To the Workers of all Countries!

Capitalism is preparing for new wars.

The pathetic peace speeches of the opening session of the Washington Conference have died away. The gossip about the non-belligerent program, about the limitation of armaments, is no longer to be heard. The Washington Conference of the world conquerors has retired to the dark chambers of the secret commissions. Now they are haggling behind the scenes over deadly weapons, territories and capitalist privileges. The public only learns of what is going on behind the scenes from time to time. Whenever one of the robbers wants to carry the body of the other, they come out into the open in order to defend their "legally obtained" rights, shouting like Billingsgate fishwives.

Although thousands of newspapers report that armaments have been restricted in Washington, the stock quotations of not one munition company have sunk on the stock exchanges. The sharks of world capital, the cannon and warship manufacturers, are not scared by this stammering about peace. They know their democratic and civilized governments too well to fear for one moment that Messrs. Harding, Lloyd George, Briand and Kato can decrease the profits of armament capital. They know very well that the American Republican government, the government of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, that the government of Lloyd George, the friend of Sir Basil Sacharoff, can not build a struggle against Vickers and Armstrong. They also know that the Briand government, dependent upon the Bloc National, is at the mercy of Schneider-Creuzot. But even if the rulers of France, England, America and Japan were not so intimately connected with armament capital, how could they renounce armaments? They are not in a position to reconcile their capitalistic interests in any way whatsoever. Driven on by the lust for profits, they are watching each other with the deepest mistrust, always ready to spring like beasts fighting over a bone, at any time ready to sink their claws in the others' throats.

A limitation of armaments, not to speak of their abolition, would then be possible, if the capitalist governments were in a position to arise at a general agreement concerning the partitioning of their rule over their subject nations, which would at least create some sort of order on a capitalistic basis. The victors in the world war have laid upon Germany a burden under which the country is collapsing. In order to exact its tribute from a country on the road to insolvency bankrupt, France maintains an army of 800,000 men, which swallows a sum of 5,000,000,000 francs per year. It has only half a billion left over for social welfare. With this army and the armies of its satellites, equipped by France—Poland, Roumania and Czechoslovakia, France dominates Europe. Its main rival in Europe is Britain, British imperialism, holds its own against France by the maintenance of a fleet which holds all the approaches to the states of Europe under its guns. England is attempting to strengthen its position against France by inducing Italy to increase its armament. England desires to obstruct France in the Mediterranean Sea, through which England's most important lines of communication with its Asiatic colonies pass, by means of the Italian fleet.

France demands the right of having, alongside the greatest army in the world, a second-class fleet and complete submarine equipment in order to be able to intercept England's food supplies in the Atlantic Ocean in time of war. This situation in the Atlantic Ocean and in the Mediterranean, as well as upon the European continent, renders it impossible to diminish the burden upon armament expenses. It is only upon armaments in the Pacific. In the Pacific, things are themselves extremely complicated. Japan, the young self-assertive bandit of the Far East, not only enriched itself during the war, at the cost of the allies, but added the rich province of Shantung, stolen from defenseless China, to previously annexed Manchuria, and extorted a large number of coal and iron concessions. The United States of America, overflowing with capital and enriched by the war even more than Japan, is attempting to deprive Japan of its body. It therefore demands that England abrogate its alliance with Japan and it attempts to forbid Japan to have a fleet larger than 60% of the American fleet. Not only the surprised Japanese robbers are protesting against this move. In spite of all honored phrases about the solidarity of the Anglo-Saxon nations, England is attempting to preserve its relation to Japan in some form or other, for the United States is England's most dangerous competitor in the world market. Should England actually terminate its alliance with Japan, should it build itself not to build a larger fleet than America, the position of British imperialism in the council of the capitalist powers for the distribution of the world body would be considerably weakened.

A struggle has now broken out between Europe and Asia, from all these conflicts about Germany, Turkey and China, which the victors of Versailles cannot unravel. The Washington Conference will finish nothing, even if the great capitalist powers create a paper agreement which verbally proclaims all nations the right and expresses the desire of lightening the war burden under which the nations are staggering.

The Danger of New Wars is not Past.

The munitions factories and the naval dockyards will not interrupt their labors. Capitalist diplomacy will not cease to forge new alliances, each one a countermove against peace. All capitalist governments are very much afraid of new wars. They all fear that the working masses will not let themselves be driven into a new world war for capitalist interests. This fear will continually increase the capitalist governments to new attempts to arrive at an understanding, but each attempt will end with an intensification of the international situation. Capitalism means international competition and the latter breeds new wars. If the international working-class does not unite for self-defense, over and above all internal differences, if it does not take the relations between the peoples of the world in its own hands, it will one day again be placed before the fact of a new world conflagration. The struggle against the capitalist policy of exploitation and war must not be postponed until the ghost of a world war again becomes a terrible reality which strangles the proletariat in its arms. The fight against the danger of new military adventures, of new deeds of violence, must now be begun in all countries with iron energy and at once.

Against the Pillaging of Germany.

New complications are threatening in the near future in two places. In the winter and spring months of 1922,
imperially enriched Germany has to pay not tribute to the allies, Ger-
many, a country in which the price of four, doubled in the last few months, is supposed to pay the allies new billions, to ruin industries still further. French imperialism understands that it is impossible, understands that Germany is at the end of its road and that the German proletariat can no longer ideologi-
ally pay more than half its income to pay interest to the war pro-
teaters does not dare to tax the proportioned classes. It does not in the least intend to reduce its war expenditures which are 42% of its national income. It has its increasing deficit in its budget by compelling Germany to pay, at the point of the sword. The international proletariat has no symp-
thony for the German bourgeoisie, one of those principally respon-
sible for the war, for the bourgeois which has its present 
rule on the bones of 20,000 proletarians slaughtered in the 
revolution and mired in it with the blood of Rosa Luxemburg 
and Kurt Liebknecht. The international proletariat knows the 
insanity of the towns of Northern France, devastated and burned 
to the ground. But the international proletariat and above all 
the French working-class must realise that the allies will extor-
tion will be total. No slight concession or small measure will 
prepare the ground for the invasion of the Ruhr. Prepare for the fight against the 
capitalists, the French working-class against the French 
government. Do not let yourselves be deceived through the 
myth of conciliation, the manslaughter of socialist measures 
etc. For such measures will only postpone the crisis and in 
the end lead to much more of the severer conflicts.

