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## The Results of the Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

(Leading Article in the "Pravda" of March 16th 1926.)

The work of the 6th Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International has come to an end. It had to answer a number of extremely complicated questions, which arise out of the peculiar nature of the present historical era and the specific features of the position of the International Labour Movement to-day. The Enlarged E. C. C. I. summarized the results of the way which lies behind us, drew up the balance of the achievements of all sections of the Communist International and pointed out the main lines for future work.

If we want to estimate the present situation, to mark the general prospects and the concrete tasks of the individual sections, we must undoubtedly start from the characteristic feature of stabilisation. The question of the stabilisation of capitalism is the question round which, as round an axis, all the other general and special questions of the revolutionary fight of the international proletariat and its leading staff, the Comintern, revolve; and the Enlarged E. C. C. I. recognised and affirmed once more that we must carry on our work under the conditions of stabilisation. This stabilisation is of a relative nature, but it nevertheless exists and our brother parties must adapt their tactics to it. This stabilisation is, at bottom, based on the power and solidity of the capitalism of the United States. The latter are becoming more and more the imperialist dictator of the present day. The United States are partially "reviving" capitalist Europe which has become senile, by means of credit "injections" and are taking it in tow.

It should not, however, be forgotten for a moment that there are very considerable breaches in the general line of stabilisation. The state of affairs in the East, in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world represents a defeat on an extremely important section of the front. The great success of the Kuomintang party is undoubtedly connected with this. Stabilisation has also

suffered defeats on the European Continent; the state of affairs in Poland and in France bear eloquent witness to this.

In England the processes of disease, of decay and disintegration are slightly less intensive but all the same evident enough. It is not surprising that British capitalism manages to keep on its feet in spite of having lost the hegemony in the world market, in spite of its antiquated apparatus of production, in spite of the economic opposition of the Dominions, in spite of British coal-mining having fallen into a rapid decline. British capitalism is ready to crumble but is still a powerful organism. Furthermore the British bourgeoisie is more experienced, farther-sighted and cleverer than the bourgeoisie of many other countries. Nevertheless the British Communists are meeting with great success. The Communist Party of Great Britain, though small in numbers has managed to gain considerable influence. It has given an example of how necessary it is to combine with the masses, to work in the trade unions, to carry out the tactics of the united front practically and successfully; it has given the British reactionaries many a sleepless night.

The work of Bolshevising the Parties which belong to the Comintern has made great strides. Bolshevisation has been and is being carried on successfully, in spite of the objective difficulties of the situation, in spite of the fact that our brother parties have not the same long historical tradition of Bolshevism as has the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The process of Bolshevisation has proceeded at a quicker rate in some countries, in those which — like Germany and Italy — have got so far as to become the arena of great revolutionary battles and class wars. In other countries — such as France and Czechoslovakia — progress has been slower and fraught with more difficulties. But even now it can be said that all communist parties are far

riper for Bolshevism than they were. And just for this reason the question of drawing all communist parties into the most active work of the E. C. C. I. has now become more urgent than ever. All our parties must take a most active share in the leadership of the Communist International.

The fact that the 6th Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. had to carry on a decisive fight against deviations in the ranks of the sections, is by no means contradictory to the success of Bolshevisation. Deviations are inevitably bound up with the growth and the Bolshevisation of the communist parties. The complications of the present situation, the difficulty of party work, the difficulties in party leadership must find expression in individual parties in the form of unsound symptoms. The Comintern will combat these deviations with great determination. It must help the sections to overcome these deviations. How was the question of the fight against these deviations put at the Enlarged E. C. C. I.? Which deviations does the Conference consider as more dangerous, those to the Right or to the Left? The Conference gave no answer to this last question, because an answer is impossible. The Conference pointed out that the question of the fight against deviations must always be put concretely, that it is dependent on circumstances and on the situation of the country and party in question. In France, the deviation to the Right is the more dangerous and it is therefore at this that the blow should be aimed; in Germany on the other hand, fire should be concentrated on the Left deviation, for there the deviation of Scholem and others is incomparably more dangerous.

In spite of the external contrast between them, both deviations have something in common. Both the "Right" and the "Left" disease in the international communist movement are based entirely on insufficient confidence in the power and possibilities of the Communist International, on scepticism with regard to the prospects of the work of their own parties, on a lack of faith in the socialist possibilities of the Soviet Union, and an inability to understand that the Soviet Union is a point of support for international socialism. This accounts for the idle talk about "Asiatic" elements in the line taken by the Comintern, for the superfluous pseudo-revolutionary nervousness and arrogance, this accounts for the gossip to the effect that preparations are being made for the Soviet Union to join League of Nations. This also accounts for the zig-zag movements, at one moment to the Left, do better "Left" decisions, at another to the "Right", to chaffering with the Reformists.

The Comintern has successfully carried on the fight against both deviations and will continue to do so. To the horror of the international bourgeoisie, it will master these deviations. Our brother parties left the 6th session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. with their ranks as Bolshevik combatants closer and more consolidated than they were before.

## HANDS OFF CHINA

### The Imperialist Attack on China.

By Karl Radek.

The imperialist forces have again interfered in the fight of the people's armies against Chang Tso Lin. Whereas Chang Tso Lin's victory over Kuo Sung Lin was the result of the help which Chang Tso Lin received through Japan's interference, all the imperialist Powers are meddling in the more serious fight which is now taking place near Tientsin between the armies of Chang Tso Lin and the people's armies. Chang Tso Lin is trying to effect a landing in the rear of Feng Yu Hsiang's armies in the harbour of Taku. It is a matter of course, that the people's armies prevent this by firing on the transports of Chang Tso Lin's soldiers. It is also a matter of course that they try at the same time to prevent any ships entering Tientsin for, during a time of war, it is impossible to be certain on what ships there may be some of Chang Tso Lin's troops. The imperialist Powers have protested against this by appealing to the Boxer protocol of 1900, in which China pledged itself to grant them free entry to Tientsin and to guarantee them a connection with Peking. The note of the imperialist States threatening armed intervention unless Feng Yu Hsiang ceases to take measures to prevent Chang Tso Lin landing, is a direct support of Chang Tso Lin, for it is evident that the people's armies which are fighting both against Chang

Tso Lin's troops which are attacking from the North and against the troops of Chang Tso Lin's agent, the former Governor of the province of Shantung, which are attacking from the South, would be in a catastrophic position, should Chang Tso Lin's forces appear in their rear.

