

In December of last year when the Constituent Assembly after more than two years of the existence of Yugoslavia met at last, its sovereignty was snatched away from it. The Communist Party which entered Parliament with 59 members and took up in Parliament the struggle against the regime of violence, was by a coup d'état outlawed. Using as pretext the sympathetic general strike of September 30th of last year in favour of the striking miners who had been militarized, the governmental coalition by a simple decree has suppressed the Party and trade-union press, the workers' clubs, put under military occupation the bookshops and printing offices, abolished the right of meeting, both for political and trade-union purposes, prevented all trade-union activity and took possession of their papers and funds. Thus the connection between the Communist Party and the masses of the workers has been made impossible. Last June when the cabinet attempted to carry through at all costs the dictatorial centralistic constitution—the most reactionary in Europe—the Constituent Assembly was then but a shadow. The Constituent Assembly was boycotted also by the Croats and Slovenes, because the great majority of the Croat and Slavonic peasants and bourgeoisie, which is from an economic point of view somewhat more advanced, regarded this constitution as a threat to its national and cultural interests. Since the democrats and radicals did not possess a majority in Parliament, they bought the club of the mohamedan Beggars for 300 million Dinars in order to carry through with a majority of a few votes their arbitrary constitution.

Such a regime and especially the unceasing persecution of the working-class at last caused attempts of assassination. The object of the struggle of the C. P. J. on December 30th was the reopening of the trade-unions and the legalisation of the Party. Should the C. P. J. have been legalised under the constitution the fanatic elements of its following would have never resorted to individual terrorism. Since the party has not been legalised and it was made impossible for it to maintain contact with its following it led to two consecutive terrorist attempts.

The attempts gave the government coalition a pretext to intensify the regime of White Terrorism. The reactionary regime reached its culminating point, and for a period of two months actual orgies of white terrorism occurred. All the world knows what happened during this time. The trade-unions which had only been reopened in June were again closed. The entire working class was at the mercy of capitalist exploitation without any possibility of defence. A violent campaign has been instigated against anything connected with the communist movement. A campaign of lies and slander was launched on the communist party while it had no possibility of defending itself. By a new coup d'état and breach of the constitution by means of the well-known resolution termed the "Defence of the State Act", white terrorism was legalised and under this "law" the only two forms of legal party activity which remained to the C. P. J., i. e., their representation in Parliament and the municipal bodies was done away with. The 59 mandates of the communist members of Parliament were declared void and many of them were arrested. All the communist municipal councilors and members of other elected bodies were dismissed. At the same time, communists were prevented from standing as candidates. Communist propaganda and organizing activities are punishable by penal servitude up to 20 years, or, since, the latest breach of the constitution, with capital punishment. Simultaneously the government filled the prisons to overflowing with tens of thousands of communists. The medieval Inquisition seems pale compared with the terrible tortures imposed upon these prisoners, which aroused the indignation even of bourgeois journalists. The violent actions of the ministry and the police, the arbitrary alterations of laws, the atmosphere of police espionage hovering over the country and all spheres of public life, the special police passports for workers, the feeling of general insecurity, these were the predominant features of the situation during the first two months of white terrorism. It oppressed the minds of the population and disorganised the economic life of the country. In the midst of this oppressive atmosphere, there was no press, no opposition in the country. The opposition bourgeois parties out of fear quietened down. The few opposition bourgeois papers could hardly breathe under the terrible censorship while the government press sank to the level of denunciations and police-agents' sheets. The Social-Democrats of the Second and 2½ Internationals supported the White Terror in their press and participated in the general campaign against communists, in order thus to regain a footing in the working-class movement whence they had been turned out by the workers. In recognition of such service the government handed over to the social traitors the funds and documents

of the trade-unions, by which means they hoped to split the trade-union movement. Further, the government handed over the same social-traitors the workers' clubs which the latter immediately rented to bourgeois institutions—the editorial offices, premises and funds of the communist and trade-union press, which is now being utilised to spread the most disgraceful slanders against the communist movement.

The government is trying to justify the white terror—the "Defence of the State Act"—chiefly by the alleged complicity of the Communist Party in the two attempts of assassination. In reality this law had been prepared long before the attempts of assassination took place; parts of it had been published as early as last autumn and it already announced in April of this year, at a time when there was no question of assassinations.

The investigation of the first attempt of assassination, which in accordance with the demands of the law had to be concluded within two months, is now, after four months have passed, still pending. It is not yet known when it will be finished. It is obvious that the government is trying to avoid a trial, because notwithstanding all the torturing of the prisoners no responsibility of the communist party or its functionaries could be established. The trial of the second attempt of assassination, which recently took place at Zagreb, proved conclusively that not a single member of the C. P. J. was in any way involved in this affair.

The economic, financial and political failures of the reactionary regime and all that is accompanying it are becoming more and more apparent. The fall of the foreign exchange, the loss of credit abroad, the fiasco of the internal loan, one failure after the other in the foreign policy in the Albanian and Baranya questions, the revolts in the Sanjak of Novibazar, the terrible corruption of the state organs are undermining the position of the government. In the very ranks of the coalition the process of demoralization is going on. Frightened by the terrible consequences of their rule the coalition parties are trying to shift the responsibility for the government's deeds. Quarrels between them are growing more severe from day to day.

As a result of the changes in the economic and political situation, the opposition is commencing to raise its head. The inevitable fate of all reactionary governments now threatens this regime. But for the time being it still exists and is trying by all means to keep its power. The C. P. J. and the working class of Yugoslavia, who at present are isolated in the severe struggle against the White Terror, trust that one of the factors that will lead to the destruction of the reactionary regime will be the international solidarity of the working class.

## APPEALS

### The Red Trade Union Recruiting Week.

The Executive of the Profintern (Red Trade Union International) issues the following appeal to all the organizations, members of the Red Trade Union International.

"The Recruiting Week of the Red Trade Union International will be held from the 1st to the 8th of December.

The revolutionary workers of all countries will manifest during this week their adherence to the Moscow International and their inflexible decision to smash the destructive system of exploitation for ever.

The Executive invites all organizations and workers, deserving the name of fighters for the Social Revolution, to prepare the observance of this week by the appointment of special committees of action in all revolutionary organizations accepting the Social Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. These committees are to take charge of the organization of the propaganda week as well as of the united action against the ever increasing wave of reaction.

The slogan of the propaganda week is, "The united front of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive!"

The Executive of the Red Trade Union International.  
Losovsky, General Secretary.

English Edition.

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# ~ INTERNATIONAL ~ PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

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## 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 newspapers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence" and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and 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

### Gold Now and After the Final Victory of Socialism.

by N. Lenin.

The most fitting way to celebrate the anniversary of the great revolution is to concentrate our attention on its as yet unsolved problems. This kind of celebration is especially in place when there are still fundamental problems which were not solved by the revolution, and when we must adopt something new (considered from the stand-point of what the revolution has accomplished up to now) in order to solve these problems.

The circumstance that our revolution must adapt "reformist", gradual, carefully advancing methods of action in the fundamental questions of our economic reconstruction is something unprecedented at the present time. This "innovation" has brought up a number of questions, misunderstandings and doubts, both in theory and in practice.

The theoretical question is: how is one to explain the transition to extreme reformist action after a series of revolutionary actions under given premises, namely, a general victorious revolution? Is there not a surrender of our position contained therein — "Recognition of collapse" or something analogous? Our enemies, from the reactionary semi-feudal type to the Mensheviks or other heroes of the International 2½, naturally say that this is the case. Therefore they are our enemies who

upon any and every occasion trumpet such declarations forth. The pathetic unity of all parties, from the reactionaries to the Mensheviks, in this question again demonstrates that all these parties actually are one "reactionary mass" against the proletarian revolution, as Engels had prophesied in his letters to Bebel in 1875 and 1884.