The Danger of a Polish Attack against Soviet Russia

In Poland the bourgeoisie is continually showing itself more 
incapable of stopping the monstrous decay of finance and 
industry which was brought about by its military adventure 
against the USSR. The Polish government and the Polish 
Communist Party is growing in spite of the raging persecutions 
day by day. At the same time the differences in the camp of the bour-
geoise are coming to a head, for the role of Pilsudski's military 
clerisy is to prepare the ground for a new offensive. The 
Communist government is growing in the peasants' hearts. 
They have the interest of the peasantry in mind, the interest 
of the Catholic and Polish interests. The Polish government 
has protected itself in the event of war by an 
agreement with the Roumanian Bajars, and it has 
recently signed an agreement with the Czechoslovak bour-
geoise, which assures it the free passage of munitions. These 
criminal plans must be opposed with all the energy at our 
disposal. The workers of all countries, above all those which are 
 Poland's neighbours, must do everything in their power so that 
not a single railway waggons, not a single ship with war 
equipment enter Poland this winter and spring.

The Working-Class must Fight!

Workers and Workingwomen! Only when you oppose 
world capital in a determined manner, when you in the Parlia-
ments, in your press and in your meetings educate the people of the peoples of all countries to the threatening dangers, 
with whom you must fight, will your struggle develop and 
collect the power which is necessary to call a halt to the policy of armaments and the policy of preparation 
for a new world war. All these armament pro-
grams, all demands for the curtailment of the expenditures for 
war equipment, every cry for the decreasing of tax burdens 
are only useless words if the workers of all countries do not 
collect all their forces for a united front against the bour-
geoise and its policies. Only when the workers in each country 
unite in a common recollection, on every international 
front, can the bourgeoisie will be able to lay the burden of the last war upon the latter's 
shoulders. Only then will they be able to call a halt to arma-
ments, only then will they find ways and means to agree inter-
nationally for concert and construction, not only of destroyed 
Belgium, but also of ruined Serbia and devastated Poland and Russia. Only in so far as they turn 
their arms against the bourgeoisie of their own country will 
they be able to build an international front of the fighting 
proletarians. Thus only then will they be able to unite all the produc-
tive forces of the world for the clearing away of the ruins of 
the world war and for a building of a new society. As long as the 
workers of all countries will not understand that, so long will 
the world economic crisis condemn them to unemployment, will 
the countries of the world which used to produce raw materials 
and goods decay, and will the hynes of world capital function in 
a world transforming itself more and more into a desert.

Down with the Washington peace comedy!

Down with new armaments!

War against the preparation for the attack of French 
imperialism against Germany!

War against the adventure of the Polish military oligarchs!

Long live the united front of all the proletarians of the world 
against the capitalist world reaction!

Long live the Communist International, the vanguard of the 
common international struggle of the entire proletariat!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

POLITICS

The Political Reaction in Bulgaria

by Christo Kabatchiev (Sofia).

The Stamboliski Government has been in power for two 
years and has distinguished itself in the last few months of its rule 
by means of two laws—a special law against the freedom of the 
press and another law against labor-unions and against 
the organization of government employees. These laws mark 
the reactionary policy of the government. Before we speak of 
these laws, we should like to consider the government's policy 
existing besides them.

The Peasants' League, from which Stamboliski's govern-
ment originated, was a petty-bourgeois village organization until 
the war. Until now it has remained the same, but the wealthier 
peasants who became rich during the war have obtained the 
chief influence and the leading role in the League. The Peasants' 
League has made use of this influence in order to obtain control of the government, but once having 
secured the helm it represented the interests of the village bour-
geoise and not those of the small peasants. The policy of the 
Peasant Government is reactionary, socially as well as politi-
cally. Its true role and that of the other "left" petty-bourgeois parties such as the Radicals and Coalition Socialists (social 
patriots), who collaborated in the government for some time 
after the war, was still the strengthening of the unstable 
rule of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. Bulgaria's defeat in the 
Balkan War and, after that in the European War, compromised 
the old bourgeois parties and undermined the foundations of the 
rule of the capitalists who sought the backing of the left petty-
bourgeois parties in order to deceive the masses of the people 
and to suppress their dissatisfaction. And in fact the "lefts" 
were worthy of their role as the bourgeoisie's gendarmes—we 
know only too well the bloody regime of the Coalition Socialists, 
one of which he, as Minister of Police, instituted against 
the workers, small proprietors and the Communist Party.

The Stamboliski government is continuing this policy of 
the "left" petty-bourgeois parties and it seems as if it will 
carry out this policy to the end. The government marked its 
entry into power with the bloody suppression of the general strike 
of the transport workers (railwaymen, postal employees, tele-
graph and telephone operators) and the miners which broke out 
on December 24, 1919 and lasted fully two months. In order 
to break the heroic spirit of the Bulgarian government had recourse 
to the most flagrant reactionary measures; it put the railroads, 
the post-office and the miners under military rule, arrested thou-
sands of strikers, maltreated them in a barbaric manner, sen-
tenced thousands of strikers by court-martial, suppressed 
and later put a severe censorship on the Communist press, organized 
the Terror against the Communist Party and brought armed 
bands from the villages into the cities in order to drown in blood 
the resistance of the city proletariat. Thus began the regime of 

Stamboliski's government which claims that it "rules through the puppet and when it ca{l} itself from it because it drove our King Ferdinand and substituted King Boris to the order of the Entente General D'Espere for the purpose of saving the monarchy.

