

- INTERNATIONAL -

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Against the Threatened War on China!

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, 28th January 1927.

To the Workers of all Countries!

The imperialist sword is hanging over China. The bourgeoisie is sending naval and land forces to Shanghai, which is to serve as the basis for the open military intervention in China. The English government, at the head of the international robbers, provokes the proletariat with the shameless declaration that they intend in the next few weeks to throw the whole occupation army into Shanghai. Japanese imperialism declares its love of peace only in order to deliver a more certain blow against the Chinese revolution. America is encouraging the bloody policy of England in return for her benevolent toleration of the American robber campaign in Nicaragua and Panama. The Italian and French forces are supporting the English acts of violence just as they are supporting her counter-revolutionary intentions in Poland and Lithuania and the policy of encircling the Soviet Union.

Workers, do not console yourselves with the thought that the antagonisms among the robbers prevent a common attack

upon China; the international robbers are coming to an agreement regarding the division of the spoils. As a preparatory measure for the bloody settlement with the Chinese people, the bourgeois provocateurs are endeavouring to stifle the feeling of solidarity among the workers for the heroic struggle of China. The bourgeois liars are spreading falsehoods that chaos prevails in revolutionary China. The reformists cast responsibility for intervention upon the Chinese people and preach compliancy.

Workers, do not believe the liars and the preachers of compliancy! The workers of China, headed by the organised proletariat, are conducting the fight against their powerful enemy with all the means necessary for victory. The English government is taking advantage of the victory over the miners in order to settle accounts with the Chinese revolution. The victory of military intervention in China would mean the victory of international fascism and of fresh attacks of capital against the proletariat of all countries. The attack on China is the general rehearsal for the attack upon the Soviet Union. The Chinese people is fighting with complete devotion and steadfastness against imperialism, and is at the same time defending the

liberty and honour of the workers and the suppressed of all countries.

Workers, do not lose a moment! Organise the defence and aid for the Chinese revolution! Unweariedly, and in spite of all hindrances and sacrifices, explain to the sailors, soldiers and working masses the meaning of the fratricidal war into which they are being sent by the bourgeoisie! Mobilise all organisations which can hinder the sending of forces against the Chinese people! Fight for the recognition of the revolutionary government! Enforce the withdrawal of the armed forces from China! Close the united front of the fight of all workers' organisations against the great danger! Compel the reformist leaders to cease their sabotage and double dealing with regard to China! Organise, strengthen and make ready for struggle all organisations which are prepared to fight under the slogan, "Hands off China!"

Long live the Chinese Revolution!

Long live the fighting solidarity of the proletariat of all countries and of the oppressed peoples of the whole world!

Long live Communism!

HANDS OFF CHINA

The Danger of Open Intervention in China.

British provocation in China is entering on a new phase. The Conservative Government has officially stated that it will send to China "all the forces necessary for the protection" of Shanghai. Other imperialist Governments have also begun to speak openly of this same "protection of Shanghai". This formula is evidently intended to replace the ill-famed imperialist formula of "the protection of civilisation", under the cover of which, as everyone knows, the sanguinary and mad suppression of the Chinese people was organised in 1900.

The protection of Shanghai, but against whom? Did not predatory imperialism only a short time ago, try to pretend touching sympathy for the national liberation movement, did not the newspapers of Great Britain and a number of its politicians, including Lloyd George, declare, that official recognition of the National Revolutionary Government would be made as soon as the Canton troops had taken possession of Shanghai? And have not two British diplomats, Lampson and O'Malley, spread similar promising allusions on their path?

Now all this playing with generosity has come to an end, as has also the whole preparatory diplomatic and operative work which was necessary for the organisation of intervention. The British War Ministry, which has made known its intentions of despatching a whole army with men of war and divisions of the "auxiliary services", now declares that "these measures entirely correspond with the tasks by which the British authorities in Shanghai are faced". Shanghai must be turned into a base for military operations against the Chinese people.

What cynical hypocrisy does the gossip now seem, which is not yet silenced, to the effect that the strongest imperialist States are assembling their land and maritime forces in Shanghai with the object of "protecting the lives of peaceful citizens". This talk about any lives which are in any kind of danger is only a rumination of the policy of an "understanding" in that short period when the imperialist wolves considered it advantageous to appear before the Chinese people in a lamb's skin. British diplomacy already considers it possible to stop this game and to act without any fuss, the diplomacy of the United States still prefers to appear with the halo of a heavenly, missionary disinterestedness. This explains the difference in the phraseology of British and American newspapers, the difference in the formulas which are used by the two Governments in official communications, the difference in the reasons which are sought as a justification for the violence and bloodshed which are intended. The object of the preparations is the same with all the imperialists, i. e. to bring the Chinese people into a position in which it will be possible for them once more to dictate their own will to it as a subjugated, enslaved party without any rights of its own.

The communication of Washington innocently declares that "the policy of the United States is to transport troops to China, which can be used there in case of necessity". What necessity? It does not occur to the State Department to enter into too many explanations. Who does not know that the imperialism of the United States will not resort to arms until the lives of peaceful citizens are threatened by real danger? Has it not encircled on all sides the tiny, helpless Republic of Nicaragua and flooded it with its troops in the name of this object which is worthy of every respect? Is it not, in the name of protecting those who have been injured and with the whole enormous strength of its overwhelming military superiority forcing upon Nicaragua Diaz, the agent of the oil interests, the venal usurper? And after all this, can we doubt that Admiral Williams, the Commander of the American navy in Asiatic waters, in consulting with the chiefs of the military and naval forces of other Powers in China, only had in view the interests of the offended, immaculate nuns of the Dominican order?

The sensitive correspondents of the bourgeois papers of the whole world have mobilised all the forces of their imagination to describe the "horrors and persecutions" to which innocent Europeans are exposed in "bestial" China. The report of every hysterical outcry, of every hysterical woman who was made to flee in a demonstrative way in order to expose the terror, was immediately spread throughout the world as evidence of the necessity of military intervention. According to the words of a British observer, the honourable and fearless gentlemen of which the whole male population of the British concession in Hankow consists "crowded like a flock of sheep into the building of the Asiatic Petroleum Company". Why did they do this? The Englishman quoted above, who poked his nose into the street and realised that all this fear was without foundation, could only come to the conclusion: "Heaven only knows what moved them (the gentlemen crowded together like a flock of sheep) to do it."

It is however important that not only heaven but earth too does know something of the causes of the tragi-comedy acted by the British in Hankow. For, as early as on January 16th, a communication appeared in the "Sunday Worker", the organ of the revolutionary British workers, which not only reveals the whole game of provocation of the diplomatic stage-managers in Hankow, but also prophesies the further acts of the drama,

"British imperialism", writes this honest labour newspaper, "is playing a gigantic game of bluff at Hankow and other Yangtze river ports as a prelude to launching a military and naval attack upon the Nationalists at Shanghai. ... Although, now that Hankow is controlled by the well-known disciplined Nationalist army, there is absolutely no danger to either life or property in the foreign concessions, the British authorities have deliberately withdrawn the women and children. ... The next stage in this cunning plan is to provoke an "incident" at Shanghai. ... The only hitch in the government's plans is Britain's failure, up to the present, to obtain a guarantee either of co-operation or neutrality from the other great Powers — U. S. A., Japan, and France. As soon as some arrangement can be concluded with the governments of these countries the attack will be launched from Shanghai."

Judging by the latest telegrams, this arrangement between the organisers of the intervention has been concluded. The imperialist sword is hanging over Shanghai. Monstrous powers of devastation have been set in motion against the national revolutionary movement. The danger of retribution with fire and sword is increasing from day to day. British imperialism is endeavouring to get the National Revolutionary Government into a position in which it has no alternative but to surrender to the "mercy" of the victor, of which sufficient experience has already been gained.

The danger is serious, but mighty also are the forces at the disposal of the people numbering many millions, the people who have struck out on the path of a conscious struggle for freedom. The working masses of China who have chosen to tread the great road of class struggle under the leadership of the proletariat will have enough of the spirit of self-sacrifice, of fearlessness, endurance, discipline and skill in manoeuvring to repulse the open, armed attack and to annihilate the secret provocatory intrigues of the enemy. And there is no country in the world in which the Chinese people will not find true friends and powerful allies in this heroic and glorious fight.

Events in China.

By A. I.

The imperialist Powers, above all Great Britain, are proceeding with the concentration of their naval and military forces in Chinese waters.

The first squadron of cruisers of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, has already started for Shanghai. The British War Office is sending four battalions from Great Britain, apart from two regiments which were stationed in Malta and which have received orders to be ready to start for China. Finally, the British Government in India has stated that it is prepared to put at the disposal of the British Government in China "the contingents, including Indian troops", which it requires.

Since the meeting of Mussolini and Chamberlain, the Italian Government on its part, has issued orders to send two men of war and six torpedo boats to Shanghai without delay.

As regards the United States, there are, according to official communications, twenty six American warships either in Chinese waters or on their way to China.

There is no need to say anything about Japan, for thanks to its proximity to China, it does not need to take any special measures. In any case it is always prepared.

By the side of these extraordinary military preparations, the unceasing evacuation of foreign citizens from a number of provinces to Shanghai seems no less important. Even in Peking itself, the foreign embassies are already deciding on points of assembly from which the foreigners can "be brought to the diplomatic station under supervision in case of disturbances."

All this, together with the incessant military preparations of the imperialists in Shanghai itself, together with the fact that the United States' Ambassador in China abandoned his journey to Washington, having received orders to return when he was already on the way, "in connection with the spread of the movement against foreigners" is evidence of the great success of British diplomacy, which is endeavouring at any price to produce a mood of panic amongst all the "Great Powers" so that it may more easily provoke general armed intervention or at least attain benevolent neutrality of the Powers in the case of Britain proceeding alone.

According to a communication of the "Sunday Worker" these proceedings find expression in "the British army, with the support of the naval forces, carrying out an attack up the Yangtse as far as the ports of Chinkiang Nanking, Wuchu, Tsiutsian and up to Wuchan, the capital". According to other reports from Peking, the action is to be postponed until the Spring as, in view of climatic conditions, the water in the Yangtse is too low for big warships in the winter, so that they could not even reach Hankow.

This is the situation. The extreme seriousness of the position can be judged by the fact that MacDonal himself who, by his recent actions, promoted Chamberlain's belligerent plans to no small extent, is now calling a retreat by declaring that he "is in no way responsible for the policy of the Government."

How is this unexpected turn of events to be explained? It is to be explained in that not only Great Britain but also the other imperialist Powers have at last realised that the end has come for their rights and privileges which were ensured to them by unequal treaties. The special correspondent of the "Times" writes:

"If the British Government surrenders its position in Hankow, it must do the same in Tientsin and consequently in Shanghai. If the foreigners once allow their concessions to be taken from them, there will not be the least logical reason for their having any control whatever over the Chinese railways, for the whole foreign capital invested in them does not at present exceed 30 million pound sterling, whereas the total value of the property of the foreigners in Shanghai alone is estimated at approximately two hundred millions pound sterling. Foreign control over foreign customs which, as is well known, guarantees debts, the total sum of which does not exceed fifty million pounds sterling, is in the same position. The Cantonese have already so far destroyed the extraterritorial rights of the foreigners, that it would be absurd to assume that North China, even in view of its submissiveness, will continue to respect the privileges of foreigners."

"Everything" — it concludes — "now depends on O'Malley, who is carrying on negotiations in Hankow. If

his mission succeeds, there is still some hope of a revision of the treaties which would satisfy all parties. Should he fail, the treaties and all they contain, will quickly be annihilated, for the process of the violation of the treaties has already gone so far, that a stop can only be put to it if a firm attitude is taken. We must therefore once more repeat that all the Powers are in the same position as Great Britain, and if they do not agree to act in common, their vital interests in China are threatened by a fatal danger in the immediate future*)."

There is of course a good deal of purely British propaganda in this; it would, however, be wrong to rely too much on the "irreconcilability of the conflicting interests of the imperialist Powers" and, starting from the premises of this irreconcilability, to deny any possibility of the creation of an imperialist united front against the Chinese revolution. The conflicts of interests of the "Great Powers" have not prevented the latter from joining in action against the Soviet Union; a similar, temporary union of the imperialist front is by no means out of the question in China when the continued existence of the unequal treaties is concerned, as is the case at present. For this reason, the slogan "Hands off China" must be the most urgent battle-cry of the whole European proletariat.

Prevent the Transport of Troops, Arms and Munitions to China!

Moscow, 28th January 1927.

The International Propaganda and Action Committee of the Transport Workers has directed an appeal to the seamen and dockworkers, calling upon them to stop the transport of troops, arms and munitions which are being sent to China by the imperialist governments in order to suppress the Chinese liberation movement. The appeal points out that the English intervention in China is only the beginning of events which will inevitably bring about wholesale murder, and calls upon the transport workers and seamen of all countries, and in particular the English, to make emphatic protest against the new adventure of the English government.

"Do not transport a single soldier, a single cartridge, a single cannon or a single aeroplane to China!

Down with the English imperialists!

Long live the victory of the Chinese Revolution!"

The Echo of Chinese Events in India.

The mighty expansion of the national movement for freedom in China is making a tremendous impression in India. On the one hand we see great uneasiness among the British authorities, on the other hand a wide movement of sympathy on the part of the broad masses in India for China in her efforts to free herself.

The apprehensions of the British are proved by the fact that the British Commander in Chief of the army in India recently made a journey to the frontier between Burma, the South Eastern province of India, and the Chinese province of Yunnan.

This border zone of India is inhabited by wild tribes who do not actually submit to the British authorities. The British Commander-in-Chief has suddenly taken an interest in the fact that slavery still exists in this district and, as representative of the "highly developed British civilisation", has resolved to exterminate slavery. The brilliant victories of the national revolutionary movement in China were however needed to call Great Britain's attention to it. The Indian nationalists have reacted in quite a different way to the events in China.

In this respect the following incident is very characteristic: At the beginning of December 1926, at a banquet in Calcutta, in honour of Lord Irving, the Viceroy, Langford James, the President of the European Association in Calcutta, said in his speech that for reasons of a "moral nature" the continuance of the British rule in India was "necessary for the good of the Indians themselves". In connection with this, Sen Gupta, a prominent leader of the Swaraj party, published an article in the Press in which, among other things, he writes:

"Events in China ought to have opened the eyes of the extremely high-spirited members of the European colony.

*) Re-translated from the German.

The Europeans in India should not forget that they form an insignificant minority; half a million desperate people would be enough to cause so much disturbance that the British would realise their unusual position in the country."

On the whole, the Indian Press devotes great attention to the events in China. The following quotations from an article in "Forward", the organ of the Swarajists, are extremely characteristic of the attitude of mind of the Indian nationalists towards the great events on the frontiers of India.

"The sympathies of all who respect humanity and justice", writes "Forward" of December 13th, in an article entitled "Bravo China!", "will naturally be on the side of the Chinese who are filled with the determination to force the foreigners to renounce the extraterritoriality and the other privileges which they extorted from the Chinese at the point of the bayonet. The economic boycott is one of the most effective measures used by the Chinese nationalists to break the back of British imperialism. They also take care to observe the wise rule of keeping their powder dry. China has realised that nothing has so much influence on the peoples of Europe as force."

Finally, the paper points out that "the Indians are following China's present fight against foreign imperialism with eager attention."

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES

The First International Congress against Imperialistic Colonisation.