The allies' note represents a diplomatic victory of British imperialism. British imperialism is encountering two chief obstacles in its endeavours "to restore order in China". The first is the fact that it finds it difficult to make up its mind to be its own hands, by involving its forces in the fight in China. The second is its fear of diplomatic isolation. British imperialism is trying to overcome the first obstacle by supporting the counter-revolutionary forces of China itself. There is not the slightest doubt that both Chang Tso Lin and Wu Pei Fu are at present enjoying England's support; it is indeed by no means out of the question that an agreement has been concluded between them and Great Britain and Japan which, in case of a victory over the people's armies, would allow Chang Tso Lin to proclaim the independence of China, in which case North and Central China would be united under the rule of Wu Pei Fu. This would imply England's consent to Japan actually taking possession of Manchuria under the cover of Chang Tso Lin's rule, whilst in North and Central China Wu Pei Fu would have to guard the interests of both Great Britain and Japan.

As regards the impossibility of isolated action on the part of Great Britain, it came very much into prominence during the last fight for Canton. Great Britain had sounded the other Powers as to whether they would agree to her taking action which might lead to an armed campaign against the Government of Canton. As however this action would have required a prolonged blockade of Canton, which would have meant serious injury to the shipping and trade of Japan and the United States, neither Japan nor the United States showed any great desire to support Great Britain. The most recent note, however, bears the signature of the United States as well. The American agency "Associated Press" states that the United States are actually inclined to interfere, even with armed force, if the situation demands it. Any intervention of this kind on the part of the United States would imply an approach of American to British policy and indirectly to that of Japan. The editor of the "China Weekly Review" and the China correspondent of the "New York Times", who is known as an American expert in the affairs of the Far East, ascribes the fact that the United States are obviously becoming reconciled to imperialist intervention, to the influence of local American industrial and commercial circles which, alarmed by the events in Shanghai, have all along exercised pressure on Washington and demanded that strong measures be taken against the revolutionary forces of China. This eminent connoisseur of conditions in China warns the American Government that any such intervention would provoke an outbreak of hatred against the "foreigners", that is the representatives of the imperialist Powers.

We are convinced that the American expert is right. Great Britain has nothing to lose; she is already regarded as an enemy by the masses of the people in China. But the United States have enjoyed considerable sympathy just because they have avoided a pronounced imperialist policy. The United States of America are risking their moral influence in China in the interest of a few thousand merchants who are alarmed by the revolution. In doing this the United States are playing into the hand of the Japanese imperialists. It is to be expected that the American circles which, under Senator Borah, protested most vehemently against imperialist machinations in China at the time of the Shanghai affair, will also object now to a policy which in the long run will be to the detriment of the representatives of the imperialist Powers.

It is not only the united front of the Chinese counter-revolution, but also the united front of international imperialism which is fighting against the people's armies. The Enlarged E. C. C. I. has raised a voice of protest against the threat to blockade Canton. The situation has now become more acute. British imperialism may now succeed in doing in North China what it failed in the conflict with Canton. Not only the communist parties but every Labour party which is an enemy of imperialism, must raise its voice in a decided protest against this attack.

The greatest responsibility falls on the British Labour Party. It can, if it wishes, be a powerful force. It ought to

understand that it is not merely a question of protesting against a blow aimed at the Chinese revolution; it is a question of opposing the preparations for a great imperialist campaign. May the British workers clearly understand that armed intervention on the part of the imperialist Powers in China will rouse a gigantic popular movement! If British and other mercenaries living in China are seriously affected by this movement, the imperialists will embark on a tremendous agitation to attack China on a broad front. Even should the imperialists succeed in coming to an agreement with regard to an attack on China, they will be quarrelling about the division of the spoil on the morrow. The whole Far East represents a powder magazine. Anyone who strikes a match near this powder magazine is in danger of causing an explosion which will not be limited to the Far East. The situation demands the active intervention not only of all friends of the Chinese revolution but also of all enemies of a new imperialist war.

## POLITICS

### The British Coal Report.

By R. Palme Dutt.

The Report of the British Coal Commission was issued on March 11. This document, which is an open declaration of war on even the existing low standards of the working class, is a decisive pronouncement of the future policy of Capitalism in Britain. It is of international importance for the immediate future struggle of the working class movement, and a heavy blow to all conceptions of "Stabilisation" save on the basis of the complete defeat of the working class.

#### The Dilemma of the Mining Industry.

The crisis of the coal mining industry in Britain is the crisis of British Capitalism in its sharpest form. Coal production in 1913 was 287 million tons, in 1924 it was 267 million tons, and in 1925 it was 245 million tons. Coal exports in 1925 were 22% less than the pre-war average. This decline in the ability to produce marketable coal severely affects British Shipping (four fifths of whose outward cargoes are coal), and paralyses all British industry with heavy costs, thus adding to industrial stagnation. For this reason Coal has been the centre of the economic problem in Britain after the war, and the centre of conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

The reasons for this decline lie firstly in the change of technical conditions, the development of new methods of technique and of utilisation of coal as well as of new sources of power, the emergence of new centres of production, and the consequent decline of the world coal industry as a whole, but most heavily affecting British coal, because British capitalist organisation has been most heavily rooted in the past and unable to respond to the new conditions (French coal production, owing to the instalment of modern machinery since the war has increased; German coal has been driving out British from the European market).

