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## To the Proletarians of All Countries!

# A Just Verdict Against the S. R. Leaders

### Workers!

The Revolutionary Tribunal has pronounced sentence on the leaders of the counter-revolutionary party which calls itself the Social Revolutionary Party. It pronounced the verdict expected by every revolutionary worker who has followed the trial and has a clear picture of the crimes committed by this party. The Court pronounced them guilty of conspiracy against the First Republic of the Workers and Peasants. They were pronounced guilty because they incited the murder of the leaders of the workers' movement and tried to hush up their cowardly crimes.

In the interests of the World Revolution, the court pronounced the sentence of death upon all those whose guilt was proven and who furthermore refused to give up the armed struggle against the Soviet Government. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers has approved the sentence and at the same time given the order that the sentence be not carried out.

If the Social Revolutionary Party, whose guilt was completely disclosed at the trial, gives up its preparations for civil war, ceases to incite armed insurrections, gives up its terroristic and espionage activities, and cuts its shameful connection with the capitalist Governments, then their leaders who are in prison, will not have one hair of their heads disturbed. But should the S. R. Party start civil war again and once more resort to arms, it alone with seal the warrant of execution against the convicted S. R.'s.

### Workers of All Countries!

The Communist International took an active part in this trial because everything that concerns the life and death of the Soviet Republic affects you, proletarians of all countries, and the Communist International, the international organization of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. In your name, the representatives of the Communist International, *Zethin, Bokanyi*, and *Muna* acted as prosecutors.

The E.C. of the Comintern gave its opinion to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the leader of the Soviet Republic, before the final decision. We affirm our standpoint to the whole international proletariat. We affirm our approval of the Revolutionary Tribunal's verdict.

For the crimes which at the trial were shown to be crimes of the Social Revolutionaries, in a trial which lasted more than two months and in which the accused were allowed more

possibilities of defense than are the revolutionary workers in the so-called democratic courts anywhere,—the revolutionary conscience could pronounce no other sentence than that of death.

But the revolutionary Workers' Government is far removed from the bourgeois subservience to the letter of the law. It knows no policy of revenge which the bourgeois governments pursue so mercilessly against the revolutionary workers. The revolutionary Workers' Government is led by revolutionary considerations. For this reason the Executive Committee affirms its solidarity with the All-Russian Soviet Committee, which has ordered the sentence not to be carried out.

The Soviet Government lays the fate of the leaders of the S.R. Party in the hands of such of its leaders who are abroad. It gives them the possibility of saving the lives of the condemned, by giving up their attempts at counter-revolutionary struggle and provocation of civil war.

### Workers!

The leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals are taking advantage of this trial of the S.R. Party to rouse hatred against Soviet Russia. Together with the bourgeois press they took up the defense of the allies of world counter-revolution, masquerading under the banner of Socialism. They represent Soviet Russia as a wild beast thirsting for blood. We ask you, if there is a government in the world, which would commute the death sentence against persons, who in conspiracy with the capitalist governments of other countries, fought to overthrow the Soviet government, stopping at nothing,—not even at murder.

The leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals sent defenders to the Moscow trial, but recalled them when they became convinced of the terrible crimes of the defendants.

The documents that the Soviet Government confiscated from Kerensky, the leader of the S.R.'s, prove that it was not in 1918 only, during the period of bitter civil war that this party fought against the Workers' Government with allied money, but that even as late as 1921, the S.R.P. organized insurrections against the Soviet Power, with the money of the French and Czecho-Slovakian Governments and the aid of the Baltic governments and the Polish spy system.

The unmasking of the S.R.'s as agents of the world counter-revolution, also unmasks the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals. After this unmasking and after the Soviet Government

has shown that it is not thirsting for the blood of the criminal leaders of the S.R.'s, we expect that every worker, irrespective of party, will call to the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals: "We have had enough of this hate against the Soviet Government. In the name of the proletariat, we forbid you to stand forth as defenders of people who have soiled their hands with the money of capitalistic governments and steeped them in the blood of the Russian workers and peasants."

We are convinced that even the most backward sections of the Second and 2½ Internationals will know enough to say: "Compel your allies, who are warring against the Soviet Government to break their shameful bonds with the capitalist governments and to stop their criminal preparations for civil war in a country whose desire is Peace, Work and Order. If the Second and 2½ Internationals would expend one tenth of the energy they have wasted in hatred of Soviet Russia and use it instead to influence the S.R.'s, not only will the lives of the S.R. leaders be protected, but the lives of many workers and peasants would be spared, who must defend the Soviet Power and the lives of millions of children, whom civil war would condemn to starvation."

Workers!

The just sentence pronounced by the Workers and Peasants' Republic expresses that which millions of revolutionary workers in Europe have thought and think today, the workers who do not allow themselves to be misled by the lies of the bourgeois press, but see the truth through the mist of lies and denunciations.

Far away from the idiocy and blood lust of bourgeois government, the Soviet Government, in order to realize the united front with the workers who have not yet freed themselves from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic leaders, has drawn back the sword that was justly suspended over the heads of those guilty of the greatest possible crime against the

world revolution. This it did in the firm conviction that the working-class of the world will not only do everything in its power to restrain the mad S.R. Party from civil war, but that it will use all its energy to help Soviet Russia in its difficult fight against the predatory plans of world capitalism, whose instrument is the S.R. Party.

By helping Soviet Russia, by defending her, you free yourself from the necessity of the terrible fight, in which no one is spared, for our opponents have no mercy for the struggling and suffering masses of workers and peasants.

The period of danger for the first Republic of Workers and Peasants has not yet passed. At the Hague the representatives of world capital demanded that the Russian workers give back to the foreign capitalists factories, workshops and mines. Soviet Russia, representing the interests of the world proletariat rejected these offers. World capital will use every means, from financial boycott to financing civil war, to force the capitulation of the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government will protect the interests of the workers with all its strength. In this fight it will destroy all its enemies. Do not allow the magnanimity that the Soviet Government has shown the S.R.'s to give new hope and new strength to the enemies of Soviet Russia.

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the Revolutionary Tribunal that guards the interests of the world proletariat with a firm hand!

Disarm the enemies of Soviet Russia, the initiators of civil war and terror!

Long live the union of the world proletariat with Soviet Russia, the mighty vanguard of the working-class!

Moscow, August 8, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## To the International Proletariat! To the German Workers!

Events are taking place in Germany which not only make severe demands upon the German proletariat, but which require the greatest attention and closest interest of the workers of all countries. Philip Scheidemann, the leader of the German Social Democracy, the man whose name is indissolubly connected with the betrayal of that same Social-Democracy, wrote recently in the *Vorwärts*: "As on the 4th of August 1914, Germany has come, to a turning point in its history". And this time the German Social Democracy and with it the Second International, again break down. Once more they reveal themselves as the parties which shamelessly betray the interests of the working-class.

They crippled international Socialism for years when, in 1914, they decided to take their place alongside of the German bourgeoisie, of German imperialism. The result of this action was to destroy the belief of the international working-class in Socialism, in the international solidarity of the proletariat which allowed itself to be driven from one battlefield to the other, to be butchered like cattle. Thanks to the policy of the Social Democracy, the bourgeoisie was able to fight the war to an end, shedding seas of blood, without any revolt on the part of the proletarian masses.