However, even among our friends there are several "misunderstandings". We want to reestablish our big industries and to regulate the immediate exchange of goods with the small peasants, by which we further their socialization. We took from the peasants by means of forced requisition on credit a certain amount of food and raw materials for the reconstruction of industry. We carried through this plan, this method and system until Spring 1921. This was a revolutionary approach to our problem in the direction of a complete destruction of the old in order to replace it by new social and economic foundations.

Since Spring 1921 we are employing in place of this plan and system an entirely different method of a reformist nature. We do not want to destroy the old social and economic foundations of society, commerce, small industry, the small employers but to revive commerce, private production on a small scale and capitalism, at the same time carefully and gradually gaining either control of them or the possibility of putting them under state regulation insofar as they revive.

That means an entirely new method of approaching our problems. Compared with our previous revolutionary attitude toward these problems, this is a "reformist attitude". (Revolution is a transformation of things that destroys the old society to the roots, but does not transform the old society carefully, slowly and gradually, taking care to destroy as little as possible).

The questions then arises: "If you, after the testing of the revolutionary method, have recognized its failure and now go over to the reformist method, does that not demonstrate that you should have not commenced with the revolution, but with reforms and must confine yourselves to reforms?"

This conclusion is drawn by the Mensheviks and their associates. This conclusion, however, is either *sophism* or *roguery* on the part of those who have passed through the political purgatory or lastly a *childishness* on the part of those who have not yet been exposed to this trial. The greatest danger and perhaps the only danger for a real revolution is the exaggeration of the revolutionary and the forgetting of the limits of and conditions for an adequate and successful application of revolutionary methods. True revolutionaries have most often broken their necks when they wrote REVOLUTION with capital letters and attempted to make a divinity of the "Revolution". They thus lost their heads and their ability to consider, examine and test deliberately and soberly at what instant, under what circumstances, in what field of action one must act in revolutionary manner, and at what moment, under what circumstances, in what field one must employ reformist methods.

True revolutionaries will only then perish (not in the sense of exterior defeat, but in the sense of the inner collapse of their cause) when they lose their sang-froid and believe that the "great, victorious World-Revolution" unconditionally can and must solve all its problems under all circumstances and in all fields only in a revolutionary way.

Whoever thinks so, is lost, for he has committed a blunder in a fundamental question and during a bitter struggle (the revolution is the bitterest struggle) the punishment for a blunder is defeat. From what premises does it follow that the "great, victorious World-Revolution" can and must only employ revolutionary methods? This conclusion has no basis in fact and is without any doubt false. Its incorrectness is entirely apparent if one does not leave the basis of Marxism and the foundation

of purely theoretical theses. The experience of our revolution has also demonstrated the falseness of these conclusions. Putting it theoretically: "during a revolution, as at any other time blunders are made" — so spoke Engels — and he spoke the truth. One must take care to make as few mistakes as possible and to repair the errors made up to now. One must coolly consider the problems to be solved and differentiate between those which can be solved in a revolutionary manner and those which cannot. Our own experience—the Peace of Brest-Litovsk—is an example of a non-revolutionary, but reformist action. It was even worse than a reformist action, since it was an entirely comprehensible action while the reformist actions according to a general rule, advance forward slowly, carefully and gradually and never retreat. The accuracy of our tactics in the conclusions of the Brest-Litovsk Peace is now demonstrated and recognized fact, so that it no longer pays to spend any time over it.

Only the bourgeois-democratic work of the revolution is completely consummated. We are entirely justified in being proud of that. The proletarian or socialist tasks our revolution is consist of three main points:

1. The revolutionary withdrawal from the imperialist world-war; the exposing and the breaking off of the butchery between the two groups of capitalist robbers—this was completely accomplished. However, this could only have been carried through everywhere through a revolution in a number of the more advanced countries.

2. The establishment of the Soviet regime, the form of the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The world-crisis accomplished it. The epoch of bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism was at an end, and a new chapter of world history began — the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet regime and all forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat will only be developed and completed by the experience of a number of countries. We have been able to complete only little, very little, in this field. It would demonstrate a lack of responsibility not to want to see this. We will have often to make changes for the better and often commence from the beginning, all over again. Every step higher in the development of our productive forces and culture must be accompanied by a further extension and transformation of our Soviet system. We are still very low in the scale of economic and cultural development, so that we will have to accomplish very many impending transformations. It would be the height of absurdity if not something even worse than absurdity to let oneself be confused by this circumstance.

3. The relaying of the economic foundations of Socialism. In this field the most important work has not yet been done. and nevertheless this is our most reliable ground, not only from the stand-point of principles, but also from the practical stand-point, the stand-point of the R.S.F.S.R., and now also from the international standpoint.

Where the most important of all has not yet been finished in its foundations, our entire attention must be turned to the completion of this foundation. The difficulty lies, however, in the transition form.

"It is not sufficient to be a revolutionary and adherent of socialism or simply a communist", I wrote in April 1918, in "The Next Problems of the Soviet Power".

One must know how to seize at a given moment that particular link of the chain which must be clung to with all one's strength, in order to retain hold of the entire chain and to prepare the steady transition to the next link. The sequence of the links, their form, their linking with and their differences from one another in the historical chain of events are not as simple, not as senseless as in an ordinary chain, forged by a blacksmith. At the present, the reviving of domestic trade under correct state regulation is such a link in the field of action now under discussion.

Trade is that "link" in the historical chain of events in the transition forms of our socialist structure in 1921 and 1922, which we, the proletarian state-power, we, the directing Communist Party, must "seize hold of". If we seize hold firmly enough of this link now we will certainly be able in the near future to take possession of the whole chain. Otherwise we will not be able to bring the chain under our control—we will not be able to lay the foundation of socialist, social-economic relations.

I dare say that appears remarkable. Communism and Commerce?! These are incompatible, opposite, foreign to each other. However, when one correctly considers the matter, they are not further from each other than Communism from patriarchal peasant agriculture.

When we are victorious all over the world, we will, I imagine, build in the streets of several of the largest cities in the world public lavatories of solid gold. That would be the "most just", most appropriate and most edifying use for gold for a generation that has not forgotten that on account of gold

10,000,000 men were killed and 30,000,000 crippled in the great "war for freedom" from 1914 to 1918, in the war for the decision of the question—which was the worse peace, the peace of Brest-Litovsk or that of Versailles—that on account of this same gold they are again preparing to kill another 20,000,000 human beings and to cripple 60,000,000 more in a war approximately in 1925, perhaps in 1928, in a war between America and Japan or between England and America or something of the sort.

However, "just", useful and humane this employment of gold might be, we say, nevertheless, "We must work for a score of years with the same effort and with the same success as in the period 1917—1921 but on a very much larger scale in order to attain that goal".

Until that time we must hoard gold in the R.S.F.S.R. We must sell it at as dear a price as possible and buy goods for it as cheaply as possible. We must howl with the wolves. But as far as the extermination of the wolves is concerned, as must be done in a reasonable human society, we will confine ourselves to the old Russian proverb: "Do not boast before going into battle, but rather after returning from the battlefield . . . . ."

