To the Workers of all Countries!
Capitalism is preparing for new wars.

The pacific peace speeches of the opening session of the Washington Conference have died away. The gossip about the bi-polar system, 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, outrageously 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 buy the body of the other, they come out into the open in order to defend their "ilegally 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 factory has 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 blow 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 capitalist interests in any way whatsoever. Driven on by the lust for profits, they are watching each other with the deepest mistrust, are 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 arrive 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 capitalist 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 bankrupts, 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 assailants, equipped by France—Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia—France dominates Europe. Its main rival in Europe, 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 inciting 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 of armament expenses. By a mystery league 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 Russia, but also received the rich province of Shantung, stolen from defenseless China, and previously annexed Manchuria. Japan, too, has exported 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 booty. 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 harangues 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 bind 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 booty would be considerably weakened. A tangle has arisen 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 tightening 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, even under conditions 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 make the capitalist governments to make 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 confederation. The struggle against the capitalistic 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,
The Political Reaktion in Bulgaria

by Christo Kabaicheff (Sofia)

The Stamboliiski 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 hitherto.

The Peasants' League, from which Stamboliiski's government 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 made use of the farmers' demand in order to obtain control of the government, but once having secured the helm it represented the interests of the village bourgeoisie and not those of the small peasants. The policy of the Peasant Government is reactionary, socially as well as politically. 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 and is the strengthening of the undemocratic 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 reign of the Coalition Socialists of which he, as Minister of Police, instituted against the workers, small proprietors and the Communist Party.

The Stamboliiski 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, telegraph and telephone operators) and the miners which broke out on December 24, 1919 and lasted fully two months. In order to break the organized strike, Stamboliiski's government had recourse to the most flagrant reactionary measures: it put the railroads, the post-office and the mines under military rule, arrested thousands of strikers, maltreated them in a barbaric manner, sentenced 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

The Working-Class Must Fight!

Workingmen 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 peoples of all countries to the threatening dangers, when you in your struggle for the eight-hour working day will you 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 curtailing 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-
geoisie and its policies. Only when the workers in each country unite and take action will 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 concerted construction, not only of destroyed Europe but of whole Europe, not only of ruined Serbia and devastated Poland and Russia. Only in so far as they turn their armies against the bourgeoisie of their own country will they be able to build an international front of the fighting proletariat. No, they will 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 hvenas of world capital function in a world transforming itself more and more into a desert.

Down with the Washington peace comedy!

Bun with new armaments!

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

War against the advent 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.
Stamboliski’s government, which claims that it “rules through the peasantry” and rules itself as a peasant government because it drove out King Ferdinand and substituted King Boris, has no other order of the Entente General Déspotes 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 peasantry and peasant government, which was brought into power with the help of the bourgeoisie by which it was supported. Its most important historic mission was to suppress the dissatisfaction of the masses, to strangle the Communist Party and to bring about the proletarianization of the peasant 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, like all other Balkan states, is tied by a policy of almost 20 years, which, after having fully subjugated Bulgaria both financially and economically, turned it into a bridge leading to the advancement of its imperialist policy of conquest in the Balkans and in Asia Minor, and used it as a base 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 birth of the world-revolution. The Entente drew Bulgaria into this and this government, by its bloody counter-revolutionary design 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 the struggles of the peasants and workers and from which these nations are free of 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 privileges deriving from the war they have had, has given in to the demands of the Entente and becomes its tool in the oppression of its own people. This is particularly true of the reactionary regimes ranging in Yugoslavia and Roumania.

The peasant government does not want to be oust by the Romanian and Yugoslav governments. But it cannot朝着 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 deeply rooted, and the power of the government is weakened. The old army has been abolished and replaced by an insufficient, demoralized mercenary force and by the police. All the attempts of the bourgeoisie and its servant Stamboliski to suppress the Communist Party by means of blood and 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 standing down 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 return votes; in the municipal elections in December of the same year it increased its votes to 140,000; in the borough council 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 fielded 185,000 candidates and elected sixty representatives out of a total of 720,000 votes, and 282 representatives in the municipal elections, in which majority in the city council and a large majority in the provincial council were elected. The opportunists repudiated the 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. It continually became stronger in organization and in the mass struggles of the proletariat. The attempt of the bourgeoisie and the petit-bourgeois government to suppress the Communist Party through fascisti methods (a band of paid tools of the bourgeoisie, under the protection of the police, raided the workers’ and peasant clubs in Sofia, the police were even reduced them to ashes) was frustrated by the resistance 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 Romanian governments. But the government is exercising the growing dissatisfaction, with and against the opposition of the city bourgeoisie to the peasants’ government which cannot protect the bourgeoisie against the rural peasantry, and represents the interests of the village-bourgeoisie rather than those of the city bourgeoisie. The old bourgeois parties make use of the discontent of the masses against the peasant government in order to strengthen themselves and to make ready to take over power and to lead the fight against the danger of revolution and the Communist Party. The two opposite poles of the class-struggle are strengthening themselves and fighting against each other, while there is an uprising 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 one of them), 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 government to order the dismissal of any government employee from the party in question, and if the government is not pleased, its orders are carried out, and those who dare to disobey are arrested. The Party organ is closed down, and while the other newspapers and periodicals are closed down, the government is not. The government limits the right of the press to publish articles against the government.