By Willi Münzenberg.

In a speech held at the Third Congress of the Communist International on July 5th, 1921, Lenin, speaking of the tactics of the Communist Party of Russia, dwelt in detail on the movement in the colonies. With particular emphasis he attacked the wrong and old-fashioned conceptions still prevalent among the petty-bourgeois parties of the Second International in regard to the liberation movement in the colonies, saying verbatim.

"In this respect a great change has come about since the beginning of the twentieth century, for millions and millions, representing the actual numerical majority of the population of the globe, now appear as independently active revolutionary factors, and it is obvious that in the coming decisive fights of the world revolution, the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movement of the majority of the world's population, originally directed towards national emancipation, will perhaps play a far greater revolutionary rôle than any of us expect."

But a few years have passed since this speech of Lenin's, but circumstances at the present time already show how correctly Lenin foresaw the development of the colonial struggles and the colonial movement. The last few years have seen an unbroken series of revolutionary fights and risings on the part of nationally and socially oppressed peoples and groups. In Mesopotamia there were the struggles against British dominion, put down by the pious and pacific MacDonald, then H. M. Prime Minister, with bombs and machine-gun fire. In northern Africa, years of heroic resistance to French and Spanish invasion on the part of the Rif-Kabyles. In Egypt, the growth of the nationalist movement against England, leading to sanguinary fights with the British occupation troops. In India, the rapid growth and intensification of the anti-British movement. On Java and Sumatra, only a few weeks ago, a revolutionary movement which spread to almost all sections of the native population. Of yet greater importance for international political development, however, are the struggles which for many years past have been waged against the predominance of foreign imperialism in China by the Chinese people in general and the south-Chinese revolutionary proletariat of the ports and industrial centres around Canton in particular.

Hundreds of sanguinary wars and struggles, and thousands of individual events teach us that the next few decades of inter-

national political development will be characterised by the expansion, increase, and accentuation of the fight for national and social liberty put up by oppressed nations.

Among international organisations, it has hitherto only been the Communist International which has appreciated the significance of these struggles for the entire international proletarian class struggle and has attempted to combine these national struggles for liberty with the proletarian class struggle and to turn national efforts into efforts of social emancipation, as has been done in China.

At its last congress at Marseilles, the Second International refrained from assuming any attitude whatsoever towards these important problems. It cannot well do so, since quite a number of its leading members are at the same time Ministers in royal or bourgeois Cabinets, whose prime principle is the maintenance of capitalist rule over the peoples subjugated by their respective States.

In its endeavour to aid the colonial struggles for liberty, the Communist International has hitherto found no support save in the yet juvenile organisation known as the "League against Colonial Oppression". This association of persons of widely different party tendency, including honest pacifists, Left Social Democrats, anarchists, syndicalists, non-party intellectuals, and Communists, has, in keeping with the times, experienced a very broad and rapid development. After no more than one year's existence, this organisation has now its organisations in Germany, France, England, South, Central, and North America. In India, the Trades Council of Bombay has undertaken to organise the League.

The extent and intensity of the movement fermenting in almost all suppressed nations against capitalist dominion, is reflected in the response made to the first summons to an international Congress of the revolutionary associations and organisations directed against colonial oppression.

In answer to the very first invitations replies were received from hundreds of national-revolutionary groups and parties, who enthusiastically took up this suggestion and appointed delegates to such a Congress, raising the necessary travelling expenses wholly by subscription among partisans.

At the present moment it has not yet been determined at what place the Congress is to be held, seeing that during the last few weeks strong pressure has been brought to bear both by the Dutch and by the American Government, for the purpose of preventing Brussels from becoming the seat of the Congress. There can be no doubt, however, that wherever the representatives of the anti-colonial associations and organisations, who are now already on their way to Europe, ultimately meet, they will form an assembly of several hundreds of the best and most determined representatives of the anti-imperialist movement.

The great international political success which can even now be predicted for the revolutionary movement of emancipation, lies in the fact that for the very first time the representatives of revolutionary China (some 50 delegates of the Canton Government, the Kuo-Min-Tang Party, the individual trade-union associations, and the revolutionary army having been invited) will meet the representatives of India (a delegation of about 20 members, presided over by Lal Nehru of Javah, the delegate of the Indian National Congress to the International Congress). This is the first occasion in the history of the All-Indian National Congress, that one of its representatives takes part in an international conference. The mere meeting of the representatives of these two greatest and most important among the suppressed peoples of the globe, is in itself an essential strengthening of the revolutionary movement of emancipation. Added to this, a third great contingent will appear in the shape of delegates from Mexico and from the Central and South American States, the independence of which is more and more threatened by United States imperialism. The Mexican Government, the trade unions, and the broad masses of the Mexican peasantry will all be represented by special delegates at the Congress.

If it is found possible to coalesce these three great groups -- the Mexican, South, and Central American States -- into a firm bloc with the masses of Indian and Chinese workers and peasants, the conference will indeed constitute a turning-point in the history of the struggle for colonial emancipation.

The very coming-together of these three large groups represents a tremendous achievement and a great step forward towards the union and combination of oppressed nations. An association has been formed which can truly be said to span the globe. Added to this, however, numerous other groups, important national-revolutionary organisations and parties — such as the Nationalist Party of Egypt — and substantial delegations from the French colonies in the North of Africa, from the Negro commonwealth of Liberia, from Syria, from Palestine, and from many other colonies, are taking part in the Congress.

This international conference will be the first occasion for the meeting of trade-union organisations which have hitherto had no mutual connection, since they do not belong to any international association. Besides delegates from the South African trade-unions, there will be representatives of the All-Indian Trade-Union Congress, the Chinese trade-unions, the Mexican and other Central American trade-unions, and the trade-union organisations of East and West Africa. In this connection the programme of the Congress is to provide for a special session of trade-unions.

The strong participation of the colonial organisations has likewise induced a number of European parties and organisations, besides individuals, to pay far greater attention to the conference than was the case during its early preparatory stages.

The participation of particularly numerous delegations has so far been announced by Germany, France, Belgium, and England. The British delegation comprises, inter alia, official representatives of the Independent Labour Party (in which connection Brailsford has been named), Maxton, M. P., Lansbury, Vice President of the British Labour Party, Ellen Wilkinson, M. Z. Davies, A. J. Cook, Purcell, and a number of other labour leaders, forming together a group of 25 persons.

The Congress will be the introduction to a new and considerable expansion, intensification, and invigoration of the revolutionary struggle of all suppressed peoples and classes.

POLITICS

Down with American Imperialism in Nicaragua!

Moscow, January 29th, 1927.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has issued the following appeal:

The army of the United States occupies Nicaragua. North American imperialism, throwing aside its democratic mask, cynically and openly announces its intention to convert the countries of Latin America into colonies. North American capitalism has long obtained possession of the natural riches, the industry and the means of transport of Central and South America and brought its governments into economic and financial dependence.

The capturing of Republican Latin America by North American capital under the mask of liberalism and of democracy, is encountering the resistance of the doubly exploited masses of the people. The workers and peasants of Mexico have been the first to come forward against suppression by the United States. The national people's government, under the constant pressure of the masses, proclaimed Mexico's free right of disposal over the petroleum springs, on account of which the Washington government threatened them with military intervention. The example of the Mexican people is drawing the peoples of Central America into the fight against exploiting North American imperialism. The people of Nicaragua rose against the creature of American capital, "President" Diaz. The United States fears a second Mexico. It intends to cut a second canal through Nicaragua and for this reason desires to subjugate the entire country. The occupation of Nicaragua, under the pretext of protecting American citizens, is intended at the same time to intimidate Mexico. To the protest on the part of Latin America and of broad strata of the population of North America, Kellogg replied that intervention is necessary in order to fight against Bolshevism, against the Third International and to save civilisation. The whole world laughed at

this philistine who raised the Bolshevik bogey in order to conceal the predatory intentions of Yankee imperialism.

The Communist International has always fought imperialism, not excluding the most shameless and strongest imperialism — that of the United States. It calls upon all anti-imperialist forces to support the little country of Nicaragua. Kellogg discovered the anti-imperialist policy of the Communist International precisely when the colonising plans of the United States are taking a more definite form. The League of Nations is again exposing itself as the defender of the interests of the great imperialist powers and maintains silence. The Second International likewise maintains silence.

The peoples of Latin America must have the support of the international proletariat in their fight for independence. Their fight for independence is only a part of the great world battle of the peoples suppressed by imperialism against their suppressors. China, India, Central America form the central point of this struggle. The masses of the population of Latin America raise their protest against their plundering by the United States. The proletarians of North America must protest against American imperialism. The workers and peasants of the whole world must prove their solidarity with the people of Nicaragua.

Down with the imperialism of the United States!

Long live the fight for independence of the suppressed peoples against imperialism!

Long live the international solidarity of the workers and peasants and of the enslaved peoples against their common enemy!

The Intervention Policy of the United States.

By P. S.

The one-sided military operations of the powerful imperialism of the United States against the tiny, unprotected Republic of Nicaragua, which only numbers altogether 700,000 inhabitants, are of course not yet to be described as a war. Nevertheless the proceedings of the United States in Central America include all the elements of a war, both because of the reasons actuating American imperialism and because of the whole diplomatic, political and purely military technique, which has been set in motion to carry out the intervention. What is still more important, is that there is here revealed the clash between those forces which will inevitably, though perhaps not in the immediate future, lead to a great war or to great wars.

What interests is the Government of the United States pursuing in this small country? Chiefly the interests of those large trusts which have invested about 75 million dollars in the industry of Nicaragua. But this of course is not all. The Government of the United States does not itself deny that its open intervention in Nicaragua is at the same time a secret intervention in and a threat of war against Mexico. The instructions received from the American Admiral Latimer, to hold up Mexican steamers, are absolutely directed towards provoking an armed conflict with Mexico, and that with mathematical exactness just at the moment when it will be found necessary in Washington.

Coolidge declared that the Government of Washington required a regime in Nicaragua which would ensure to the United States the carrying out of the Treaty of 1916 with regard to the construction of a new canal joining the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This treaty was concluded for fifty years, but up to the present, no one in the United States has thought of carrying out the project which is extraordinarily difficult from the technical point of view (it is intended to include Lakes Nicaragua and Managua) and is in no way a commercial necessity in view of the existence of the Panama Canal. The chief point is — and the presumptuous military circles in the United States do not even conceal this — that the United States require complete supremacy in Central America as a point of support for a future war.

The Government of Washington has been clever enough to chose for the decisive blow a moment when the hands of its opponents are tied by their own sanguinary machinations. Is it really possible for Great Britain in any degree to "counter-balance" the grasping desires of American oil interests in Mexico when she herself is interested in maintaining a diplomatic cover

in the rear for her operations in China? Can Great Britain prevent the United States taking possession of a dominating position on the isthmus of Central America in preparation for the coming war, when she herself is just at the present moment trying to conquer similar positions on the other side of the Pacific Ocean?

The third conclusion to be drawn from the intervention of the United States concerns the estimate of the counter-action which the so-called public opinion may take against an intervention.

Until the middle of December 1926, i. e. until the moment when the Government of Mexico still might be expected to mitigate the law with regard to the limitation of the right of foreign monopolists, the organisers of the intervention still made a certain amount of difficulty. The Government of the United States showed concern for the fate of the Catholic Church in Mexico and for questions of religion. In this work of the salvation of souls, it was supported not only by the fathers of the Catholic Church, but also by Green, the President of the American Federation of Labour, who, in an official manifesto, advised the labour movement in Mexico to show "more tolerance" in the struggle against Catholic feudalism.

Towards the end of December, however, it became evident that the Government of Mexico would not go beyond the concessions which it had previously made. This is why the attack was renewed with greater vigour. Mexico was accused of trying to drive the United States out of Nicaragua. The bellicose section of the Press forthwith demanded war against Mexico. A considerable section of the Press however still supported the line taken by Senator Borah who maintained that the Government of the United States had neither the right nor a reason for overthrowing Sacasa by force of arms. Admiral Latimer's flotilla appeared in Nicaraguan waters, but refrained from any too obvious intervention.

The third stage. The population of Nicaragua overthrew the Diaz regime. Sacasa's troops delivered one blow after the other at Diaz' troops. His capital, Managua, was directly threatened by the troops of the lawful Government. Further hesitation was impossible. The first landing of United States' sailors was made under the pretext of protecting the citizens of foreign countries. Even this game however was soon regarded as useless. Admiral Latimer received orders to blockade Nicaragua from the sea. At the beginning, the reason given for the blockade was the necessity of preventing the alleged supply of arms to Sacasa's army from Mexico. This pretence could only be kept up for one day. The blockade was then extended to foodstuffs. The Admiral, in a most friendly way, advised the American capitalists to pay no taxes to Sacasa's Government.

The troops which had been landed marched forwards and established a neutral zone on land, i. e. they encircled the army of the lawful army on all sides, endeavouring to isolate and starve it. At the same time it was officially resolved to supply Diaz with arms from the United States. Coolidge only officially proclaimed the intervention when it had become an accomplished fact and tried to throw the responsibility for it on the Mexican Government.

Kellogg, the American Foreign Minister, summoned the representatives of the Press and scolded them for their lack of unanimity which "compromised" the policy of the United States in the eyes of public opinion. At the same time the gold of those interested in oil took effect. Some of the newspapers rapidly deserted Borah and openly took the side of intervention.

The organisers of the intervention were still faced by the task of silencing the official opposition in the Senate. Coolidge invited the anti-intervention members of the Commission for Foreign Affairs to visit him and carried on confidential discussions with them. Coolidge's chief trump card was the "Bolshevist danger". To two representatives of the Democratic Party he made a "confidential communication to the effect that at the last moment material had been received which proved the great influence of Bolshevism in Central America and was quite sufficient to justify the measures of defence taken by the United States".

What a lot of senseless twaddle!

Everywhere, in China, in Nicaragua, in Java, the imperialists quote the struggle against Bolshevism as the final evidence for the necessity of their sanguinary deeds of violence. Every movement for freedom, every effort of the peoples to free themselves from the yoke of monopolist capital is described by the

imperialists as Bolshevism. They do this of course in order to discredit Bolshevism. They overlook the fact that in describing as Bolshevism everything that is honest, just, freedom-loving and bold, they themselves promote the class consciousness of the masses and their organisation in the fight.

The British Empire or a "Pan-America".

By Stewart Smith.

The overtures of the Pan-American Union to Canada mark a new stage of the political developments within the British Empire. The "older league of nations", the Pan-American Commercial Union, which has been functioning for thirty-five years as the direct imperialist weapon of American finance, and has a membership of 21 nations with a population of some 200 millions has invited Canada to occupy its presumptuously pre-arranged seat in the new, million-dollar chambers in Washington. The report of the British Imperial Conference, recently concluded in London, was hailed as Canada's "Magna Charter", the Canadian equivalent of America's Declaration of Independence. The appointment of Vincent Massey to the post of "Canada's Minister at Washington", was declared by the chairman of the Pan-American Union, Mr. Barrett to be "the most important and significant event in the twentieth century relations of Canada and the United States". Now that the Imperial Conference "has swept away the sole difficulty" he felt that "the way was opened for the realisation of a perfect organisation and solidarity within the western hemisphere". So confident is American imperialism of the entrance of Canada, that the permanent construction of the Pan-American Union building will include a plaque for Canadian Arms, a Canadian panel in the Council Chamber and a chair carrying the name and Arms of the Dominion. Toronto, Canada was decided upon as the meeting place for the Union next year.