Trade is the only possible economic band between the millions of small farmers and industry, if . . . . . if alongside these farmers there exists no highly developed machine-industry on a large scale supplied by a network of electrical transmission lines . . . . . no industry that, with its technical forces as well as with its organized "super-structure" is in a position to supply the small farmer with better products in greater quantities cheaper and quicker than before. On the world scale this "if" is already realized, this condition is already fulfilled. There is not a single one of the most backward capitalist countries which did not attempt at one stroke to realize the new connection between industry and agriculture, to transplant it alive and to smooth its path of all obstacles. No country was able to solve this problem in a "storm attack"—it must now solve it in a series of slow, gradual and careful "sieges".

The proletarian state-power can control trade, regulate it and assign it definite limits. By way of example (on a very small scale): In the Don region, a small, as yet very small, economic revival has begun, due in part to the increase of productivity in the large state mines, in part to the leasing of the smaller, primitive pits. Thus, the proletarian state obtains a small quantity (from the standpoint of industrially developed countries) of surplus coal at the cost of production, let us say 100 %, and sells it to the various government enterprise at 120 %, and to private persons at 140 % (These figures are entirely arbitrary, firstly, because I do not know the exact figures and secondly, even if I did, I would not now publish them). That means that, even though in extremely modest degree, we are beginning to control the exchange between agriculture and industry, the wholesale trade, and are beginning to solve the problem. That means that we are retaining our grip on the existent small, primitive industry and on big industry, which is, however, enfeebled and ruined, that we are beginning on the given economic basis to revive trade, to cause the simple "middle" peasant to feel an economic revival (and he is a part of the mass, a symbol of the mass), that we are beginning to make use of these circumstances for systematic and persistent, extended and more successful work in the reconstruction of big industry. We are not going to let the "social feeling" or the all-Russian patriarchal semi-feudal, semi-peasant conception, characterized by a thoughtless underestimation of trade, have any weight with us.

It is permitted to employ any and every economic transition form. One must understand how to employ them, when there exists the necessity thereof for the strengthening of the bands between the peasantry and the proletariat, for the immediate revival of the peasantry in a ruined land that has suffered much, for the restoration of industry, and for the facilitation of further, much more decisive measures, as for example, electrification.

The relation of reforms to the revolution is correctly and precisely only determined by Marxism. Marx could only see this relation from one side and in a given situation which preceded the first, only in certain degree enduring, victory of the proletariat and in only one country. Under such circumstances the basis of correct relations was the following: *Reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary class-struggle of the proletariat.* For the entire capitalist world this relation is the foundation of the proletariat's revolutionary tactics—the ABC which is distorted and obscured by the venal leaders of the Second International and by the half-pedantic, half-affected knights of the International 2½. After the victory of the proletariat, be it even only in one country, there appears something new in the relation of reforms to the revolution. In principle the thing remains the same but there appears a modification in its form,

which even Marx was not able to foresee and which can only be discerned on the basis of Marxian philosophy and politics.

*Why were we able correctly to carry out the Brest retreat? Because we had advanced so far that we had room to retreat. During a few weeks, from 7 November 1917 to the Brest peace, we had with breath-taking speed erected the Soviet state and withdrawn from the imperialist war in a revolutionary manner. We had carried the bourgeois-democratic revolution through to completion so that even the giant conciliatory movement (the Brest peace) still left us absolutely satisfactory positions, in which we could obtain a "breathing-space" and then victoriously advance against Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Pilsudski and Wrangel.*

Until the victory of the proletariat, reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary class-struggle. After the victory, they are (even though on an international scale they remain the same "by-product") for the land where the victory had been gained, a necessary and lawful breathing-space in those cases where the forces of the revolution, after their supreme effort apparently do not suffice for the revolutionary accomplishment of a given transition. The victory affords such a "supply" of forces that some are available for holding out even in a forced retreat—in the material and moral sense of the word. To hold out, in the material sense, means to retain a sufficient superiority of forces so that the enemy can not decisively and finally defeat us. To hold out, in the material sense, means not to let oneself be demoralized or disorganized, to preserve a sober judgment of the situation, to retreat, be it even a considerable distance, but measuredly, and so to retreat that the retreat can be at any time stopped and the attack recommenced.

We have undertaken a retreat to State Capitalism, but we have deliberately retreated. We are now executing a retreat to state-controlled trade. But this retreat takes place deliberately. Signs already indicate that the end of this retreat may be in sight. In the not too distant future the possibility of halting this retreat will be apparent. The more consciously, the comradely, with the less prejudices we execute this retreat, the sooner will we be able to bring it to a halt and the quicker, further and more enduringly will our victorious movement then march forward again.

## The truth about the March action in Central Germany.

In view of the international importance of the March action and especially in view of the recent "disclosures" of the Berlin "Vorwaerts", organ of the SPD., we urge all editorial staffs to ensure the immediate publication of comrade Kilian's report of the official investigation of the uprising.

Editor's Note.

Friedrich Engels once wrote that the further the class-struggle advances in a country, and the nearer capitalist society approaches its breakdown the more bitterly will it fight for its life and the more ruthlessly will it use the power of the state against the proletariat. The German bourgeoisie has reached this stage. That is why, since the November revolution, it freely uses the most brutal weapons against the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and for its suppression. It uses lies and slander, class-justice, provocation, and even commits ordinary crimes—as far as murder. This method of bankrupt capitalism was particularly noticeable in the March action in Central Germany.

What was the March action? Was it a revolt, a crime by the communists? No! After the dealings of the parliamentary investigation committee which was appointed by the Prussian Diet, and which has completed the gathering of political evidence, there no longer exists any uncertainty as to how these questions are truthfully to be answered. The fable dealing with the movement of the police against the industrial region in Central Germany for purposes of suppressing crime against property, which was related by Hörsing as an excuse for sending the "green police", had already been disposed of, even before it came under the critical examination of the investigation committee. Hörsing himself, who had at first used this artifice in order to cloak his raids, had to abandon it, after the Prussian minister of police, Severing admitted in the beginning of May in the periodical "Ekkehard" that the police proclamation against Central Germany had for its purpose "the timely dissolution of the Communist uprising which was then in preparation, in order to suppress it by force of arms and thus to remove the Communist danger".

This admission by the responsible minister of the Prussian Government, was substantiated by the numerous political

witnesses before the investigation committee. The ministerial director Abegg, subordinate of Severing testified as follows: "the political officers of the ministry of the interior were exclusively entrusted with the preparation and consummation of the police campaign against Central-Germany". The commissar for public order, Weissmann, related a conversation held with Severing, in which the latter admitted that "he had incited the uprising for political purposes, in order to get the opportunity to beat it down". The same witness attended a conference at Merseburg, at which Hörsing finally said: "the police action will now begin with the seizure of the endangered districts and factories." It was thus not only a political provocation, but it was planned beforehand to enslave the proletariat by putting them to work under police control. The police-major Folte, Generalissimo of Severing's and Hörsing's battle-forces, complained to the investigation committee that when he received his orders he was not informed of the economic or political situation of the district and that he was not well informed of the attitude of the population. The only thing he received was a list with the names of the Communist leaders. From this it is clearly to be gathered that the police-attack against the proletariat of Central Germany was not a campaign against crime, but a political provocation offensive campaign of the German bourgeoisie, which had for its purpose the blood-letting of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and thereby of the proletarian revolution.

According to the results of the investigation, it is absolutely clear that the struggle in Central Germany was not a Communist "Putsch". Everything was prepared beforehand for letting it loose; not by the Communists, but by their enemies! In fact, on the 12th and 23rd of February, the government was already engaged in this matter at the request of the large industrialists.