Then came peace, a peace of inequity, a peace of exploitation, a peace which keeps the world armed to the teeth, ready for a new war. And the German working-class, weakened and misled by the Social Democrats was not even capable of retaining the power which had fallen into its hands without a struggle. It could not resist the bourgeoisie, although the latter was weak and disorganized.

Once again the Scheidemanns have helped the bourgeoisie. They have organized White Guards to shoot down the vanguard of the German proletariat, so the bourgeoisie might be able to erect its power anew upon their corpses. Just as during the war, the Social Democracy excused its criminal tactics on the ground of the necessity to protect German Independence, without which there can be no Democracy and no progress of the working-class. Similarly they stabbed the November Revolution in the back on the ground that it was necessary to suppress all attempts at a proletarian dictatorship which "only leads to misery and slavery", while the Republic and Democracy represent the smooth roads to Socialism . . .

They have made a god of their bourgeois democracy, this excellent instrument of capitalistic exploitation, this democracy under which millions of workers in France and in America lead a life of slavery; they have sacrificed on its altars the most elemental interests of the proletariat.

And now we see the German Social Democracy ready to betray its bourgeois Republic into the hands of the monarchist, Hohenzollern Restoration.

It has prepared this action through three years that followed the overthrow of the November Revolution. It has prepared it when it left unpunished the criminal German officer caste. It has prepared it when it did not dare make any change in the system of oppression of the imperial bureaucracy. It has prepared it when it threw the masses of the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of the counter-revolution, by making them the prey of Big Capital. It has prepared it when it left the organizers of the Kapp-Putsch go scott-free, and threw the revolutionary workers into prison. It has prepared it when it suppressed the spontaneous movement of the proletariat after the murder of Frizberger.

And now this preparatory work is ended; The German Social Democracy capitulated before the monarchists, who, after they had shaken the Government so rudely by the assassination of Rathenau, now dare a direct attack upon the Republic.

And this happens after the whole German proletariat, in a rousing protest, shouted "Enough!" to the murderous monarchists. This happens after the workers had forced the leaders of the Social Democracy and the Trade Unions to formulate their minimum demands:—a special law against the monarchists, which would break up their murder organizations, curb the monarchistic propaganda, cleanse the republican administration and army of the monarchists.

Yesterday, they put up and signed their demands, together with the Communists. Twice they have led out the workers in great demonstrations throughout Germany as a proof that they were willing to fight for their demands. And what happened? How did they keep their solemn promises?

At the same time that they were prattling about a united front, and the Communists had renounced all separate action, they were negotiating behind the scenes with the *bourgeois*, so-called democratic parties and surrendered half their demands! They have made the Protective Laws into a farce, till they lost all effectiveness! They have not freed our revolutionary fighters, still languishing in prison! They have refused to exile the members of the old dynasties, even when they openly and cynically advocated the overthrow of the Republic! They have refused to direct the Extraordinary Laws against the monarchists, and, most important of all, they have refused to chase from the police and the army the monarchistic scoundrels who reign there!



Furthermore, they have helped to create an Extraordinary Law which monarchistic judges will be able to apply against the revolutionary workers fighting for the transformation of the bourgeois republic into a proletarian one. Their cowardice has given the counter-revolution such courage, that an openly monarchistic party—the financier of the monarchistic reaction—Stinnes' Party, dares to demand admission into the Government. The monarchists have the audacity to defy the Republic from the grave of one of its ministers whom they have murdered.

The monarchist counter-revolution entrenched in Bavaria, has already passed from the defensive to the offensive. It openly declares war against the national government, and declares null and void the Laws for the Protection of the Republic. The German Government again retreats before these provocations without a fight. The bureaucracy of the Social Democracy and of the trade unions, after calling upon the workers to defeat this monarchistic counter-revolution, now hushes up its cowardly retreat.

The German Social Democrats and the German trade union leaders have demonstrated thereby that they are not able to defend even the bourgeois democracy, this limited field of the class struggle, to say nothing of having it fight for Socialism.

This cowardly behaviour of the Social Democrats and of the trade union leaders will bring about the overthrow of the German bourgeois Republic, unless the working-class arises to the defense of its interests.

And at this moment, when the Social Democracy fails in its duty not only as a Socialistic, but even as a purely democratic party, at this moment, the Independent Socialists are laying down their arms! This party, in whose program we read: "Proletarian Dictatorship and Soviet Republic", this party which has declared a thousand times that the interests of the working-class against the bourgeoisie can be defended by the class-war only; which has stigmatized a thousand times the coalition policy of the Social Democrats; this party declares itself ready to enter into a bourgeois coalition.

*The protection of the bourgeois democracy,—that is the excuse of the Independent Social Democrats for their betrayal of the cause.*

The ink with which they wrote this excuse is not yet dry, and already this policy bears its fruits. It has helped the reaction in the Reichstag to defeat the Extraordinary Laws which were to protect the Republic against the monarchists.

A block, including all shades of politicians from Helfferich to Crispian and Dittmann, is being formed to prevent the passage of the Extraordinary Law against the counter-revolution which is murdering the Republic.

**Working men and women!**

The Social Democrats and the Independents have formed a coalition in Parliament. This means that even after the bourgeoisie refused to hire Independent lackeys, these Independents will nevertheless continue to serve as the body guard of the present counter-revolutionary government, and will wear its livery.

The Majority Socialists belong to the Second International, the Independent Socialists to the 2½ International. Just as on the 4th of August, Haase, the later founder of the Independent Social Democracy, and Kautsky, its chief theoretician, adopted the same policy as the Scheidemanns and the Eberts, and betrayed the proletariat; just as in November 1918, these same Independents and Social-Democrats, betrayed the November Revolution to the bourgeoisie. To crown their treacherous work they united again now, at this deciding turning point in the history of the German proletariat. When the monarchy of the Hohenzollerns, when the savage rule of capital and militarism will have been restored again, *the Moor will have done his work; the Moor can then die.* The bourgeoisie will throw them out of the Government; and this glorious era when the workers will be bound hand and foot, and the "liberators of the people", the Social Democrats, will protest with hollow phrases against the rule of capital which they themselves have helped to restore, these magnificent times will return.

The Second and 2½ Internationals, the heroes of Amsterdam, accompany this tragedy with their clownish dancing. They promise their help to the cowardly German Social Democrats of both shades and to the trade union bureaucrats.

When the Scheidemanns and the Dittmanns are forced to flee the country by monarchistic, anti-Socialistic laws, Henderson in London, and Renaudel in Paris, will receive them with open arms.

In its proclamation of July 23rd, the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation pronounced its blessings upon the Second and 2½ Internationals. For the salvation of Europe these heroes recommend *propaganda* for the League of Nations, a fearful appeal to the rich uncle in America, that he remit France's and England's war debts, so that they, in turn, will be pleased to reduce their extortions, and plunder Germany not wholly, but only half or three quarters. These three Internationals are not ashamed

to call upon you, workers, to become propagandists for the Entente bourgeoisie. At the Conference of the Executives of the three political Internationals, the speakers of the 2½ International united with the Communists against the Treaty of Versailles. And now they call upon you, together with the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals, to make propaganda for Lloyd George.