The Intention of Wall Street.

Mr. Barrett, as the spokesman of Wall Street interests, went on to say, that in 1923 he had secured from 200 leading statesmen and "business men" in the hemisphere a unanimous agreement that Canada should join the Union. While he did "not pretend to know the opinion of Coolidge and Kellogg in this important international question", he could not believe "especially in view of the rapidly growing relations of Canada with all Latin-America and the great forward step of the appointment of a Canadian minister to Washington, that they will differ materially from their predecessors".

The words of Mr. Barrett are much more of a threat than an invitation. Now that Canada has side-stepped any entanglement of Imperial obligations, and particularly now that her trade interests are turning more and more to Latin-America, American imperialism does not hesitate to make plain to the Canadian bourgeoisie that the time has come for Canada to step inside the pale of the "Monroe Doctrine".

The "Sole Difficulty".

The primary objective of the Pan-American Union is stated as follows; "to maintain the isolation of the Western Hemisphere from foreign encroachment". It openly boasts of "a higher civilisation, a vaster wealth and great potential, if not actual, naval and military power than the Geneva League". The big bourgeoisie of Canada offer the following reply through their chief mouthpiece, the "Montreal Gazette" which felicitates itself upon the possession of a first-class crown-colony attitude on all questions:

"It is conceivable that Canada is not yet ready, despite the pending departure of Mr. Massey, to revolve around the U. S. A. in even so mighty, wealthy and powerful a constellation. For one thing, the relationship might not be consistent with the newly established principle of national equality, unless someone is prepared to argue that equal status within the Empire is reconcilable with international inferiority."

This represents a change of front of the Canadian bourgeoisie. Previously, the big capitalist interests have, whether sincerely or not, regarded the loud talk of the liberal politicians about "independent national status" as dangerous tendency. They now present a nationalist front to American imperialism on the basis of the "newly established principle of national equality".

Clearly Mr. Barrett's "sole difficulty in the way of the unity of the Western hemisphere", under the domination of America has not been "swept away". The "sole difficulty" still remains in the form of the British Empire in the first place, and the interests of the Canadian bourgeoisie in the second place. If the liberal politicians of Canada now begin to represent the American interests in Canada (as a first step, by sending Mr. Massey to Washington), after having developed the nationalist sentiment against British domination, the big bourgeoisie, who still dominate the economic life of the Dominion, now combine their role as the champions of British Imperialism with that of the defenders of the nationalist interests.

The Situation within the British Empire.

The recent British Imperial Conference indicated the coming of age of the Dominion bourgeoisie. The "white" Dominions have become the co-partners of Britain in the exploitation of the black colonies. Their interest in the Empire is now an imperialist interest. The Dominion bourgeoisie finds in the Empire, and in the United Kingdom itself an expanding market. The fundamental principle of English trade policy, that England must be the industrial centre of an agricultural Empire, has been shattered, in part, by the rapidly developing Dominions. In fact this main spring of English trade has started to recoil. As early as 1923, every Dominion had either a balanced or a decidedly favourable trade with England. Since that time Canada's exports to England have risen by £18,000,000, her imports from England remaining the same; Australia's exports by £23,000,000, imports by £3,000,000; British Indies exports by £13,000,000 while imports fell by £1,000,000. With these three England has the largest trade. All reveal identical tendencies of a rapidly increasing export trade with England, and a relatively static import trade.

In accordance, with the economic advance of the Dominion bourgeoisie, they have continually advanced their political position. At the Washington Conference they apparently agreed entirely to British policy. At Chanak, the break commenced. At Lausanne there was open friction. At the London conference on Reparations only a hypocritical unity of front was maintained. And finally, at Locarno, the Dominions have indicated their complete refusal to be bound by British foreign policy. The Imperial Conference marked the culmination of this process, bringing the Dominions to a position as close to equality as is possible within the shell of the Empire. The Dominions are still formally bound by the Imperial government, but obviously if the Dominions refuse to sign the Locarno "Peace" Pact, they have no intention of being implicated in British foreign policy, and at the very moment, when the Imperial government will attempt to implicate them, the shell of the Empire will prove too weak to hold the Dominions. Up to that point, the Dominions can have no incentive to leaving the "imperial partnership", so long as they have the best of the bargain, as at present.

The Dominions and the United States.

The process of the rise of the economic and political position of the Dominions within the Empire finds its counterpart in increasing economic dependence upon the United States, and the following table shows the imports from the United States and the United Kingdom, compared in percentages:

	From United Kingdom		From United States	
	1913/14	1923/24	1913/14	1923/24
Canada	20.7	17.2	65.0	67.3
Australia	52.4	45.2	13.9	24.6
New Zealand	51.5	47.8	11.6	16.0
		1922/23		1922/23
South Africa	54.4	52.1	9.5	12.9
India	54.4	52.1	2.6	5.6

"Round Table", Sept. 1926.

The distinct tendency indicated here becomes even more sharply defined in purely competitive goods, e. g. the following shows the percentage of Australia's imports of metal and competitive goods from the United Kingdom and the U. S. A.:

	1913	1921	1924
From United Kingdom	64.1	57.5	51.0
From the United States	17.6	28.6	36.5

This trade of the Dominions with the United States, however, quite the opposite of that with the United Kingdom, results in an adverse balance for the Dominions. Thus the anomalous situation prevails that the favourable balance with the United Kingdom only succeeds in making up the unfavourable balance with the United States. In spite of the British preference tariffs in the Dominions, England is unable to compete with America on "her own market". Along with the rapid expansion of the Dominions' industry has gone an expansion of the market in the Dominions. In the industrialisation, American capital has played a major role in Canada; a minor role in some of the other Dominions. The expansion of the market has fallen almost wholly to America.

The process of the financial domination of the Dominions by American finance has not yet developed far, in others than Canada. The financial dependence upon the United States, however, must inevitably increase. The representatives of the Dominions stated quite openly at the Imperial Conference, that they will have to turn more and more to America for finances. The situation in England indicates that the Dominions will have to turn entirely to America for financing, which cannot be secured within their own boundaries. America on the other hand, sees in the Dominions of the British Empire one of the most profitable fields for investment in the world.

The British Imperialists look askance upon this situation. In spite of the fact that this process has by no means reached its full impetus, the Dominions have begun to indicate distinct political leanings towards the United States. At the time of the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, the Dominions were drawn closer to America, Canada becoming incensed over Curzon's call to arms. Australia, with her own little "Monroe Doctrine" stands in constant fear of being embroiled in British, Pacific implications. Her extraordinary reception of the American navy in 1925, and her continuous declarations of friendship for Japan indicate her fears.

The Situation in Canada.

Each one of the currents within the Dominions finds its highest expression in Canada. Canada is the most highly industrialised, the largest and richest, and is invested with more American capital than any other country in the world. Geographically, it is the richest and most natural direction for American expansion. More than one-quarter of America's foreign investments have been placed in Canada, and one eighth of America's trade is with Canada. American capital has, for the most part, entered Canada since the war, and is to be found in the first place, in the Canadian National (government controlled) Railroad, which was formed from two bankrupt railways, previously under the domination of English capital, and is to-day, in the hands of the liberal politicians, a tool for rate-cutting, as a concession to the farmers. In the second place, it has the pulp and paper industry and metallurgical mining, both of which are now gigantic industries based almost entirely on Canada's unequalled hydro-electric power generation, and serving the United States market. Finally, American capital has developed the automobile and rubber and such similar industries, which while serving the Canadian market to little advantage, find a large market within the Empire owing to the preferential tariff. The Canadian capital itself, which is the predominant factor (60% of the total, according to average estimates), being invested in all the various fields, has equally diverse interests.

On the political field, these interests congregate in the liberal and conservative parties. The Liberal Party, having split away the right-wing of the Progressive (farmer) Party, represents the agrarian, anti-protectionist interests, the French-Canadian autonomist interests and the American capital, imperial preference interests. The Conservative Party has behind it a unity of interests for high protection against America. Both of these parties are constantly faced with internal differences. The Liberal Party, although successful in maintaining itself in office by clever manoeuvring, is already threatened with destruction by the seductive approaches of the Conservatives to the farmers and French-Canadians.

The Conservative Party, the representative of the greatest capitalist forces in Canada, must inevitably come in conflict with the interests of American imperialism in Canada. The approach of the Pan-American Union is merely a first indication. The annexation policy of American imperialism was not

completed with Texas, California, Oregon and Alaska, five times the original territory of the U. S. A. She has subjected Panama, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Honduras, forcing Panama to violate her membership in the League of Nations. Political domination follows economic enslavement. She will not hesitate to exert political domination in Canada. But just as the vacillating liberal politicians of Canada have proven themselves incapable of conducting a struggle against British imperialism, because they represent a confusion of capitalist interests, which are inevitably entangled with the Empire, so the big bourgeoisie of Canada are incapable of resisting American imperialism, with which their interests cannot fail to intertwine.

The Perspective for the Workers and Poor Farmers.

Only the workers and poor farmers of Canada are capable of waging the real fight against imperialist domination. In the first task, that of linking up their forces on a national scale, and organising the masses of the unskilled workers in the new lumber, paper and metallurgical industries, the Canadian workers find themselves confronted with the advance-agents of American imperialism, the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labour. In their attempt to block the formation of an independent all-embracing trade union centre in Canada, capable of conducting the workers' struggle on a national scale, and of organising the masses of new unskilled industrial workers, embracing large numbers of the French workers, the A. F. of L. imperialists are destined to failure. The workers of Canada will be forced to unite their forces. While this is taking place, the masses of the impoverished farmers of Canada, "wage-workers" of the banks and mortgage companies, "masquerading in the guise of landed proprietors", are brought into ever more direct conflict with their enemy, through their wheat-pools. Only the unity of these forces under the leadership of the Communist Party, is capable at one stroke of breaking the bonds of the British Empire, overthrowing the divided forces of the bourgeoisie, ousting American imperialism and establishing an independent Workers and Farmers Government. The perspective of the workers and poor farmers of Canada can be neither to remain within the British Empire, nor to fall under the domination of American imperialism.

The Negotiations Concerning the Arming of Germany.

By G. Peri (Paris).

On January 10th, negotiations were opened in Paris between the Conference of Ambassadors and the German delegates von Pawels and Forster with regard to the Eastern fortifications of Germany and the export of war materials from Germany.

These are two questions in dispute for which the plenipotentiaries assembled in Geneva in December could not find a solution. After long-drawn-out negotiations, they resolved to abolish the Inter-Allied Control Commission from the first of February, and to leave it to Germany to make new proposals with regard to her "failures".

Thus, these negotiations in Paris, which have already lasted some weeks, opened a great political discussion under the outward appearance of a technical and juridical debate.

The fortresses which exist in the East of Germany, in the district of the Masurian Lakes, were already in existence at the time when the Treaty of Versailles was signed, but the Entente closed its eyes to the fact. Germany was empowered to maintain its fortresses as it was empowered to keep up an army. The army was intended to help suppress the workers' revolution. The fortresses were to be the points of support of Western capitalism in its operations against the Soviets.

Article 208 of the Treaty of Versailles determines that the system of fortresses, with which Germany is burdened, "shall be maintained in its present condition." What else could this turn of expression mean than that each time any part of the system was injured, its restoration should be undertaken. What would have been the sense of this concession at Versailles if it had not permitted Germany to restore damaged parts of its fortresses and to modernise them? This has been the interpretation of all the Ministers of War who have followed one another in Berlin since 1919.

The French nationalist advocates of the Treaty of Versailles are protesting against this modernisation of the German fortresses. The members of the Ambassador's Conference with Cambon as their President and the militarists of the Inter-Allied Committee, led by Marshall Foch, stick to the wording of 1919, to the formula of encircling Germany with the help of the Polish gendarmes and the Czecho-Slovakian frontier guards. The interference of the financial world of the United States in European affairs, and the political and economic re-groupings which are expressed in diplomatic documents, escape their attention.

They dream of a French imperialism which is the undisputed lord and master of Europe, supported by Prague and Warsaw.

This first matter of dispute is above all an affair between France and Germany. The second point of dispute, the export of war materials, is chiefly a matter of concern for London.

For British industrialists, the chief point is to throttle German competition. The experts of the British War Office and the British Admiralty have made a list of 56 products which may neither be manufactured by the German factories nor exported.

The aim is, as we see, chiefly an aim of the industrialists. One section of the Press, as for instance the "Kölnische Zeitung", does not hesitate to say this. This large paper, which is obviously well informed, asks how the engines of warships are to be distinguished from those used on commercial steamers, and how those intended for cruisers can be distinguished from those used on liners.

The British War Office however does not trouble to define any such distinctions. It simply works in the interests of British industrialists.

The industrialists of Great Britain are badly hit by the industrial crisis. The great engineering firms of Great Britain, Armstrong, Whitworth, Vickers etc. are passing through a serious crisis. The first named company has asked the owners of its securities to consent to the payment of the interest due to them being postponed for five years. This big firm is concerned to avoid bankruptcy, the danger of which became grossly evident in the recently published balance of accounts. These big companies live almost exclusively from armaments (a fact about which Messrs Macdonald, Henderson and other pious pioneers of the international investigation into German armaments do not care in the least). The present discussion gives British industrialists who are so hard hit, an extremely favourable opportunity of improving their position by brushing aside German competition. They are determined not to let this opportunity slip; hence their interest in the present negotiations.

These are the circumstances in which the negotiations in Paris were opened. The German delegates hesitatingly presented their proposals to the Foch Committee on January 14th; after two days they were peremptorily rejected.

In these proposals, the German representatives had pledged themselves to construct only defence works on the Eastern frontiers of Germany in the future. They made concessions with regard to the question of storing up war materials.

Thus, the German plan was, on the one hand, to delay the solution of the question in dispute with regard to the fortresses and, on the other hand, to come to an understanding with London (hence the plan of compromise with regard to the storing up of war materials).

The resolution came to by the Ministers wrecked this plan. It could only have succeeded had it had the support of the Cabinet in London. The latter however was absolutely unyielding as it desired to eliminate German competition from the European markets. In addition to this economic motive, it had a political one.

Great Britain has been working for a whole year at the economic restoration and political rehabilitation of Germany. It wanted to restore, to Germany's advantage, an equilibrium which had been destroyed by the Treaty of Versailles. Developments since Locarno have resulted in the flood-gates being opened for German imperialism, whilst the fight of the British miners and events in the Far East have threatened the future of the British Empire. To-day, the British Foreign Office is alarmed by the claims Germany is making. Responsible circles in Great Britain are opposed to Germany's colonial claims.

The intention of those at the helm in the world empire of Britain is to use the dispute about German armaments as an opportunity which should not be neglected, of teaching "moderation" to the leaders of foreign policy in Germany.

It should be added that the resolution of the French military has not failed to take effect on the development of the crisis in Germany and on the formation of a Cabinet of the Right.

At the time of writing these lines, no compromise has yet been arrived at. It seems to us, however, by no means improbable that a formula of compromise will be discovered in a short time. Both London and Paris are anxious to avoid appealing to the Court of Arbitration at the Hague at any price, an expedient which would have to be resorted to if the negotiations lead to no result.