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 any declaration which goes against the Party, the Party has published, and still publishes, its organ, which even today is printing the parliamentary speeches of the Communists against the extraordinary laws in the “Rabotnicheski Vestnik.” In spite of all this, the Party, which has been taken in hand and organized action, it has mobilized its forces, and calls its organization 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 Vardîn (Moscou)

1. Not many persons in the Occidental countries have a correct conception of the Bolsheviks’ accession to power. The idea generally held is a conspiracy, a sudden insurrection, the rapid conquest of the government.

All the lacks are as the press ranging from the Menshevik theorists to the Parriistas, reporters have described the October Revolution as a coup de main in the Bolshevik method followed by the usurpation of power” by a group of factotums. 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 Bolshevik Party became the governing party, quite openly. The Russian Revolution was altogether different from all the others. The power of the Soviets was established and the Bolshevik Party became the governing party, quite openly. The Soviet government stepped into power openly, openly. The act of the soviets was an act of the soviets. The act of the soviets was an act of the soviets. The act of the soviets was an act of the soviets. The act of the soviets was an act of the soviets.
Six weeks after the fall of Czarism, on April 20th—21st, the workers and the garrison of Petrograd under the leadership of Mensheviks organized themselves for a demonstration 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 interfere.

As an outcome of these demonstrations Mihukov and Gutchkov, 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 Bolshevists' first considerable victory. From the very first day of the Revolution the bourgeoisie and the proletariat both strove to attain sole power. While the Bolshevists-defended the power of the Soviets the bourgeoisie called for the disruption of the Soviets and the committees.

Between June 3rd and 5th 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 votes for the 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 provisional government in St. Petersburg, as a place of the Provisional Government and formed a committee to march against Petrograd. The Cadets 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 Bolshevists a sort of legal existence, and most important of all, revealed to the masses the danger of the Coalition policy.

The Soviets immediately went over to the Bolshevists. Ten days after the Kornilov adventure the Petrograd Soviet gave a majority to the Bolshevists. The watchword "All Power to the Soviets" was adopted. 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 760 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 the government, creating a coalition with the bourgeoisie against the most important of the bourgeois parties.

III.

On September 25th Kerenky 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 comrade Trotzky 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 power is immediately handed over to the Soviets which are the agents 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 17th. The whole preparatory campaign was conducted with the watchword "All Power to the Soviets".

On October 16th the Petrograd Soviet created the Revolutionary Military Committee entrusted with the defense of the capital and the combating of the counter-revolution. The Kerenky 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 through which it prevented counter-revolutionary movements in many places. Kaledin has been placed at the head of the counter-revolutionary Cossacks. It prepared to defend Petrograd against a possible attack. Bit by bit it seized power.

On October 21st the members of the R. M. C. came to the general staff of the garrison and demanded 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 Central Staff had broken with the revolutionary regiments and with the Petrograd Soviet and that it had "become a weapon of the counter-revolution". Hereafter the R. M. C. declares itself as not being responsible for the actions of the General Staff. Furthermore, in the future "no order is valid for the garrison. The government is no longer recognized by the R. M. C.". The General Staff was thus left without troops.

On October 22nd the entire proletariat of Petrograd and the whole garrison declared at numerous meetings of workers and soldiers that they were prepared to fight against the bourgeoisie for the power of the Soviets. The question of the overturn of the Kerenky government was put on the order of the day.

The all-Russian Congress was to open on October 25th. On October 20th Trotzky, speaking before the Petrograd Soviet, said, "All Power to the Soviets, that is our aim. This aim must be achieved during the meeting of the Congress... The task of the garrison and the proletariat of the capital is to furnish to the Congress the mobilized forces against which all government provocation will be shattered. And if, in the 24 or 48 hours which it still has, the government attempts to stab the Revolution in the back, we declare that the revolutionary vanguard will return blood for blood, opposing iron with steel."