Second, the reason for the high costs lies in the extreme disorganisation and anarchy of the British coal industry, the technical backwardness — testified in official commission after commission — and the wasteful burdens of inflated capital. Between 1914 and 1921 the coal industry, with a capital value of £ 135 millions, was made to yield profits to the extent of £ 308 millions; and a large portion of these profits was turned into nominal new capital, on which to-day further profits have to be raised. On the other hand modernisation and technical development have been heavily neglected, and fallen behind France, Germany and America.

This situation can only be met by a complete reorganisation in response to the changing conditions of modern technique, cutting across the tangle of accumulated capitalist interests and eliminating wasteful burdens and unproductive organisation. Such a reorganisation, however, cannot be carried out within capitalism, but can only be realised on socialist lines. In consequence, the only alternative for British Capitalism is to endeavour to economise on the workers' conditions by lower wages. But wages are already down to breaking point: according to a recent statement of Bevin, the Trade Union leader, in January, 1926, 500,000 miners are receiving less than £ 2 a week.

This was the problem confronting the Commission. The Commission was appointed as a sequel of the failure of the coalowners' attack on wages last July. The united resistance of the working class on "Red Friday" compelled the Government to intervene and postpone the conflict by the device of a nine months' Subsidy to the coalowners to "compensate" them for maintaining the status quo. During these months the Government has concentrated on preparing, on a large scale, for the future conflict. The Commission was appointed, as in 1919, to gain time: but this time the Commission was composed solely of capitalist representatives (an ex-Liberal Cabinet Minister belonging to a large financial house, a big banker, a big textile employer and a former government official) to prepare the capitalist case. The miners only agreed by a vote of 477,000 to 332,000 even to appear as witnesses before this Commission.

The Subsidy is by common consent only a temporary device and no solution. It will have cost, by the time it reaches its end on April 30, £ 21,000,000. The Government, which is in financial difficulties and endeavouring, for example, to save £ 8,000,000 by desperate attacks on unemployment and health insurance in its Economy Bill, will not readily continue this expenditure: and the other industries are up in arms against it. Therefore, even if any continuance is adopted, it can only be a short postponement of the issue for tactical reasons.

The dilemma remains inescapable: either socialistic reorganisation or renewed attack on the workers. As one of the principal coalowners, C. P. Markham, the Chairman of 15 companies, declared: "Whatever the Commission decides, the fact remains that whenever the subsidy comes off, there is bound to be a fight."

#### The Commission's Proposals.

The Report of the Commission is a confession of capitalist bankruptcy. The existing disorganisation and backwardness is admitted, and the necessity of drastic change. Many mines are "badly planned" and on "too small a scale"; suffering from "defective equipment and management"; "methods utilised are unscientific"; coal is not being put to scientific use; research is neglected; and selling organisation and transport is anarchic and costly.

Nevertheless the Commission is unable to recommend the unitary State reorganisation which alone can carry through the necessary changes. Nationalisation is rejected. Even compulsory unification and grouping is rejected. British Capitalism has reached a stage at which it can no longer remedy its own abuses. The framework of obsolete property rights has become so unstable that even a partial blow or change cannot be admitted without endangering the whole.

The Commission recommends only the nationalisation of mineral rights, but not of the mines. The existing royalty owners would be bought out at a maximum price of £ 100,000,000. Since royalties at present amount to £ 6,000,000 a year, the interest on the purchase price and the administration costs would be equivalent to this, and no economic change would be made save that the income of the royalty owners would be for the future guaranteed. No control over the industry would be established.

For the organisation of the industry, the Commission can only recommend a system of State Boards without compulsory powers. These proposals therefore are extremely weak for the actual situation, and more a window-dressing of reorganisation than any serious attempt. A Coal Commission would be established to administer the mineral rights, and in the renewal of leases endeavour to encourage grouping. In a few extreme cases even legislation might be used, to carry through amalgamation of particular companies. To develop the scientific use of coal and co-ordinate it with other sources of power, a National Fuel and Power Committee should be set up — but only with advisory powers. Research is to be encouraged. For the better organisation of transport a Standing Joint Committee of the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Mines is recommended. For cheaper distribution co-operative selling agencies and municipal retail schemes are recommended. And so forth.

In all these proposals the essentials of the problem are left untackled. What, then, is the practical proposal of the Commission, since they are emphatic that the subsidy must be ended? The practical proposals of the Commission for the immediate future are to be found in the sections on wages and hours. Wages must be reduced. This is the single positive point in all the voluminous report of the Commission.

Wages must be reduced. On hours the Commission recommends no change (unless the miners should "freely prefer some

extension of hours with a less reduction of wages"), not out of any consideration for the men, but on the frankly business grounds that any extension of hours can only mean increased output, when the problem is already to find a sale for the present output, or alternatively a wholesale discharge of men, thus simply swelling the State's unemployment problem; and further, any extension of hours would make the British miners' hours longer than in any important area on the Continent except Upper Silesia, thus leading to renewed extensions in competition and further overstocking of the market.

But wages must be reduced. The 1924 agreement must be cancelled, and a return made to the minimum of the 1921 agreement (reached after the knock out blow of "Black Friday") — a reduction of 10%. The 1921 minimum is fixed at 20% above 1914; the cost of living is officially returned at 75% above. But even this is not enough. Wages must be fixed at an "economic" level. This does not mean simply a return to the minimum of 1921, i. e. a uniform reduction of 10% on the present minimum percentage. In some districts less may be needed, in others more. It will be for the mineowners and the miners to carry out by negotiation the necessary downward revision of district minima. There is thus to be no limit to the process of reduction.

Alongside of these proposals are set customary recommendations for "improved labour relations" — compulsory profit sharing, joint pit committees, family allowances (out of the workers' wages), annual holidays with pay ("when prosperity returns") and so forth.

#### Prospects.

To sum up the effect of the Commission's proposals.

First, there is to be no attempt at the unification which alone can tackle the industry's problems.