The negotiations show us a Germany once more set afloat by Anglo-Saxon capital and filled with the ambition to expand, they show us a Great Britain resolved to bridle her German competitor and to maintain her control over French policy; they show us further a France in which the rivalry is increasing between two fractions of the ruling class — between on the one hand, the advocates of a European system in which the establishment of better relations between France and Germany seems to be the last sheet-anchor of the French bourgeoisie which has to face the rivalry of Italy in the Mediterranean and in the Balkans and is in debt to London and Washington, and — on the other hand, the representatives of industry in whose opinion the political and military pledges of the Treaty of Versailles should only be relinquished in exchange for advantageous economic concessions.

The Present Situation in Czecho-Slovakia.

By Kl. Gottwald (Prague).

The bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia is in an awkward position. The competitive fight between the various national sections in the economic field has not yet been completely concluded; the objective situation nevertheless necessitates the immediate formation of a political united front of capitalists of all nationalities resident in this post-war re-production in miniature of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The cause of this state of affairs is to be found principally in the specific gravity and the significance of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is de facto the strongest party in Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and, consequently, their Social-Patriotic supporters are considerably split up politically. The Government parties in Czechoslovakia were, up to recently, Czech bourgeois and reformist parties. Capitalist stabilisation in Czechoslovakia was, and still is, executed in accordance with the international norms of the bourgeoisie, i. e., exclusively at the cost of the working class of all nationalities. The natural consequence thereof was that the political basis of the chief representatives of this "stabilisation" policy, and especially of the Czech Social-Patriotic parties, was narrowed in such a measure that the question of the so-called democratic form of government of the bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia became an acute problem of the day.

A few months ago the Czech bourgeoisie seriously considered the possibility of a Fascist dictatorship or dictatorship similar to that of Primo de Rivera or Pasic. In view of the existing national and social composition of the population of Czechoslovakia and in view of the — last but not least — significance of the Communist Party, this solution of the crisis was too risky, because the consequence would have been that the bourgeoisie of all the nationalities in Czechoslovakia would have had to face the question of a social revolution, the outcome of which would have been a matter of great uncertainty for the bourgeoisie, and this eminent class interest induced the capitalists of all nationalities in Czechoslovakia to form a political united front, to change the tactics of the competitive fight waged among their individual parties. The political expression of this is the international bourgeois government coalition, in which the reformist parties, which formerly participated in the government but were later unable to withstand the pressure from the Communist Party, take no part.

The State estimate of the bourgeoisie has failed utterly. The transition of the Czech Social-Patriots to the "Opposition" has not impeded the growth of the influence of the Communist Party upon the Czech working class in both town and country; on the contrary, the process of radicalisation, the divergence of the masses towards the Left, has never before been so clearly

shown as in this period of "loyal" opposition of the Czech reformists. Furthermore, the Communist Party is increasing its influence among the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses of the minority nations, whose bourgeoisie by their overt political co-operation with Czech Capitalism have demonstrated completely the betrayal of their national slogans. In Slovakia, in particular, the hegemony of the fight for the national liberty of the broad masses of the workers has actually passed into the hands of the Communist Party.

It is, therefore, not to be wondered that the attention of the whole camp of the bourgeoisie and of the reformists should be concentrated upon the Communist Party. Whereby it is interesting to observe that the individual bourgeois parties reproach the Social Patriots with inability to fight earnestly against "the Communist Danger" and add that the bourgeois parties must themselves take up the anti-Communist fight.

We have recently witnessed the employment of such forms of the "anti-Communist fight". Several days ago was concluded the so-called "espionage case", which was designed to compromise the Communist Party and the Soviet Trade Mission in Prague. It is true that the case came to a ridiculous end, for it was shown that there was no question of a Communist or Soviet danger but merely one of police provocation. In spite of all endeavours to this end, not a single Communist could be convicted in this relation, and the Draconic sentences against the comrades in this case were based upon anything and everything except "espionage". A similar aim is observable in the case, now before the court, against the Communist deputies, who are being tried on account of the obstruction they made in summer to the customs duties and the concessions to the clericals. The astonishing fact that members of parliament should be prosecuted on account of their behaviour in parliament, and, further, the undisguisedly biased attitude of class-justice, which rejected all the witnesses called by the defendants, are proofs of the importance which the bourgeoisie attach to the provoking of pogroms against the Communists and to the intimidation of the whole party and, consequently, of the whole labour movement.

These machinations on the part of police and provocateurs, which have so often been tried without success, are only the beginning of an extensive campaign against the workers. It is projected for the highly probable event that the bourgeoisie will not be successful in destroying the labour movement that the labour movement be controlled by the police and the State. Within the last few days, "Venkov", the newspaper of the Agrarian Party, the strongest bourgeois party in Czechoslovakia, has been reconnoitring in this territory, and its efforts have been supported by "Narodny Listy", the National Democratic organ of bank and industrial capital. In short, Mr. Svehla's party proposes that the trade-union organisations should be a department of State, as they are under Mussolini, and its partner, Kramars' party, is looking for international "justification" for this measure in the trade union Bill now being prepared in England.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has already taken general measures to ensure an appropriate answer to the bourgeoisie. In view of the elementary dissatisfaction and bitterness of the broad masses of the workers the Party replied to the capitalists by opening up a strong campaign against the rising cost of living and against taxation.

This campaign, which is being carried on throughout the country, is closely connected with special movements in the individual branches and particularly with the actions in the territories of the national minorities. On January 23rd of this year there was held in Plesivec, in Slovakia, a district conference of workers and peasants, in which decisions were taken in regard to forms and methods of mass fighting against the systematic retrenchment in industry and against the impoverishment of Slovakia by the bourgeoisie in power, to which the Slovakian bourgeoisie, too, now belongs.

"We are fighting on!" was the chief slogan of the proclamation with which the executive of our party last week replied to the intensified agitation against the Communist Party. It was also the slogan of the mass demonstrations held by the party throughout the country on the evening preceding the day fixed for the trial of our deputies; it was also the slogan of the miners, the textile workers and the metal workers, who

are demanding an increase of wages and are being betrayed by the reformist leaders; it was also the slogan of the proletariat and of the peasants of the minority nations, especially in Slovakia. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is fighting on under the banner of the united front of the proletariat and of the alliance of the workers with the peasantry, and of the Communist hegemony in the national fight for liberty, for the purpose of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and of creating the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

Pilsudski's Government at Work.

By L. Pluzinski (Warsaw).

The Pilsudski Government has carried out a pogrom which had been prepared for months on the "Hromada", the organisation of White Russian peasants and workers numbering 100,000 members. Many hundreds of White Russians have been thrown into the prisons of Vilna, Bialistok, Grodno and Novogrodek. At the same time, more than a hundred persons were arrested in Warsaw, the capital of Poland. Wholesale arrests and house searches have taken place in numerous other places and, so as to reveal completely its Fascist character, the Pilsudski Government arrested five members of the Seim; four of them are members of the "Hromada", the fifth is the representative in Parliament of the Independent Peasants' Party. In doing so, Pilsudski, the Dictator, has clearly shown that he long ago brushed aside all the rights of the Seim. The Government deliberately disregarded the immunity of the worker and peasant deputies in order to deprive the actual representatives of the working masses of the Parliamentary platform. The Seim once again showed itself to be a ridiculous decoration which only serves as a mask to the Fascist dictatorship.

By the pogrom directed against the "Hromada", Pilsudski redeemed the bill of exchange which he had signed at the famous meeting with the landowners at the princely castle of Nieswicz.

The rapid development of the "Hromada" is causing alarm to the White Russian landowners. The slogan "The Land to the Peasants!" has become louder and louder and has caused the "Shlachta" to tremble in its shoes. This is why, since the meeting at Nieswicz, a furious campaign against the peasants and workers of Western White Russia has set in in the bourgeois Press.

Now, the landowners of the Eastern border districts of Poland are praising the Pilsudski Government in every key. They declare that the arrest of the White Russian deputies would never have been carried through by any Parliamentary government, that only Pilsudski's dictatorship was capable of such a decided step. "Slovo", the organ of the landowners, points out that Pilsudski's "personality" also prevents the Polish Left interfering with the action for the liquidation of the "Hromada".

"so that even the 'Robotnik' (the central organ of the Socialist Party of Poland) does not dare to oppose the liquidation of the 'Hromada'".

As a matter of fact, the behaviour of the "Democratic" and the Socialist Press is absolutely disgraceful. It incites bad feeling against the workers and peasants of Western White Russia no less than does the most reactionary Press. The central organ of the S. P. P. has found no word of protest against the deeds of violence of the Fascist Government, through which it endeavours to suppress the liberation movement of the White Russian population. In this way, the leaders of the S. P. P. have again shown that they form an important component of the Fascist regime in Poland. Was not the pogrom against the "Hromada" carried out by Moraczewski, a Minister and leader of the S. P. P. in common with the monarchist Meystovicz? The deeds of violence of the Fascist regime against the national minorities are covered by the Government Committee for Protecting the Interests of the National Minorities, which consists exclusively of Socialists. Before the Government undertook the action against the "Hromada", the Socialist Vasilevski went to Vilna, to "study" the White Russian movement. This study has borne fruit very quickly.

In order to give an appearance of justification to the crime against the masses of Western White Russia, the whole Press, the National Democratic as well as the Fascist Government Press and the Press of the S. P. P. speak of "Communist con-

spiracies", "Russian money" and "espionage" etc. It is the well-known method of justifying the White Terror and, above all, of masking the preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

The pogrom against the "Hromada" is only one link in the chain of the English plan of campaign against the Soviet Union, which is designed on broad lines. The whole national policy of Pilsudski's Fascist Government is conducted from the point of view of the coming war against the Soviet Union. This explains the concentration of Petljura's and Belachovicz' bands round Pilsudski, and the enlistment of all White Russian reactionaries. This also explains the policy of exterminating the indigenous working population of Polish White Russia and the wholesale trials to which they are subjected. This is how the way is to be cleared for a war against the Soviet Union.

The present wave of terrorist measures is only the beginning of a vast systematic terrorist action of the Pilsudski Government against the masses of workers and peasants. The Pilsudski Government is determined to crush under foot the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the C. P. by every means in its power. The Pilsudski Government resorts more and more to force as its internal bankruptcy becomes ever clearer to the masses. The Pilsudski Government has not kept a single one of the promises with which it tried to foster certain illusions among the masses. Unemployment in Poland is increasing from day to day. The distress of the masses of workers and peasants becomes daily more terrible, but the hatred of the workers against the Fascist Government grows side by side with it. One example shows this very clearly: Shortly after the wholesale arrests, the municipal election took place in the town of Prushkov; almost half the votes were in favour of the "Block of Labour Solidarity", i. e. eleven seats fell to their share, whilst the real S. P. P. only got four seats — clear evidence of the growing revolutionary spirit of the working masses.

The Communist Party is not broken up. The day after the pogrom against the "Hromada", it issued proclamations in Vilna and other towns in which a protest is raised against the deeds of violence of the Pilsudski Government and all workers are called upon to fight under the slogans of Communism.

"Latvia's Turn."

By O. P. (Riga).

When, in the middle of December 1926, the Government of the Peasant League was replaced by a Government of the Left Coalition, the possibility of an overthrow of the Government by the Fascists was first spoken of. Arvid Berg a deputy of the Right party, it is true, in his paper "Latvis", deprecated with all his force even the assumption that an overthrow of the Government was possible, calling it "a leap in the dark", which no reasonable person would undertake. Nevertheless rumours multiplied as to preparations being made for a revolution. It is said with certainty that the Fascists intended to take action the day the Government declaration was read and that the only reason why nothing occurred was that Colonel Tiutis, the intended leader, was of the opinion that the forces of the Right were not strong enough.

Circles in close touch with the Cabinet maintain that the Cabinet has enough material to justify it arresting General Aire, the Chief of the Staff and ex-officer of the Denekin army, who is the most important military leader of the putch. The trouble is that General Wangersky, the Minister of War and ex-officer of the Koltchak army, is taking a lively share in the organisation of the action and thus paralysing the Government measures.

The Fascist staff has found shelter in the hospitable building of one of the Scandinavian Missions and there, under the protection of diplomatic immunity, it is carrying on its despicable work.

One of the chief characters in the Fascist movement is Karl Ulmanis, the well-known leader of the Peasant League, whom the majority of the Fascists want to make dictator. His right hand and the Commander in Chief of "all the armed forces" of the Fascists is, as we have said, General Aire who, with the secret support of General Radsinch, the Commander of the Latvian army and of Wangersky, the War Minister, is using the whole apparatus of State and the sums allocated to the Ministry of War for the secret service in making preparations for the putch. He is further supported by the General Consul of one of

the Great Powers who takes an active part in the work of the Fascist State and is famous in the Baltic provinces as an active counter-spy and a brilliant organiser of all putches. The above mentioned Arvid Berg has joined this company in spite of his fear of "making a leap in the dark".

This whole company recently decided to find the result of what had been done and, as we are told by one who took part in this Council (for obvious reasons we cannot give his name but we stand sponsor for the reliability of his communication) that things were discussed as follows: Ulmanis demanded that immediate action be taken. General Aire advised waiting until he had prepared public opinion and had purged the divisions of the Riga garrison. At present he would only vouch for the cadet school, the fifth regiment, the tank division, the staff company and the flying force. The meeting resolved to organise, for the support of the Fascist troops, Black groups of hundreds, consisting of members of various Right military sport clubs, and further seriously to prepare the "self-protection" divisions (Ais-sargs) for action.

"Self-protection" is organised in sections, which are supported financially by the Government and are trained in war-craft according to all the rules of the art of war. This organisation with its 30,000 members, consisting almost entirely of elements from the large peasantry, represents a serious danger for the existing order, and this is why General Aire devotes so much attention to it.

These are merely words, but there are deeds also. On January 12th, Fascist heroes carried out a number of sudden attacks on the homes of persons dangerous to them, from which they carried off some people who were released after having been cross-examined by General Aire's adjutant. Other Fascist divisions visited the central prison of Riga and demanded that the lists of the political prisoners be laid before them. In this, they show the same methods as were adopted by their successful boon companions in Lithuania who, after the overthrow of the Government in Lithuania, proceeded to shoot perfectly innocent communists. It is evident that the laurels gained by the Lithuanian putchists rob their friends of like opinions in Latvia of their sleep; the latter, inspired by the success in Lithuania are firmly determined to throw themselves into the fight.

Riga is in a state of excitement and is constantly expecting the putchists to take action. The Fascists fear external complications. They fear that the district of Lettgallen, which lies along their frontier with the Soviet Union will prove to be a weak spot in Latvia. They know that, thanks to the unscrupulous policy of the Peasant League, this district has been thrown into distress and they fear that, the moment action is taken, the inhabitants of Lettgallen will make use of the confusion to declare the independence of Lettgallen from Latvia.

America in the World-Market for Strike-Breakers.

By Edith I. Rudquist.

Among the several proposed anti-alien laws proposed by the United States Government the most drastic and far-reaching is undoubtedly the Aswell-Bill. It is an attempt of the American employing class to catalogue and classify into particular categories the millions of foreign born workers now in America and to militarize them, or as it is mildly stated in the Bill, registered aliens are "to report at such times and such places" when "in the judgement of the President, the interests of the national defence so require".

But it is not generally known that the Bill is also an attempt to prevent immigration into America of persons undesirable to the American employers; that it would necessitate the establishment of a system of checking up the potential immigrants' previous political and union activities before a visa is issued; that it would provide a method of importing foreign labour to lower wages, to break strikes or for direct use in any other industrial disputes; that it would provide the American employing class with free employment bureaus in every foreign city where America has a consulate; that the governor of each state would virtually become the "legalized" tool of the industrial interests.