**Working men and women!**

If you allow these demagogues to mislead you in this struggle in remembrance of a better past, and in the name of order and discipline, then you are lost! The German Communists knew very well that this bourgeois Republic was not a proletarian weapon, but in spite of this, they were the only ones to call upon you for an effective defense of the Republic because they see that it gives them at least a certain freedom of movement in their fight for the Soviet Dictatorship of the proletariat, for Socialism. They have undertaken no separate action as long as they had the least hope that the Social Democrats and the trade union bureaucrats would be willing to fight for their demands.

The Communists do not intend to take part in the betrayal of the German proletariat into the hands of the monarchist reaction.

And today, again, before it is too late, we tell you: You must act yourselves! You must do everything to force your leaders to refuse the coalition with the bourgeoisie, to dissolve the Reichstag, to begin the fight for a workers' government.

If this does not succeed, cast aside your leaders, and act without them; for should the capitalistic, monarchistic reaction triumph, it is you who will suffer, you, upon whom the white terror of the monarchistic murderers will wreak its vengeance, in the government, in the factories, and in the workshops.

The betrayal of your leaders makes your struggle very difficult. The Social Democrats and the trade union bureaucrats still control the most important positions in the proletarian organizations, and use their influence to sabotage your struggle.

In Bavaria, the reaction is conducting its work openly. The Government, the Social Democratic and trade union leaders give are giving way before them.

The international counter-revolution has begun its offensive. The Reparations Commission has named two financial controllers to superintend the income and expenses of the German government; the government submits. The Social Democratic and trade union leaders will help government, police, military, and justice to plunder you according to the dictates of the finance controllers of the Entente.

**Working men and women!**

The foreign and native capitalists are able to rob you, to squeeze the last drop of blood from your bodies, because you have not united to obtain the control of the finances of the bourgeois state and the means of production of the capitalists for the welfare of the working-class! Prices are rising by leaps and bounds; the fate of the Austrian worker awaits you if you do not unite in a solid front, to overthrow the monarchistic reaction, to overthrow the profiteering bourgeoisie and the treacherous party and trade union bureaucrats who have betrayed you every time you have accepted their words as the truth. The Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International alone, have proved that they were ready to lead you in the class war, and to the victory of the revolutionary proletariat.

Show those of your leaders who have forgotten their duty, that the German proletariat is not a herd of cattle which they can drive back into the monarchist stables!

Your leaders have betrayed you because they fear the war with the bourgeoisie. Teach them to fear the working-class, which has finally lost its patience with the traitors!

**Down with the Coalition Government!**

**Down with the Social Democratic lackeys of the monarchy!**

**Long live the fight for the Workers Government!**

**Long live the united battle-front of the revolutionary working-class!**

Moscow, August 3, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

### The Blockade is Broken.

By W. Demar.

Moscow, June, 1922.

The Swedish Metal Workers' Union has invited representatives from sister organizations in many European countries, to attend its forthcoming convention. So far, so good. But the Swedish Union sinned against the ethics of the international



labor movement, as defined by Amsterdam, by inviting among the others, the *Russian Metal Workers' Union*.

This unprecedented and unheard of act has been brought up by the official organ of the Social Democratic premier of the Kingdom of Sweden. In an editorial of the *Stockholm Socialdemokraten* for July 1, we read: "The so-called Red International of Labor Unions, that is, the special organization for splitting the European trade union movement, received today rare encouragement from the Swedish unions..." And further on: "If anyone had told us, a month ago, that the Bolshevik cell tactics could grow to such an extent that they could menace the unity of the Swedish labor union movement, and that they could lead this union into disloyalty to its international relations, we would have ridiculed him..."

Yet, it happened. Even the deepest fears of the Swedish high priests of the Second International have been justified. How comes it then, that Mr. Branting and his party have not sufficiently watched over the Swedish workers, who are now preparing to meet the Russian metal workers, just as though it meant nothing? The reason is quite simple: In the previous convention of the metal workers, the minority, sympathetic to Bolshevism was able to secure the majority of the seats on the executive committee. (It has long been well known that these Bolsheviks are skilful scoundrels...) And even after Amsterdam had ceased protesting over the above disclosures of the personnel of the committee, the Social Democratic gentlemen continued their plots.

They were not exactly against the unity of the Swedish and Russian metal workers. The evil of the whole matter is just "that, on such an invitation, a few representatives of the R.I.L.U. will present themselves..." Quite evidently, the Russian metal workers will not send them Amsterdam adherents; on that matter it is not merely the editors of the *Socialdemokraten* who are convinced, but also those who invited the Russians. In this manner, the Social Democrats seek to frighten the insurgents of the Metal Workers' Union by stating that their act constitutes the moral support of the R.I.L.U. against which the Amsterdam International is conducting a bitter struggle.

We do not yet know whether the leaders of the Metal Workers Union are really terrified, but we do know that the Social Democrats are in a state bordering on panic.

At the Fifth All Russian Metal Workers Congress, we also invited the Swedish organization and hoped for nothing less than that they would send us, as representatives, adherents of the Red International. It was far more probable, however, that Amsterdam men would come; yet we had no objection to discussing with them the international labor movement, before several hundred delegates of the Russian metal workers. The secretary of the Swedish Union wrote us that the delegates could not attend, owing to technical reasons; the invitations were received too late. We regretted this greatly.

We must, however, recognize that the panic of the *Socialdemokraten* is not altogether groundless. The Russian metal workers' union has now received two official invitations to conventions of foreign comrades. The Norwegians invited us some time ago; and they made a final break with Amsterdam in their last convention, without the participation of the representatives of the R.I.L.U., as our delegates arrived late for the Convention. But it is not only the metal workers who are entering into relations with the Russian unions. Some of our unions, as is well known, have already been accepted into their international federations, and take part in international congresses.

No other than O'Grady has told our chemical workers that he will take all measures to assure their entry into the international federation.

Herein lies the real reason for the anxiety of Branting's party in a matter which is, after all, not of world importance, namely, the invitation of the Russian Metal Workers. The blockade of the Russian unions, conducted by the Amsterdam International, with the aid of its lackeys, the Second and the 2½ Internationals, has been broken through. This blockade was the love-token, presented by Messrs. Vandervelde, Branting, Thomas and Co. to the capitalists of the world, who desired, with the help of this blockade, to cancel the harmful revolutionary influence of the Russian Soviet Republic. What an irony of fate! The methods of Amsterdam were precisely those of the capitalists. Of the results of these methods, their originators can judge best.

The adherents of the R.I.L.U. do not split unions. It is the Amsterdam adherents who do this, through their blockade of the Russian unions, and through their mass expulsions of revolutionary groups from unions and the expulsion of whole unions from national federations. (See Germany and Czechoslovakia.) The Russian Metal Workers' delegates do not come to split the Swedish unions, but to unite with the Swedish workers in a common fight against capital. And we fear that this "safeguarding" of the Swedish labor union movement, against the "attacks of the Moscow splitters", will also be favored by the

Swedish government, which is affiliated with the Second International.

