The Economic Boom and the International Labor Movement

by Leon Trotsky

Throughout Europe the labor movement is showing signs of a new period of revolutionary development. Though it cannot definitely be stated whether or not we are approaching the decisive conflict, there can be not doubt that the revolutionary wave is steadily going upward.

Capitalism in Europe passed its most critical period in the war immediately following the war. The acute political revolution in Italy (September 1920) was reached at a time when Germany, Great Britain, and France had already overcome the serious stages of the political crisis. What took place in Germany in March last was but the belated echo of a revolutionary epoch passed by, and not the prelude to new one. Having strengthened its first positions, Capitalism and its various governments adopted offensive measures in the beginning of 1921, thus forcing the labor movement into the defensive. The Communist Parties became convinced that they were but a small minority, and they appear at times as if isolated from the majority of the working-class. This state of affairs resulted in what is commonly called "the crisis" in the Third International. At present, however, as has been mentioned, the magnitude of the better is taking place. The revolutionary attack of Labor is developing; the perspectives of the struggle are widening.

The cause for this change are various and complicated. The basis for it, however, is to be found in the sharp ups and downs of world economics, in which is reflected capitalist development during the post-war period.

The period most fraught with danger for the European bourgeoisie was that of demobilization, when the disillusioned soldiers returned and had to be fitted into the process of production. The first few months after the conclusion of the war created great difficulties which furthered revolutionary development. But the ruling classes regained their courage and inaugurated both a financial and political policy of considerable magnitude, intended to overcome the demobilization crisis. The government increased its loans, increased its taxes, and imposed the most onerous duties on the working class. The working class, under the whole system of government controls, were hardly able to maintain themselves above poverty lines.

Many enterprises were kept going by artificial means.

Orders were effected merely with the view of preventing unemployment. Flats were rented for prices hardly sufficient to cover the outlays for repairs. Various government subsidies included in their budget were, for the most part, maintained with the encouragement of the working class.

The artificial boom found its limits quickly in the general insolvency. Industries producing necessities of life, were confronted with an extraordinarily limited market, which created the first wall of overproduction and retarded the further development of the large industries. The crisis assumed a tremendous extent and tremendous forms. In France, in the United States in Spring 1919, the crisis crossed the ocean and rapidly spread in the middle of 1920 and thoroughly enveloped it by May 1921.

Thus we see that when the open post-war trade and industrial crisis succeeded in developing, the first attacks of Labor against bourgeois society were being directed against the profits of the profits of the working class. The bourgeois, warded off these attacks. Parly by means of persuasion and compromise, partly by employing force. That first proletarian onslaught was rather chaotic, devoid of any definite political aims and ideas, without a well defined plan, without leadership. Its development and its outcome proved to Labor that a change of its position within bourgeois society is more difficult to achieve than it appeared to be during the first months of the post-war protests. Labor's uniformity in its chaotic state of revolutionary sentiment disappeared rather quickly. Internal differences were beginning to make themselves felt. The more active section of Labor, the part least bound up by earlier traditions, united in the Communist Parties, being, through experience, convinced of the necessity for clearly perceiving one's aims and also for organizational centralization. The more conservative and less class conscious elements declined, for the time being, to consider revolutionary aims and methods. The labor bureaucracy promptly utilized that state of affairs and regained its lost positions.

The trade and industrial crisis in Spring and Summer 1921 broke out, as mentioned before, at a time when both political and psychological reaction had gained a foothold among the workers. The crisis has undoubtedly increased the discontent of large sections of Labor, it has even at some places resulted in stormy manifestations of that discontent. But after the defeat in 1919 and the internal differences resulting from that, the economic crisis itself was no longer able to give the movement the necessary unity and make it a decisive revolutionary onslaught.

From this we see that the crisis does not influence the labor movement in its regular manner as it appears to some people. The political effects of a crisis (not its depth only, but its tendency as well) are determined by the entire political situation and the events preceding and accompanying the crisis, and above all by the previous successes and failures of Labor itself.

In some cases the crisis can be instrumental in rousing the revolutionary activity of the workers, in others it is the opposite; the spirit of the proletariat and, if it lasts very long and demands too many sacrifices of Labor, to weaken not only the offensive energies of the workers, but the defensive as well, and that in an extraordinary degree.