But more than this, the Bill virtually contradicts former well established rules of law. E. g. that law which forbade the importing or hiring by contract of any labourer abroad, or that

which in several states forbade the transportation in interstate commerce of strikebreakers unless they had been previously informed of the character of their coming "duties".

The section which contains these provisions is the 19th: "Sec. 19. The Secretary of State shall request the governor of each State to submit a concise synopsis of the resources of his State and the opportunities open to immigrants in such State and shall further request the governor to submit monthly at stated times estimates of the number and type of immigrants that are deemed desirable as residents of such State. The Secretary of State shall, upon the basis of such information and official reports and statistics, prepare statements from time to time (in such languages as the Secretary of State shall deem expedient) setting out conditions and opportunities in the several States, which statements shall be furnished to American consular officers. Each alien applying to any such officer for a visa shall be given the opportunity of reading the statement prepared by the Secretary of State and of selecting the place in the United States to which such alien desires to go, which place shall be named in the visa. No alien entering the United States after six months following the enactment of this Act shall be deemed to have completed his registration under this Act until he has reported at the office in the district in which is located the place named in his visa."

The American industrialists have never been entirely satisfied with the immigration laws of this country and the different industrial interests have tried to get their own selfish viewpoints expressed in various bills. One of the latest attempts is to give full authority to the President to regulate, restrict or enlarge the immigration quotas according to actual needs of the different industries. The quoted section 19 of the Aswell Bill is a step in the same direction, and it provides for speedy action in case of emergency, e. g. a big strike, when the governor in his official capacity is compelled to issue monthly to the State Department a statement of the "industrial needs" in his state, and in reliance on his statement the necessary immigrants are to be brought over to break the strike, or generally when the capitalist class starts a campaign to lower wages.

The last clause of the Section is nothing less than a form of modern industrial serfdom, which would bind the worker to the district stated in his "contract" (visa).

These aspects of the Aswell Bill call for the particular attention of every Council for the Protection of the Foreign Born Workers. Appeals must be made to workers in America and warnings must broadcast to the Labour movement of every foreign country, especially the European, of the net that is being laid to trap the foreign workers into American industries as strikebreakers and to lower the American living standard, whenever the bosses decide that the time for lowering wages is ripe.

The powerful influence of the Labour press in Europe must be mobilised for this purpose, our revolutionary comrades in the foreign parliaments must use every opportunity to raise their voices in condemnation and protest warning against these sinister designs and conspiracies of the American industrial magnates.

This question is by no means only an American issue, it is an issue which concerns the whole world's proletariat.

French "Civilisation" in Indo-China.

By A. F.

French "civilisation" in Indo-China finds expression in various directions; in the first place through shameless exploitation of the native population. The poor peasants of Annam and Cambodia have their land taken from them without any consideration. In doing so, the most shameless corruption is practised. The same methods are applied in Cochin China. No less than 115,000 hectares of land have been taken from the natives there, and it is calculated that this area will be increased to 200,000 hectares in a few years.

All strata of the colonial carriers of "civilisation" take part in this robbery. At their head of course, march the highest officials who represent the imperialism of France in those colonies. Dr. Cognacq, Governor of Cochin China, has been openly accused in the Colonial Council, of having distorted, falsified and stolen the minutes of the Council. Another high official, Sabatier, the Provincial Resident, has introduced a wild arbitrary rule in order to carry out his plans, as a result of

which the prisons are overcrowded and innumerable death sentences, which up to then had been unknown, have been passed and executed.

On the return of **Bui Queng-Chieu**, the nationalist leader, who, in the meantime had become a notorious compromiser, the Annamite riflemen were disarmed, whilst numerous machine guns were kept in readiness to turn against the enormous crowds who had assembled to welcome him. On the occasion of the trial of two young Annamite journalists, the military, gendarmerie, militia, town police and secret police were mobilised. The natives were simply forbidden to enter several quarters of the town of **Saigon**.

No faith is any longer placed in the French soldiers, and still less of course in the Annamite soldiers. Senegalese troops were therefore introduced into the colony; they were forbidden to associate with the native population. Lest the African soldiers who have been introduced, should come to an understanding with the Asiatic population that French imperialism is their common enemy, a regular propaganda of hatred and division is carried on between the black soldiers and the yellow natives.

Since the arrival of the "Socialist" **Varenne**, who has been nominated Governor, from France, arms and war material are constantly coming into the country from France. Several of the transports, which were to bring these tools of "civilisation" to Indo-China, have been destroyed by explosions.

The worst terror prevails uninterruptedly in all parts of Indo-China, in **Cochin China**, **Cambodia**, **Annam** and **Tonkin**. Wholesale arrests are the order of the day. The students, a number of whom are trying to continue their studies abroad, as the schools in the colonies have been closed to them since the great strike of students, are persecuted particularly cruelly.

A number of French colonies, such as the Island of **Reunion** near the large Island of **Madagascar** on the East coast of Africa, and the Island of **New Caledonia**, West of Australia, have been quickly depopulated by alcohol and serfdom. The colonists have therefore no hands to work on their plantations and ask the Government of **Cochin China** for workers, a demand which is granted. Thus we frequently read reports such as that 2000 workers have been granted permission to emigrate to the Island of **Reunion**, or more than 500 to **New Caledonia**, which latter had a population of 62,000 inhabitants in 1875, while its population has now decreased to 27,000 thanks to French "civilisation".

The emigration of the workers is of course as "voluntary", as was at the time the transport of "volunteers" from Indo-China to the battle-fields of Europe and recently to **Morocco** and **Syria**. We often hear of the departure, but seldom of the return of these "volunteers", who are forced to leave their country. At present there are, in round figures, 6000 "volunteers" from **Tonkin** in **New Caledonia**.

After more than 60 years of French occupation of China, schooling in Indo-China is still on a very low level. No skilled workers are trained. On the other hand, there are in Indo-China, 2000 places where alcohol and opium are sold to 10 schools. In 1924, Indo-China, with its 20 millions inhabitants, only had 213,977 children attending school and 4,193 native teachers, whereas even in the **Philippines**, kept under the yoke of the imperialism of the **United States**, there were 1,128,977 children attending school and 25,451 native teachers among the 10 million inhabitants. In Indo-China there is not only a lack of schools, but those which exist are very inferior.

The extent to which corruption exists in Indo-China, can also be seen from the confessions of "**L'Impartial**", the organ of French Fascism in Indo-China, to the effect that Governor **Cocnacq** has been guilty of a number of acts of corruption. The "Socialist" **Varenne** is also taking a keen part in the corruption, and a few months after his arrival in Indo-China, he sent 74 packing cases of presents, weighing 4,910 kilos and measuring 30 cubic meters, to France.

The incapability and unscrupulousness of the administration of **Tonkin** was responsible for having blown up a dam in order to protect the town of **Hanoi**, the seat of the French, without having informed the inhabitants in time, so that no less than 20,000 inhabitants of the villages lost their lives. The Press was forbidden to report this criminal act.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

We Must Be Prepared!

From the Concluding Speech of Comrade **Bucharin** at the 15th Moscow Government Party Conference of the C. P. S. U.

The Russian White Guardists in the Service of the British Government.

As in my report, I will pay chief attention to the questions of our international situation. Why did I, in my report, emphasise the question of a possible attack on the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics? I have brought up this question because, in recent times, we have had before us many symptoms which must be taken into consideration by our Party as the leader of the working class.

First of all I will read you a few serious documents which have fallen into our hands and which bear witness to the extraordinarily intensive connections between the Russian counter-revolution and the heads of the British Government.

Our Government is constantly being accused of having various connections, agencies etc. in different countries. Every movement against the capitalist order of society is regarded by the bourgeoisie in all parts of the world as something "imported" from the Soviet Union. There is indeed a well-known joke circulated abroad to the effect that the only goods which we export in large quantities are our "Red agents". I shall not refute these "naïvetés" nor all the gossip, all the calumnies of this sort which are let loose on us. This is quite superfluous. On this front I should like to adopt the tactics of a counter-attack on our chief opponent, the Conservative Government in Britain.

I have with me a few letters of **Sablin**, one of the former leading diplomats of Czarist Russia to **Giers**, another diplomat of the Czar.

This communication is called "Informative communications to the oldest diplomatic representative of Russia abroad"; this concerns a diplomatic representative of **Czar Nicholas II.**; it is true that the latter is no longer among the living, nevertheless he still has his own diplomatic representatives (laughter). **Sablin** writes as follows with regard to British affairs:

"The majority of the Conservatives still imagine that the origin of all ills is to be traced to the disintegrating influence of Moscow and the propaganda of Communism, and console themselves with the hope that all this can be made good by driving **Krassin** out of England and by breaking off all relations with Moscow. I, of course, do everything in my power to promote this attitude of mind and to further the expulsion of the Reds from this country. In the depths of my soul however, I cherish a serious doubt as to this and I fear that even the possible expulsion of the Reds, would, under the present circumstances, lead to no radical change in the situation of British industry and British trade."

This is what **Sablin** writes. He himself considers it a mistake to believe that all the ills in Great Britain are the result of 150 Soviet representatives being in London, but at the same time he thinks it necessary "to support the Conservative Government in this conviction".

Now for another document. I will only quote some passages from it as from the first and from a third document which follows later. The second letter is also an "informative communication to the oldest diplomatic representative of Russia abroad". We writes:

"Thanks to the kindness of **Prince J. S. Trubetzkoi**, I have received the order of **May 1st** of **Woroshilov**, the Commander of the Red army, from which it appears with unmistakable clearness that the person referred to is at the same time Soviet Commissary, member of the Government and an active agent of the 3rd International. I had this order translated into English without delay and had it published in the 'Times' with a suitable covering. At the same time, I made it an excuse for writing a personal letter to the Home Secretary."

A few lines later, it goes on:

"To-day I have received a letter of much appreciation from the Minister, in which he thanks me for my communi-

cation and expresses his satisfaction at the help given him by the loyal Russians at a critical moment."

Now a quotation from the third letter. This refers to the connection between the monarchists and the British Government.

Sablin writes:

"In recent times, a change has occurred in this respect; our official diplomatic representation has begun once more gradually to win back the enjoyment of actual rights and to experience actual recognition on the part of the British authorities.

This began through the energetic and successful participation of our representatives and of some "White Russians" in the election campaign and then I gradually arrived at an authorised co-operation with Sir William Joynson Hicks, the Home Secretary, who is the most convinced and vigorous opponent of the Bolsheviks.

During the general strike, many White Russians again offered their services to the Government to maintain order and to perform various offices and some of them were even ill-treated in the streets by the strikers."

I could quote other passages but, even in those I have read, the whole mechanism of international class relations is thrown into high relief. The Czarist diplomats use the occasion of the General Strike and of the struggle of the miners to offer their services to the British Government; the British workers rough handle these Czarist diplomats somewhat in the streets; Joynson Hicks, the Home Secretary however, writes them a letter of thanks and enters into intimate connections with them, undoubtedly with the object of promoting, financing and conducting with all means in his power the counter-revolutionary and even subversive work of these Czarist — I apologize for the expression — statesmen, in the territory of our Soviet Union.

The Dissensions between the Capitalists and the Possibility of an Attack on the Soviet Union.

In my report, I spoke of the increasing activities of the capitalist Governments against the Soviet Union. In the discussion, Comrade Alexeiev, one of the speakers, reproached me with having represented things as though all the imperialists formed a certain united front, a kind of uniform whole, whereas in reality, dissensions exist amongst them, and these dissensions, in the opinion of Comrade Alexeiev, will make action against us impossible, at any rate in the immediate future. Perhaps it was a mistake on my part not to mention these dissensions between the various capitalist Powers; Comrade Alexeiev was perhaps so far in the right. I did not mention these dissensions for the simple reason that they have been spoken of at length and in detail in recent times. The question was dealt with for instance at the last meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

Everyone knows of the existence of dissension between Great Britain and France, of differences of views between France and Italy, of differences between the capitalist countries and the colonies, of the conflict between the United States and Japan, of certain contradictions between France and Germany, in spite of the advances they have made towards one another, and so on and so on. At the meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I., almost the whole discussion with Comrade Treint, who had raised objections to the appraisal of the international situation which was made in the report laid before the Conference, consisted of a detailed analysis of the contradictions between the various States. These contradictions exist, they are deeply rooted, they are so deeply rooted that they will lead, sooner or later, to a war between the various groups of the imperialist Powers.

I categorically dispute, however, Comrade Alexeiev's conclusion to the effect that in the present phase of international development these contradictions exclude the possibility of an attack being made on us.

Two days ago, I gave my report at the Party Conference; the next day the extremely important communication appeared in the papers that Great Britain is preparing a new Locarno, a new Conference of the most important capitalist Powers, directly aimed at us.

Do the contradictions between the various capitalist Powers at all times and in all circumstances, exclude their taking common action against the Soviet Union? By no means. There are examples in history of revolutionary movements having been smothered through the common efforts of a whole number of countries between whom there were conflicting interests. One

example of this is the intervention against us at the moment of civil war. At that time also there was no complete community of interests between the capitalist countries, but the contradictions did not interfere with their intervention. It is true, on the other hand, that the contradictions in the imperialist war gave us a breathing space, on which the theory and the practice of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk was built up; nevertheless a number of countries opposed us at a later period. I will quote an example from the earlier pages of history, the Boxer insurrection in China, when, in spite of the dissensions between them, the capitalist Powers joined together to throttle China.

This gives us two factors: Firstly, everything depends on the strength of the dissensions at a given moment and secondly it depends still more on how great is the danger which leads to a union of all these States between whom the contradictions exist. If the danger seems too serious, the contradictions between them recede for the time being into the background to allow of a common fight against the more important and for them more decisive common danger. For this reason it is not so simple to draw conclusions as to the impossibility of a war against us from the law of the contradictions between the capitalist States.

I pointed out that war is bound up with enormous social class contradictions, that it is associated with the fact that in some countries the workers may in some degree or other attack their Governments from the rear. This is a fact of the greatest importance.

We Must be Prepared!

I am far from prophesying definite dates and had not the least intention, in my report, of saying that we shall undoubtedly have war in the next few months; I mentioned no dates, I did not say that an attack will undoubtedly be made on us next Spring or next autumn. In the present highly complicated situation, when we are faced by such events as the Chinese revolution, when the groupings are changing with extreme rapidity, it is difficult to make guaranteed and patented prophecies as to dates.

We must be very careful and juggle as little as possible with prophecies of all kinds.

There is however so much inflammable material about, the revolution in the East is flaring up so vividly, our development is proceeding so rapidly, that numerous bourgeois States, Great Britain above all, are not only becoming more and more familiarised with the idea of preparing for war against us, but are actually organising the forces which are directed against us.

And now you ask yourselves as leaders of the working class: Must we take these facts into consideration? Must we say that a certain number of symptoms are now pointing to the approach of war? We should be as blind as owls, we should not be a workers' party, but a company of intellectuals discussing abstract themes, if we did not speak of these dangers. It is a matter of course that if we were to say that it is absolutely certain that there will be a war to-morrow, and the war did not take place, we should be like the boy in the well-known story, who cried "wolf!" for a joke, and when the wolf actually came, no one paid any attention, because the boy had fooled them so many times.