And, if this does happen, the working masses of all countries will understand, without special explanation, where the reason lies. And that will not greatly rejoice the Amsterdam gentleman. For this reason, the Swedish metal workers, will not be particularly enthusiastic supporters of Mr. Branting and his party.

## The Fight Against the Wage Tax in France

By Albert Treint (Paris).

The tax on wages is a category of the income tax that was voted a short time before the war and which was intended to progressively shift the tax burden from workers' incomes to superfluous incomes. It was to have replaced the old fiscal mechanism of direct and indirect taxes by a modern one.

The bourgeoisie finding it necessary to shift the costs of the war on the working class, has changed the character of this tax. Today the wage tax hits annual earnings of 6,000 francs. It affects the income necessary for the upkeep of the workers and is levied in addition to other taxes.

During the war the government showed discretion in applying this tax, but since 1921 it has thrown it aside and made the proletariat pay.

This direct levy operates on wages that have already been paid and expended because of their insufficiency, and has a particularly odious character in the eyes of the proletariat.

Already in 1921, the local unions, Communist sections and groups of the A.R.A.C. (Republican Association of Ex-service Men) took the initiative in gathering the tax leaflets and sending them to the Finance Minister.

In December 1921 the necessity of coordinating the local actions into one on a national scale, in the collective refusal to pay the wage-tax became clear to the Left.

In spite of the disdain shown by the Right and the Center to the proposal of the Left, for action against this tax, it was adopted by the Executive.

A few weeks after this decision a campaign was launched in the pages of *Humanité*. Numerous local organizations, amongst them the unions, took up the agitation, in response to the discontent of the masses.

The campaign soon stopped, and the *Humanité* had to publish the resolutions of the unions and local organizations as secondary matter in the space reserved for incidents of social life.

Nevertheless, the elementary movement of the masses grew. In the lower Loire, at *Basse-Indre*, the attempt was made to overcome this resistance by deducting the amounts due, from the weekly wages. A 48 hours strike was declared; the sums deducted were returned.

The government attempted to seize the effects of those in default. At this time the *Humanité* campaign reopened and resulted in the concentration of the workers at Asnières, Boulogne, St. Quens (Paris) where a successful resistance was effected. There again it was the pressure of the local organizations on the central organs of the Party which obtained these results.

From this time onwards, a daily column in the *Humanité* encouraged resistance by informing the workers of the results of the local initiative.

A detailed examination of the events from Saturday July 22nd to July 30th will show the development of the fight.

Saturday, 22nd of July, a great meeting was organized in Courbevoie (Paris) by the following local organizations: Communist, Young Communist, the Union Committee and a section of the Republican Association of Ex-Service Men. A collection made among the 800 present for propaganda purposes produced the sum of 172 francs.

Sunday, 23rd of July, the effects of Curquain, a railwayman living at Héricourt, (Pas de Calais) were to have been seized. The village was in a state of siege and held by massed machine guns. The population was in sympathy with the defaulter. Police were called and charges took place. Finally, Courquain paid the minimum due, 3 francs 75 centimes.

Wednesday, the 26th, a meeting was improvised with Courquain in the chair. The speakers condemned the brutality shown by the police at Héricourt and the meeting pledged itself to continue the resistance amid cries of "Long live the Russian Revolution!" A Communist branch was formed as a result of the meeting. The chief constable ordered an enquiry into the action of the police.

Tuesday, 25th. The *Humanité* published an appeal to the organizations of the Seine Trade Unions.

Wednesday the 26th, the Communist municipality of St. Draucy announced through the columns of *Humanité* that they undertook to advise and direct defaulting comrades.

The same day, the Seine Union and the Union Committee of the Second Paris District launched an appeal for a protest meeting against the tax, to take place on the 2nd of August. Another meeting took place and all the workers present declared themselves ready to respond to the appeal of the Seine Union, to resist the seizure of a comrade's effects.

A great meeting was held and collisions with the police took place. The Communist Youth and Communist Section participated. At St. Cyr, several hundred workers resisted the sale of furniture. These workers had been called together by the District Union and the Federal Bureau of railway-workers.

On the 29th, the Labor Exchange of St. Quentin (Somme) and the Federal Union organized a protest meeting against the tax.

In the course of the week, there was a remarkable occurrence. A non-union man Alard Sibuet, refused to pay the tax. The Federal Union of Employees took advantage of this fact to make an appeal to the organization.

This is the sketch of the action against the wage tax which took place during one short week.

### A Communist Summary.

The conclusions are evident.

1. The fight against the wage tax corresponds with the earnest desire of the working masses.

2. The will to fight on the part of the working-class is such that it does not even stop at collisions with the police.

3. The economic fight against the tax is rapidly changing into a political fight against bourgeois power.

4. Neither the Communist Party nor its local organizations took the initiative in organizing the resistance.

Often the Party and its local organizations did not take part as such in the organized actions, or joined them later. This attitude favored the action of the anarchists against the party.

5. The Executive of the Party did not organize its forces with a view to resistance, in spite of the interesting suggestions such as the Communist municipality of Draucy.

6. The Party Executive did not draw up any line of action for its sections and federation, for cooperation with the other organizations. Lacking directions, the passive sections did not take any action. And the active sections participated in the movement without any unity of aim. The national organizations of the working-class took no concrete attitude in the leading of the fight; no political consequences can be drawn from the action undertaken.

7. The lack of national organization and coordination of effort prevented the Taylorization of the forces of resistance.

8. The return of some hundreds of thousands of tax papers which would have been assured an easy victory, has not been organized. And this was very easy to accomplish.

9. Wherever the fight has been carried on, the organization has been reinforced. Where the organization did not exist, it has been created by the fight, as in the delegation of the Peugeot factory and the Communist section of Héricourt.

These conclusions point to the immediate duty of the Executive of the French Communist Party:—

To form a proletarian united front against the wage tax. To strengthen its interior discipline and become the organizing dynamo of the proletariat. Such a victory would set the working-class into motion against such taxes and encourage them in their fight against wage cuts. To take advantage of such periods by carrying on an intense propaganda based on the lessons experienced.

From fight to fight, a disciplined, organized party, capable of applying the tactic of the united front, should be able to take over the lead of the immense majority of workers, towards the Communist Revolution.

## The Coming International Conference of Transport Workers.

(R.I.L.U.) The International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers was established in July 1921, to unite all radical elements in their endeavour to revolutionize the rank and file of the transport workers and to win their unions for the R.I.L.U. In conformity with this aim, the P.C. left nothing undone to establish connections with the revolutionary elements and unions in the transport trade. With this end in view, it convened, in August 1921, the International Seamen's Conference where it endeavoured to unite the revolutionary seamen of various shades and creeds on the platform of the first congress of the R.I.L.U. For carrying on propaganda among the crews of foreign ships and establishing connections with the transport workers' unions in Western Europe and America, harbor bureaus were set up in a number of Russian ports. Representatives of these bureaus met in two conferences to discuss activities in the ports, and ways

and means for communicating with the ships. At present we are about to set up such harbor bureaus in some Western European ports.