We will not recount here the history of Stamboliski's regime which is filled with oppression, violence and terror against the Bulgarian peasant government into power with the help of the bourgeoisie by whom it was supported because its most important historic mission was to suppress the dissatisfaction of the masses, to strangle the Communist Party and to carry out the revolutionizing of the proletariat and the poorer peasants. But the reactionary policy of the peasant government is backed not only by the Bulgarian bourgeoisie interests, but also by the interests of the Entente. Bulgaria and its Danube and Balkan neighbors are strung from this side by a chain of treaties by which, after having fully subjugated both financially and economically, turned it into a bridge leading to the advance of its imperialist policy of conquest in the Balkans and in Asia Minor, and used it as a baseplate against Soviet Russia. The Entente created the Little Entente in order to unite and arm the Danube and Balkan governments against the Russian workers' and peasants' revolution. The Entente wants to use the peoples of the Little Entente as cannon fodder in order to achieve what Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel and other generals in its pay could not achieve—the destruction of Soviet Russia, the heart of the world-revolution. The Entente drew Bulgaria and all this country into bloody counter-revolutionary designs of using the Balkan and Danube nations for its own ends, the Entente had first of all to destroy the Communist Party which stood at the head of all of these risings and movements from these nations, as well as the capitalist and of Entente imperialism. To this end the Entente is making use of the servile and treacherous role of the bourgeoisie in the Danube and Balkan states which, in order to maintain the old system of relations from the time of the revolution, sells itself to the foreign conqueror and becomes its tool in the oppression of its own people. This is particularly true of the reactionary regimes ranging in Yugoslavia and Rumania.

The peasant government does not want to be outdone by the Rumanian and Yugoslavian governments. But it cannot oppose the Communist Party with one blow, because it is too weak to accomplish this, Bulgaria is a defeated country; it is ruined economically and financially; the dissatisfaction of the masses is deep-rooted and the power of the government is weakened. The old army has been abolished and replaced by an insufficiently demobilized mercenary force and by the police. All the attempts of the bourgeoisie and its servant Stalinist and Fascist regimes to throttle the Communist Party by means of bloody terror have failed. In spite of the terror, in spite of the fact that thousands of Communists have been maltreated and imprisoned, in spite of martial law and censorship, in spite of the pressure of Communist clubs, in spite of the killing of many Communists and the bloody elections, the Communist Party not only retained its positions, but strengthened them considerably. In the Parliamentary elections in August 1919, it received 26,000 votes; in the municipal elections in December of the same year it increased its votes to 140,000; in the bourgeois elections in January 1920 (in the heat of the transport-workers' strike when the Party was outlawed) it received 100,000 votes. In the new Parliamentary elections in March 1920 the Communist Party polled 150,000 votes and elected fifty representatives out of a total of 700,000 votes and 228 representatives in municipal elections, thereby making a majority in Parliament. The peasant government, turned over, the votes of the Communist representatives. The municipal elections which took place last October showed a new increase of the Communist Party's strength in the big cities.

The Party showed its growing strength, however, not only in the elections. Its power came stronger in organization and in the mass-struggles of the proletariat. The attempt of the bourgeoisie and the puppet government to suppress the Communist Party through Fascisti methods (a band of paid-troops of the bourgeoisie, under the protection of the police, raided the workers' and peasants' meetings in Sofia, plundered the property of the peasants and shrank it to ashes), was frustrated by the resistence of the laboring-masses and the Party.

These are the chief reasons why the peasant government could not put into effect the methods of the Yugoslavian and Rumanian governments. But the most important reason is the growing dissatisfaction, with and the opposition, of the city bourgeoisie to the peasant government which cannot protect the bourgeoisie against the attack of the masses and the Party.

As the government cannot break up the Communist Party at one blow it tries to do so by means of a series of extraordinary laws such as we have enumerated at the beginning of this article. In this press law the basic principle of the freedom of the press which has been fought for and is won and there is inaugurated a general criminal prosecution of editors and writers of political papers and the criminal and civil responsibility of the whole labor-organization which publishes the papers. According to this law even the entire Central Committee of the Party, can be brought to judgment for an article which may appear in the Party organ. Long prison terms and heavy fines are provided for. The government has the right of confiscating property which does not please it, as well as Communist literature coming from other countries.

The law against the government employees deprives them of the right to strike or to participate in political parties (it goes without saying that the Communist Party is meant), and to participate in demonstrations. It forbids government workers to unite into trade-unions which accept the strike as a means of combat; it places all trade-unions of government employees under the control of the courts and the police, and gives the right to the right government bodies which have declared that this law is not pleasing and whose leaders are brought to trial. It goes without saying that this law is directed principally against those trade-unions of governmental workers which cooperate with the Communist Party and which comprise the majority of the governmental employees.

The Communist Party is setting itself most resolutely against this new strengthening of reaction. In spite of the strict censorship which does not for a moment permit anything to be written against the new law, which even delayed the Parliamentary speeches of the Communists against the extraordinary laws in the "Rabotnicheski Vestnik," in spite of all this, the Party has taken firm and organized action, it has mobilized its forces, and calls its organizations to stubborn combat against this last attempt of the bourgeoisie and its tool, the peasant government, to put the struggling Bulgarian proletariat into chains.

Details on the October Revolution by Ilyà Yaroslav (Moscow)

I. Not many persons in the Occidental countries have a correct conception of the Bolsheviki's accession to power. The idea generally held is of a conspiracy; a sudden insurrection; a rapid conquest of the government.

All the lacks of the press ranging from the Menshevik theorists to the Fascisti reporters have described the October Revolution as a coup de main in the Boparistian manner followed by the usurpation of power by a group of fanatics.

These obsolete ideas have no common with reality. The Communist Revolution was altogether different from all the others. The power of the Soviets was established and the Bolsheviki Party became the governing party, quite openly. The Russian Communist stepped into its proper position to-day. Each Soviet is a branch of the Communist Party. The Party of Bolsheviki is the Communist Party.