Two days before the Revolution, the exact time given to the Kerenky 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. Kerenky declared that the Bolshevists ought to be "immediately and decidedly rendered powerless to do infamy". 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 Bolshevists implicated in the July 3rd—5th insurrection (Lenin, Trotzky, 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 Socialist Constitutional Democrats was dissolved. In the bloodless coup d'etat, the poor, of the urban and rural workers took the power into its hands.

ECONOMICS

The Perspectives of the New Economic Policy

by E. Preobraschenski.

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 the freedom 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 the flooded progressive generation. Where there is cultivation, there will be rich profit. Where there is cultivation, there will be all subsistence farmers. 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 classes. The fall of all that we have described as capitalist in the village will be brought down to a minimum after the expropriation of the village capitalists and the levelling of the classes in the village, will increase; once again will the village be transformed. But this is not the end of the matter. The question of the transformation of the village capitalist will be succeeded by that part of 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 position of an underclass. This, let us understand, is a kind of reaction of the other hand there is no doubt that the impoverised section of the village will enter into a bitter conflict with the village usurer, in the land questions as well as in the question of the tax in kind, in the question of local taxes, and obligations, and will inevitably compel the Soviet powers to take their side in 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, tend to restrict the part of the village capitalist and will stand in the way of the latter's advance on capitalist lines. In the meanwhile however, the banditry ceases and with it the last glow of the past period. The relations between the village capitalist and 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 bounds set by the new régime. Far from allowing the limits prove too narrow for him, he will again resort to the "Rushchina", the infantry rifle with sawed-off barrel, the usual weapon of the bandit-bands in the Ukraine.

As far as the city is concerned, the "natural law of movement" in a capitalist direction, in a form ideal to the bourgeoisie and with the ideal speed of the process, assumes the following shape: the retail capitalist fortifies himself on all positions in the field of distribution, the wholesale capitalist on the fields of production, and the industrial capitalist on the fields of manufacture. The result is that the retail trade takes care of the distribution of the mass of goods consisting of the farmer's surplus after the deduction of the tax in kind and of the national trade, and manufactures of the medium enterprises let to private persons and partly of the production of the government enterprises, to the extent of the requirements of the city. The consumption within the retail trade leads to incorporation and to the accumulation of considerable means in the hands of individuals. But as far as trading capital as a whole is concerned, it will very quickly disappear from the field of distribution, for the great bulk of retail trade will be left to outlet by the insufficient agricultural production and will find an outlet in industry. The field of leased enterprises will become very crowded because it yields great profits and requires no initial capital, but must be expanded as the market demands. This will also increase the profit which will be the trading class of the city and the middle sized capitalist enterprises will become a vital factor in economic life. Upon their efficiency will depend the supplying of millions of people as well as the wage earning of tens of thousands of workers. This will also inevitably come into conflict with the Soviet Flower 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 that standard of law necessary for the free accumulation of wealth.

Foreign capital is at first drawn in as a partner to the Socialist government. But as foreign capital comes to play an active part in pushing along the socialist economy, it will make itself felt in the following way: for, in order to increase productive capacity on the basis of mass-production, as against the primitive condition of small scale production. But as soon as foreign capital will have established itself in certain positions and will gradually form a class distinguished from the proletariat, certain purchases as well as for purposes of selling a part of its products, it will open business relations with the capitalist circles and at a certain moment it will change its position. Under no condition will large enterprises be transformed into a mass-enterprise class is the most logical as it will, according to an amount of capital stock sufficient to enable it to acquire the possession of our large industries in a short period of time. The only candidate for acquiring such possession would possibly be foreign capital. But foreign capitalism in the Soviet state is a bourgeoisie of the same superstructure which in terms of production would be closely related to it. The unnatural alliance between 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 final blow is dealt to the very idea of a mass-reconstruction of the 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 least of capitalism. Here the Siberian proletariat will be the first to be aided by the economic rehabilitation. After the Soviet 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 with the destruction of all classes and the substitution as well. As 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 proletarian nationolization of industry and the nationalization of goods it is 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 great industry in the field of coal, asphalt and peat production, together with the electrification of Petrograd, Moscow and other districts.