During the Congress of the Toiling Masses of the East, summoned by the Comintern, the Propaganda Committee called a conference of all transport workers attending that Congress. This was done with the aim of getting into touch with the transport workers' unions in the East. Members of the bureau and fully accredited delegates of the Committee, were, furthermore, sent to various countries, partly for agitation and partly for establishing direct connections. All things considered, the activities of the I.P.C. aimed both at ideological and the organizational affinity and unity of all revolutionary elements amongst the transport workers.

The coming international conference must sum up what has so far been done, and must decide upon new forms of activity of the P.C. The broad masses will lose their reformist illusions and become revolutionized only through a continuous struggle for their vital demands, those demands that result from their economic situation. The Propaganda Committee must therefore participate without hesitation in the daily struggle of the trade unions, with concrete slogans and a practical program of action. The organizational structure of the transport workers' unions is extremely complicated; the wage policy and the offensive of transport capital, workers' control and shop stewards committees, these are the main questions before the transport workers today. The coming conference must solve these questions by formulating a revolutionary program of action and by preparing to carry out this program.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The Stabilization of the Russian Ruble.

By Louis Sellier (Paris).

The event which took place in Soviet Russia between the 1st of April and the 30th of May will go down as one of the greatest occurrences in the economic history of the Russian Revolution. Perhaps it will even go down as one of the most extraordinary occurrences in the financial history of the world.

With the introduction of the new economic policy, and with the restoration of free trade which is the chief result of that policy, the Soviet Government had been forced to bring into circulation an ever increasing amount of paper money, in hundreds of billions, and finally in trillions of rubles.

In that way the state budget and that of the great public organs reached a figure for which our arithmetical vocabulary would soon have had no denomination. Every two weeks the cooperatives paid millions and millions of rubles to a very great number of employees, and officials, whose work was far from putting into circulation the corresponding amount of goods which would have reestablished the equilibrium with the wages they received.

The open market, very poorly provided with foodstuffs and goods, and flooded with this paper money, soon resembled an auction more than a market. The prices rose continually in ever increasing tempo, and consequently the purchasing power of the ruble fell, in the same degree and with the same rapidity.

During December 1921, this purchasing power fell 75 %. Every fourteen days, the employee and official received the same amount of rubles, as part wage for his work but its purchasing value had gone down one half, or more.

The prices set for the services of public utilities, and the income of the state budget, most of which had just been fixed, and were to enter into effect in the governmental treasuries at the end of the fiscal year, proved themselves totally insufficient to meet this flood of paper rubles.

Under these conditions, the economic stabilization of the country seemed to be totally impossible, and had this condition lasted for any length of time, it would have constituted a serious danger to the existence of the Soviets.

The avalanche rolled down irresistibly. Its rapidity and magnitude increased in geometric progression. It menaced to destroy the achievements of more than four years of hard revolutionary work. And we see, how in less than a half a year Sokolnikov was able to halt, and finally master the avalanche.

In January 1922, the People's Commissar for Finances announced to an attentive Russia his decision to stop the issue of paper money from the 1st of April. It is my personal conviction that the mere announcement sufficed to open the way to a decided amelioration. The paper money whose necessity for trade purposes was acknowledged, received a little more respect.



The 1st of April came, and Sokolnikov kept his word. A few days later the first "salutary difficulties" already made their appearance. Neither was it in any way to be wondered that those difficulties appeared so rapidly.

The sudden cessation of new issues of banknotes, which until then amounted to hundreds of millions of rubles daily and corresponded to the necessities of commerce in a wild, unregulated situation, had about the same effect as the sudden radical withdrawal of morphine from a drug field who had become accustomed to this narcotic.

In several places a scarcity of money began to be felt on the 15th of April, when pay day came in the nationalized industries.

On the 30th of April the same conditions prevailed, somewhat more acute than fourteen days ago. The merchants did not have enough money to pay their purchases and to meet their obligations towards the state. Many of them were forced to apply to the state bureau of finance for a postponement of payments.

In all parts of Russia and especially in the South, the local post offices were unable to pay the money orders presented. Most public treasuries suffered from the lack of money for the most current expenses.

But on the other side, we have a definite amelioration of the situation. Prices began to display a falling tendency on the Russian market, and it could be seen, that the drop would increase presently, — this for the first time since the introduction of the new economic policy.

The Russian working-class, which has suffered so much with such admirable patience, recognized with unerring instinct that this was the first step in a new period of economic stabilization and economic reconstruction of the workers' and peasants' government. And a few days later, on the 1st of May, the masses of these unpaid men and women demonstrated with unequalled enthusiasm their attachment to the Soviet Republic. All those who had lived in Russia since October 1917, recognized unanimously that this 1st of May 1922 surpassed all others in spirit and in grandeur.

The Russian proletariat had not been mistaken. From the 1st to the 30th of May, the prices oscillated back and forth. The fact that the prices for milk, eggs, butter and oil did not rise was a new, extraordinary phenomenon. And the price for bread actually dropped.

These events are the more remarkable because, on that same 1st of April, when Sokolnikov stopped the issuance of new notes, he raised the prices of public utility services and the already oppressive taxes in very large ratios. This should have contributed almost certainly to a rise in prices.

The economic and financial sickness of Soviet Russia were treated in a most energetic fashion, by the Scotch shower bath. The cold stream of the decrease of paper money was applied at the same time as the warm shower of the tremendous raises in taxes of all sorts. And in spite of the painfulness of this process, the desired effect was achieved, a most important fact for the future of the Socialist regime in Soviet Russia.

In the first half of June, all the foreign currency, the franc, the mark, the pound, the dollar, the lira and the gulden, showed daily fluctuations which pointed distinctly to a stabilization of the ruble and a fall of the foreign bank notes. Even the price of gold went down 25%.

I saw the whole development of the situation before my eyes, during my five months stay in Soviet Russia. This development presents to us a new world of lessons and observations. It will have a great influence in the further development of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. And it proves that that great country, the Communistic hope of the world proletariat, is on its way to stabilize its finances, to balance its state budget, and thereby approach the requirement for the material, moral and social development of a modern system of society.

It is very rejoicing and encouraging to register such a great financial victory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic at a time when the strongest capitalistic states are fighting with the greatest financial difficulties, which for some of these nations, as France, for instance, appear quite insolvable.

The results of this victory are more important and more fruitful for the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Republic than would have been an eventual foreign loan.

The revolutionary *defaitism*, the comprehensible, but none the less, inexcusable weariness of certain managing bodies in the nationalized industries have no more excuse for existence, and should not be tolerated.

The period of difficulties is not yet over, but the worse is behind us. While the economic crisis is forcing the capitalistic governments to abolish the eight hour day, to keep millions of

proletarians out of work, to lower the age limit for working children, to limit the expenses for hygiene, at the same time that they are increasing their ruinous military expenses, to fight against the weak social protective laws which have been formulated after the war; while they are fighting in vain to reestablish the balance of their state finances; which a long past of capitalistic profits has irreparably ruined; while in those countries social differences sharpen menacingly, the R.S.F.S.R. is convalescing slowly, but surely.