On the 13th of March, the action was discussed at Magdeburg, in all its details, even with the consent of the Independent Socialists. On the 14th of March, the district president Hörsing sent the following request to the Prussian government, in regard to the decisions reached by the conference a day before: "To surround the industrial regions of the Merseburg district with police." This was admitted in the official green-book, "The March 1921 Uprising and the Prussian Police". Not only was the undertaking against Mansfeld planned beforehand, but also the one against the Leuna Works. Besides this (according to the green-book) police troops were prepared to "nip every rebel movement at the bud". Hörsing's statement that he had counted upon carrying out the police-action in a peaceful manner, is officially characterized as a lie. No matter how this thing is looked upon, there remains no other interpretation of the facts, than that the police action had for its purpose political provocation.

The insolent lie circulated by the bourgeois and Menshevik parties and their press-organs, with which it was intended to confuse the proletariat, was thus nailed: we mean the lie that the March action was a Communist putsch directed by Moscow. The attempt to designate the struggle in Central Germany as the result of the session of the VKPD, Central Committee on the 17th of March, fell to the ground, after the contrary was established by the interesting government memoirs, as well as by the negotiations between government organs, capitalist and Menshevik parties, and industrialists. The fact that the police action had already been determined upon on the 13th and fixed for the 18th of March, clearly and unequivocally reveals the true character of the struggle which broke out between the revolutionary miners of Mansfeld and the green constables of the bourgeoisie; it was a defensive struggle by the workers who saw the danger that threatened their liberty, their existence and those gains of the November Revolution still left them under the Ebert-Republic. After that the VKPD., of course, had to support this defensive struggle of the revolutionary proletariat, and in spite of the unfavorable situation it had to make this struggle its own. On the 24th of March, the VKPD. issued a call for a general strike in Central Germany, and a few days later the call for a general strike in entire Germany, for the support of the fighting Mansfeld workers. The shameless betrayal on the part of the SPD., and the cowardly sabotage by the USPD. were the direct causes of the stunted development of the general strike, which, if powerfully and thoroughly carried out, would surely have brought about the recall of the police troops. These parties are also responsible for the heavy sacrifices which were demanded by the losing struggle of the workers.

The intentions of Severing and Hörsing and the part they played as agents of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, are thus undeniably established by the investigation committee of the Diet, which was appointed to establish the guilt of the Communists in the bloody struggle.

Its investigation reveals to the whole world that the March action was an attempt on the part of the Prussian govern-

ment to challenge the revolutionary proletariat of Central Germany with the object of having an opportunity to beat down the working-class by means of the power of the state, to kill the revolutionary spirit in the "red heart of Germany", to be able to destroy the Communist organizations, and to imprison and assassinate their leaders. The Social-democratic government officials of Prussia are thus unmasked as the executioners of the proletarian revolution, just as Noske was before them. They were so much the more glad to offer a helping hand in the crimes perpetrated by the bourgeoisie, because by destroying the Communist Party, as they hoped to do, they would gain great advantages for their own party in those places where until then they were unable to use their political influence. Both of the Menshevik parties stand convicted of having served as bullies for the bourgeoisie, by sabotaging the proletarian defensive struggle, which broke out spontaneously among the enraged Mansfeld workers. They are also guilty of the armed attack against the working-class, which necessarily had to follow.

History has established this criminal guilt sooner than was expected, just as it had swept away the mountain of lies and slanders which the enemies of the Communist movement and of the proletarian revolution have piled up in order to hide their own shame. The revolutionary proletariat will at one time have to pass judgment upon all of them.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The German Trade-Unions and the Levy on Capital.

by Pelle.

The ADGB. (General German Trade Union Federation) and the Afa (Union of Free Employees' Associations) issued a declaration on November 15 in which they propose a capital-levy "for the reparations-burdens" and "for putting in order the Reich's budget". They demand:

1. The participation of the Reich in the ownership of capital in goods. The joint-stock companies must transfer 25 % of their stock-capital to the Reich. The small business concerns and agriculture are to be taxed in equal degree, and these taxes are to be scaled according to the value of money.
2. Socialization of the mines in order to restore the Reich's credit.
3. Reclassification of transport enterprises, with the aim of putting them into shape economically within the shortest time possible.
4. Most rigorous confiscation of foreign currencies, through the extension of the control of foreign commerce.
5. Restriction of imports to necessities of life.
6. Raising of the export-tax to effect the complete confiscation of the profit gained as a result of the difference in the rate of exchange.
7. Accelerated collection of the Reich's levy on property.
8. An immediate collection of the existing taxes, especially the taxes on income.
9. Heavy taxation of profits made from speculation in foreign-exchange and in stocks.
10. Control of private monopoly.

The executive committees of the ADGB. and the Afa call upon all organized workers and employees as well as the central and regional organs of the free trade-unions to make a persistent stand for this minimum program, and to exercise their entire organized strength for its realization.

This stand taken by the highest officials of more than eight million workers and employees organized in the free trade-unions is without doubt an indication of a big advance in the judgment shown by these leading organizations. It is now a question of estimating and reevaluating this sudden change of front of the ADGB. and the Afa.

The campaign of the German employer-class against the right of strike and organization has ranged large masses of workers against the bourgeoisie. In addition, the workers' situation grows worse from day to day as a consequence of the fall in the value of the German mark. The prices rise — the real wages fall. An epidemic of strikes which are often long and bitter is shaking Germany. And yet all increases in wages cannot keep step with the rise in prices. Besides, the trade-unions are afraid to try an united labor battle-front and the localized wage-combats often end with defeat for the workers. The wage-strikes brought almost no liberation for the workers, but on the contrary, only greater disagreement and dissatisfaction which is now directed even against the union-leaders

themselves. The opposition in the trade-unions is growing stronger, so that in Berlin for instance, the municipal and government employees voted a lack of confidence in their leaders by a vote of 31,000 to 12,000. The factory councils are forced by the aroused masses to carry on wage-fights which until now were the privilege only of the trade-unions.

On top of all this there is the manner in which big industry proceeds in the matter of the credit-action. As a result of the demand for giving up government ownership of the railroads, post-office, etc., great sections of petty-bourgeois officials and of laborers were brought into opposition to the employer-class because of their fear of the impairment of working-conditions and discharge. Furthermore the new taxes and those still to come are a tremendous factor in the revolutionizing of the workers. All this is eagerly being discussed by the worker. But already the coming development is unmistakably showing itself—the sharpening of class-opposition, which is only hastened by the practical application of all measures against the proletariat.

The trade-unions have naturally only two ways between which to choose in this situation—either the method of avoiding a decisive struggle followed until now, or the undertaking of the fight against all impoverishment of the proletariat. The first spells estrangement from the masses, therefore an increase in the opposition against the trade-unions and lastly the victory of the opposition. The second means a complete break with the previous methods of the trade-unions, that is to say, it means going with the masses on the road of the class-struggle. It seems as if the directing bodies of the free trade-unions have chosen the second way. And therewith we arrive at the evaluation of the trade-unions' demand for the confiscation of wealth.

