal bankruptcy, the stopping of debts payments will hit the petty-bourgeois in a decisive way. This is very well, especially for that the bourgeoisie has not declared bankruptcy long ago, in order to free itself from the burden of government debts. The fact is however, that the internal government-bankruptcy denotes only the beginning of the end of the whole government-structure. The bourgeoisie can create all the necessary preliminaries to government bankruptcy, but it will be consummated as a revolutionary political measure of the proletariat which will eliminate the weakened bourgeoisie from the exercise of economic and political power.
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 if 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 Pawlowski's answer to this question, so warmly debated in the German Party. No -- 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 unreserved subjection of the state and the masses of the people to the rule of finance-capital.

They have brought the state of its finances are becoming more and more disorganized and flushed and semi-finished products are flowing out of the country. 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 demand, the next instalment of which, is prepared to face with enormous extra profits for the government in private ownership, an encroachment on private ownership in the economic domain of 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 Socialist Commission a short time ago. Messrs. Stinnes and Silverberg have turned the tables. There is no doubt that they would not have made their proposals had they not been of the opinion that in this way they could lift, at least as an asset for the state, which they considered as a burden and not in the least as an asset for the state, they would be able to make sufficient profit. This situation is hereby clearly described. The diffident start of the petty-bourgeois democracy's attempt to compel the participation of big industry in taxation and reparations has resulted in Capital's ruthless dictate of its conditions to "Democracy", which lead to an open dictatorship of the clique of big manufactures and financiers.

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 great mass of the population stands face to face with the small capitalist groups and governments in Germany are in conflict with the socialism of the Entente countries through an inflexible struggle. It is preparing to energetically lead, to the advancement of the Entente countries through an inflexible struggle.

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

It is extremely probable that the Stinnes group has undertaken this task for them as a counterbalance to the leadership of the well-known captain of industry, Stinnes, are getting hold of the diminishing riches of the country. "Big business" and high finance have systematically worked at demolition. The small capitalists, the petty bourgeoisie, are right as well.

They have brought the petty-bourgeois-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 railways, the post-office and the other government-owned enterprises to private capital, the abolition of all government restrictions and monopolies, a retrenchment in the number of public employees, etc., etc.

At the same time, the freeing of finance and industry from any real taxation is demanded in disguised statements. The government bureaucracy has already yielded in some respects to the manufacturers by the drafting of laws, designed to abolish the eight-hour day and to paralyze the workers' right to strike. The Wirth government had originally planned the taxation, even if in limited measure, of the real capital value of industry. The various stages of the capitulation of the petty-bourgeois democracy to "big business" in financial and economic questions is very clearly pictured by the commercial correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt", Dr. Piunke.

"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 banks. The latter, however, have repeatedly turned into a voluntary credit action mainly because the government did not adhere to the nature of the taxation of real capital 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 encroachment of private ownership in the economic domain of 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, Messrs. Stinnes and Silverberg have turned the tables. There is no doubt that they would not have made their proposals had they not been of the opinion that in this way they could lift, at least as an asset for the state, which they considered as a burden and not in the least as an asset for the state, they would be able to make sufficient profit."
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 meant a wonderful rise of revolutionary activity, that holiday was like a battle, and the memory of the triumph of the Russian worker was hurled as a challenge to capitalism and the State. As a result of their working relations, the agricultural workers carried out their strikes, and industrial and agricultural organizations. Elaborate demonstrations were to be seen in the streets of every city. The streets were clear of all loafers for fear of the proletarian avalanche; and in the factories, as a result of their own efforts and of the workers’ organizations, the bosses had threatened discharges and penalties. The day of rest was proclaimed by the Italian Socialists, and the 7th of November 1920 was 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 capitalist forces turned against the industrial workers, and discharged, locked-out, wage-reducing of agreements, and with the results of the defeat of the workers. Once more we see the failure of the social-democratic tactics which suppressed every organized opposition, and reduced the struggle to a thousand little strikes in the country, in the interests of a certain category of workers after another, textile workers, weavers, chemical and metal workers, saw themselves left in the lurch, and were compelled to accept new and worse working-conditions. The de-liberation of the capitalists and the victims of that 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. Those methods of action under the head power which would have been made possible through the concerted action of the unions.

The weavers had been on strike for the last months, whereas the other textile workers were compelled to accept a consider able 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 protection of the C. G. L. in other sections. The local unions of the factory-owners’ order for a holiday, whereas on the 7th of November all factories were completely stopped, although the bosses had threatened discharges and penalties.