What took place? Petrograd, the night of October 24th—25th (Nov. 6th—7th) was simply the technical and legal completion of a revolution which had been going on for weeks and months. In reality, it was not an insurrection. The fact is to be recorded. Communists, strengthening themselves,—on one side, the upper class, was necessary for this. It was necessary to get rid of a government which existed only on paper. What, we say is literally true. Let us cite some interesting facts.

II. Throughout nearly the entire period from the February Revolution to the October Revolution there existed a duality of power. The Petrograd, caucuses, of the Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, and Menshevik, exercised various governmental functions. And the more the pressure of the masses made itself felt, the more, extensively, did it assume these functions.
Six weeks after the fall of Czarism, on April 20th-21th, the workers and the garrison of Petrograd under the leadership of Mensheviks organized demonstrations against the provisional government. The "revolutionary" government pretended to answer this by ordering the artillery to attack. But the Petrograd Soviet forbade General Kornilov who was at that time military commander of the garrison to let the troops intervene.

As an outcome of these demonstrations Mihukov and Guchkov, the representatives of the bourgeoisie were forced to resign. That was the first proof of the existence of a duality of power and it was the Bolshevik's first considerable victory. The bourgeoisie accused the Bolsheviks of having "baptized the counter-revolution " and "become a weapon of the counter-revolution". As a result, the Bolsheviks were forced to form a committee to supervise its work. A colonel acting as commander of the garrison refused the right of supervision. On October 22nd the R. M. C. announced publicly that the Provisional Government had broken with the revolutionary regiments and with the Petrograd Soviet and that it had become a weapon of the counter-revolution. It prepared to defend Petrograd against a possible attack. By bit by bit it seized power.

On October 21st the members of the R. M. C. came to the general staff of the garrison in order to supervise its work. A colonel acting as commander of the garrison refused the right of supervision. On October 22nd the R. M. C. announced publicly that the Provisional Government had broken with the revolutionary regiments and with the Petrograd Soviet and that it had become a weapon of the counter-revolution. It prepared to defend Petrograd against a possible attack. Bit by bit it seized power.

On October 22nd the Bolshevik Party was struck a violent blow. It almost had to resume illegal action. The influence of the Soviets which were still headed by the S. R. and Mensheviks became weaker. That of the Cadets grew. The center parties swayed and hesitated. The government coalition of Mensheviks and S. R. tried in vain to group around Kerensky's cabinet the "vital forces" of the country. The bourgeoisie, its "coalition and revolutionary" parties in power had dealt the Bolsheviks a first blow and prepared a counter-revolutionary surprise attack which would have given it the dictatorship.

It made its move on August 27th. General Kornilov threw off the mask of the civil war and marched against Petrograd. The Cadet ministers withdrew from the coalition cabinet, hoping soon to rule alone.

But the Kornilov adventure was brought to an end by the workers and soldiers with the decisive aid of the Bolsheviks. The Kornilov adventure reopened the revolutionary cycle, returned to the Bolsheviks a strip of legal existence, and most important of all, revealed to the masses the danger of the Coalition's policy.

The Soviets immediately went over to the Bolsheviks. Ten days after the Kornilov adventure the Petrograd Soviet gave a majority to the Bolsheviks. The watchword "All Power to the Soviets" became the battle cry. In many places the Soviets were in power. The revolutionary front extended and at the same time became consolidated.

The enemy-camo was in full rout. On September 14th the provisional government called together a democratic conference, before which the question of power came up. There were 766 votes for the coalition and 688 against. A part of the S. R. and notably Chernov abstained from voting on this important question. After having thus approved the idea of coalition, the Conference excluded the Cadets from any importance. The idea of creating a Coalition with the bourgeois against the most important of the bourgeoisie parties.

III.

On September 25th Kerensky formed the last cabinet with the Cadets Kishkin, Konovalov, etc. That same day this cabinet was denounced by the Petrograd Soviet as being a "civil-war ministry". The Petrograd Soviet added, "We will offer no aid to this government of the all-powerful bourgeoisie and of counter-revolution." And on that same day the Petrograd Soviet chose Trotsky as its president.

On October 10th Congress of Soviets of the North met in Petrograd. In its most important resolution we read, "The people can be saved only if all power is immediately handed over to the Soviets which are the agencies of the Revolution. The Provisional Government is leading the country to ruin. It must be done away with. The Soviets possess not only right but also might. The time for phrases is past."

The same thing was expressed at the same time in the Urals, in Siberia, in the Volga region, in short, by all the Russian workers.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets was set for October 20th. The whole preparatory campaign was conducted with the watchword "All Power to the Soviets."

On October 12th the Petrograd Soviet created the Revolutionary Military Committee entrusted with the defense of the capital and the combating of the counter-revolution. The Kerensky government was very much disturbed and it had reason to be. But the Soviet had the support of the entire working population and the garrison. The ministry was helpless against it.

IV.

The R. M. C. set energetically to work. It established relations with all the regiments and appointed its commissaries there. It prevented any violation of the counter-revolutionary Cossacks. It prepared to defend Petrograd against a possible attack. By bit by bit it seized power.

Two days before the Revolution, the exact time given to the Kerensky Cabinet in which to withdraw, was solemnly made public. The party which acted in this way must have already held power in fact through the support of the immense majority of workers and soldiers.

On October 24th the government started its offensive. Kerensky declared that the Bolsheviks ought to be "immediately and decisively rendered powerless to do infinity." With this end in view the counter-revolutionary government ordered their newspapers to be suppressed, the members of the R. M. C. to be indicted for crime, the immediate arrest of all Bolsheviks implicated in the July 3rd-5th insurrection (Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc.), the removal of all the Commissaries of the Petrograd Soviet. The Junkers, the shock-troops known for their patriotism, the school for under-officers, as well as various contingents of "faithful" troops were hastily called to Petrograd.

All these measures were of no avail. During the night of October 25th the government of the bourgeoisie and Socialists was dissolved. The bolsheviks, the Bolsheviks, the working poor, of the urban and rural workers took the power into its hands.