Second, Profits and Royalties are to be left untouched. Royalties, which were in some danger of general attack, are to be guaranteed for the future by the process of national purchase. Profits, which are admitted in many cases to be higher than pre-war, are left uncriticised and unassailed; inflated capital is not to be written off; instead earnings on it are to be found by the reduction of wages, and this is regarded as bringing the industry to an "economic" level.

Third, the Reduction of Wages is therefore the essence of the Commission's proposals. This is the only path forward to Stabilisation which British Capitalism can see.

The Labour Movement, in the words of the Trade Union General Council, stands pledged to "the united support of the miners" in defence of "no reduction of wages and no increase in working hours".

These pledges will now be put to the test. The united front of "Red Friday" will need to be maintained in a more serious conflict, which will inevitably raise larger issues.

## The Collapse of the Coalition in Czechoslovakia.

By V. Stern (Prague).

What our Party predicted after the election, that also in Czechoslovakia the time has passed for a stabilised permanent government and that a time of frequently occurring government crises will follow, has been quickly realised. The new coalition government which, after the defeat of the old coalition of five Czech Parties, was formed by the inclusion of the last Czech Party, the traders' party, was from the beginning only a provisional construction in order to gain time. This government had no tangible basis, not so much on account of the small majority in parliament as on account of the inner contradictions in the coalition.

Now it transpires that this government could not remain in power long enough for the negotiations for the extension of the government, which in recent times were already fairly advanced with the Slovaks, to lead to a positive result. The vote of censure introduced by the opposition, was rejected by 155 votes to 103, it is true, but on the next day after this glorious "victory" which the government press had represented as a great event, the government, to the greatest general surprise, had to resign. In their place a government of officials under the leadership of the notorious Cerny took office; this same Cerny, whose first government in December 1920 had taken over the task to take vengeance on behalf of the Czech bour-

geoisie for the December fight of the Czech proletariat. The Committee of twelve of the coalition parties which met in order to adopt an attitude towards the resignation of the Svehla government, ended in the complete collapse of the coalition. It was decided to dissolve this Committee. The Czech social democrats particularly refused, after the resignation of the government, to continue to maintain the coalition. They declared that the new government must find its majority in parliament itself.

The Czech clericals make the strongest possible opposition against the reconstruction of the government. Their chief organ declares the formation of a government of officials to be an outspoken action against the Clerical Party. They would have desired, naturally, an extension of the government through the Slovak Clericals. With open, undisguised joy and satisfaction the new government is greeted by the hitherto largest government party of the Czech agrarians. They declare that the new construction of the government means a throwing off of the dictate of the social democrats and they expect that the new government will solve the agrarian crisis, that is to say, that in place of the hitherto sliding crustoms they will introduce fixed agrarian customs. The Czech National Socialists express themselves very cautiously in regard to their attitude towards the new government. The Czech social democrats, finally, declare that they will adopt a "waiting" attitude and that every attempt of the new government to undertake anything against the working class, especially in the sphere of customs and of proposals referring to civil servants, will be met with the strongest opposition, that is to say, parliamentary opposition.

In Czechoslovakia, where even during the recent boom there were at least 60,000 to 70,000 unemployed, the economic position now appears to be taking a turn for the worse. In many factories short time is being introduced and other numerous factories are carrying out wholesale dismissals, above all in the metal industry. The crisis is aggravated still more by the systematic sabotage policy of the employers, who, as for example in the textile industry, restrict by artificial means the work in the factory as a counter measure against the wage movement of the workers or from speculative reasons. The wages in Czechoslovakia stand already at an almost unbearably low level, and in spite of this the employers intensify their exploitation offensive. The misery of the unemployed is terribly aggravated by the effects of the Ghent system and at the same time the trade unions are severely threatened financially by the rise in unemployment, because the unemployed, according to the Ghent system, receive only as much from the State as the trade unions pay them as unemployment support.

And in this situation the bourgeoisie is about to carry out a whole number of new robber campaigns, or to prepare them in the immediate future. Whilst the big agrarians and capitalists are granted considerable tax exemptions, the tax debts which have accumulated, in the course of several years are now systematically and ruthlessly enforced from the workers, the small traders and employees. These debts are so large that they are not to be entirely collected in spite of the best efforts of the government. Frequently they amount to double the sum of a whole month's income, and often still more. The officials in the tax offices are not sufficient in order to carry out even a tenth part of the collection of these taxes. The government has now devised a cunning plan in order to collect from the workers, with the help of the reformist trade union leaders as much as possible and in the most comfortable way. They allow the trade union leaders to put forward demands and then they declare that to those workers who agree voluntarily to have deducted throughout the whole year 3% of their wages to cover their tax debts, they are prepared to cancel whatever remains over from the debts. By this means the workers will at the same time get used to this form of tax payment and the opposition against the legal introduction of a special wage tax, which the government is contemplating, will be broken. Characteristic of this is a circular of the employers' organisation in which the employers are called upon to support this voluntary deduction from wages, in spite of the inconveniences connected with it, because the government have promised to grant the employees great tax reductions in the contemplated tax reform, but this would only be possible if, by the introduction of the wage tax the State is guaranteed larger tax revenues from other sources. In addition to these tax plans there exists the agrarian plan of introducing agrarian customs. The government contem-

further, a new increase of rents and to worsen the so-called promotion of building by the State. Further, they will increase the railway fares. They will, through new taxes, raise the prices of sugar, coffee and tea in order to bring in 700 millions which the proposed increase of the civil servants' salaries will cost. This increase will only bring about an improvement in the present situation of the higher bureaucracy, while the position of the lower State employees will be further deteriorated as a result of the worsening of the conditions of promotion and the further restriction of their rights. The government, in addition to this, will increase by 60 million the subsidy to the rich church. They refuse to carry out the reduction of the time of military service from 18 months to 14 months, which has already been enacted by a law, because, as it is alleged, neighbourly relations (Germany and Austria) are making such great armament preparations. On the other hand, the government intend, as Minister Stribny publicly declared shortly before the resignation of the government, to rob the soldiers of their suffrage.