The taxation of the petty-bourgeois is increased at the same rate as these incomes grow. The tax in kind which was the basis for the tax-construction in 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 cultivated area and the increase of the 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 this field. The first and second factors, and to some extent that the Socialist industries are in supporting the industrialization, the transportation system and those enterprises which are run at a loss, which also are social necessities. The lower class, which is the cause of the new profit equal to the income of a good professional man, and take it from the production carried out on a small scale that large part which under other circumstances would go to make up the difference. The lower class, and that part of the surplus coming from the prosperous village economy and from private industry, mainly flows into the stores of socialist accumulation. At the same time the Republic plays an ever growing part in foreign trade, i.e. foreign trade with the result that it becomes a worker in the production of 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 peasantry, the Soviet Government, besides covering all organization expenses, gains a considerable and ever increasing profit. Under the influence of the increased production in the land industries and an increased possibility of selling goods abroad, the currency will become 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 amounts as with the other small enterprises; it will get that quantity of goods from the small industries out of circulation and into the Socialist stores of accumulation as will correspond to the amount of capital accumulated by the private industry. As far as the concession capital is concerned, the Soviet state, after having begun to draw foreign capital into its production, will have become convinced, that the actual reconstruction of its industries, of the economic advantages and of the political danger which lies at the bottom of this method of industrial reconstruction remains the surplus of borrowing goods. The borrowing of goods which our industries underwent because of the great risk which the creditors took, will on the contrary become a profit for foreign capital. But when the Socialist industries will have reached an advanced stage, and will serve as the strongest stimulant to our entire industrial and agricultural life, in spite of the usurious interest charges.

Due to the quick reconstruction of our large industries and the creation 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 proletariat "in the West", the mass-immigration of Russian 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 as the success of the industrial 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, creating 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 a matter of time, but greater than degree by degree, but becomes 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 industries, the large industries grow in size, thus introducing a new section 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 enterprises. The retail trade which is carried on together with cooperation is too a considerable degree subordinated to large-scale production. Not only trade, but the small and medium industries are also dependent on 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 decrease of the rich peasants, the inhuman treatment of the rich peasants, the high taxes etc., causes great indignation among that part of the petty-bourgeoisie, which strives to acquire the unlimited freedom of the capitalist accumulation. Then the counter-revolution of the petty-bourgeoisie makes its way in view of the fact that the relations of power for rich peasants 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 strongening of nationalization becomes necessary, 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. Stronsky (Brno).

The impoverishment of the masses is proceeding so slowly, but irresistibly. The wages of the working masses have not only not increased, but, on the contrary, they have decreased, 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, and, if it is, 50,000 workers who, in view of the fact that it is 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 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 harvest 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 depression 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 period: rye flour 2580 %, wheat flour 2205 %, potatoes 1160 %, beet 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 now expressed that 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 the foreign debts are entirely unjustified from the standpoint that Czechoslovakia is the successor of the Etiwente and therefore 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, maintains a superior bureaucracy. This army measures 300,000. Secondly, it has introduced even greater expenditures and taxes than the former 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 1500 crowns per year, so that a man with a wife and two small children, must pay 600 to 800 crowns per year.

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 of the masses is the confiscation 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 420 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 money of the extravagantly confiscated pensions are to-day only worth 1/2 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.

HELP FOR RUSSIA

Proletarians of all Countries! To the Aid of Russia!

Workers! In the entire world capitalism is going over to an imminent attack against you. The more the capitalist world decays, the higher the wave of unemployment and crisis rises, which like an avalanche rolls from country to country, the more
impeccably capital attacks your organizations, the louder it trumpets their 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 horrid than its predecessor. I have put stone upon another and will kill and cripple 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 triumphal 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 Communists 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 Workmen.

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 driven 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 sured 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 a sin to believe that the proletarian relief action for the Russian workers is dead. 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 400 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 British Communist Party's fund £ 3,500. The relief action is now being carried on with special energy in the overseas countries—the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. The Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, as well as British Communist Party's fund £ 3,500. The relief action is now being carried on with special energy in the overseas countries—the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. The Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, as well as

The International Conference of Workers' Relief Committees, which met in Berlin on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of December, decreed that it will continue this action through the winter. It stressed the necessity of special 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 £ 1,500 are being sent to aid at the present time. Similarly, the Russian government has voted 8,000,000 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 83,000 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 type, toward Soviet Russia has changed. Many of the bourgeois relief committees and organizations were merely apertures to the sympathy and charity of the workers and peasants. In fact, in several statements and manifestos it was euphemistically implied 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 Bolshevics could die of starvation. This point of view has to-day been totally changed in the major part of the Western 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 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 all countries and the most important 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 Soviet Russia. The representatives of the Trade Union International, Grassmann, as well as the speaker 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 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 Peace Conference in Paris an immediate resumption of famine-stricken 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:

"It 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 recognition 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 assessment.

2. The yearly dues in each of the sections affiliated to the Comintern International 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 conformity with a uniform design decided by the E.C. of the Comintern and is to be stamped with the seal of the respective section.

4. The dues stamp is to be pasted 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. Further 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. The levy 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 Comintern 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 by 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 question brought to the front by the politics 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 by 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 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 Secretariat of the Executive of the Communist International.

O. W. Kusin.

Rokos.

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 their articles to this paper 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, records, and other data will be acknowledged and brought to the 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.