ECONOMICS

The Perspectives of the
New Economic Policy

by F. Preobrashevski.

Recently we have seen that the process by which a farming class was coming into existence in Russia, having been interrupted by the revolution, is developing again under the new economic system which is a frequem of enrichment and of wealth accumulation, and which signifies the exploitation of labor in the small industries of the city in those regions which have rich crops just as much as in those regions which are suffering from famine. In those regions which are suffering from famine, the poor people migrate, whereas the village usurer remains, buys up the cattle and other property for next to nothing, and will indeed have so much land in 1925 that it will by far surpass even the dreams of the village usurer of a year ago. As far as labourers are concerned, there will be plenty of them because of the withdrawal of a part of the poor peasants from the ranks.
of the active farmers in the village on account of the bad harvest and the shortage of cattle. And there is already an ever increasing demand for labourers particularly in the frontier provinces.

The development of village capitalism must under the new conditions inevitably lead to a rearrangement of the village economy and to a change of the class structure. At the present time the attempts of the village capitalist to make his production a success will be crowned by the fact that the peasant middle class which has become very nervous over the success of the former, and which will feel that it has only reached the point of no return, will be mobilized. On the other hand there is no doubt that the impoverished section of the village will enter into a bitter conflict with the village sufferer, in the land questions as well as in the question of the tax in kind, in the question of local taxes, and obligates, and will inevitably compel the Soviet powers to take the sides of the struggle. Independently of this the village capitalists will come to open blows with the Dictatorship of the proletariat inasmuch as the workers will through their tax policy, the eviction of the landowners, the nationalization of the capital, and the policy of the Soviet powers is extinguished. Instead of supporting bandits, that is, instead of supporting a hopeless bankrupt enterprise, the village capitalist will carry on a more profitable business, namely, that of accumulating wealth within the Soviet state. Or, more accurately, those who join the revolution, who can no longer provide for their own subsistence, will go to the Rusanovs. The industrial bourgeoisie in the Ukraine, who are members of the village capitalist class, will either join the revolution or be exterminated by the Rusanovs. The result is that the revolution will take from the hands of the capitalist the means of production, and will themselves use them in the interests of the national economy. The workers will develop the productive forces, and will form a new quantitative and qualitative society. The industrial bourgeoisie, as a result of the revolution, will come into conflict with the Soviet government inasmuch as the workers will hinder its further development by means of their tax and railroad policy, and inasmuch as they refuse to give the desired guarantees for the free exploitation of the working-class and refuse to reestablish the standard of law necessary for the free accumulation of wealth.

Foreign Capital is at first drawn in as a partner to the Socialist government and foreign capital then comes to naught and is substituted by the natural alliance between the latter and all the bourgeois forces of Russia. Then the government's relations with foreign capital will depend upon the relation of forces within the country and on an international scale. Let us now visualize an ideal development at which this relation of forces will be such that the International Socialist government strikes and the outcome of this depends upon the relation of forces within the country and on an international scale. Let us now visualize an ideal development at which the latter will come about. In this connection theEventType of the resultant international socialist federation will be determined.

After the Socialist island within the country has started the economic reconstruction in the most important branches of the large industries and of the transportation system, it begins to employ the industrial bourgeoisie. The basis of the Socialist nationalization of the means of production is the Socialist state, in addition to that, the nationalization is determined to that extent as the probable existence of the petty-bourgeois class by means of a systematic taxation of the latter's income. After the Soviet government has begun the economic reconstruction on the basis of nationalization, it can begin to employ the industrial bourgeoisie. In the field of agriculture, the nationalization of the means of production is it then in a position, thanks to its large industries, to increase the second source which supplies the industries with agricultural products. At the same time, an ever-increasing fuel supply is created for the growing industries in the field of coal, naphtha and peat production, together with the electrification of Petrograd, Moscow and other districts.

The taxation of the petty-bourgeoisie is increased at the same rate as these industries grow. The tax in kind which the capitalistic farmers pay on the old basis, inasmuch as the tax, depending upon the harvest fluctuations, becomes smaller. Economically this is admissible when we consider the general forward movement in the increase of the mechanized and cultivated area of the 'peasants' and peasants' production, on trade and private industry, is constantly increasing. This is also economically possible because of the growth of the productive forces and of the income in the field of agriculture. It is only possible because of the number of the industrial bourgeoisie and the measure of the socialist trade-profit. As agricultural reconstruction goes on, bread becomes the most important trade article. By selling grain to foreign markets and by selling foreign manufactured articles to the peasants, the Soviet Government, besides covering all organization expenses, gains a considerable and ever increasing profit. Under the influence of the increased production in the large industries and an increased possibility of selling goods abroad, the Soviet Government can now take on a steady foreign exchange thanks to the taxes, the limited government issue of money and the extension of the exchange of goods on the open market. The Soviet Government issues money only for the value of its products, it is not easily convertible, and will get that quantity of goods from the small industries outside of circulation into the hands of the Socialist state as, with the exception of the small industrialists, who do not have any surplus money, the Socialist state will have reached an advanced stage, and will serve as the strongest stimulant to our entire industrial and agricultural life, in spite of the curious interest charges.

Due to the growth of the industries and the industries of favorable material conditions for the proletariat, and on the other hand, in view of the industrial crisis in foreign countries, and in view of the unemployment and the suppression of the most class-conscious sections of the proletariat, the mass-immigration class of foreign workers into Russia will begin; this will be of great aid to the growing industries which lack skilled labor. The growth of the proletariat as a class proceeds not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. The success of this second field accelerates the process of socialization in the agricultural field. The Soviet economic structure is given a foundation; we see a quantitative and a qualitative growth in the Soviet economic management of the factories.
the communal agriculture of the cities grows; the gradual displacement of horse-power by tractors and electric plows increases the islands of collective agricultural management. With this slow process another but quicker one is developed. The state creates a new type of Soviet economy on the neglected land of the frontier regions, by putting tractors and foreign workers to work there. Under the influence of the new heterogeneity of the village, the communal tendency among the poor peasantry is intensified with the growing general consciousness. This takes place not in a greater degree than before; but the proletarian power has to a greater degree than before be capable of aiding in this process by supplying the Communards with machines, artificial fertilizers and farm-labor.