The Czech bourgeoisie appears to pursue several aims with the formation of the government of officials. They wish to gain time in order to continue to conduct the negotiations with that portion of the opposition which is capable of taking part in the government. But they also wish to have the possibility, if the democratic methods fail, of applying fascist methods. Already the last government found it necessary not to convene parliament for months, and then only for one or two sessions a week. The Cerny government will not hesitate to improve upon these methods still more and, if it should be necessary, to supplement them with even stronger means. The former War Minister Stribny has alluded in a drastic manner to these means in calling out to the Communists from the Ministerial Bench that the police-pendrek (knout) was there for them.

Against all these things only the Communist Party is conducting a decisive struggle, and is showing to the workers and to the suppressed nationalities the only possible way out: unity of the workers and oppressed peoples of all nations in a common fight for the improvement of their economic position and against the national and other political suppression.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Chinese Leaders of the Workers and Peasants Murdered by Order of the Imperialists.

Under the protection of the Consular jurisdiction and through their policy of machine-guns and cannons, the imperialists have already slaughtered thousands of Chinese themselves. Since the Chinese population has no longer calmly submitted to every blow but has energetically resisted the imperialist oppressors, the imperialists have ordered their Chinese lackeys, the military rulers, simply to shoot down all the leaders of the movement directed against themselves, these being chiefly the leaders of the workers and peasants.

Two cases of special interest, in which it is easy to recognise the activity of the English and Americans in the background, happened in December 1925 and January 1926. The President of the Shanghai Trade Union Council, Liu Hua — the trade union council has led the fights in Shanghai since May 30th 1925 — was suddenly arrested by the British police in the international quarter of Shanghai in November and handed over to the Chinese military ruler of Shanghai — a partisan of Sun Tschuan Fang, the ruler of the Lower Yangtse district. On the very day on which Sun Chuan Fang came to Shanghai and the international Municipality gave a banquet in his honour, Liu Hua was shot without a verdict. Days elapsed before the Chinese press knew of this murder; it was not until the British Shanghai papers announced the news with joy, that it heard about it.

In another case, last November, a leader of the peasants, called Ju Sui Ping, who tried to organise the peasants population of Wuchi in the Kiang Yuen district into a tenants' union, was arrested by the local district official. An American paper, the "China Press" reported on December 12th from Wuchi, as follows:

"Communism has already penetrated deeply into the interior of China. A short time ago a Chinese who had studied abroad, propagated amongst the peasants of the

villages north of Wuchi the doctrine that the land actually belongs of the tenants and that they need pay no ground-rent. He organised a tenants' union, which has now as many as 1500 members. The chief aim of the union is to make the land and crops the property of the tenants. The propagandist whose name is Ju, was discovered by the landowners and thrown into prison."

On the same day, "The North China Daily News", a British newspaper in Shanghai published a report on the peasant movement in Kiang Su:

"A fortnight ago a peasant conference, which was attended by a thousand peasants, took place twenty miles from Wuchi. A gentleman of the name of Ju explained to them that they need not pay any ground-rent. At present they have to pay 1 cwt. of rice for every mou of land. The administrative officials got wind of the meeting. The peasants were reprimanded and their leader Ju arrested. Even though the leader has been arrested and the peasants reprimanded, the idea has sunk in, and the peasants continue to consider it; it has taken root not only in Wuchi but in two other districts."

Ju Sui Ping wished to organise the union to protect the interests of the tenants; the imperialist Press is agitating against it. This agitation led Sun Chuan Fang to order the execution of Ju Sui Ping, and he was beheaded on January 17th. Again the imperialist Press knew of the execution sooner than the Chinese.

Under what pretext did the Chinese military rulers have the leaders murdered? Two of the laws in China are: the law against robbers and the law of protection by the police. Both laws were enacted in 1914 by Yuan Shi Kai who wished to become emperor, with the idea of using them against the revolutionary leaders of the Kuo Min Tang. Hundreds of revolutionary leaders were simply murdered as robbers without any sentence. Today the law is put into execution not only against the revolutionary leaders of the Kuo Min Tang, but against Communists and all leaders of the workers and peasants and of the freedom movement.

Thus, in 1923, Wu Pei Fu had two strike leaders shot in Hankow by order of the English on the strength of this law; the military leader Chen Shui Ming, also by order of the English, had a hundred peasant leaders shot last year. A miners' leader in Ping Siang and a leader of the textile workers in Tsingtow were executed last year by order of the Japanese. On the strength of the same laws, even in Shanghai, daily murders take place of persons who, under the pressure of the terrible famine and the great distress in China, yield to the temptation to steal.

Both laws were originally put into force for a definite period; in 1918 they were indefinitely prolonged by agreement with the foreign Powers, which means that the atrocious White Terror will continue to rage against the Chinese people for an indefinite period. The laws against robbery and for police protection have not even been mentioned at the Conference on Extra-Territoriality which is now taking place and which is chiefly concerned in improving the laws.

It is well-known that the revolutionary leaders in present-day China are still, to a large extent, members of the intellectual circles; thus, one of the victims in 1923 was a lawyer, the leader executed in Tientsin was a student who had studied in France, the miners' leader of Ping Siang was a head-teacher, Liu Hua a student at Shanghai University, the peasant leader Ju Sui Ping a professor at Shanghai University etc. Their murder has caused great excitement amongst the intellectuals in China. The students, professors and authors are therefore planning to organise a campaign on a large scale against the dreadful Terror of the Chinese military rulers and the imperialists.

## The New "Conspiracy" Trial in Roumania.

To the workers in all countries!

The trial of the 65 so-called "Galatz conspirators" before the Kishinev court martial has been going on for more than a month. Proceedings hitherto have shown as clearly as could be desired that the accusation is one of the vilest frame ups of the Siguranza and the Bratianu's police apparatus. The torturing and ill-treatment which have been carried out in connection with the arrest of the 65, is one of the most gruesome chapters in the history of the Labour movement in Roumania. Even the agents of the Siguranza and the police medical officers who were examined as witnesses, admitted the fact of the tortures.