We must be moderate in everything. We can take the responsibility of stating that danger is approaching, that there are many signs which we cannot lightly pass over. We are bound to say this to the international proletariat, to our working class and our peasantry, because, if we urge them to hurry, they will ask us why, and if we do not point out the danger to all in good time, we shall be responsible.

I must refer to one more circumstance which makes it our absolute duty to warn our comrades of this danger. Whether an attack is made or not will depend to a considerable degree on our own preparedness. Should the enemy see that nothing is being done here, that an ideological demobilisation is taking place in our country, it would be an encouragement for him to attack, whilst, on the other hand, if the enemy sees that we are reckoning with the danger, that we are soberly and calmly weighing the danger and preparing, to the extent of our forces, without hysteria, but with firm determination, to adopt counter-measures, it is an additional guarantee against the attack itself. It is one thing to take people by surprise; it is quite a different thing to attack them when they are prepared.

All these considerations render it our duty to tell everyone, especially our Party, the working class and the whole country, that the dangers are increasing, that we must take preventive measures and arm for these dangers.

A written question was handed to me, in which I was asked whether the extracts from a speech by Deutsch, which I had read in my report, referring to his wish to enter into commercial relations with us, did not contradict what I had said about the danger of war. I threw light on this question in my report when I spoke about Germany, and said that it was inevitably doomed to experience vacillations in the coming period. There are vacillations with us also, the weighing of facts, a failure to estimate the situation rightly at once; we may at one time decide upon something, be mistaken, put it right again etc. In a complicated situation, not every question can be solved at once, as with an automatic machine; you drop in a penny and a piece of chocolate drops out (laughter).

When the German bourgeoisie is faced by so serious a question as whether to attack us or refrain from attacking us, when it is faced by the alternative of steering its course towards the West or towards the East, it finds itself in a very complicated and difficult position, because, if it turns very sharply towards the West, it will break the threads connecting it with our market, in which it is greatly interested. If it turns away from West European capital in our direction, it will receive no credits from West European capital and above all not from America. The German bourgeoisie "calculates", tacks and manoeuvres, vacillates; it wants to and it does not want to, it cannot make up its mind (laughter). When the situation is so difficult, "tacking and manoeuvring" is inevitable. In general, however, the tendency to turn towards the West predominates.

This is the position with regard to the question of the dangers connected with the preparations for war against us. I think that if an attack were made against us, it would lead to the development of portentous events in the whole of Europe, which would far exceed the limits of previous events, because the capitalist States or the coalition of capitalist States would have to wage war on an extremely broad front. At present we have China as a cover in our rear. The Chinese revolution is covering the international revolution of the working class in the rear. The Chinese national revolution is a cover in the rear of the Soviet Union. This is understood perfectly by everyone. It is a very difficult matter to make war against countries which possess immense territory and which are inhabited by a population who enjoy the sympathy of the European working class.

On the other hand, however, the bourgeoisie thinks of tomorrow, thinks that things may be still worse to-morrow. This induces it to continue and intensify the fight against us and against the united forces of the Chinese revolution.

The State Budget of the Soviet Union for the Year 1926/27.

By M. Bronsky (Moscow).

The State budget of the Soviet Union bears the marks both of the transition period, in which the country is at present, and of the tasks with which it is faced in view of the necessity of making good its economic backwardness as expressed in the insufficient development of the large industries and in the backwardness of agriculture. In this direction the budget of the Soviet Union shows marked difference in comparison with the budgets of the capitalist States, since it is an organ rather for the new distribution of the national income in the direction of a socialised national economy than for the distribution of financial means among the various branches of the State apparatus.

Presumably*), the budget for the year 1926/27 will amount to 4760.6 million roubles, an increase of 21.4 per cent. over the preceding year.

This increase in the budget is greater than the growth in other factors of national economy. Thus, agricultural production will be seen to have increased by 5, and industrial output by about 18 per cent.

The tax revenue for the year 1926/27 shows an increase of 26.8 per cent., amounting to 2217.5 million roubles, that is to say 74.4 per cent. of the entire budget (deducting the revenue

*) The draft of the budget, as prepared by the People's Commissariat for Finances, requires the ultimate approbation of the Council of People's Commissaries and of the C. E. C. of the Soviet Union.

of the People's Commissary for Traffic, Posts, and Telegraphs, which serves as a cover for the expenditure of that department). The increase is mainly owing to indirect taxation, which shows a larger yield than last year by 36.8 per cent. and figures at 1130 million roubles. This is to be explained on the one hand by a greater consumption of the taxed commodities and on the other by a higher taxation of some of the more expensive goods.

The increasing importance of indirect taxation in the State budget of the Soviet Union, a phenomenon which has been apparent for several years past, might at first sight appear incompatible with the general fundamentals of the Soviet policy. But such an accusation must necessarily be repudiated for the following reasons. In the first place the peculiar social circumstances of the Soviet Union must be taken into consideration, especially the levelling of incomes effected by the revolution and the economic policy of the Soviet authorities, which strives towards a restriction of private capitalistic accumulation and makes it impossible that the budget be constructed mainly of direct taxes. The most important capitalist sources of revenue in industry, agriculture, and banking, moreover, which would necessarily be subject to a progressive direct taxation, are in the hands of the State, and therefore their proceeds figure in the columns of revenue from State enterprises and State property, or, at any rate, revenue from other than tax sources. On the other hand, a higher taxation of the more expensive goods in this connection represents an indirect taxation in a certain proportion to the class-composition of the population.

In comparison with the preceding year, the direct taxes show an increase of 22.3 per cent., figuring at 764.2 million roubles. This increase mainly comes under the head of the agricultural tax both as a result of the wider scale of the taxation rates in this year and of the extension of assessment to new objects, and by reason of the increasing profitability of peasant economy. There is also a rise in the revenue from income and professional taxes in connection with their recent re-adaptation.

The wider scale of the direct taxation rates entails the assessment of every part of the income of the wealthier sections of the population, which escapes indirect taxation.

If we compare the tax onus in the Soviet Union with that in the other more important countries of Europe and in America, we may see that in the Soviet Union the total of taxes amounts to no more than 10.96 per cent. of the national income, while in France it is 20 per cent., in Great Britain 22 per cent., in Germany 22.7 per cent., and even in the United States of America 11.06 per cent., or slightly more than in the Soviet Union.

The State revenue of the year 1926/27 not derived from taxation (apart from the revenue of the Commissary for Traffic, Posts, and Telegraphs) will amount to 602.7 million roubles, or 14 per cent. more than in the preceding year. The somewhat slighter increase in comparison with other items of revenue is in this case explained by the diminution in the revenue from forestry by 9.6 per cent. The other items of revenue again, from State industry, State commerce, and banking, record a big increase, i. e. 53.6 per cent., and figure at 42.9 per cent. of the total of revenue from sources other than taxation, as against 31.9 per cent. last year. Thus the revenue from industry, commerce and banking in the Soviet Union is beginning to play an important part in the State budget.

In considering the expenditure side of the budget, we shall see that the administrative expense in 1926/27 show an increase by 87 million roubles or 13.9 per cent. This increase is mainly due to an augmentation of expenditure on the part of the Commissaries for Education, Hygiene, and Agriculture. Individual groups of the purely administrative expenses, on the contrary, show a recession of from 15 to 20 per cent., as a result of the economy campaign initiated by the Government.

In 1926/27, the expenditure for national defence amounted to 14.7 per cent. of the budget, while in 1925/26 it figured at 15.4 per cent. In this connection it may be pointed out that in 1913 these expenses formed 25.8 per cent. of the total. Thus the military apparatus costs only a little more than half as much as before the war, — 47 per cent. of the amount expended in 1913.

It is not without interest to compare this quota with the proportionate expenditure for national-defence purposes in some of the most important foreign countries: United States 19.1,

Great Britain 15.1, Japan 22.5, and Poland 33.4, per cent., as against only 14.7 per cent. in the case of the Soviet Union.

These figures once more show the mendacity of the "solemn" declarations of the capitalist States in regard to their "pacific policy" and "general disarmament" on the one hand, and to the "Red Imperialism" of the Soviet Union on the other.

In the year under review, the expenditure incurred in financing socialised economy recorded a particularly substantial increase to 54.2 per cent. The full exploitation of the old basic capital of industry confronts us with the task of new capital investments with a view to further industrial development. The budget for 1926/27 adequately reflects this problem of industrialisation. While the total budget has only increased by 21.4 per cent., 493.9 million roubles have been granted for industry instead of 199.5, that is to say an increase of 137.5 per cent. (The means accorded by virtue of the budget naturally represent no more than a part of the actual capital investments, which will amount to 947 million roubles for industry and 150 millions for electrification.) Railway development has not even been considered in the above count. The expenses for works of electrification entail an increase of 20.9 million roubles, figuring at 90 millions. Those for agricultural purposes amount to 145 millions.

The expenditure connected with State loans has receded pronouncedly in comparison with the preceding year, amounting to 97, as against 123 millions, while revenue shows an increase of 40 millions.

The necessity of systematic work and of preserving economy from possible crises, such as the consequences of crop failure, inundation, and other elementary misfortunes, has led to the formation of a Government reserve fund, figuring in the expenditure budget at 118 million roubles.

In concluding this short survey of the State budget of the Soviet Union, we must needs refer to one other welcome fact. Whereas last year only one Federal Republic of the Union, the R. S. F. S. R., closed its budget without a deficit, we have this year three republics in such a situation, viz., the R. S. F. S. R., Ukraine, and White Russia.

The border republics, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, have still a deficit of 46 million roubles, which is to be covered out of the budget of the Union.

The exploitation of the national border regions was an integral part of the economic policy of the Tsarist regime.

The October revolution put an end to this system and regards the economic promotion of the young Federal Republics as one of its most important tasks. To show what the Union has done in execution of this task, it is but necessary to point out that in Uzbekistan, e. g., taxation in 1926/27 figured at one third of what it was in 1913.

The endeavour to foster the agricultural development of the backward autonomous republics is part of the material realisation of our national policy, which again is one of the most important tasks of the Soviet power and which thus also finds expression in the budget of the Soviet Union.

OUR PROBLEMS

A Newly Discovered Lenin Manuscript.

Preface to Bukharin's Brochure: "World Economics and Imperialism."

Note of the Lenin Institute:

Comrade Bukharin writes in his preface to the brochure: "World Economics and Imperialism" (at the end of 1915):

"About two years ago, the manuscript (of the brochure) was sent to Russia from abroad and, after having first of all fallen into the clutches of the military censorship, it found its way by mistake to another publisher's."

After the February and March revolution (1917) 'it turned up'. In the July days it was to have been printed, but the police spies and Junkers, who destroyed our Party printing works, took my manuscript also into their care. Some time later I succeeded in recovering the manuscript, though in a crumpled and mutilated condition, but with the loss of the comprehensive

and extremely valuable preface of Comrade Lenin, to whom I here express my deep-felt thanks."

Lenin, who apparently attached much importance to his preface to the above-mentioned brochure which was written in December 1915, had made a manuscript copy for himself, which was preserved among his papers and is published herewith for the first time by the Institute.

The whole written manuscript consists of six pages in a small handwriting. On the fourth page of the manuscript are calculations in figures, written in pencil, apparently the number of letters in the manuscript.

At the head of the manuscript are pencil-notes by Lenin: "Kopia" and "NB".

Lenin Institute.

The significance and relevance of the theme to which N. I. Bukharin's article is devoted, needs no special elucidation. The question of imperialism is not only one of the most essential, but we might say the most essential question in that field of national economy which concerns itself with the changes in the forms of capitalism in recent times. Anyone who is interested in national economy or in any other field of modern social life, must absolutely become acquainted with the facts which have been so richly compiled by the author on the basis of the newest material. It goes without saying that it is impossible to speak of a concrete historical estimation of the present war, unless this estimation is based on a complete understanding of the nature of imperialism both from the economic and from the political point of view. From no other standpoint can an understanding of the economic and diplomatic relations of the last decade be acquired, — if this understanding is wanting, it is impossible to form a right judgement as to the war. In this question, Marxism expresses, with particular clearness the demands of modern science as such, and if, by a concrete historical judgment of the war, be understood the selection of individual, insignificant facts from diplomatic "documents", political events of the day etc., facts which suit or are pleasant to the ruling classes of a country, Marxism has nothing but a smile for the "scientific" significance of such machinations. Thus for instance, G. Plechanov had to say good-bye to Marxism, in order to replace the investigation of the fundamental qualities and tendencies of imperialism as a system of the economic relations of the most recent, most highly developed, ripe and over-ripe capitalism by extracting a few trifles such as are pleasing to Purishkevitch and Miljukov. In doing so, the scientific conception of imperialism is brought down to the level of a term of invective against the immediate competitors, rivals and opponents of the above mentioned imperialists, although both of them stand on the same class plane as their rivals and opponents. In our day of forgotten words, lost principles, uprooted views of life, resolutions and sacred promises thrust on one side, this is not to be wondered at.

The scientific significance of N. I. Bukharin's work is especially that it investigates the most important facts of world economics, which are related to imperialism as a whole, as a definite stage of development of capitalism at its zenith. There was a time when capitalism was comparatively "peaceful", when it had finally defeated feudalism in the advanced States of Europe and could develop comparatively in a most calm and peaceful way, could "peacefully" expand over immense free territories, over countries which had not yet been finally drawn into the capitalist whirl-pool. Even in those times, in the period which embraces the years from 1871 to 1914, conditions were created by "peaceful" capitalism which, both in a military and in a general class sense, were infinitely remote from real "peace". For nine-tenths of the population of the advanced countries, for hundreds of millions of people in the colonies and backward countries, this was not a time of "peace", but a time of oppression, of distress and of terror — perhaps all the more frightful because it seemed to be a "terror without end". This time is passed beyond recall; its place has been taken by a time of sudden, eruptive, catastrophic development, full of conflict, in which what is typical for the masses is no longer "terror without end" but a "terrible end".

It is particularly significant that this change has been brought about by nothing else than the immediate development, expansion, continuance, of the deepest tendencies of capitalism and of the production of goods altogether. The growth of exchange, the development of large industry, these are the fundamental tendencies which we can observe in the course of centuries, without any exception throughout the world. At a

definite stage of the development of exchange, at a definite stage of the development of large industry, that is at the stage which was reached at about the threshold of the 20th century, exchange created such an internationalisation of economic relations, such an internationalisation of capital, large industry grew so strong that monopoly began to take the place of free competition. No longer are those concerns typical which "freely" compete with one another within the country and within the scope of relations with other countries; the modern type is that of monopolist associations of industrialists — trusts. To-day, the typical "ruler" of the world is financial capital, which is particularly movable and elastic, which is strongly interwoven both within the country and internationally, is extremely impersonal, detached from direct production, which can be particularly easily concentrated and is already so well concentrated that the history of the world is literally in the hands of a few hundreds of milliardaires and millionaires.