Thus the proletarian foundation of the Soviet power grows from day to day. On the other hand, compared with the small industrial units of the industrious peasantry, the distribution of the national economy. At first the production increases in both, without coming into sharp conflict. Besides, the production of the large industries not only increases with that of the small industries, but it begins to do so at the expense of the latter. At this point the Soviet Government suspends the leasing of this or that medium enterprise, not on principle, but because the lessees are becoming too burdensome, it does not renew the contract after it terminates, and then begins to manage smaller enterprise.

The retail trade which is carried on together with cooperation is to a considerable degree subordinated to large-scale production. Not only trade, but the small and medium industries are also dependent upon the state; both of them are financed by the state bank and are thus tied to the Soviet State. This process of systematically limiting and supplanting the private in industries carried on on a small and medium scale, and the continuous increase of the rich peasant class, the high taxes etc., causes great indignation among that part of the petty-bourgeoisie, which strives to acquire the unlimited freedom of capitalistic accumulation. Then the counter-revolution of the petty-bourgeoisie makes its way, in view of their relations of power, to this rich peasantry can be completely destroyed as a class. After this the "Socialist reaction" (if we may use the term) sets in. The new economic policy is reduced to certain limits; after a period of partial denationalization a strong nationalization is again carried on, and naturalizations which is beneficial to the Soviet State. The critical period has been passed. Socialism is victorious on the entire front.

Growing Impoverishment in Czechoslovakia

by Ing. Stransky (Brno).

The impoverishment of the masses is proceeding so rapidly that it is not only the poor who fail in the economic struggle, but the capitalists are attempting to further reduce wages and salaries in order to be able to meet foreign competition. Since, at the present time, there are over 50,000 unemployed according to official figures (25,000), it is estimated that this number is not stated without overestimating that the total number of unemployed is about 150,000. As a result of this condition of affairs not only the unemployed, but the workers in all trades are compelled to accept whatever terms the employers are prepared to offer. The methods which the organized workers are employing for defense have not brought the hoped-for success. If, after the expiration of the collective agreement, wages have remained at the same level, it is due to the fact that the working conditions have been rendered worse through the lengthening of work hours and the substitution of the piece-work system for pay by the hour, day or week.

The agricultural workers have been especially hard hit, since as a result of the summer drought all farm work was finished earlier than usual. As the harvesting period was very short owing to the ever-increasing introduction of machinery and as in the sugar industry the labour for the year was finished from two weeks to one month earlier than in normal years, the agricultural workers were thrown out of work in the middle of November.

Wages in Czechoslovakia are at present between 12 and 75 crowns daily or 72 to 450 crowns monthly; salaries range between 500 and 1000 crowns per month, with the exception of the higher government officials. It may be stated that on the average salaries do not exceed 1400 crowns.

When these figures are reduced to their gold value, that is, the pre-war value of the crown, it is seen that the worker receives a daily wage of 0.67 to 1.20 crowns, or when paid by the week, 4.02 to 25.30. The salaried employees and officials receive from 28.80 to 89.60 per month which averages at about 78-40 crowns. These figures compared with those of the pre-war period are under any circumstances insufficient. It is therefore incontestable that labour's remuneration has been generally reduced.

If the depreciation of the crown is set at only 1705%, the prices of absolutely necessary food-stuffs are as follows:

According to the official statistics (of course somewhat one-sided, but very good for purposes of comparison), the prices of foodstuffs had increased in the first half of 1921 by the following percentages over the pre-war prices: rye flour 2580%, wheat flour 2690%, potatoes 1180%, beef 1160%, milk 2810%, sugar 1640%, eggs 1700%, cotton and linen goods (average) 1714%, shoes 1768%, hats 1500%. In the open market the prices are much higher and range according to the commodity from 1863% to 775%.

It is readily understood that under such conditions, the population has laid in little if any reserve supplies, since in times of need only cheap goods are bought which are also of inferior quality. Such clothing and footwear is very soon worn out so that today a large part of the population is actually going about in rags.

Those who still have at hand spare clothing from before the war are of course in a better situation; these form over 90% of the better clothed. But these spare clothes will naturally also not last forever and if it is to be expected that the people in these clothes is the visible measure of the poverty of the people.

But in other circumstances are also at the root of this impoverishment.

In the first place the state itself. The major share of foreign debts are entirely unfunded from the standpoint that Czechoslovakia is a victorious state, a supposition which the government has actually led the people to believe. The actual debts of the state are growing from day to day. Thus, since January 1, 1921, the government debt has increased from 40 to 53 billion crowns. The government budget is far too large in comparison to the national wealth, since in the first place, the state which to-day has merely one-third of former Austria-Hungary's area and population, manages to over-press and over-tax the rest of the Dual Monarchy. Thus, for instance, taxes to-day are ten to fifteen times as great as they were in Austria.

The bourgeois German deputy, Dr. Kosika, severely attacked this waste and extravagance in the National Assembly and declared, among other charges, that taxes amount to at least 1560 crowns per year, so that a man with a wife and two small children, must pay 66 crowns per week in taxes alone.

Direct taxes — land, house and inheritance — form but 15% of the total, indirect taxes 60%, monopoly and other state controlled sources of income 25%, so that the greatest share of the state income is borne by the proletariat.

Another way in which the state contributes to the growing impoverishment is by the massive transfer of the money destined for orphan support and its transformation into government bonds. By means of various manipulations, all these bonds were then recognized by the republic with the nominal value of 75. Thus the orphans receive only 4.20 crowns in gold value for every 100 crowns paid out, which certainly does not suffice for the support of the orphans; although, if the sums for their support were paid in gold as the interest on the orphan capital fund they would more than suffice. The same holds true for the old-age pensioners who before and during the war had received sufficient income. To-day these pensioners are doomed to no other fate but miserable starvation. To-day through these manipulations of the authorities the state has extravagantly cut off the pensions are to-day only worth 120 of their former value.