In Roumania, the legislative period of the regime of the Liberal party, the party of the bank oligarchy is nearing its end. In spite of its severe defeat at the elections for the Agricultural Chamber and at the municipal and district elections, the Liberal government still has no intention of giving place to a progressive regime. At present it possesses the actual economic and military power and is leaving no stone unturned in order, on the one hand, to legalise its actual dictatorship (as it failed in this at the last elections on the basis of the universal franchise, it is at present formulating a Mussolinian franchise law) and on the other hand to prolong its rule directly or indirectly.

The Liberal party has sent confidential representatives into all the so-called Opposition parties; where they work in the spirit of the Liberal party and only recently brought about the secession of the Avarescu party from the Opposition Block. Through the Fascist and Liberal fractions in the peasant party and in the National party, the Liberal party induces the leaders of those parties which make a show of being democratic to avoid anything which would mean a real fight against the existing regime. In their striving for power, these parties renounce one bourgeois-democratic principle after another, sacrifice their progressive slogans and even pledge themselves to continue the fight of the Liberal party against the revolutionary workers' organisations, in case they should take over the Government.

In order to achieve this end, the Liberal party has been obliged continually to terrify the public with the bogey of Bolshevik conspiracy and plots. A "conspiracy" of this kind was staged in Galatz and is intended to inspire the ranks of the workers with fresh alarm by death sentences and to exercise fresh pressure on the so-called democratic Opposition parties.

The verdicts in this trial were pronounced even before proceedings began. The farce of the proceedings only serves the purpose of keeping up a last show of law and justice. Although the accused succeeded in refuting all the accusations, and even themselves turned into accusers of the law and the police, nevertheless, according to all reports, verdicts of extreme severity and cruelty are to be expected.

Once again therefore the international proletariat is faced by the task of liberating the 65 victims of the judicial farce in Kishinev from the claws of the Roumanian court-martial by a unanimous and powerful storm of protest.

Workers of all countries, organise general meetings of protest, protests in the factories, workshops etc.!

Insist upon such resolutions of protest being passed!

Send protests to the court-martial in Kishinev!

Send delegations to the Roumanian embassy and consulates in your own country!

In short, do everything in your power to fight for the 65 in Kishinev!

The Balkan Bureau of the International Red Aid.

## ECONOMICS

### The Economic Position of Japan.

By N. J. (Tokio).

After a long lapse of time, economic circles in Japan are at last beginning to show a certain optimism. The crisis which has prevailed in the economic life of Japan since 1920 and has actually continued until the present moment, is gradually abating.

The deep and very painful crisis in the economic life of Japan arose through Japan having been led by the development of its industry during the imperialist war, to set its hopes too high. Japan made use of the circumstance that England, America and other countries were diverted by the war and could not devote sufficient attention to supplying foreign markets, especially those in the East; Japan seized hold of these markets and developed her own industry to an enormous extent.

Handily, however, were the industrial countries released from the war, than they immediately resumed their former position in the world market; Japan was forced into the background and had to yield the position it had conquered to countries whose industry was better developed. Competition with America, England and other European States began to prove beyond its capability. Japanese industry was compelled to restrict itself. A crisis set in with all the natural consequences: unemployment, closing down of factories, collapse of banks etc.

The earthquake in 1923 still further intensified this crisis. A large amount of capital was needed in order to make good the devastation caused by the elements; it was also absolutely necessary to import material from abroad so that more or less normal conditions might be restored in the towns which had been destroyed. The great excess of imports over exports caused a fall of prices. At the same time the stagnation of industry continued.

This went on until the second half of 1925 when the situation began gradually to improve. The Government (originally a Coalition Government with the preponderance of the Kensaikai party, afterwards, after the collapse of the Coalition, consisting of the Kensaikai alone) started on a policy of "economy", a policy of restrictions. The country began to live "economically". Of course, however, this policy of the Government was not the cause of the improvement of the economic situation in the country, although it must be admitted that it affected the question to a certain extent. The good harvests of rice and silk on the one hand and the increasing use of silk in America on the other hand, must be regarded as the chief causes of the favourable turn of affairs in Japan. In connection with the good harvests of rice and silk, Japanese agriculture began to get on its feet. The export of silk to America, which increased from month to month, kept the prices of silk in Japan up to a corresponding level.

In spite of all its industrialisation, Japan continues to be an agrarian country, and the improvement in the situation of agriculture is accompanied by an improvement in the economic position of the country as a whole.

The increased export of silk to America has considerably improved Japan's foreign trade balance. In 1925 this balance was far more favourable than even the Japanese themselves had expected. This balance still, of course, shows a deficit, but a much smaller deficit than for instance last year. The following figures characterise the foreign trade balance of Japan. In 1925 the export from Japan amounted to 2,305,095,000 yen and imports to 2,571,804,000 yen. In comparison to 1924, exports were increased by 498,448,444 yen and imports by 120,038,000 yen. In 1924 imports exceeded exports by 618,487,000 yen and in 1925 only by 266,709,000 yen, and this was chiefly due to the increased exports in the last few months.

The export of cotton textiles and other cotton products had a share in the reduction of the deficit in Japan's foreign trade balance for 1925. With respect to these export goods, Japan is gradually beginning to conquer the world market and to compete with the exporters from other countries. In the last few months the export of Japanese cotton textiles has increased, not only to China — the most important market for the Japanese textile industry — but also to India, Asia Minor and even to Africa.

The increase of Japanese exports can only be explained by the fall of prices and the reduction of freight prices on Japanese ships which has been financially supported by the Japanese Government in order to overcome the crisis in Japanese shipping.

The turn for the better in Japanese economics gives the Government the opportunity of thinking of putting Japan's finances in order. The excess of exports over imports in the last few months has made it possible to improve the rate of exchange of the yen which had fallen as low as 38 cents. Quite recently the rate of exchange of the yen was raised to 44 cents through the export of gold to America.