Does a determination to fight for the granting of the demands under the declaration made by the German trade-unions? Even if we were to assume the good-will of those making the demand, our mistrust is still too great for us to answer the question affirmatively. What is it that speaks for the affirmative? First of all mention must be made of the unusually sharp and precise formulation of the demands. Secondly there are a number of conclusions made in press-statements. The "Sozialistische Korrespondenz" (SPD.) recognizes, for instance, the call of the Communists for a decisive and unified struggle to a finish and says the following, "It is a matter of carrying through and not of simply demanding". The "Freiheit" (USP.) goes a step further and already sees the bankruptcy of the previous "orderly work" of the trade-unions and Socialist parties. But what speaks against the affirmative answer? We simply want to bring up in this connection the lesson taught by previous demands of a similar nature as for instance, those of November 1918, those at the time of the Kapp-uprising and the demands in connection with unemployment, all of which found their way into the waste-paper basket. We take it for granted that the trade-union leaders realize that this time an evasion and a feeding on hopes will not be so easy. What speaks particularly for the negative? First, that the trade-unions present their demands to the Reich government that is, to Parliament and not to the masses. When it is considered that the parties in the Reich government are almost all in favor of a government coalition with big industry only one conclusion is possible. When we add to this the fact that the trade-unions periodicals as well as the press of the SPD. and USP. carry on a tremendous and contemptible campaign of incitement against the Communists on all questions which concern the consolidation of the working-class for the struggle, we see another argument against the serious determination of the trade-unions to carry out their demands through a struggle. The "Vorwärts" has until now only published the demands, without any comment. However, important reasons speak for and against the assumption of a serious intention on the part of the trade-union to demonstrate for the class-struggle against the bourgeoisie.

From these facts we deduce two conclusions as to why it is possible that the trade-unions found themselves forced to demand a levy on capital—it is possible that they have realized the bankruptcy of their previous methods and, as a consequence of their better judgment, have arrived at these demands—that is, as above stated, a possibility. But it is also very probable that a political move is concealed behind the demands for the levy on capital with the aim of once more breaking the backbone of the aroused workers' movement and to reconcile it with the trade-union leaders. If they succeed in feeding the workers on hopes, time is thereby gained for negotiating. Furthermore, it is possible to bring pressure to bear on big industry and the government to steer the whole conflict into committee-rooms and Parliaments, to the detriment of the entire working-class. Certain indications speak very much in favor of this probability. Not only press-reports on the negotiations between the trade-unions and the employers point thereto, but the Stinnes newspaper, the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" also talks plainly when it

says, "It would be more just to sit at the negotiation-table with the Reich's League of German Industry" and to discuss thoroughly the individual problems pro and con."

It will be seen whether this double play is actually concealed behind the trade-union demands.

The duty of the Communist Party is clearly indicated. It demanded the levy of capital before the trade-unions made any demands and its influence was not the least significant in inducing the trade-unions to take this step. It is its task, in spite of the inadequacy of the trade-union demands, to devote the party's entire energy to the execution of these demands, reserving the right of making necessary criticism. The Communist Party will force the trade-unions either to fight for their own demands, or to unmask themselves openly before the proletariat. The trade-unions can either risk this struggle or evade it and thereby betray their own program—in both cases the Communist idea will triumph. In the first case the result will be the creation of a compact proletarian battle-front which during the struggle will be able to recognize all faults and to correct them. In the other case, the proletariat will again meet with disappointment, will enter into ever growing opposition to the trade-union methods and will follow the slogans of the Communist Party.

### French Capitalism and the Working-Class.

by Paul Louis (Paris).

At the present moment we see in France the same thing as in so many other countries. That is to say, political and economic reaction is raging there in all its forms. Unfortunately, the proletariat is not on the offensive against capitalism. It is capitalism which is directing an offensive against the proletariat. Gloomy conclusions need not be derived from this brutal and unavoidable statement of fact. We see there only one of those innumerable incidents of the social war in which attack and counter-attack succeed each other without interruption. And it is more than probable that the attack led everywhere by "Big Business" and by the state-power against the workers will culminate simply in creating a more compact and more active revolutionary front.

During the war and because of it, French capitalism did not only enrich itself, but it even organized. Up to 1914, it was much less organized than the German, Danish or Swedish employer-class. What the exception of some groups such as the Committee of Foundries and Collieries of France, whose title is significant in itself, individualism prevailed. An employer-class so much dispersed was less formidable on the offensive as well as the defensive. But from 1914 to 1918 economic concentration became more marked under the influence of events, and at the same time, the consortiums organized by the government succeeded in organizing the employer-class into compact formations, and in subordinating the small exploiters to the large ones so much so that, today, for every region as well as for the whole country, a few captains of industry are in entire command of all the concerns in a respective branch of industry. Besides, all the concerns are banded into groups of economic interests which incorporate in themselves all the forces of reaction, which control the press of information, so-called, and also a part of the press of opinion, which bring influence to bear upon the elections, and which are the real government.

The elections of November 16, 1919, which put the Bloc National into power, cost the employer-class an enormous amount of money, but at that time it dreaded a sudden revolution as an effect of the tremendous influence of Soviet Russia. Nothing seemed to it too burdensome at a time when its life was at stake. The fact must be taken into consideration that from 1918 to 1919 the labor-union forces had increased at least six-fold, and that a mighty effervescence made itself evident within the proletariat.

The big employer-class ruling the country through the Parliament, controlled by the Bloc National, and also through the cabinets which succeeded one another and were the creation of this Bloc National, has at its command an offensive force, and evinces an audacity, which brings us back to the time of Guizot and the July Monarchy. The employer-class had been forced to grant increases in wages on the morrow of the Armistice—ridiculous increases if one were to compare them with the rise in the cost of living. It had also been forced to inaugurate the eight-hour day legally in order to fulfill certain promises made in moments of panic. Now it is engaged in a fight all along the line in order to reduce wages and to lengthen the working-day.

This movement is not only characteristic of France. It is universal. As the Revolution did not succeed internationally

and seemed to be delayed for reasons which I need not examine in this article, the possessing class regained courage. Fascism has not taken root in our country, but arrests of Communists have increased in number in the last year and M. Briand has introduced in the Chamber the notorious "super-scoondrel" law, which, if accepted, will result in practically outlawing Communism.

The world-crisis raging throughout the world has naturally decreased the employers' profits in France as much as anywhere. The French employer-class which had been accustomed to easy profits and to continuous enrichment in 1917, 1918 and 1919 was loath to give up habits which it found pleasant. The reduction of salaries could compensate in part for the limitation of markets. It proceeded to effect this reduction with an unheard-of brutality. At the most, it offered the excuse that there was a fall in the cost of living, though this was imaginary. But it did not press this excuse, so much was it sure of itself. The metal-workers, the drivers, the miners, the textile workers were successively hit by this reduction. The strikes on the upper and lower Rhine, in the Vosges, in Aube and in the North have shown the resistance of the workers but they have also taught the lesson that scattered strikes are of no value in the face of a powerful and compact capitalism.

By reducing wages 10, 15, and 20 %, the employers have succeeded in reducing still further the income of the proletariat whose misery could not have been made more palpable than it already was. The government now attempts to start a new reduction, by abolishing the the high cost of living bonuses of a million small officials and railway-workers.

But that is hardly all, for the eight-hour day itself is again under attack. M. Le Trocquer, Minister of Public Works, who is called here "Emperor of the Railroads", has boasted of having suppressed the eight-hour day in all the branches of service which are under his control. M. Jonnart, one of the leaders (and one of the biggest hypocrites) of the Bloc National, in a speech called for a return to longer working-days. Utilizing its agencies, Capitalism has started a campaign in order to prove that only a change in the eight-hour day law can mitigate the unemployment crisis!!! Does it then believe that the masses will be dupes to such an extent?

One may justifiably harbour the deep conviction that this offensive will shatter the inertia and indifference of the workers, and that before long we will enter upon a new phase of proletarian action. The Communist Party ought to adapt itself to this new situation.