The leading financiers of the capitalistic countries are no less capable than the leaders of revolutionary Russia. They know exactly the things which must logically be done to reestablish order in the state finances. But outside of the fact that such measures must necessarily lead to a limitation of capitalism, and to the partial destruction of its profits and privileges, no bourgeois government possesses either the means or the will to perform the necessary, painful operation.

The success of the Communist cure has proved that the Soviets may rely upon the confidence of the Russian people in any attempt, however bold and painful, to bring that people again upon the path of economic progress.

It suffices to look closely at the conditions under which the economic reconstruction has taken place, to be convinced that this reconstruction will proceed along the principles of Communism.

This first financial victory of the R.S.F.S.R. will strengthen the regime which promises to the proletarians of the world the realization of the Communist ideal.

The exploited of the world must therefore look upon the new step as one of its greatest victories.

## The Nobel Case.

By Victor Serge (Kiev).

The Nobel case tried before the Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow (24th of July) and which ended by several death sentences (the execution of which is being considered by the Presidium of the Executive of Pan-Russian Soviets and which is probably the prelude to a series of commutations) is of the greatest interest from the point of view of the revolutionary classes.

One often imagines that the counter-revolution is above all dangerous, politically and militarily: by its armies, its plots, its propaganda. We do not realize enough how dangerous it is in the economic field, more precisely, by its economic plots. We should study these in detail. We should study the role that it has played in the ruin of Red Russia, in the callous organization of famine, the roles which it will play in the future when the decisive battles of the class war will be fought.

The Nobel case can give us an idea. We must point out that it is not the only one of its kind, but it is typical. It is concerned with an industry of vital importance for Russia, — oil. In November 1918 just after the October Revolution and the nationalization of the Nobel Company's property, Mr. Gustav Nobel, manager of the Nobel Company (Russian oil) called together his scientific and technical personnel. The principal director of the Nobel Company exhorted his personnel not to lose faith in the power of capital, which, sooner or later would be victorious and would know how to compensate those who had remained faithful to it in its hour of trial. The thing of greatest importance was not to leave under any pretext any of the expropriated property, even to remain there in the service of the Soviets, to prevent their working as long as possible and to control them as far as possible when they functioned, to keep an account and a permanent contact with the old owners who had taken refuge abroad, until the time when the Soviet regime would collapse, — a collapse which would be considerably hastened by the lack of liquid fuel. Mr. Nobel and his associates did not find any difficulty in placing themselves at the head of their enterprises. An *Industrial and Commercial Committee* was established in Paris under the gracious patronage of General Wrangel. The task of this Committee was to direct and centralize all efforts of this nature made in Red Russia by the dispossessed capitalists, with the end in view of remaining in possession of their properties and to disrupt the economic life of the Workers' Republic. The Committee established a branch in Finland to deal especially with the question of oil. This was what we shall call the *Nobel Organization*, at the head of which was colonel Bunakoff and a certain Lebourdier. Established in 1919, this organization remained active until 1921. At this time, the revelation of the Tagantsev-Kurtz cadet plot in Petrograd enabled the Extraordinary Commission to lay its hands on Professor Tikhvinski, a collaborator of the Supreme Economic Council and oil specialist who, was Mr. Nobel's principal representative in Petrograd.\*

\* Tikhvinski was shot in 1921.

The engineers and the personnel of the old Nobel Company then working for the Soviet Administration, received a regular sum of Duma roubles then in circulation, and Swedish crowns. Every month Mr. Nobel sent them about 200 million roubles, which in 1919, when a Soviet functionary earned an average of 10-15,000 roubles a month, was a veritable fortune. Mr. Nobel received in return weekly detailed reports in which he had the satisfaction of learning the application of his instructions by his personnel, in his nationalized property. This enables us to understand a little better why the fuel crisis was so great in Russia during the years of the Revolution.

Nine functionaries of the oil commission, all of long service under the Soviets, all occupying responsible positions, all highly qualified specialists and cultivated intellectuals who professed their loyalty to the Revolution, appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow. Among them figure the director of the Petrograd Oil Committee, Garmen, the chemist Kasin; the former member of the Moscow Oil Council, Istomin, the president of the Petrograd Oil Committee, an inspector of this Committee, and the director of the statistical department and the personnel of the same administration.

This is not the first case of the kind in the oil industry. Last year a campaign was insidiously conducted in order to persuade the Soviet Government to give the principal oil properties in Baku to capitalist concessionaires, as the specialist, already a long time in the service of the Soviets, declared that they were about to fall in complete ruin and that it was impossible to save them with the means at the disposal of the Supreme Economic Council. Shortly afterwards, it was left for a good militant Communist, not specialist at all, to go there and find out that this was not the case at all and that it was simply a question of an attempt to hand over Russian oil to foreign capital.

Thus, in spite of the "Red Terror", permanent economic plots were hatched during the years of revolution against the economic life of the Soviet Republic, and continued to retard the development of socialized industry; and it would be presumptuous to think that we have discovered all of them. Thus, the intellectuals, technicians and experts have often found more effective means to fight the Russian Revolution than sabotage. And this is one of the most striking aspects of the penetration of elements coming from the bourgeoisie into the Soviet Administration. We already know that this penetration was one of the most important causes of the formation of a corrupt bureaucracy.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the economic counter-revolution in the State puts before the proletarian dictatorship and before all Communists and sincere revolutionaries, a theoretical and practical problem which must be solved before the Russian Revolution can succeed.

## APPEALS

### The Red International of Labor Unions and the Russian Miners to the Francfort Congress of the Miners' International

On the 6th of August, the 20th Congress of the Miners' International was opened in Francfort. It meets at a time when 600,000 of their comrades in America are waging a desperate fight against their exploiters, for the past four months. Most serious questions confront it. In this connection, the following appeal from the vanguard of the revolutionary proletarian army is of particular importance.

#### The Appeal of the Executive of the R.I.L.U.

Comrades!

The Executive of the Red International of Labor Unions thinks it its revolutionary duty to make clear to you the significance of the present gigantic struggle in the American coal industry.

Coal and ores are the foundations of the world industry. The miners are the first front troops of the international proletariat; they menace the very basis of the capitalistic world. It is for this reason that the miners are always the first against whom capital directs its attacks. Formidable conflicts between the miners and capital arise spontaneously, in one land after another. These conflicts always assume a very great extent and attract the attention of the whole world. We all remember the heroic struggle of the English miners who fought for their rights for 13 weeks, and were forced to surrender only because of non-support from the workers of other industries and from

the unions of other countries. The English industrialists were able to break the desperate resistance of the miners with strike breaking coal from America and the continent.