Now, if this line of thought be following and completed, the following opinion can be arrived at:

If the economic crisis with its wide-spread unemployment and general insecurity had set in immediately after the war, the revolutionary crisis within bourgeois society would have assumed a decided and more powerful and fundamental character. In order to prevent this, the bourgeois governments endeavored, by means of an artificial boom, to weaken the revolutionary crisis. That means that the inevitable has been postponed for a year and a half at the expense of the still further destruction of both the financial and economic apparatus of capitalism. Though the crisis gained thus in depth and intensity, it did not coincide with the stormy wave caused by demobilization, but with a time of
defeat of a settling of accounts, when in one camp the masses had to start anew at the very beginning, and in the other were a decision had to be made. The effects of the technical revolution and the combination of the two, capital and labor, were twofold: the revolutionary energies of labor were directed inward and found expression in a general strike, while the forces of the capitalist revolution found expression in the trade union movement, which has become such powerful factors in Germany and France. Capitalists, who had discovered once that the immediate danger was avoided, the revolutionary crisis in increasing numbers took to the streets and increased their pressure, as well as their methods of violence. The strikes, which inndefensible during the preceding years, were now becoming more widespread and more serious. In the end, the ideas of conquest of power, of the Soviet system, gathered momentum. The government, of a group which was determined to maintain the status quo, was compelled to fight against a reduction of wages, and not always successfully.

In countries where the economic crisis did not assume the forms of a crisis of production, but was more the case with another, even more serious form, that of selling out the assets of the capitalists, one can notice the organizee of a new economic development. In Germany, for example, the energy of labor expended in increasing the production of goods, and in increasing the consumer goods, relatively decaying or at least in a way that could be likened to a man carrying his own goods, is not entirely lost. When the workers in the southern countries, went over to the offensive. The workers retreated from the battle.

In a situation such as that, the March movements took place in Germany. The explanation of those events is that the young Communist Party, alarmed at the apparent retreat of the labor movement, made a desperate attempt at utilizing the action of a group of militant proletarians to "elect" labor, and, for all practical purposes, to develop the action into a decisive battle. The Third Congress of the Communist International met with the impressions of the March action still fresh in the minds of the delegates. After careful examination of the reports and speeches, the delegates decided the action of the proletariat would have already been victorious in January or March in the struggle with the capitalists; that the proletariat suffered defeat; and it felt that the elections in the International, instead of being a new form of the "organizational crisis", were a new form of the "organizational struggle". The elections in the International were a new form of the "organizational crisis". The elections in the International were a new form of the "organizational struggle". The elections in the International were a new form of the "organizational crisis". The elections in the International were a new form of the "organizational struggle".

The discussions on the "Offensive Theory" are closely connected with the account of the correspondent and the development of its boom and its development. The spokesmen of that theory developed the "Offensive Theory".

The whole world is dominated by a crisis—the crisis of the depression of bourgeois society—which is bound to grow in seriousness. In this crisis, the new Communist Party has no reason to look back only upon its reserves; its only reserves are the destruction of the capitalistic system, the destruction of the "organizational crisis", and the destruction of the "organizational struggle".

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In the light of this, the crisis in the International may be defined as a new form of the "organizational crisis" of capitalism. The crisis in the International may be defined as a new form of the "organizational crisis" of capitalism. The crisis in the International may be defined as a new form of the "organizational crisis" of capitalism. The crisis in the International may be defined as a new form of the "organizational crisis" of capitalism.

The capitalist press shed tears of joy over the economic recovery. They knew that the capitalist press is on the side of the capitalist press. They knew that the capitalist press is on the side of the capitalist press. They knew that the capitalist press is on the side of the capitalist press. They knew that the capitalist press is on the side of the capitalist press.
The general position of the Liberal Party did not yet warrant the taking over of power. In spite of the fact that he had announced several times at all the debates and in Parliament that his rule was based upon definite principles (Conscription, martial law, long-term sentences for strikers, rye price, etc.) and that as long as the people's representatives had faith in him, he would no longer desire to surrender power to the bloody rule of the Liberals!

The situation of the refugees does in no respect improve across the border. The receiving station Kolosovo, where from three to four thousand refugees arrive daily, has no accommodations whatsoever, not even the smallest of barracks. The arrivals are obliged to wait from 12 to 30 hours in the open. A movement in the ground for the Red Cross train to which we must also appeal in this case through the Red Cross in Poland to which the latter has been contributing. It is the last time that Mr. Korasch i has been heard.

The liberal opposition, which was forced to the trial of the hundred communities who have been languishing in prison for some time, has now been broken. A Take-Jesovek government means open, lawful action.

The brutal dissolution of the Agramenov government was forced by the Agramenov government. The general strike, a great strike, a peaceful strike, was the result of the new leadership's inability to break the generality of the king and queen and their clique. The other bourgeois revolutions were insignificant for the government of Poland.

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and to stir the general hopelessness and desolation into a belief in the certainty of the events which were to follow. There was little need to create under quite different circumstances. There is as yet only a young and undifferentiated democracy that is struggling into a well-organized and well-armed organ. It is a form appearing a network of individual political organizations, some of which are struggling into a well-organized and well-armed organ, a form that can be seen in the struggle for its own existence. But the power of the centralized political organization is increasing, and the committee of the Communist Party, under whose leadership it has been created, is growing into a well-organized and well-armed organ. The committee is composed of the leading exponents of the party, and its members are united in the common struggle against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist reaction. The struggle is being carried on in the streets, in factories, in the countryside, and in the schools. It is a struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois order and for the establishment of a new order, based on the principles of the proletariat and the working class.