Speaking theoretically, in the abstract, we may come to the conclusion, to which Kautsky (who, although in a somewhat different way has also abandoned Marxism) came, i. e. that the day will soon come when the magnates of capital will combine in a trust on universal lines, when the competition and the struggle of the elements of financial capital which were separated according to States, will be replaced by financial capital organised internationally. This conclusion is however as abstract, simple and wrong as the similar conclusion drawn by our "Struvists" and "economists" of the nineties of last century who drew either apologetic conclusions (kow-towing to capitalism, being reconciled with it, singing its praise, instead of opposing it) or apologetic conclusions (the rejection of politics or negation of their significance, the probability of general political upheavals etc., a mistake of the specialised "economists") or even professed their faith in the general strike (the "general strike" as the apotheosis of the general strike movement, carried through consistently even so far as to forget or ignore other forms of the movement, i. e. a clean "leap" from capitalism to its defeat by the weapon of the strike alone) — conclusions drawn from the progress of capitalism, from its inevitability, from its final victory in Russia. There are signs that even to-day the indisputable fact of the progressive character of capitalism as compared with the semi-petty bourgeois "paradise" of free competition, the fact of the inevitability of imperialism and of its final victory over "peaceful" capitalism in the advanced countries of the world, may also lead to similar numerous and manifold political and apologetic mistakes and aberrations.

In Kautsky's case especially, his open breach with Marxism has not taken the form of a negation or disregard for politics, of "skipping" the political conflicts, convulsions and transformations which are particularly numerous and manifold in the time of imperialism, has not taken the form of an apology for imperialism but has expressed itself in dreams of a "peaceful" capitalism. "Peaceful" capitalism has been replaced by a capitalism which is not peaceful, which is bellicose, which advances by leaps and bounds; — Kautsky must admit this, as he has already admitted it in a special article published in 1909*) in which, for the last time, he drew definite conclusions as a Marxist. Since however it is not possible to dream simply, openly and without disguise, of imperialism being converted into "peaceful" capitalism, would it not perhaps be possible to clothe these dreams, which are essentially petty-bourgeois, in the form of innocent meditations on a "peaceful" "ultra-imperialism"? If we give the name of ultra-imperialism to the international coalition of national imperialisms (or, more correctly, of imperialism divided according to States) which "might" save the petty bourgeois from the conflicts which are particularly unpleasant and exciting to him and which disturb his peace, such as war and political upheavals, — could we not avoid the epoch of imperialism, which has already set in, which is already with us, which is unstable and full of conflicts, by innocent dreams of an "ultra-imperialism" which is comparatively peaceful, comparatively free from catastrophes and conflicts? Would it not in the same way be possible to avoid the "urgent" tasks which have been set and are being set by the imperialist epoch, by deluding ourselves with the idea that this epoch may possibly not last long and that it is conceivable

that it may be followed by a comparatively "peaceful", "ultra-imperialist" era, which demands no "rigorous" tactics? Kautsky actually says: "Anyhow, a new phase of capitalism of this kind (ultra-imperialist) is thinkable. We lack sufficient preliminary evidence to decide whether it can be realised." ("Neue Zeit"***),

There is not the least trace of Marxism in this endeavour to avoid the imperialist era on which we have entered and to lose ourselves in dreams of an unknown something, perhaps of an "ultra-imperialism" which may be realised. In this construction, Marxism is recognised only for that new "phase of capitalism", with regard to which its inventor himself could not guarantee that its realisation was possible. In the phase of development, which has already set in, in which we are living to-day, a petty bourgeois and thoroughly reactionary endeavour to smoothe out contradictions is being dishied up instead of Marxism. Kautsky gave his promise to be a Marxist in the future full of catastrophes and conflicts, which he could not fail to foresee and the coming of which he admitted unreservedly when, in 1909, he wrote about the future. To-day, when it cannot be denied that this time has come, Kautsky again merely gives his promise to be a Marxist in the future, in an ultra-imperialist era which will perhaps never be realised. Briefly, he makes many promises to be a Marxist, but at some other time, not to-day, not under present circumstances, not in the present epoch! Marxism on credit, Marxism as a promise, Marxism — to-morrow, but to-day a petty bourgeois, opportunist theory — and not theory alone — of smoothing down contradictions. This is a kind of "export internationalism", which is so widespread "nowadays" when the enthusiastic — and how enthusiastic — internationalists and Marxists sympathise with any expression of internationalism — in the camp of their opponents, wherever you like as long as it is not in their own house, not amongst their own allies; they sympathise with democracy... as long as it remains nothing but a promise of the "Allies"; they sympathise with the "self-determination of the peoples"... with the exception of that which depends on the nation to which the sympathisers in question belong... In brief, one of the thousand and one species of hypocrisy.

Can anyone dispute that after imperialism a new capitalist phase of development can be "imagined" in the abstract? No, we can at least imagine such a phase in the abstract. In practice however it means becoming an opportunist who shuts his eyes to the urgent tasks of the present in order to indulge in vague dreams about "less urgent" tasks in the future. In theory this means that they do not rely on the development as it actually exists, but detach themselves from it for the sake of these dreams. There can be no doubt that development is tending towards the formation of an all-embracing world trust which will include all undertakings and all States without exception. This development however is proceeding at such a rate, in such circumstances, with such contradictions, conflicts and upheavals — not only economic but also of political national etc. — that, even before we arrive at an "ultra-imperialist" world alliance of national financial capital, imperialism will inevitably collapse and capitalism will turn into its opposite.

December 1915.

W. Iljin.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Crisis and the Struggle against Unemployment in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

In the course of the third quarter of 1926, the manifestations of a slowing-down of economic activity in France became more and more apparent; in expectation of a drop in prices, prospects of which had been held out to them, home consumers refrained from making purchases, orders began to fall off, and deliveries were cancelled, all of which was attributable to the same causes and to the policy of stringent money conditions pursued by the Government (the bank-rate of the Banque de France figuring at 7½%). At the same time numerous orders from abroad were

*) The "special" work of Kautsky is his brochure "The Way to Power".

**) From the essay "Two Articles on how to Learn Anew". No. 5 of April 30th, 1915, p. 144.

either cancelled or restricted in view of the rise of prices in France, which threatened soon to reach world market price levels.

Such were the results of the recovery of the franc, which had been the object of all Government endeavours ever since the Cabinet of "National Unity" came into power. Poincaré fully and radically exploited the prevailing spirit of "confidence", and, without apparently following any financial scheme, attempted to reconcile the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie, who desired to see their State rentes, railway debentures, etc. rise in value, with those of certain groups of bankers and industrialists, who needed stabilisation but only desired it at what they considered a "reasonable" (which means a pretty considerable) height. Certainly he has been driven further and faster than he originally intended by the influence of international speculation; and after a moment of panic the *Banque de France* was obliged in the middle of December to throw all its weight into the balance, so as to prevent sterling from rising to more than 120 francs, which would have been altogether catastrophic. The re-assembled Parliament, however, has up to the present not yet taken up the discussion of financial questions in general and in particular of the problem of a settlement of France's debts to Great Britain and the United States, which constitutes the main factor in the whole task of stabilisation. Thus the economic uncertainty continues to exist.

Meanwhile the crisis is still evident. At the close of December 1926, the wholesale price index had reached 641 as against 698 at the end of November, but this recession mainly affects imported products (628 against 700), while the home produce figure fell from 698 to 648. For the first the official statistics admitted that the prices of goods of French origin are higher than those of imported commodities, whereas in July they still fell short of the latter by no less than 341 points. Apart from certain specialities, therefore, and from trade-marked or luxury goods, which still find buyers abroad (especially on the Anglo-Saxon markets), export trade has become well nigh impossible.

At the same time the home market has shrunk. According to the official statements, which must be accepted with a great degree of reserve, the retail price index rose from 480 in January, 1926, to 599 in December, whereas wages remained far behind, so that the purchasing power of the broad masses was greatly impaired. The extremely heavy and ruthlessly collected taxes (amounting in 1926 to more than 41,000 millions, or to 1,000 francs per capita of the population) have hit the consumer and the small producer equally hard. In the latter respect, the industries which depend largely on home consumption, such as the textile and wearing-apparel industries in particular, were first and most severely affected.

Under circumstances such as these, unemployment was inevitable, all the more so as the employers were desirous of exploiting the situation for the purpose of creating a veritable "panic of unemployment", by threatening numerous workers with dismissal or actually dismissing them with a view to coercing them into accepting lower wages. Their motto was that of "adapting prime costs to the new market conditions", a measure which meant a wholesale reduction of wages. On January 13th, 1927, there were in France 27,952 unemployed in receipt of relief (21,089 of these being men and 6,883 women). These figures, however, represent only the officially registered unemployed, while the total number of those who are out of work is several times as large.

In France there is no obligatory insurance against the eventuality of unemployment, the Departments and the municipal authorities being merely advised to institute relief funds for this purpose; as a matter of fact, however, there were on January 13th only 264 such funds in existence, 31 of them being departmental and 233 municipal. In all Departments and in all industrial towns, however, there are unemployed. The French worker moreover, only applies for registration in case of utmost need. Great numbers of workers are the descendants of peasant families and at times of crisis go to join their relatives in the country or else are furnished by the latter with provisions. In March, 1921, when the first post-war crisis was at its height, there were thus no more than 91,225 unemployed in receipt of relief, while it was generally admitted at the time that there were in reality a million, if not a million and half, unemployed in the country. Assuming the proportion to be the same at the present time, we must therefore reckon with about 300,000 un-

employed in all, not even counting the short-time workers, doing an average of 30 hours of work per week.

The first branches of industry to be affected by the crisis, were such as depend on imported raw materials and on home consumption. In the hide and leather industry, employing a total of 350,000 workers, 35 per cent. of the employees are at present out of work, while from seven to ten per cent. are fully occupied and the rest are short-time workers. In this line there is hardly a single enterprise that has not restricted its output. In the textile and wearing-apparel trades there are some 50,000 unemployed, almost all home-workwomen being in this condition. The luxury-furniture trade is still occupied; but the enterprises engaged in turning out cheap furniture have dismissed 50 per cent. of their workers. In Paris alone, 4,000 furniture joiners are entirely without work. In the winter season the building trade has always experienced a transient phase of unemployment; but while in the last few years there has been an average of 4,000 unemployed in Paris in this connection, their number is three times that in the current winter. All big building projects have been abandoned.

Among the foodstuffs trades, the preserved-food industries and the manufacture of biscuits have been especially hard hit. Printers record a restriction of orders to the extent of 15 per cent., lithographers one of 30 per cent. In the chemical line, the ceramic industry and the oil and soap manufacturers are in a very bad way. It is only the coal-mines and the forges which have hitherto been spared unemployment, while the foundries have been obliged to dismiss some 40 per cent. of their operatives.

In illustration of the extent of short-time work, which is not taken into consideration in the official statistics, we may cite as an example the records of the Communist Party in regard to the Loire district.

"In the metal industry, work extends on an average to no more than 42 hours a week; in the textile industry many factories employing upwards of 600 workers work only 34 hours weekly. Similar conditions obtain in the ribbon industry of St. Etienne. In the Gillet dyeworks at St. Chamond, there are five hours of work done per day."

The situation of the unemployed is very bad. Where a relief fund exists, a discharged worker is allowed to register on the third day after the loss of his job. In the Seine Department, registration is not made until an investigation has proved that the total income of the family does not exceed 18 francs per diem for two persons. The directors of the funds themselves fix the relief payments to be made at the rate of 4.50 francs per diem for the unemployed head of a family, and 3 francs daily for each unemployed member of the family over 16 years of age, living in the house of his, or her, father, mother, or guardian, while 2 francs a day are paid for each non-working child under 16 years of age whose maintenance rests with the aforesaid unemployed. The relief granted to a single family, meanwhile, may not exceed 12 francs a day.

These minimum rates may be augmented, but the State's contribution to the relief of 33 per cent. is based on the rates as quoted above, and any augmentation falls to the debit of the boroughs or Departments, which are already heavily encumbered by the debts incurred after the war.

The tactics of the Government and the employers have from the very start been directed towards denying the existence of a crisis and subsequently, when the crisis became patent, towards avoiding actual unemployment. As early as November, 1926, the labour inspectors were officially recommended "to advise industrialists in the case of a shortage of work, to avoid a dismissal of hands as far as possible", and rather to effect a restriction of working days or working hours. It was the intention that unemployment should be invisible and the crisis veiled. Fairly large orders were placed by the Government and the public corporations, especially for the Army. The Ministry of Public Works provided work in connection with excavations or with street repair, or else hastened on the execution of such operations as were already provided for in the Budget.

The restriction of working hours, however, is naturally accompanied by a reduction of wages, whereby the latter have been rendered wholly insufficient. We are therefore witnessing a general attack on wages, the nature of which both the workers and even their Trade Unions failed immediately to recognise.

The C. G. T. U. (revolutionary trade-union organisation of France) and the Communist Party of France have naturally been

obliged to intervene energetically in the above connection. Their slogans are at present as follows:

1. The right of all to work with the guarantee of a living wage.
2. The right to form trade unions and the right of asylum, with equality of wages and of working conditions for all workers, whether immigrants or Frenchmen.
3. Control of the output, the takings, the sales, the wages, and the conduct of work by the workers of each individual enterprise.
4. Absolute adherence to the eight hour day and abolition by law of all systems permitting of the infringement thereof.
5. Support for all unemployed to the extent of the necessary minimum for their own maintenance and that of their families (not less than 25 francs a day), suspension in the case of unemployment of house-rent and direct taxation.
6. Formation of committees of unemployed in connection with the trade unions.
7. Prohibition of the collective immigration of foreign operatives.
8. Engagement of the unemployed in public works under the control of the workers organisations.

The main activity of the Communists in the period of crisis comprises the following points: 1. Resistance against the split which the employers would be glad to effect in the ranks of the proletariat by setting unskilled workers against skilled workers, women and juveniles against men, foreigners against Frenchmen, and the unemployed against the employed; this resistance to be effected by the creation of a uniform bloc of all workers to attain the demands already set forth. 2. Avoidance of the constant recurrence of unemployment; appeals to the workers to take direct action and to institute street demonstrations. 3. Extension of the struggle to the political sphere and direction thereof against the truly responsible elements, against the capitalists and the leaders of the National Bloc, the Left Bloc, and the National Unity; transfer of the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the capitalists and resistance against rationalisation at the cost of the workers.

In contradistinction to the Socialists and the Government trade-unionists of the C. G. T., who are adherents of stabilisation at any price and of "rationalisation within the limits of the eight-hour day" without regard for the fatal results of such rationalisation, the revolutionary organisations are fighting for the participation of all workers in the productive apparatus and against the deterioration of their conditions of life, demanding that the Government raise the requisite sums to render possible a living wage.

The Struggle over the Grain Monopoly in Switzerland.

By Wieser (Basle).

In December last a question was put to popular vote in Switzerland, which deserves special attention in view both of its material importance and of its political significance. The problem at issue was whether a new article should or should not be inserted in the Constitution, investing the Government with a monopoly for the importation of bread-cereals. This meant neither more nor less than a decision in regard to an essentially Socialist principle. By accepting the motion, Switzerland would have become the only other State besides Russia to exercise such a grain monopoly. That a Parliament which is bourgeois to about 75 per cent., should have approved such a proposal by the great majority of 148 votes to 37, can only be explained by reasons of historical development. The great importance of the vote, however, depended far less on the material contents of the motion than on the fact that on this occasion the relations between peasants and workers in Switzerland were for the first time placed in the forefront of public interest and that the struggle which ensued did much to alter the relations in question.

In the year 1914, soon after the outbreak of the war, the Federal Council saw itself obliged to introduce a practical grain-monopoly by virtue of its emergency authority, that is to say, to transfer the entire import of foreign bread-cereals to a State department, for only thus was it possible to secure the alimentation of the country with this commodity, seeing that no body short of the Federal Council appeared in the eyes of the Allies to afford a sufficient guarantee that the grain imported into Switzerland would not be re-exported to Germany and Austria.