Will the economic position of Japan continue to improve? That is a rather difficult question to answer at the moment. Various factors prevail in the present economic situation of Japan, which frequently contradict one another. On the one hand the growth of exports from Japan is due to the fall in prices, on the other hand the Government is endeavouring to raise the rate of exchange of the yen by exporting gold. This measure, however, will undoubtedly be accompanied by a decline in the export of Japanese goods. Further the Japanese Government has again permitted an invasion of Japan by foreign capital, which of course will also affect the rate of exchange of the yen. The Budget for the current year will also have an unfavourable effect on the Japanese currency. This Budget provides for a revenue of 1,529,026,000 yen and expenditure of 1,598,235,000 yen, i. e. a deficit of 69,209,000 yen. This deficit will have to be covered by the issue of paper money which, as a matter of course, will force down the rate of exchange.

All these contradictory factors make it impossible for the present to foretell whether the favourable turn of affairs which has set in, will continue for long. It is extremely possible that it is a purely seasonal improvement, connected with the good harvest of rice and silk.

## AGITPROP.

### International Informative Conference on the Worker Correspondents' Movement.

Moscow, March 11th 1926.

On March 10th, an informative conference with regard to the worker-correspondent movement took place in the Uljanova Club in Moscow. Representatives of the foreign E. C. C. I. delegations and representatives of the worker correspondents of the "Pravda" took part in the Conference.

The chairman, Comrade Bela Kun, opened the Conference by pointing out that its tasks were to arouse the interest of the comrades in foreign countries and to prepare a suitable agenda for the International Agitprop Conference which is to take place in June.

Comrade Uljanova reported on the main questions of the worker correspondent movement in the Soviet Union.

After describing the worker correspondent movement in the Soviet Union before and since the revolution, she pointed out that the number of worker and peasant correspondents had increased from 100,000 in the Spring of 1924 to 216,000 at the present time. The correspondent movement is of enormous significance for the work of socialist construction; it is a powerful weapon in the fight against bureaucracy and corruption. The correspondents' organisations among the workers, peasants, soldiers, young people and children must be affiliated to individual editorial staffs, where they have the best opportunities of work and training. In 1923, the "Worker and Peasant Correspondent" was founded as the central organ of the correspondent movement.

Germany was the first foreign country in which the correspondent movement developed. Good work is done by the "Workers Weekly" which takes half the material for each of its numbers from the worker correspondence. The movement is making progress in Germany, Italy, France, England, Czechoslovakia, Spain and America. The correspondents should not be elected nor nominated, as voluntary cooperation alone is valuable. Not only members of the party but persons outside the party should cooperate. The first attempts to establish international connections between worker correspondents showed that the exchange of letters of worker correspondents between Russia and Western Europe met with lively approval on both sides. Our correspondents' newspaper has a permanent column "From Abroad" and it would be advisable for the Agitprop of the Comintern to undertake something of the same kind.

Comrade Ichok welcomed the Conference in the name of the editors of the "Pravda", after which Comrade Ingulov of the Press Department of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the Soviet Union pointed out that almost half the existing 600 newspapers in the Soviet Union are peasant papers, which alone makes it possible to interest the peasantry in the work of socialist construction. It is difficult to imagine a Bolshevisation of the party without Bolshevisation of the Press.

Comrade Sauvage (France) stated that until recently the editors and party functionaries put obstacles in the way of the correspondent movement but that two months ago the C. C. had itself taken the matter in hand. The work must be begun within the scope of the party nuclei.

Comrade Scheer (Germany) pointed out that in consequence of the party crisis the correspondent movement and the nucleus newspapers had greatly diminished. The connection with the large industrial undertakings had seriously suffered. Not only Communists, but members of no party and even the middle classes must be induced to join in the correspondent movement.

Comrade Stengel (France) reported on the French Proletarian Press. He called upon the Agitprop to found special organs for worker correspondence in various languages.

Comrade Gromov (Moscow) described the career of the factory newspaper of the "Sickle and Hammer Works", which has an issue of 3000 copies and is connected with the villages and with foreign countries.

After an Italian reporter had spoken, Comrade Schwarz described the conditions in Switzerland where the correspondent movement is making progress. The Zurich worker correspon-

dents organise "Sundays in the Country" with great success; the Basle correspondents also do very good work.

Comrade Thomson (England) pointed out that the correspondent movement in England is an object of the greatest attention. The editors have the addresses of worker correspondents in all parts of the country, and if a strike breaks out, they can immediately get information from competent sources. The "Workers Weekly" published letters from Russian workers and sailors, but so far the English workers have only answered sparingly.

A Bulgarian Comrade described the correspondent movement in Bulgaria which, in spite of having been physically exterminated, is gaining strength.

The discussion closed with some remarks from Comrade Kolik in the name of the worker correspondents of the Moscow tramway employees and of Comrade Borissow who spoke in the name of the editors of the "Worker and Peasant Correspondents".

Comrade Bela Kun summed up the results of the discussion which has shown that, like the Labour movement as a whole, the correspondent movement is passing from the phase of agitation to the phase of organisation. The discussion helped to clarify the picture of the status of the correspondent movement and to clear up questions of organisation and education. The discussion had provided valuable suggestions with regard to international connections.

Comrade Kun pointed out the possibility of the delegations of workers being used for developing connections between correspondents. He proposed that a commission be elected to prepare the correspondent question for the Agitprop Conference, consisting of Uljanova, two representatives of the Agitprop of the Comintern, one representative each of the Communist parties of England, France, Germany, Italy and Czechoslovakia, two representatives of the "Pravda", two representatives of the editors of the "Worker and Peasant Correspondent", and representatives of the Press departments of the C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union and of the Org. bureau of the Comintern. Comrade Kun further suggested that a permanent commission be appointed by the Agitprop of the Comintern to administer the International Correspondent Movement.