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Until last year the Italian proletariat did not permit its participation in the capitalist celebrations, 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, and the whole day was spent in the victorious march towards seizure of power to be halted by any obstacle; it struck from its calendar all triumphal signs of the capitalist class, and celebrated with greatest enthusiasm the commemoration of the greatest victory of International Communism.

The first week in November of this year finds the Italian proletariat in a totally different situation: their battle-front breaks away into offensive and defensive; and their battalions rout in several places where the consequences of the change of tactics by the Communist Party and of the brutality of the hostile reaction made themselves especially felt. The Italian proletariat retreated to a defensive position, in order still to be able to hold a few strongholds of their class-organization, and to furnish new power to the capitalists and to weaken the workers still more.

The C. G. L. demanded that a commission should be created to deal with a general inquiry into industrial relations; said commission to consist of representatives of trade-unions, employers’ associations, and government representatives, to be presided over by a representative of the State and to constitute a higher neutral organ. The labor-commission has been accepted by the employers could show a reduction in their profits, the workers would accept a proportional reduction in wages. Thus the following became 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 laws which govern the whole process of production. This attitude of the unions is practically 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 title of this periodical is the correct one: “The Labour Movement” inquiry into industrial relations; said commission to consist of representatives of trade-unions, employers’ associations, and government representatives, to be presided over by a representative of the State and to constitute a higher neutral organ. The labor-commission has been accepted by the employers.

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In reality however, the Fascist movement was an occurrence called forth, organized and supported by the capitalist industrial and agrarian classes, who well understand that if the gains won by the Italian working-class during those 3 years of yet Consist struggle were to be taken away from them, it was necessary to break up their organization. The proletariat, if it was strongly organized in the big unions and in the numerous co-operatives, was un-conquerable. It was therefore necessary to destroy these defensive and offensive positions. Hence, the burning down of the Chambers of Labor, of the co-operatives, of the meeting-rooms, in order to break up the masses which were strongly united, and the open beating of the workers. The open beating of the proletariat in the course of past years, or as a result of local conditions and of the personal initiative of irresponsible elements, or even as a degeneration of the capitalist system and a traditional symptom of the whole process of production. This attitude of the unions is practically 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.

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will determine the development of the future actions of the Italian proletariat; and the results of the voting show the strength of the Communist Party among the masses.

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

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

While the Socialists are keeping quiet and are asleep, the Communist Party has organized a series of propaganda demonstrations for Russia, reaching into hundreds, in all industrial and agricultural centers. These are intended to link the Italian proletariat with the great event the memory of which they are called to form part of.

The International Secretariat has sent an organizer to pay the first visit to the Italian Dew Foremost, in order to link the souls of the delegates with their Russian comrades, to their own sufferings.

The International Secretariat has decided against the sending of clothes in the making of children's clothing, etc. The Secretariat is also devoting its attention to the question of unemployment of workers in foreign countries. The International Secretariat is always able to effectively collaborate in the work of the Communist International.

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

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

At the close of the Radicals' congress, held in Lyon under the presidency of M. Herriot, certain advances had been made to the socialists in connection with the founding of the "League of the Republic" by the bourgeois patriotic reform parties. These advances suggested the collaboration of the Socialists in the policy of a coalition of the Bloc of the Left and many of them let themselves be won over to the idea. The bourgeois press did not fail to point out the small difference between the majority of 1400 votes which had rejected the coalition in the Federation of the Seine and the minority of 700 votes in its favor and 500 not voting who wondered if 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-Bonnefoy cabinet to almost double its majority 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 worker's strike?
The spirit of the abandonment of the principles of the class struggle, alway gaining ground in the Party, was also manifest at the congress of 1909. If it did not yet dare to express itself in resolutions. Mauranges, 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 "decadent" character of the party. It was a congress of bluff, of parade; the Ministers of kings and the Commissars of the proletariat. It was a little family affair, very well managed. It was a congress of bluff, of parade; the Ministers of kings and the Commissars of the proletariat.

The congress took a vote and proudly 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 most of the enemies and mistakes of the revolution were lauded. It was a little family affair, very well managed. Van Koll, Ledebour, Debroukere, Taeretelli, Huggler, Tom Shaw, Santiago, Vinter, Engberg and Serrall 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 inclusion of the Communists. Ledebour eulogized the Wirth congress, attempted a partial apology for the Goerlitz Vienna bureau was once more instructed to issue invitations. The act of necessity, which was carried out on the workers of Catalonia had to be found, in order to arouse the spirit of the abandonment of the principles of the class struggle, in order to destroy its prestige with the proletarian masses.

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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 balance in favor of the bourgeois parties.

**APPEALS**

**Save Spain's Revolutionaries.**

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

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

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

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

What can be done? What are the facts?

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