And the same story repeats itself in America. The miners of the Central States have been fighting for four months, beating back the attacks of capital. No means are too low for the capitalists. They employed strike breakers, murderers and even poison gas against the strikers. The fight of the American miners may also end in defeat if their comrades from other countries do not support them sufficiently. Dozens of ships are bringing European coal to America, thus minimizing the effects of the strike. In spite of their courage and their endurance, the heroic American miners may be forced under the iron heel of capitalism. The international solidarity of the capitalists is unfortunately greater than that of the miners. The only way out, the only hope of breaking the capitalist chains, lies in the close alliance of the miners' unions the world over for the purpose of conducting their class struggle in common.

The task of your Congress is to make of the Miners' International a mighty weapon for the proletarian struggle. One of the chief conditions for the realization of this task is the formation of an active, closely united Miners' International, including the mine workers of the whole world, and independent of the political position or sympathy of its national members. The second condition is that the present International shall not content itself with being a mere information bureau, but shall adopt a conscious class policy, conduct the fights of the miners on an international basis and place the interests of the international proletariat above those of the national sections. Only after you have built a united international front of the miners, will your Congress measure up to its task and be able to oppose the attacks of capital with an unconquerable solidarity.

The R.I.L.U., and its affiliated unions are ready to do all in their power to help create a revolutionary front of the miners, and conduct successfully the fight against the aggressions of capital.

The Executive Committee of the R.I.L.U.  
A. Lozovski, General Secretary.

#### Appeal of the All-Russian Miners' Federation.

Dear Comrades!

We greet you in the name of the Central Committee of the Russian Miners' Federation, an organization with 360,000 members. For many years the Russian miners have lived apart from the economic struggles of the workers of other countries, they have lived through all the horrors of the World War and of the Civil War, and triumphed finally over its capitalist class, and over the armed bands of the foreign capitalists. They send you their greetings as a part of the revolutionary, organized working class of Soviet Russia, and unite gladly with the miners of the world in their struggle to cast off the yoke of capital and bring about the fraternal cooperation of the workers of the whole world. This is all the more necessary because the attacks of capital grow daily more savage, and the workers' organizations, split up into trades, industries and nations are not able to organize the united, powerful resistance of the proletariat against insolent capital. The exploiters of the whole world are attempting to save the capitalist system by organizing a new world war, and by increasing their profits at the expense of the exploited proletariat. Through the restriction of its markets, through the development of its industrial apparatus, through the exploitation of almighty financial capital, through the indebtedness of the capitalist countries, through an increasing unemployment and the rising discontent of the working masses, the bourgeoisie has come to a point where it can see salvation only in the oppression of the workers, and in the lowering of the workers' living standard. The result is the slow destruction of productive forces, the pauperization of the working-class; but also an increase of proletarian revolutionary energy and intensified class-conflict. And while in Western Europe and in America the capitalist class is fighting brutally to destroy the workers' organizations, and lower the living standard of the worker much below that of 1914, we, in Russia, feel the dreaded hand of united international capital. It is true that our constitution provides for the socialization of the means of production, factories, railroads, shops; it is true that we have defeated the hired executioners mustered by international capital against Russia. But the land is laid waste. The bands of Denikin, of Koltchak, of Vudenitch, of Wrangel and of other mercenaries of the world bourgeoisie have not respected our industries any more than the lives and the property of our workers and peasants. The blockade, the sabotage, the attacks of the white guards of all countries have reduced the country to a condition of incredible poverty. The Conferences of Genoa and of the Hague have shown that the bourgeoisie is determined to break the power of the proletarian dictatorship through economic exhaustion of the country. Through the bloody destruction of our revolutionary conquests, and over the graves



of the Russian peasants and workers they hope to conduct a successful campaign against the workers of the whole world. In five years of struggle, the Russian workers have proved that they could defeat the enemies of the international working-class. But the workers of all countries must understand that a victory of the bourgeoisie over Soviet Russia, be it ever so slight, will inevitably strengthen the bourgeoisie in its fight against the workers' organizations the world over. The workers of Europe, America, Africa and Asia, have the same interest in the defeat of the international bourgeoisie as the workers of Soviet Russia. The attempt of the capitalists to lower the living conditions of the workers in order to maintain their parasitic existence, the wage-cuts, and the prolongation of working hours, the continued exploitation of women and children, the unemployment and the sabotage of production to maintain capitalistic methods of production, must appear as warning signals even to the most backward workers in the remotest section of the earth. We must form general class organizations, and revolutionary industrial unions on a world scale. Through strikes and through our readiness for civil war we must rally all revolutionary elements of the working class about our flag. Our policy is not compromise with the bourgeoisie, but the destruction of the capitalist society.

The Central Committee of the Russian Miners' Federation takes it for granted that in a conflict of the miners of the world against the capitalists of the world, the Miners' International must act decisively. It must direct the struggle in order to bring it to a successful end. At their international congresses the workers must not only formulate demands to meet the present situation, but prepare a definite plan for the destruction of capitalist exploitation. For that purpose, you must examine at the Congress all the experiences of the international struggles of the miners and other workers, in order to understand the mistakes made. First of all, we must form the united front of the workers of all countries for their economic and political struggle against world capital. The International must not be a mere correspondence bureau, but must constitute the international general staff of the miners in their uncompromising fight against the bourgeoisie. In that way the English coal barons will not be able to use German coal and purchase the treason of so-called labor leaders, to defeat the miners' strike. Only then will English coal not be shipped to America to break the strike of the American miners. And finally, the workers of Western Europe will not be able to look on passively while the international bourgeoisie is strangling Soviet Russia, the vanguard of the world revolution. The All-Russian Miners' Federation expects of the convening Miners' International just such a revolutionary and class conscious solution of the questions before them.

Long live the International Union of the revolutionary miners of the world.

Long live the united front of the workers against the attacks of international capital!

Down with a peace with the bourgeoisie!

Long live the victorious struggle of the Proletarians!

Moscow, August 1922.

The Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Miners' Federation.

## AGRICULTURE

### Small and Large Scale Production in Agriculture.

By A. Hevesi (Moscow).

The science of political economy has always been concerned with the establishment of the laws of agrarian production; and, as in the period of the beginning of economic science agricultural production was the dominant element in political economy, science concerned itself mainly with investigations in the agrarian field.

The basis of the physiocratic conception accepts solely the productivity of agricultural work, and implies the sterility of all other forms of labor. Classical political economy has also, following the physiocratic teaching, based itself permanently upon agriculture. The conception which regards political economy as an organic whole, forbids the exclusion of any branch of economic production from scientific investigation. The agrarian question is of the deepest interest in Socialist economics, not merely as regards the question of landed property but also the problem of agricultural production.

The petty bourgeois Socialists were by no means in agreement on this question. While Louis Blanc (*The Organization of Labor*), advocated the taking over of the land and the farms and their conversion into common property, and maintained the complete superiority of large scale production, the Proudhonists,

at the Lausanne Congress of 1867, defended the private ownership of land as a necessary condition for individual freedom.

The Marxian concept of the land question is that of the common ownership of landed property, and it recognizes the complete superiority of large scale production. This understanding has been manifested at the Basle Congress (1868), the manifesto of the Geneva Section, the Second Congress of Stuttgart (1870), and at the Goth (1875) and Erfurt (1891) Congresses.