Both propositions having been passed unanimously, the Conference closed.

## THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

### Unrest among the Peasants in Germany.

By Graf (Berlin).

The wine-growers in various communities of the Berncastel district (Rhine Province) opposed the bailiffs and the gendarmes when they came to fetch the last cow from the sheds of some of the peasants. More gendarmes were called out and a number of peasants were arrested and taken to the district prison in Berncastel. The next day, more than a thousand peasants from the villages of the district proceeded to the town and liberated their class comrades.

A strong fermentation has been noticeable for a long time both among the wine-growers and amongst the working peasantry of Germany as a whole. The pressure of the masses of the peasants against the Government and the authorities and especially against their leaders in the National Agrarian League and the Christian peasant organisations is increasing from day to day.

The Dawesation of Germany implies for all groups of workers an unprecedented burden of taxation, which the possessing class manages to shift over. Whereas in past years, the middle classes and the small property owners belonging to them were to a certain extent considered, nowadays, in these times of increased exploitation, the burden is laid on them as heavily as on the working class. It is the task of the leaders of the bourgeois Peasant Leagues to sweeten to the peasants the taste of being pauperized in the patriotic sense of preserving the State. What these leaders cannot achieve, is completed by the bailiffs of the tax-offices who have to carry out hundreds of distraints in one village. There are villages in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and the Rhine Province where not a single farm has escaped distraint.

The unprecedented burden under which the small peasants groan is shown by the following example, of which we could quote hundreds. A peasant in Rentachen owns about 4 hectares of land, 3 cows, 1 horse, 3 sheep, 1 pig, 1 sow and 2 sucking pigs. The taxation value of his land is 13,000 marks, of his buildings 10,000, of his working capital 1000, making altogether 24,000 marks. The following are the charges on this property: tax on land and trade-license 108.24 marks, debts on landed property 13, inhabited-house duty 48, to the Agricultural Chamber 2.08, assessment of taxation on the insurance of buildings 23.76, tax on turn over 32, accident insurance 41, income tax 13.85, tithes 36.50, district and communal taxes 121.25, charges for mortition and execution 4.25, amounting altogether to 443.27 marks. He would thus have to pay 1.21 marks per day in taxes. As this is absolutely out of the question, it is not surprising that in June of last year, the bailiff journeyed through the community with 288 warrants of distress, in order to enforce payment.

The following table from a district on the land-register shows how excessively the small peasant is fleeced as compared with the large landowner and the large peasant:

Number of properties	Size	Average value of yield per acre
3	up to 2 hectares	in round figures 1250 marks
19	2-5 "	680 "
25	5-10 "	440 "
21	10-20 "	350 "
17	20-50 "	290 "
7	50-100 "	250 "
1	100-200 "	240 "

If this list is continued further, the owner of more than 500 hectares has absolutely no yield and is apparently paid something by the Treasury.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that the masses of peasants are demanding more and more urgently that their leaders should at last show them a way by which they can maintain their existence and improve their miserable situation. Under this pressure, Gandorfer and Kuebler, the leaders of the Bavarian Peasant League had to make demands which were opposed to the interests of the large peasants and large landowners and also of the leaders on the Right within that organisation.

With the wine-growers, the question further comes into consideration that they have almost no market for their products. The high taxation on wine and the commercial treaties concluded with Spain and Italy in the interest of industry, make a sale almost impossible. The market crisis of the whole of German industry is especially difficult in the wine-growing industry because of the competition of foreign wines. All the representations of the wine-growers are of no avail, the existence of the vintners is sacrificed to industry. The policy of the Luther-Stresemann Government is ruining the peasantry more and more to the benefit of the large capitalists. In this matter, the Social Democrats are their henchmen, as they proved when they refrained from voting in the ballot with regard to the German-Spanish commercial treaty. Only the Communists and individual bourgeois deputies from the wine-growing districts voted against it.

Steiger, the Prussian Minister for Agriculture visited the wine-growing district in the middle of February. He held conferences with the representatives of the vintners and made them a whole number of hypocritical promises.

The movement in Berncastel shows that the peasant strata are awaking. It indicates that the peasants in their despair are seriously determined to carry on a fight for their existence; and it would seem that they have learnt a lesson from the defeat of their ancestors 400 years ago, for the procession to Berncastel was an organised one, its purpose was not only to liberate their imprisoned brothers but at the same time to give expression to the formation of a united front, which is to include both peasants and the proletariat of the towns.

The political task of the working class at the present moment is to take the side of the peasants in the persecution of them which will now inevitably set in and in their further struggle. It must do everything in its power to forward this attempt to form a united front between the workers and peasants. It must also show them that no help can be expected from this State, from this Government, but that the workers and peasants must rely on themselves in the fight for a Workers and Peasants Government.

## PROLETARIAN CULTURE

### A Comintern Department in the Revolution Museum of the Soviet Union.

The administration of the Revolution Museum of the Soviet Union has sent the following communication to the delegates of the session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.:

Dear Comrades,

The Revolution Museum of the Soviet Union which is a centre where are collected objects for exhibition of the history of the revolutionary movements, will in the near future begin to organise a Comintern department and applies to you with the following quest:

As it is impossible in the Soviet Union to collect documents on the history of the Parties of other countries, an illustration of the work and the history of the foreign Parties will only be possible if you come to the assistance of the Revolution Museum by placing at its disposal all the necessary material, as for example books, newspapers, factory newspapers, reports, leaflets, appeals, posters, badges, flags, photographs etc.

The Revolution Museum is visited every month by 35,000 workers and it is necessary to render them acquainted with the communist movement of all countries of the world.

We request you to distribute this appeal among the comrades and to publish it in the Party press.

All material is to be sent either to the Revolution Museum of the Soviet Union, Moscow, Twerskaja 59 or to the Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I. for the Revolution Museum.

Director of the Revolution Museum: Mickevicz; leader of the Comintern Department: Frumkin.