### Rome and Verona.

by W. Lada.

The general strike, with which the workers of Rome answered the provocations of the Fascisti, is the best reply to the claim made by Italian reformists that the proletariat is not prepared to fight. The problem which the Italian proletariat has been facing for weeks was how best to beat back the capitalist attack. Was the Italian proletariat to take up the fight only where the employers were offering it, and was the form of and the time for every struggle to be forced upon it in every single province and in every individual industry? This is what the reformist leaders of the Italian Confederation of Labor want and are doing. Or should it, on the contrary, strive to avoid the division of its forces, and do what the Communists demand,—unite into a single proletarian front, so that in case of need, in a general battle, that is in the general strike, it would be able to take advantage of the position of its forces? Is the proletariat to avoid the struggle with the eternal excuse that it is not prepared for it, and submit to the rule of the exploiters, or is it to accept the challenge, and, through the fight, prove to its enemy that although it may for the moment be the weaker of the two, it knows how to command respect?

That was the main question which the Italian proletariat faced, and which was to be answered at the special convention of the national council of the Confederation of Labor, which took place on 5th-7th of November at Verona. Besides this, a preliminary answer was to be given to the question, which has been hanging fire since Livorno, namely, whether the Italian Confederation of Labor was to join the yellow Amsterdam Labor International or the red Moscow International.

From the time when the Industrial Association decided at its general meeting in the early part of October that the only solution for the existing economic crisis was the reduction of wages, the capitalists followed this road incessantly and consistently. Labor disputes arose in the metal-industry, and in the chemical, textile and wood-industries, and strikes broke out, as in the metal-works of Trieste and Liguria. The leaders of the labor

confederation are now trying to prevent the spread of these conflicts, and to bring them to a quick end through negotiation. This is to constitute the greatest wisdom of the union tactics.

Indeed, the labor-leaders have discovered still another defensive weapon. At their pressing request the government has ordered an investigation of the industrial situation. A commission, consisting of eight representatives of the employers, eight union delegates (among whom are those of the Christian and very yellow unions), and eight experts, is to examine the causes of the crisis, under the chairmanship of the minister of labor, and is to bring in a report to the government within a month from the beginning of their work. The official labor-union leaders are thus attempting to beat back the attack of the capitalists by relying on the results of the investigation. It is self-evident that this is a poor method, and the employers, who do not give a snap for the investigation, are not disturbed in their work by such non-essentials. They consented to a postponement of the question of wage-reduction until the 31st of December only because they wished to gain time and to split their opponent's forces.

At the conference of the labor-union heads which took place at Milan on the 26th of October, messieurs labor-union bureaucrats displayed no great sympathy with the condition of the working-masses, which, even according to the capitalist press, is worse than miserable. The president of the metal-workers union, Buozzi, argued that: "since so many strikes have been lost before, the world would not perish if the textile-workers also lose their strike." And they claimed that negotiation and parliamentary action were the only things possible under the circumstances.

Yet, indignation ran so high among the workers, and so many labor organizations stood behind our comrades—the wood-workers' association, the labor-chambers of Turin, Trieste, Cuneo, Sairna, Vicenza, Mareala, Aosta, etc. and many local organizations, that the leaders of the labor confederation were compelled to call the special convention of the national council on November the 5th, at Verona.

Here in Verona two points of view again clashed, the reformist or "socialist" point of view (both of these are identical because there is not a trace of "maximalist" influence to be found in the Confederation of Labor) or still better the reformist-socialist point of view and the revolutionary-communist point of view. The convention assumed a very well-known shape. The reformists openly declared that they reject the general strike, because, as the president of the chemical-workers' union expressed it, "they had the welfare and prosperity of their capitalist 'Vaterland' too much at heart". On the other hand, the representative of the Central Committee of the labor federation, Azzimonti, admitted that the much talked-of investigation does not amount to very much, but that at present, the Italian proletariat had no other means at its disposal.

Our comrades, Tasca, Repossi, Radich and others, disproved the idiotic accusations of our opponents that our tactics were anarcho-syndicalistic and damaging to the labor movement.

Our comrades pointed out that the tactics used by the leaders of the labor-federation were aimed at the cooperation of the classes, and that we refuse to accept the investigation as a defensive weapon against the capitalist attack, because it was futile, it was no weapon of defense at all, but simply a means of deceiving the proletariat. Such an investigation by a mixed commission had nothing in common with the control of production by the working-class. The reduction of the proletarian fight to a series of separate skirmishes, and the relaxation of its revolutionary energy through negotiations, at a time when its vanguard wants to fight, can only result in eventual failures in the field of the labor-movement. That is why the general strike should indeed not be declared, but prepared.

As was to be expected, our comrades were beaten at Verona. Our motion received 415,712 votes, that of the socialists 1,426,521 votes, the voting-ratio remained the same as in Livorno. As pointed out by "L'Ordine Nuovo" we must accept these results as satisfactory for the following reasons. 1.) because in the national council the labor-organizations are not represented as directly as at a Congress. 2.) The Communist representation did not correspond to the actual power we have in the labor-unions movement, because the ruling majority excluded us from being represented in many organizations and groups. 3.) because the number of organized workers is at present considerably smaller than in 1920.

We were also beaten in the question of "Moscow or Amsterdam". The national council declared itself with Amsterdam, because, as Azzimonti—*for once!*—rightly expressed himself: "the tactics of Moscow cannot be followed within the Amsterdam Labor-International." The gentlemen have therefore decided upon the "Amsterdam" tactics, they express their

sympathy for the Russian Revolution, but they refuse to fight for the social revolution.

The ultimate tactics will indeed be those of Moscow, the genuine "Russian" tactics!

Our comrades are bravely taking up the fight for a united proletarian front, and for the Red Labor International, now as ever. History has decided in their favor, because a few days after Verona—Rome followed. They will also obtain the final decision, because Italy, like all the other European countries, is in the midst of an acute economic and social crisis, and among the "victorious countries", Italy stands nearest to a "social revolution".

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Central Committee of the K. P. D.

by A. Thalheimer.

The last meeting of the Central Committee of the party was of exceptional significance. The attention of the Committee was focussed upon two questions which are decisive the class-struggle of Germany; these were the question of a workers' government and the question of the tax and economic struggle. In both of these questions, which are so closely interrelated, the Central Committee has after a most careful examination of facts and after a hot discussion indicated the ways and means which enable the party to apply the lever at every point where the action of the proletariat can effectively be advanced.

The starting point for the political as well as for the economic policies of the party is the question faced by the working-masses as to whether they themselves or the property-owning class should bear the cost of the war. It became clear to the Central Committee that in the present situation of Germany, the above question necessarily involves the question of fundamental encroachments upon the field of production, and thereby into the class-relations. The Communist Party looks upon the situation in the same realistic manner, in which high-finance and the large business-interests do. It knows that, to-day, the tax and financial problems cannot be solved through mere tax and financial measures, but that the economic foundations must be reached. Objectively put, the question resolves itself into, whether Stinnes & Co., the united big industrials and high finance, are to enslave and fleece the masses, whether they are to conquer the state and manage the industries as sole rulers, or whether the masses are to limit big capital in its extensive control, shift the burden of war-debts to its shoulders, and finally set bounds to capitalist plundering and to its economic anarchy.

Only those phases of these question could be acted upon which had the action of the masses and of the working-class behind them. It was valid to draw the conclusions from the fact, that on the one hand the majority of the German proletariat does not yet consciously steer towards the Communist goal, and that on the other hand the masses are driven forward by necessity, in the direction of Communism, as soon as they start out as a class in their advance against the bourgeoisie, for the protection of their interests. It was also natural to consider the next step in that direction.