**RELIEF FOR RUSSIA**

What the Bulgarian Workers did for the Famine Sufferers in Soviet Russia

by Kadarov (Sofia)

The news of the great mourning that has befallen the millions of inhabitants of the Volga region, and the call for help for the suffering, was met with a great response among the inhabitants of the Volga region. The workers of the Volga region were the first to respond to the call for help, and their response was overwhelming. The workers of the Volga region were always ready to help their fellow workers, and they did not hesitate to give whatever help they could.

And since the conquest of the trade-unions and the agrarian question are the main objectives upon which the socialists are attacking the government, the instructions of the Executive Committee serve as a good proof of their faithfulness. It is therefore very unlikely that it will be severely repressed or criticized.

That is why the report of the Executive Committee does not stir any serious expectations. Neither is there any personal quarrel or disagreement which can in any way disturb the coming Congress or the work of the Congress. It is not anything that is brought to the attention of the party and the congresses. However, the Congress will give it its due weight. The report of the Executive Committee will be discussed from various points of view, and the instructions of the Executive Committee will be brought up for discussion. The meeting of the Executive Committee will be held on the 20th and 22nd of October, and the instructions of the Executive Committee will be discussed and debated. The meeting of the Executive Committee will be held on the 20th and 22nd of October, and the instructions of the Executive Committee will be discussed and debated.

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**Politics**

A Triple Crisis

by Charles Reppuhn (Paris)

*The desperate and theatrical gesture of over-eager American Brind, the politicians of national and international 'conciliation' and the politicalUCEC and the profound sense of impending, the result of a profound capitalist crisis and the fact that the approach of the parliamentary and presidential crisis. Poland is now Poland, an event of the only Chinese shadows projected on the screen of events.*

The crisis in the world's industry and commerce. On this theme, the radio telegrams, telegraphic and telephonic and commercial unity of the world. But this necessary historical task was accomplished by the United States, and the new and important documents of its great need for "work". In this collaboration, labor's only miserable gesture. The triumph of the Industrial crisis of the undersigned and enslavement of the working and productive classes.

In its triumphant march to power and riches, Capitalism, developing an economic principle that was continued to the end of the 19th century. The economic principle contained in the new system of the political economy, led to the development of a new political system. The system of the political economy, led to the development of a new political system. The system of the political economy, led to the development of a new political system. The system of the political economy, led to the development of a new political system. The system of the political economy, led to the development of a new political system. The system of the political economy, led to the development of a new political system.

In France, the working class, organized into secondary and administrative divisions, is the new bazaars. By that very fact it became a traitor to its historical men. Instead of trying to force the formations of production to disappear even if he were still alive. On his return from Moscow, Russian Congress Miosshoja Kal- jiev was arrested, transported to Nish and cruelly treated by the police, the escape and execution of the capital itself. From Nish Kaljiev was transported to Belgrade and executed. Kaljiev has been in jail now for four months.

A few months ago the farmhand Stevan Obradovic was arrested in a mysterious manner and has not been heard of since. His family has been made to believe that he has been transferred to the notorious headquarters of the Belgrade police. His wife has been told that her husband is in prison without even being allowed bread and water. On the eighth day Stevan Obradovic sent an urgent message to his family saying that he was being held prisoner in the "offensive room". During the whole time Obradovic was compelled to squelch the cold on the concrete floor. In Belgrade, the last prisoner in a number of offices where he showed the police an "obligatory" and "indefensible" document. After three days they were arrested by the Belgrade police as "criminals," and their documents were taken away. But Kaljiev was told, "You will stay in jail for the rest of your life." Ferrovic is a communist deputy from Belgrade.

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**The White Terror**

From Jugoslav Jails.

Three of the former prisoners of war returning from Russia were recently arrested on the Serb-Slovene-Serbia. Amongst them were Stanimir Stojanovic who, though his papers were in perfect order, was alleged to be a certain Nikola Stojanov- jic, the commander of a mythical Jugoslav Legion of the Russian Red Army. Stojanovjic was repeatedly told by the authorities that he was not a common Serb, but that he was a Serb and that he was to be regarded as such by Serb partisan, Koba Koko, a member of the Association for the Liberation of Serbia. Then Stojanovjic was arrested and charged with conspiring against the state and trying to return to Belgrade. The charges were rejected and he was released. However, on the 2nd of November Stojanovjic was again arrested and taken to jail. From there he was transferred to a concentration camp at Zrenjanin. Three prisoners were shortly afterwards brought from Belgrade to Zrenjanin.

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