After the Erfurt Congress, the traditional agrarian political viewpoint was subjected to much criticism, not only in Germany, but also in Denmark, Italy and France. The French Labor Party (Parti Ouvrier) adopted a definite agrarian program at the Marseilles Convention in 1892. The German party, after the Frankfurt and Breslau conventions, still stood officially by the old program but the conceptions of the orthodox Marxians and the Revisionists of the agrarian problem, were widely apart.

"It is not by chance, that the Second International has never placed the agrarian question upon the agenda of its congresses. . . . It is not by chance, indeed, for the reason that, with the Second International, there are diametrically opposed conceptions of the agrarian problem. Each of these points of view has its own propaganda, without any of the differing conceptions (on such questions as the technical superiority of small or large scale production, the development of agriculture towards large, or small production) agreeing with, or gaining a victory over, the opposition.

This too is not a matter of chance. If we are to settle this question, we must first be clear as to what we understand by large and small scale production.

We seek in vain in the Social Democratic literature for a definition of this fundamental question. In his *Agrarian Problem*, Kautsky does not deal with the matter; but David, following the bourgeois social economists in language and in his conceptions, settles the whole affair in a commentary in which we find,—instead of an investigation of the various methods of production from an historico-economic standpoint,—nothing but an uncertain and vague definition wandering over wide territories and losing itself in details.

And yet, this definition must be found, in order to build up the basic theory of the agrarian question. Once we have found it, our whole conception of the problem will be formed from it.

In order to arrive at a clear definition of large and small scale agricultural production, we must investigate both these branches from the standpoint of economic science.

If we look at the methods of agricultural production in feudal and capitalist periods, we shall then be able to construct our theory. If, for instance, we speak of large-scale production in ancient times, then we refer to those agricultural enterprises which were carried on with the aid of slave labor. It is also obvious that large-scale production under feudalism could only have been that agrarian productivity which was extracted from enforced serf labor. And under capitalism, it signifies large-scale production carried on by wage labor.

Small-scale production under feudalism, just as now under capitalism, we recognize as based upon the individual efforts of the landowner or renter. It is therefore evident that, when we speak of large-scale production, we imply a system prevailing which depends upon a method of labor organization according to the prevalent means of the production of wealth.

The labor relationships of the prevalent method of production have not been developed in small-scale production. The small peasant of ancient times, the colonist, was dependent upon the slave-holding landlord. The feudal small farmer is found to be absolutely dependent upon the large feudal land-owners. The small farmer, under capitalism, is bound to the landlord, the mortgage-holder and the market.

This definition merely divides sharply small-scale production from large-scale production. It does not consider the minor differences of the two classes nor the various intermediate forms.

We arrive at an understanding of these classifications, when we take into account matters apart from the methods of labor exploitation, namely, the method of production, (domestic consumption, simple or capitalistic commodity production).

The Third International, in the short period of its existence, has already had the agrarian question on its agenda for discussion. The Agrarian Theses of the Second Congress were drawn up in the spirit of the above definition. Through this clear and unmistakable definition of fundamentals, the Third International has been able to arrive at a far more advanced conception of agrarian theory than the "guardians of orthodox Marxism" or the pompous and comely travails of the revisionist apostles, who forget the principal portion of their work,—the laying of a foundations.

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## The Italian General Strike

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

Though gun-shots and the fearful rattle of the machine gun are still heard, we can already look back at the happenings of the last days of severe, heroic struggle. The Italian proletariat has shown that it does not intend to remain passive in the face of the unavoidable civil war, the wite terror, and the worse of reactions. Now, after two years of murder, incendiarism, violence, and destruction, its strongest, proudest defenses have been broken down; its Chambers of Labor, its Consumers' Cooperatives, its Communal Houses, and its labor unions. The bravest fighters of the proletarian parties have been murdered by the thousands; tens of thousands of workers and peasants have been thrown into prison; the Socialist Party has become a disgrace and a jest, that party which was once the expression of the working masses' will to liberation; and a Communist Party which could become its heir to the leadership of the masses is not firmly established yet. But in spite of all this, the Italian worker has been able to form, in a few days, a solid fighting group, and to inflict serious losses upon its enemy.

The Labor Alliance had been formed as the united organ of the Italian proletariat, mainly to prepare the defense and the counter-offensive against the Fascist reaction. However, it was controlled by the reformistic tendencies of the General Trade Union Federation and for months attempted to keep a middle course between the demands for a general strike put up by the Communists and the majority of the proletariat, and those of the pacifistic elements which were satisfied to use the menace of action, as opportunistic means in the struggle for power. And so could it happen that in Bologna and Cremona, in Ravenna and Novara, the Fascisti could murder unpunished a great number of workers, and crush the proletariat's last resistance without any change in the ambiguous attitude of the leaders of the Labor Alliance.

But the last ministerial crisis suddenly changed the situation, and the opportunity which the crisis gave to the Social Democrats to develop their plans fully, only resulted in their downfall. The self-humiliation of the Socialists, Turati's visit to the Quirinal, had not been able to protect the workers from the growing reaction. And now it became clear to all Italian workers that only the united mass action of the proletariat would protect them against the growing enslavement. The will of the masses to rise against their oppressors was so powerful as to force their trembling leaders to action. They were forced to prepare the general mobilization of the workers for the protection of their

liberties and their lives. They did not dare yet, however, to conduct the fight courageously as an armed defense against the white guard bands, but masked the purpose of the strike under the cloak of a legal protest against a violation of the state's authority.

### The Mistakes in the Conduct of the Strike.

The timidity and incapacity of the leaders was not without influence on the development of the strike. The strike began at a moment when there was no direct cause for it, so that many workers did not understand its immediate purpose. The orders to cease work were not issued simultaneously, so that some towns had not yet received the proclamation of the Chamber of Labor on the 2nd of August, when, in other cities, a bloody fight had been going on for two days already. The secret committee created to conduct the strike, well earned its name. It disappeared from sight the very first day the action began, without getting into touch with any of the political or labor organizations which were engaged in the struggle. It was heard of again only when the strike ended. We must add further that the most militant workers, those of Piedmont, Lombardy, Romagna, etc., had just terminated a violent strike against the activities of the local Fascisti. For these reasons, the movement did not at once call forth any decided attitude on the part of the masses. The various sections of the battle front acted singly. While Rome, Milan, Naples, Bari, Triest, Genoa, and Livorno at once threw themselves into the struggle, Turin, Florence, Bologna and Ancona hesitated for some time. While the railroad workers of some districts left their trains in open stretches, and prevented the transport of troops and Fascist volunteers by all possible acts of sabotage, those of other districts remained at work in the expectation of an order, which never came. This state of affairs greatly favored the attempts at pacification on the part of the bourgeoisie; they spread unfavorable reports of the strike which confused those masses which had not yet joined the movement. But when reports at last appeared, and the news of bloody clashes spread, the mass uprising was soon in full swing, and the general action of the workers began in all its might.

### The United Front During the Strike.

Such a show of strength was a total surprise to trade union leaders who had become accustomed to the idea of an exhausted, powerless proletariat. The direction of the movement which they had engineered soon passed out of their hands. And here