The next step decided upon by the Central Committee was the levy on capital, that is the confiscation of capital in the form of property (the factories, the mines, the banks, the wholesale trade and large land-property). This was to be done by the state to the extent that the income of the working and middle classes would be free from the burden of taxation, and was to be carried out under the direct control of the workers and employees. The state was thus to become the co-owner of the capitalist industries, and was to make use of its co-ownership for the purpose of eliminating capitalist anarchy and waste, in order to incorporate the industries on a large scale.

Is it to be State-capitalism?

Is it to be a state-democracy in place of Stinnes and Thyssen? It is clear, that only the working-class can bring about such an encroachment, and that it must enforce the control of the whole industrial and economic machine through its organs. No capitalist government and no coalition of capitalists and socialists will take these necessary steps. In the attempt to carry out these steps the question of capturing the positions of political power by the working-class thus comes to the fore. The Central Committee was also outspoken on this question. It stated that under the presumption that the majority of the working-class does not yet consciously strive to infringe upon the Capitalist-democratic state, its next consideration will be

only a socialist or workers' government as the instrument for carrying out these measures which are absolutely necessary to the life of the working-class.

The attitude of the Central Committee in this question is dictated by the point of view that the party's duty is to develop the greatest possible initiative, in order to lead the working-class to the capturing of new positions of power.

The resolution, which was passed by a great majority of the Central Committee, and which deals with the political situation, describes the attitude of the party on the question of the socialist government, as follows:

"... These tasks of the party are at the same time the tasks of the working-class as a whole, because of the growing misery, and the advances of capitalism. The KPD. is at one with the broad masses outside the party, which are organizing a solid fighting front on an ever larger scale, in order to achieve their goal. The demonstration of the ADGB. (General German Trade-Union Federation) for the levy on capital was brought about by the pressure of the masses against the Stinnes coalition and against enslavement by the bourgeoisie.

The KPD. will use all its influence in order to mobilize every worker in this fight, and to prevent the inevitable conflicts between capital and labor from being smoke-screened.

The successful termination of this struggle for the working-class is not possible under a Stinnes government, nor under any other capitalist government. The fight against the Stinnes coalition must therefore be led by the party at every stage, through mass-demonstrations, mass-strikes and through the dissolution of the Reichstag, etc. if possible.

The attitude of the Communists towards a new government (socialist government or a workers' government) which may possibly arise out of such parliamentary and extra parliamentary struggle, will depend upon the political situation as a whole, and upon the political problems which such a government would undertake.

The KPD. leaves no doubt as to its readiness to support with all its power any socialist government which will aim at carrying out the demands put by the masses; it will also support with all its power every step of a truly proletarian policy. The party will concentrate every bit of energy to drive the socialist government forward in the interests of the proletariat, through mobilization of the masses. In the course of the struggle between labor and capital which will become more and more bitter, this must lead to the shattering of the parliamentary limits.

Such a development is based upon the presumption that the whole working-class outside of Parliament will take up the fight for its demands. It is only in this struggle that an united front of the working masses can be realized.

After the highest organ of the party has thus clearly defined its position, the socialist parties and labor-organizations can no longer side-step the issue. The Independent Socialist and Majority Socialist workers now know that they can count upon the full support of the Communist Party in their conquest of new positions of power for the working-class, and that as soon as they decide to establish a Socialist government, they will have the Communists on their side.

Finally, the Central Committee took a definite stand on the question of socialist cooperation. It emphasized that everyone who sincerely wishes to work with the party will be given every possible opportunity to do so, but that the party will be ruthless in its fight against all elements which are working for the dissolution of the party or which are trying to lead the party into centrist ways. The Central Committee in no way over estimates the value of the *Kommunistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (Bloc Levi). It sees in it, however, a factor which makes the contact of the party with the masses outside of it difficult.

The tactical discussions of the Central Committee turned upon the parts played by "state capitalism", and by the "socialist government". We consider the fact that the differences of opinion were openly expressed very advantageous.

The session of the Central Committee is an important step in the direction indicated by the Third International Congress and by the Convention at Jena. The actual results achieved by it just as effectively destroy the legend of the "anarchistic" as well as of the "opportunistic" character of our party.

The party has found in serious discussions a way for our present-day struggles. The Central Committee has shown to every one who only wants to see, that since Jena, the party has advanced with a united front.

Now the party will advance forward as an unit!

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The Polish Social-Patriots and the Law Against the Communists.

by L. Domski.

They hesitated for a long time. In their central organ they launched an eloquent article against the extraordinary law. In the Sejm they declared that they would... vote against the disgraceful law. They wanted to protect themselves from the workers. They finally wish to have it forgotten that martial-law against the proletariat was first decreed by their prime-minister, "comrade" Moraczewski, in January 1919, and that it was then merely continually prolonged by the capitalist governments. Just now they wish to be modest, and have the labor-movement strangled by strange hands; they wish to confine themselves to the secret information service for the capitalist secret police. But they could not hold out in this role. They began to fear that the proletariat took their opposition to the extraordinary-law seriously, and might perhaps sweep away the law and its originators with one blow. And they felt the urgent need of aiding in the hunt for Communist "traitors" to their country.

Out of this need arose the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the P.P.S. against the Communists, which is entitled: "To the workers in the cities and villages", and which is being spread in masses throughout Poland.

"Comrades! Workers!" begins the manifesto. "One year has passed since the cannons on the East front were silenced. Soviet embassies and Soviet missions came to Warsaw, bringing gold and diamonds with them. The destructive activity of the Communists increased. We therefore consider it our duty to unmask those men who may lead the Polish working-class from disgrace to defeat, from defeat to defeat.

Workers! For the last three years the Communists have been carrying on propaganda among you. For three years they have sought to influence you through lies, slanders, corruption; destroying every noble sentiment of the human soul, and playing the disgraceful part of paid Soviet agents.

"When Trotsky's bands almost reached the gates of Warsaw, the communists hid themselves like cowards, while their comrades Marchlewski, Dzierzinski, Unschlicht and Felix Kon marched against Poland under the protection of the Czarist general Brussiloff and the Czarist Cossack Budienny."

We cannot here reproduce the entire yard-long manifesto in which the Communists are called thieves, bandits, provocateurs, etc. While numerous public meetings of the Nationalists and the "Christian Socialists" demand court-martial and the death penalty for the Communists, the Social-patriots take advantage of this moment and deliberately issue this manifesto in which they designate the Communists as paid agents who sell themselves for Russian gold and diamonds. The ignorant nationalist worker who reads this document and believes it, must actually say to himself that the Communists are criminals, against whom an extraordinary law is not only admissible, but is an urgent necessity. Whoever believes in this manifesto must of necessity become a supporter of the law against the Communists. This was just the thing they aimed at.

In order to provoke the Polish Communist Party, which had been forced underground, into revealing itself, the social-provocateurs are sneering that the Communists have "hidden themselves like cowards". However, the Communists have hidden themselves only too poorly. Are not most of our comrades who were active in the unions, in the cooperatives and in other legal work, arrested? The social-patriots have liberally contributed to this through their denunciations. Now they wish to decoy the remaining communists who are still "hiding like cowards" into the open.

Should the P.P.S. vote against the extraordinary-law in the Sejm, it will only be a miserable comedy. And should the reaction make use of this law in sending tens of thousands of proletarians, Communists, Socialists, or mere fighting workers, into the concentration camp where they will be tortured to death without any legal procedure, the P.P.S. will shoulder the full responsibility for all this.