From that time down to the present day, the grain-monopoly has virtually been in existence in Switzerland, since in the meantime it has been connected with the efforts made to foster

the home production of grain. In 1918 the peasants were forced to increase the area under grain by 50,000 hectares, in consideration of which they at first received premiums, a system which was subsequently replaced by a super-price and a purchase-voucher, the Federal monopoly administration undertaking to purchase all the grain grown by the farmers at a price level which in the last two years has figured 8 francs above the average world market price. Added to this, there is a milling premium for self-provisioners. In view of the question of inland cultivation, the monopoly administration was, as already pointed out, prolonged after the war right down to the present day, and the vote in December practically purported nothing else than the embodiment in the Constitution of what was already a virtual fact.

The bread-provisioning of Switzerland depends essentially on the import of foreign grain. While in the decades before the war the population of the country was constantly and vigorously on the increase, the home production of grain continuously declined. Climate and soil conditions are only in a small part of the country suited to the cultivation of grain, and for this and other reasons the Swiss grain production cannot on its own account compete with world-market prices. From a total area of 200,000 hectares in the eighties, it therefore shrank to half the extent, i. e. 100,000 hectares just before the war. The normal imports of bread-cereals amount to some 50,000 waggons. The area under-cultivation in 1926 is estimated at about 90,000 hectares.

The Swiss peasants naturally were and are greatly interested in seeing the Government promotion of home cultivation, the purchase-voucher, the guarantee of a super-price, and the milling-premiums for self-provisioners prolonged in the future, and that not only in view of the direct advantages resulting for the peasant cultivators. Swiss agriculture has for months past been experiencing an increasingly acute crisis. For years prices have been kept artificially at a level which makes Switzerland vie with Great Britain for the position of the most expensive country of the world. The main result, however, was an augmentation in the price of land, which tended to increase the indebtedness of the farmers to the banks.

Originally, i. e. down to 1924, the Federal Council was in favour of repealing the monopoly while continuing the protective measures in the interest of home cultivation; but when it appeared that the workers would most energetically resist any such solution, the farmers and the Federal Council changed their tactics, whereupon the motion in question was passed in Parliament by the said substantial majority. The farmers recognised that they would not be able to put through the promotion of home cultivation against the working class, for the considerable cost of such a promotion without any State monopoly would have to be covered by a material increase in grain-taxation (with a consequent substantial rise in bread prices), a measure which would fail to pass through any plebiscite. In the case of a monopoly, however, such expenses could be made good by the elimination of private commercial profits. A monopoly solution of the problem was bound to weigh less heavily on the working masses than any solution without a monopoly. It was only in connection with the import monopoly that the workers could agree at all to a promotion of home cultivation.

It was these considerations, therefore, which also induced the Enlarged Central Committee of the Communist Party to approve of the monopoly motion in September, only a few comrades opposing this attitude on the ground that they declined all and any promotion of grain-cultivation as augmenting the price of the workers' bread. Our Party had thus also to take tactical considerations into account. If for individual reasons, which certainly deserve attention in themselves, we had declared against the monopoly, our propaganda among the peasants would have been doomed to failure for many years to come.

The question at issue completely broke up the historic bourgeois parties, the adherents and the opponents of the monopoly warring against one another most passionately, irrespective of creed or party principles; indeed, not a single bourgeois party could adopt a uniform attitude on the subject.

From a consistent bourgeois standpoint, the monopoly would naturally have to be opposed as depriving private economy of so important a factor in business as the bread-supply of an entire country must needs represent. For this reason consistent capitalist circles expended considerable amounts in the struggle against the monopoly, declaring that a passing of the grain-monopoly motion would be a "decisive step towards socialisation in gene-

ral" and denouncing the alliance between the Secretary of the Peasant Party and the Communists as the beginning of "endeavours such as have been realised in Soviet Russia". The capitalist-led press of the towns was wholly against the motion, while those portions of the bourgeois parties that advocated it did so out of a desire to preserve the peasants as allies for bourgeois interests and not to lose their votes. The Social Democratic Party championed the motion, but most superficially only made mention of the principle underlying the monopoly. The big co-operative societies or rather their leaders, declared against the monopoly for altogether petty reasons, as e. g. that the latter benefited the small bakers and millers.

At the public vote the motion was defeated by 371,000 votes to 365,000 and by eight Cantons to fourteen. (For an alteration of the Federal Constitution a majority of the Cantons is likewise requisite.) Some of the workers voted against the monopoly, a result of the former wrong and superficial agitation of the Social Democrats against the peasants. In particular, however, the majority of the Catholic peasants voted against the monopoly, led astray by certain influential Catholic leaders, who depicted it as a diabolical invention of the Socialists! The Catholic peasant once again obeyed the priest and not his economic leaders. It was only in the Catholic Canton of Vallais that the Bishop of Sion declared himself in favour of the monopoly, and it was this Canton which yielded the relatively strongest majority in its favour.

For the first time for decades, workers and peasants have advanced in unity against the capitalist bourgeoisie, and it was this fact in itself that aroused far greater misgivings and indignation in the bourgeois camp than did the actual question of the monopoly. The bourgeois press openly declared the re-enlistment of the peasants in the bourgeois ranks to be the next and most urgent political task. This will, however, not succeed so easily. The voting campaign and its issue has greatly accentuated the differences between the peasants and the capitalist bourgeoisie, and the aggravation of the agricultural crisis is likely to continue the process thus begun. No non-monopoly solution of the question of a promotion of inland grain cultivation can hope to succeed at a plebiscite. Even the opponents of the monopoly suggested in Parliament that the monopoly regime should be allowed to continue for a limited period; but in its session of December 14th Parliament declared by a big majority (roughly, 100 Social Democrat, Communist, and Peasant votes against about 50) in favour of an indefinite continuation of the monopoly.

THE WHITE TERROR

Fresh Mass Internment in Hungary.

Letter from Budapest.

The White Terror and the intensified economic crisis in the year 1924 forced Hungarian workers in thousands, and among them excellent skilled workers, to emigrate to France. These workers, numbering 60,000 to 70,000, who found work in Paris and its surroundings and in Northern France, have within the last few weeks been placed in a most difficult situation on account of the growth of unemployment. Thousands of discharged Hungarian workers have been obliged to beg from the Hungarian ambassador in Paris free railway tickets to get back to Hungary. The Hungarian Government assumes towards these masses of workers an attitude reminiscent of the blackest years of the White Terror.

Even the news of the return of masses of these Hungarian workers from France sufficed to strike terror into the Hungarian Government. Police Counsellor Schweinitzer, the deputy chief of the Budapest political police, so notorious for his part in the Rákosi trial, set off for Paris, on the instructions of the Ministry for Home Affairs, accompanied by a whole army of police officials, detectives and agents provocateurs, to "test the feeling" of the Hungarian workers there. Schweinitzer's people mixed with the workers, attended several meetings and visited all the places where the Hungarian workers were in the habit of gathering. The result of this detective work was an imposing report, which positively alarmed the Hungarian Government:

"The masses returning from France threaten Hungarian society with a renewal of Communist infection..."

Upon receipt of this report the Bethlen Government fell into a kind of panic. It immediately abandoned all pseudo-democracy and the whole comedy of the public liberties of "consolidation". The task of dealing with the "home coming" was taken away from the Ministry for Public Welfare and passed over to the Police Department of the Ministry for Home Affairs. Secretary of State Issekucz, successor to the franc counterfeiter, Nadossy set up in an incredibly short space of time an internment camp at Győr within the walls of the disused cannon factory.

Within a few days barracks were erected at a feverish pace and furnished (worse, than prison cells). In the meanwhile, those Hungarian workers and their dependents in Paris, who desired to return to Hungary and had no money for the passport, visa and railway ticket, were packed into a special coach by the Hungarian Embassy. Outside the first waggon to leave the station in Paris in this fashion the Hungarian Consul in Paris made a grand speech about the mother country who never forgets her sons abroad. But when this special coach reached Hungarian territory the doors were guarded by gendarmes. In Győr the "home comers", men women and children, were driven into the miserable barracks of the internment camp with the bayonets of the gendarmes and the butt-ends of rifles. This procedure is officially known as "sanitary quarantine".

The interned workers and the members of their families are stripped in the most brutal fashion in the large hall, so that the doctor may ascertain "whether they are not carriers of the Spanish influenza, which is now raging in France." When the doctor has finished with them the workers are set upon by detectives. With lists in their hands the examiners begin. Questions hail down: Were you a member of the Communist Party of France, of the C. G. T. U.? If so, what activity did you undertake and where? If not, give the names of several of your comrades or other working acquaintances who belonged to the C. G. T. U. or were members of the Communist Party. Did you belong to any organisation; if so, why? Did you take part in movements for wage increases; did you attend meetings; did you pay membership fees? Are you not ashamed to participate in the organisation of the international rabble? Do you know Cachin or Doriot? Do you know Count Károlyi? Have you been in Vienna? Have you been in Moscow? Did your child take part in the Youth Movement? What do you read? Have you read the books of "Munka és Tudás" (a series of Leninist books issued by the Communist Party of Hungary)? Were you a member of the "League for Human Rights"? And so it goes on for hours.

The internment and the examination are conducted by "experts". As all the Hungarian papers report, the members of that "police detachment", which "manages" the workers' internment camp at Győr, are identical with the police officials who "worked" on the occasion of the internment of the prisoners of war returning from Russia in the camp at Csot and have "previously worked in Communist affairs", (under the lash of the expert police beasts several of the prisoners of war, who were "accused" of having fought in the Russian Red Army, perished).

The fate of the workers who are found to be "suspect" is clear. Stranyovsky, the deputy Minister for Home Affairs has already announced in a statement:

"For the time being we shall provide board and lodgings for those who have no homes. The measures, which are necessary from the viewpoint of public safety, have also been taken..."

The provisional lodging is the internment camp surrounded by the bayonets of gendarmes, and the board consists of the swill which is thrown to the internees. The "measures of public safety" are designed to impress those workers, who, after adequate examination and after collection of data, are permitted to leave, with the fact that they are once more in the land of White Terror; their purpose is to terrorise beforehand, so that these workers will never think of strengthening with their activity the developing, progressing Left Wing of the labour movement. The "suspects" will remain in the internment camp (ostensibly because they have no homes) or they will be compelled (and this is the preferable case) to leave the country by order of the police.

The chief achievement to the credit of the Bethlen "Consolidation" was the breaking up of the internment camp at Zalaegerszeg, where in the years of the counter-revolution

those against whom no concrete accusation could be made were interned, together with those who, though discharged by the courts, were still suspected by the police. The instability of the foundation of this economic and political consolidation is demonstrated by the erection of this new internment camp.

The recently elected members of parliament of the Social Democratic Party have contented themselves with requesting the Minister for Home Affairs to give an explanation of the matter of the new internment camp. They have not proceeded further, for the "protection of the Labour Movement against elements which do not belong to the labour movement and against party-splitters" is by no means disagreeable to them, even though this work is not carried on by bureaucrat informers but directly by police officials. The Hungarian Social Democratic Party have for months been waging with every means in their power a demagogic campaign against the C. G. T. U. They have thereby actually prepared the work of the police officials of the police detachment at the internment camp in Győr.

The new mass internment will, however, only add fuel to the fire as regards the unmasking of the Horthy-Bethlen system and the revolutionising of the masses. The internment camp at Győr will certainly turn out some steeled fighters for the class war, of the same temper as the hundreds of fighters who came from the prisoner camps at Zalaegerszeg and Csót.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Women Workers in Japan.

By Cath. B. Cant.

Of the total industrial population of Japan, women workers constitute about one third. This large proportion is due to the importance of the textile industry which employs more workers than any other Japanese industry. According to a report of the International Labour Office of the 893,266 workers in cotton and silk textiles in 1922, over 500,000 were women, while 219,221 were children, chiefly girls under 16 years of age.

The girls and young women in the city cotton mills are largely recruited from country districts by agents of the companies. Those who come from outside the city are housed in dormitories owned by the companies, where they are inaccessible to labour organisers. In these dormitories they are furnished with meals below cost price. The cotton spinners association of Japan (a federation of mill owners) claims that the system of dormitories, kitchens and other "privileges" increases the cash wages of the workers by something over one third. In reality these dormitories are little better than pig pens. They are usually big three-storey houses surrounded by 8-ft. walls to keep the girls from escaping. The rooms are large but very much over-crowded. Each girl is allowed 3-ft. by 6-ft. space and that is usually used by two girls, one by night and one by day.

Each girl is given a hard wooden pillow and one thin quilt. The floor is never cleaned and is consequently in a filthy and unsanitary condition.

The food of which the companies boast so much is often absolutely unfit to eat. It consists of the poorest quality of rice and vegetables. Only one ounce of meat is allowed to each girl twice every month. The quantity of food allowed each girl is so small that they are always hungry. Every meal time they rush to the dining hall without even shaking the dust from their clothes.

Because of these wretched conditions the textile workers' disease — tuberculosis is so common that 70% of the total deaths among them are from this disease. The death rate of the spinning girls is 23 per 1000; while the usual death rate of girls from 10—35 years is only 7.1 per 1000.

The unnatural segregation in the dormitory is the cause of much sexual immorality among the girls. In fact this system either kills by disease or dwarfs and stunts the whole life of a woman.

The wages of these textile workers judged by European or American standards are almost incredibly low. In 1921 the average wage of a woman spinner was 40 American cents per day. Women weavers in February 1924, were reported as earning 45 cents. per day. Americans visiting one of the show cotton mills at Osaka this year were told by the manager that the earnings of women spinners however, indicate that this must have been the highest wage of the most skilled worker in the mills.

A new health insurance act has recently been passed and becomes effective in January 1927 for all workers in factories, mines, building trades, transportation, but not for shipping workers, farmers or domestic workers. The maximum contribution exacted from the worker is fixed at 3% of the wages. In return for this contribution the worker is entitled to be compensated for illness, injury or death arising from his employment.

A maternity benefit of 10 dollars is given at the time of birth and 60% of the daily wage is allowed for a period not yet fixed to the wage-earning woman.

Trade Union organisation of women is so backward in Japan that as yet there are only about 10,000 women trade unionists in the country. The smallness of this number is chiefly due to the dormitory system mentioned above; 10,510 of the 25,000 textile factories in Japan are equipped with such dormitories where the women are compelled to live under the strictest supervision of the managers. Should a strike break out, they may be kept in these places completely cut off from their fellow-workers. Five years ago a spinner's union conducted such a strike in a cotton yarn mill employing more than 1000 women. But under these conditions the strike was lost and the union never regained its strength. The Bulletin of the I. F. T. U. however, claims that the Japan General Federation of Labour has been recently pushing forward the organisation of women workers. Since the recent reorganisation it has established a women's section which publishes a newspaper and arranges educational work and attempts to organise the women workers. Since 1924 several local unions have also sprung up organised by the Women workers themselves in both Eastern and Western Japan.

CORRECTION.

In our issue No. 10 of 28th January a translation error occurs in the report of the speech of Comrade Bukharin (see page 192, line 13 of second paragraph under the heading "From the Social Democrats to the Monarchists"), the passage in the original text which appeared in the "Pravda" of January 13, reads as follows:

"we can declare quite openly that we shall not refrain from making use of any capitalist State which sends us instructors and, in return for suitable payment, builds aircraft on our territory and manufactures other weapons necessary for national defence."

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