Private industry is just as impoverished. Only the state administration is well off and this latter lives in splendor. The state appears to exist only for the support of the bureaucracy.
impudently capital attacks your organizations, the louder it trumpets its strength and its power. Its chief heralds and troubadours, however, the ministers and presidents, the bankers and kings, are preparing a new war for humanity and are working out new armament programs. They want to plunge all the countries of the world in which will be a war more destructive, inhuman and horrible than its predecessor. To heap stone upon stone and will and kill millions of human beings—workers and peasants, the productive population of city and country.

Your Soviet Russia! For every capitalist government fears the armed Russian workers. For every capitalist government understands that Soviet Russia is to-day the chief instrument, the main weapon in the hands of the world proletariat.

Imagine that Soviet Russia has fallen. Then the wave of bloody reaction would overwhelm the entire world. Capitalism would then stride in a triumphant march over the skulls of the working-class. It would consolidate its positions for long, long years.

Therefore Help Soviet Russia! Help its workers which have born the brunt of the combined blows of the capitalist governments. In Your Own Interests Hurry to the Assistance of the First Soviet State.

The Russian workers have once again obtained the possibility of building up their economic life. Only now is production beginning to grow, are the chimneys of its factories beginning to smoke.

But the drought is clipping the wings of the Russian proletariat. In the rich Volga region the grain has been completely withered. Millions of human beings are dying under horrible tortures. Sickness and death by starvation are mowing down old and young, and little children are dying with the cry for assistance on their lips. The situation is serious. The misfortune is great. Proletarians, Hurry to the Aid of Soviet Russia! A number of workers' organizations have already donated their share for the Russian workers and peasants. The Communist have collected 100,000,000 marks. Other workers' organizations have also aided considerably. This assistance renders possible the feeding of about 50,000 persons.

However, That is Not Enough! Hasten, Friends of the Comrades! Especially you, workers of North and South America, Australia and South Africa. You have not yet gone through the bloody battle with capital. You have not yet been drawn into the final conflict. But the capitalist monster is already grasping you by the neck. It is already throwing millions of workers out of work. It is ready to deal you the final blow as well.

Hurry to the Assistance of Your Chief Fortress Soviet Russia! Help it to grow strong and to consolidate. It will return your aid one hundredfold. Together, in serried battle ranks, enter the struggle against the famine in Russia.

Long live the solidarity of the workers who will not sell their brothers in distress and misery! Moscow, December 4, 1921.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

From Famine Relief to Aid for Soviet Russia by Willy Münzenberg (Berlin).

In the last few weeks the working-class press has ceased to stress the famine relief action. However, it would be an error to believe that the proletarian relief action for the Russian workers has come to an end. On the contrary! In several countries, as Sweden, Norway, Italy and Bulgaria, the relief action has only recently commenced an extended and successful campaign. Thus, the Communist Party of Bulgaria has now put in a draft for 1,000,000 Leva representing the total of their collection campaign to date. The relief fund of the Czechoslovakian Party has attained the total of 1,000,000 crowns; the American Communist Party has launched a drive for a British Communist Party's fund £ 350. The relief action is now being carried on with especial energy in the overseas countries—the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina and Australia. The British Communist Party's fund for aid to Soviet Russia "has reached total of > 200,000 and this committee has equipped and sent to Russia (our ships with food and medicines. The Argentine Communist Party has recently sent a foreign relief Committee in an sum 1,000,000 marks as the first installment of their contribution.

The International Conference of Workers' Relief Committees, which met in Berlin on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of December, decided to continue the drive and at the same time stressed the necessity of especial concentration on the overseas countries. We have also succeeded in bringing about a revival of interest in the relief campaign in several trade-unions, particularly in England, and in a large number of bourgeois organizations. Thus, Herr von Wattenwyl, representative in Berlin of the Nansen organization, reported to the Foreign Workers' Committee that in England alone about 2500 are being to assist it, at the present time. Similarly the beginning to make itself felt in Russia. The purchases of the Foreign Workers' Committee, as well as the food shipments of the Nansen organization are daily arriving in the famine regions in ever increasing quantities.

In part under the pressure of the continually expanding relief action which has taken hold of all the strata of the population in various countries, the governments are beginning to relinquish their first extremely hostile attitude. The French government has voted 800,000 francs; the British government has placed medical supplies to the value of £ 250,000 at the disposal of the Soviet government; and a resolution has been introduced into the Italian Chamber of Deputies for the appropriation of 825,000 lire.

However, more important than the practical results of the relief campaign is the fact that in the course of the last few weeks the attitude of all organizations, even those of the bourgeois parties, has turned toward the Soviet government. After years of ruthless attacks against the foreign workers' committees and organizations, the first appeals of the Trade Union International as well as of the bourgeois relief committees and organizations were merely appeals to the sympathy and charity of the workers and peasants. In fact, in several statements and manifestos it was emphasized emphatically that only the starving inhabitants and children were to be relieved and that under no circumstances were the Bolshevik regime and the ruling Soviet government in Russia to be assisted. Certain relief organizations went so far as to distribute their food and soups only to children. The poor, innocent children were to be saved; the wicked adult Bolshevks could die of starvation. This point of view has to-day been totally changed in the major part of the world.