The P.P.S. concludes its manifesto with the statement that "it has begun the work of reconstructing the single Socialist International, in closest co-operation with the comrades of Western Europe". The workers of Europe should carefully observe which European party will have anything to do with the Polish provocateurs, who are aiding in the White Terror of the bourgeoisie against the working-class.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### The famine and the Necessary Relief

by A. Vinokurov (Moscow).

The famine is usually spoken of as if only existing in the Volga regions, while the governments of Nijni-Novgorod, Ekaterinburg, Perm, Penza, the Don, Northern Caucasus and a part of the Ukraine have been in large measure also afflicted by the drought. A total of 20,742,000 dessiatines (out of a total of 50,364,000 dessiatines of cultivated land) have been ravaged by the scourge which has stricken 37,216,000 people (out of a total of 114,742,000 inhabitants). But the famine is most serious in the Volga-regions and in the plains at the foot of the Urals, that is to say, in the food-provinces of Russia. Here the country has been entirely destroyed, although one still finds small districts untouched by the famine.

In the Volga governments afflicted by the famine—Astrakhan, Viatka, Samara, Saratov, Simbirsk, Tartar, Tshuvash, Kirghiz and the territories of Votsk and Marie—the shortage of grain in poods (one pood = 36 pounds) reaches a total of 84,337,300, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the total consumption. In fact, the shortage is even greater. In other words, the population will be condemned this year to absolute starvation during four of the twelve months, if relief is not brought. In certain districts, the situation is even worse. In the German commune on the Volga, the shortage is as high as 100 %, since the famine is complete and has been so since last October. In Samara and Ufa this state of affairs will not be produced until December.

Thus, we have to supply about 85,000,000 poods for the autumn sowing. The Commissariat of Food is giving 15,000,000 million pood for the spring sowing and expects to buy 8,000,000 poods in the foreign market. The communal nutrition service organized by the government has on hand 12,000,000 poods. The state has still on hand to take care of the needs of the workers, soldiers and other groups of the population—24,000,000 poods.

In short the state can furnish 72,500,000 poods to cover a deficit of 85,000,000 poods. There are 12-13,000,000 poods (192,000 tons) to be obtained elsewhere. But when we take into consideration the unequal partition of property among the population—all our calculations being based on abstract averages of consumption—we must rather set the sum at 20,000,000 poods (320,000 tons).

We need 1,500,000-2,000,000 poods (24,000-32,000 tons) per month to save the lives of millions of famine-stricken otherwise condemned to certain death. That is what we demand of the workers of Russia and of the world.

The importance of the relief furnished by enterprises such as the American Relief Association must not be exaggerated. The ARA. is only feeding children and then only furnishes them a part of the necessary nourishment. Furthermore, it is only taking care of 1,500,000 children, at most about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the children stricken by the famine. We are counting on the help of workers in other countries and upon the Russian proletariat. But the relief must be brought soon. The famine does not wait. Each day the famine claims innumerable victims.

## THE RED TRADE-UNION INTERNATIONAL

### To the Workers of France.

The Executive of the Prointern (Red Trade-Union International) has issued the following appeal to the French workers:

The leaders of the Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor) are working for a split. They, who, upon arising in the morning and in the evening when going to bed, swear by the unity of the working-class, are consciously shattering the unity of the trade-unions and thereby disarming the workers of France who are face to face with the reaction. Mm. Jouhaux, Dumoulin, Merrheim & Co. in their incompetency are making concessions to the bourgeoisie in all important questions. They are as unstable as a weathervane when they have to do with the government and the Bloc National. They are, however, firm, steadfast and show a surprising determination when

they have to do with the revolutionary workers. These men, who have been workers themselves, have only become great and have been placed in high positions through the French working-class—these leaders at the head of the workers dictate to them and demand that they be obeyed. Their hatred of revolutionary workers is so great because they themselves once were revolutionary. The renegades, through their hatred and anger, shatter all the ideals that they themselves once had worshipped.

The French proletariat does not want to have them at the head of its organization. "So much the worse for the French proletariat"—is the decision of the trade-union bureaucracy. The same men who speak so softly in the commissions of the League of Nations and who in the conferences of the International Labor Bureau strike up songs of harmony—these same men betray with unheard-of cynicism the workers who are committed to their care. Thanks to their efforts the unity of the railwaymen's organization is destroyed. The Federation of Employees has expelled the revolutionary trade-unions. The Federation of Clothing Workers has done the same. In several departmental federations, the slogans that the C.G.T. is advocating are being applied. "Information Ouvrière et Sociale" and "Le Temps" are satisfied—their tactics are being put into practice. The working-class is combatting an overwhelming offensive, which is being commenced by the bourgeoisie. It is permitting its agents to destroy the unity of the working-class, in order to subject it to further injuries.

The working-class of the entire world must decide between the revolutionary trade-unions and the trade-unions which adhere to the Amsterdam International. How often have the gentlemen of the Amsterdam International cried for "unity"! How many crocodile tears have they wept over it. Under the cover of this slogan "unity" they betray the interests of the working-class. They are ready to sacrifice the entire organization of the workers, if the latter refuse to be tied to the apron-strings of the bourgeoisie.

To the pillory with the men who are delivering the French proletariat, bound hand and foot, over to the bourgeoisie!

To the pillory with the advocates of harmony between the classes!

To the pillory with Capital's agents in the working-class! Long live the united front of the proletariat!

For the Executive of the Red Trade-Union International.

Lozovsky, General Secretary.

## APPEALS OF THE EXECUTIVE

### Proletarian Intervention for Sacco and Vanzetti.

The Executive of the Communist International publishes the following appeal:

The Communist International calls upon the workers of the world to redouble their efforts to prevent the legal murder of the revolutionary strike-leaders, Sacco and Vanzetti, in the United States of America. We exhibit this to the workers of the world as an example of "Democracy", which sentences revolutionary workers to death for their political convictions.

The capitalist governments usually seek to destroy their class-enemies by falsely accusing them of the commission of some crime.

Sacco and Vanzetti have proved their innocence. Any appeal to justice against the verdict previously decided upon and against the breach of the law is useless.

Only the manifestation of a resolute determination on the part of the masses can move the capitalist class to give up its prey. Time is short. The Communist International calls upon the workers of the world, Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists and ordinary workers organized in the trade-unions, to act firmly and unanimously for the saving of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The Executive of the Communist International.

English Edition.

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## 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 newspapers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence", and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and 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 Fascisti Congress and the Strike in Rome.

by Umberto Terracini.

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

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

This movement, however, proved to be nothing more than the "state of violence" of the capitalist class, not to be distinguished from the existing capitalist parties, and having no distinctive features of its own; a "state of violence", which was

created for the defense of the main supports of the ruling class against the threatening advance of the proletariat. Next, it became active in a rash undertaking which had for its purpose the destruction of the workers' strongest positions. At present it is continuing its activities in order to stop the reaction of the workers against their untold misery.

The main object of the Fascisti Congress was the founding of a Fascisti Party. Its forces, which until to-day have not undergone any political discipline, and which served in the interest of various contradictory political doctrines, and drifted with and that capitalistic current, were to be united into a sound organism.

The leaders of the movement, with Mussolini, its founder, at their head, wished to free Fascism from all parties, to make it independent of them, and to separate it from the coalition of all capitalist parties, which was formed in the last parliamentary elections in May, 1921.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Fascisti movement is strong; for, in its storm-troops are to be found thousands of men who have had a military