In October the Bureau of the Trade Union International pointed out in several appeals the great importance of Soviet Russia and of its continued existence for the entire proletariat of the world. It was declared with the greatest emphasis that the collapse of the present Soviet government would be followed by inconceivably disastrous consequences for the working-class in all countries and that therefore it was in the interest of every worker to aid and support Soviet Russia. All the representatives of the bourgeois and racist relief organizations now working in Russia cannot sufficiently stress and laud the wonderful support their activity has obtained from the Soviet government. At the International Conference of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations in Geneva on the 12th of November Nansen praised the distinguished part played by the Soviet government in the campaign for the relief of the famine-stricken. At the International Conference in Berlin on the 4th of December, in which representatives of 51 countries and the most diverse organizations participated, all speakers stressed the fact that almost more important than the obtaining of food for the famine-stricken was immediate assistance in the economic reconstruction of the Soviet Russia. The reception of the Trade Union International, Grassmann, as well as the wishes of the Norwegian Workers' Party and others held that the obtaining of an unconditional resumption of commercial relations with Soviet Russia and an extension of long-term governmental credits to the chief task of the relief work in the future. On the 8th of December there took place in London a general conference of the English Labor Party and its Parliamentary group which unanimously decided to demand at the meeting of the Economic Council of the League of Nations the lifting of the trade ban on Russia and the resumption of trade relations with Russia under the extension of special privileges. The Foreign Committee for the Organization of Workers' Relief for the
Famine-Stricken in Soviet Russia, with headquarters in Berlin, in accordance with the demand of the presidium of the general conference and following the example of the English workers, on the 12th of December addressed a letter to all working-class parties and organizations in which they were requested immediately to take action in all Parliaments similar to those of the English workers and to demand:
1. The immediate appropriation of funds for the starving workers and peasants in the famine regions.
2. The removal of all remaining obstacles to the resumption of normal economic and commercial intercourse with Russia.
3. The extension of long-term credits.
4. The recognition of the Soviet government.

The Committee concluded its call with the following lines:

"There is no doubt that a similar move in all parliaments on the part of the working-class parties, supported by the entire economic and political power of the working-class, will in no small degree hasten the slowly developing understanding between the Western states and Russia. We hope in the interval of 20,000,000 starving Russian workers and peasants, and in the interests of the entire working-class, suffering under the decay of the world's economic life, that our appeal will be heard and followed by all working-class parties."

The Comintern Parties can support this move by immediately communicating with the other workers' parties and organizations in their countries and calling upon them to act in concert in the Parliaments. There is no doubt that the last few weeks and months have considerably hastened the solution of the necessity of economic relations with Soviet Russia even in the circles of the bourgeoisie and that a determined and concerted action of the working-class can speedily bring about the necessary agreement.

From the Executive

Payment of Dues to the Comintern

The text of the following resolution is to be published in the entire party press and by all organizations. The Editor.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern, in its session of December 4th, unanimously adopted the following draft of a sub-commission concerning the introduction of membership dues for the Comintern.
1. The E.C. of the Comintern decides that all members must pay an international as well as national dues to the Comintern.
2. The yearly dues in each of the sections affiliated to the Comintern is to be set at the average monthly dues of the respective section.
3. The international membership assessment is to be paid quarterly in four equal instalments against the issue of a special international dues stamp. The dues stamps are to be printed by each section in consonance with a uniform design determined by the E.C. of the Comintern and to be stamped with the seal of the respective section.
4. The dues stamp is to be passed in the membership book of every affiliated party working legally. In the event of the transferring of a member from the territory of one section to that of another, the rights accorded him by the statutes of the Comintern will only be granted upon proof of the payment of the international assessment.
5. The international membership dues are to be handed over to the E.C. of the Comintern through the Central Committees of the Communist Parties. The sections are obliged to settle their accounts quarterly, before the end of the next quarter at the latest, and pay in cash to the Comintern the right to charge expenditures made for or in the name of the Comintern against the international assessment. The international assessment must unconditionally and under all circumstances be paid by the sections directly to the Comintern.
6. The Executive Committee of the Comintern is obliged to lay an accounting of the employment of the paid-in assessments before the World Congress, after a previous audit by the control commission.
7. The purpose of this decision is threefold. The international assessment is to assist in the covering of the from day to day increasing expenses of the central apparatus of the Comintern.
8. Through the levying of the herewith adopted international assessment the materially better situated sections are to be enabled to support the weaker ones. This applies especially in cases of important political and economic actions.
9. The collection of the international party tax is also to aid materially in establishing a more intimate contact between the Comintern and the various sections.

The Commint is no tax association of the affiliated sections, but the undivided party of the Communist workers of the world. This unity, of course, is in the first place expressed in its policy and in the coordination of all political actions. It should, however, also be manifested by the obligation of every Communist to pay his individual membership dues to this international party. Therefore this decision is not only an organizational, but also a political measure:

This assessment obligation goes into effect from January 1st, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To all the Parties Affiliated to the Communist International

The question of the transition demands of the Communist Parties had already arisen at the Third Congress of the Communist International. However, this question could only be superficially handled, for the attention of the Congress was concentrated upon those problems which had been cast up in the March Action. In the meanwhile, the question of transition demands gained in importance. With every day, the Communist Parties must more and more busy themselves with the questions brought to the front by the politicking of the day. They must take a stand upon the concrete measures of the bourgeois governments and must place concrete remedial proposals before these governments. The Executive must study all these questions as a whole in order to assist the Communist Parties in enabling them to utilize their mutual experiences. It therefore requests all Communist Parties carefully to collect all their material upon their platform and demands on social policy, economic policy, taxes, judicial and constitutional questions, in short, all the material relating to our demands upon the bourgeois governments, and to send it to the Executive. We desire the sending of material referring to the past as well as present activity of the Party in this connection.

The Secretary of the Executive of the Communist International,
O. W. Kuusinen,
Rokosi.
Moscow, December 15, 1921.

Important Notice.

The English edition of the "International Press Correspondence" is sent free of charge to all labour and communist organs in England, America, India, South Africa, Australia and Canada. The editors urgently request that the articles be reprinted in the labour and communist press with the least possible delay. The object of the "Correspondence" is to supply the organs of the working-class movements in these countries with reliable information and with points of view which are not found in the capitalist press and news agencies.

It is particularly requested that all editors: 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of papers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence" and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and suggestions will be given due attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.