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The Menials of English Imperialism

By *Karl Radek*.

A telegram recently announced that the English Labor Party was plunged into great excitement over the danger of war in the Near East. We regarded this excitement on the part of the English Labor Party with extreme scepticism. Events have justified our scepticism.

The leaders of the English Labor Party requested an interview with Lloyd George. Lloyd George received them and furnished them with explanations, after which they left Downing Street pledging themselves to make nothing public regarding the purport of their conversation with the head of the English Government. We have before us two reports of declarations by two leaders of the Labor Party: Mr. Clynes, M. P., and Mr. Thomas, M. P. These reports which are published in the Manchester Guardian, expose the whole nature of the politics of the Labor Party, as well as the whole policy of the Second International.

What does Mr. Thomas say, the railwaymen's leader who brought an action against the organ of our English comrades, an action in which the Royal Court of Justice confirmed with its signature that Mr. Thomas is no traitor to the working class. Mr. Thomas said:

"The past week was filled with the atmosphere of August 1914. The world was faced with the danger of a war the consequences of which would be no less severe than the consequences of the last world war."

Mr. Clynes declared, on his part, that "the policy of Lloyd George was in words a policy of peace but in reality it was a policy which prepared for war." He declared "that the Labor Party repudiated all responsibility for this policy".

We now ask what inference any honest worker would draw after he had read these premises. He can but draw one inference, namely, that the Labor Party would declare war on the government in order to prevent an international war. That they would sound the tocsin with all their strength to mobilize the working masses. But only a naive person could expect such a thing from

Messrs. Thomas & Clynes and similar leaders of the English working class. Their demands are quite of another sort. They complain that the government is leading to the isolation of England from its glorious allies, and that perhaps the English fleet will have to defend the Straits *alone*. Mr. Thomas welcomes the news from Paris over the agreement reached between Lloyd George and Poincaré. If these saviours of humanity go hand in hand, what more can the leaders of the English labor movement expect?

Clynes expresses himself in the same sense, but adds at the end of his speech that peace will not be secured unless adequate efforts are made. Mr. Clynes, however, says no word as to what efforts "everyone" must make. This "everyone" must probably listen to the speeches of Clynes and Thomas and then go quietly home. The leaders of the English Labor Party have again proved of what their policy consists. If the proletariat budges, they mount the tribune, but only in order to tranquilize the workers. They turn to Lloyd George and make the workers believe that "the thing is now in safe hands; they will talk to him straight." After emerging from the ministerial reception chamber, they talk "daggers" for an hour, as Shakespeare says, but afterwards thrust these "daggers" into their pockets and divert the attention of the workers to the negotiations of those very diplomats whom they have just "exposed" and tell them to expect satisfaction from them. In the best case they do but disturb the air with some general phrases, and then calmly betake themselves to the offices of their trade unions. Everything is in the best order. They are great singers of democracy, but they help to blunt even those means which democracy places at the disposal of the working class in the struggle against imperialism. The bane of the English workers consists in that their leaders believe in the bourgeoisie and that they believe in their leaders. All shouts of "Down with War" are only a means of lulling the masses so long as these masses tolerate such leaders.

POLITICS

Japanese Imperialism in the Far East

The imperialist appetite of Japan. — Intervention in Siberia. — The occupation of Vladivostok and Sakhalin. — The failure of negotiations at Dairen. — The situation at present.

J. Marchlevsky (Moscow).

Like the Conference of Dairen six months ago, the Russo-Japanese Conference of Tchang-Tchung, which comrade Joffé attended as plenipotentiary of Soviet Russia, came to an end on September 26th without having produced the least result.

Japan proved herself intractable. She refused to evacuate the region of Vladivostok and the northern section of the island of Sakhalin, territories belonging to the Republic of the Far East. As to the Russian Revolution, victorious on all the fields of battle, it could neither deliver the Russian working population to Japanese exploitation nor tolerate indefinitely foreign intervention in the Far East. At Tchang-Tchung, therefore, the Russian and Japanese points of view were altogether irreconcilable.

As at The Hague and at Genoa, Red Russia found herself face to face with imperialism.

At the time when the Russo-Japanese Conference was disbanding, a telegram from Russia informed us of the arrival at Kharkov of Japanese industrialists and financiers who had decided of their own accord to renew relations—for business purposes—with the Republic of the Far East and the Soviets. In Asia as in Europe economic necessity does not allow intelligent capitalists to sanction the policies of their own governments.

On all these events, taken as a whole, the following article of comrade Marchlevsky, written on his return from a journey to the Far East, will give us a clear view.

Since the World War the relation of forces in the Far East has completely changed. An imperialist Russia no longer exists to menace the yellow races. Germany has been equally eliminated. And the victorious powers of Europe and America have too many other cares at this time to pursue an active policy in the Far East.

The sole country to benefit from the disorganized condition of the European states, both conquerors and conquered, is Japan, mighty power of the Far East, who in 30 years, has won 3 wars. Three wars hardly glorious, it is true, for China had been incapable of offering serious resistance, the Russia of the Czars had proven herself to be unequal to the needs of the hour, and Germany had devoted insignificant forces to the defense of her possessions in the Far East. On the contrary, three victories dangerous in their consequences, for they created in Japan, in the army, among the petty bourgeoisie, and even among the workers and peasants, an imperialist psychology of which the nobility in power cleverly took advantage.

Japan covets Siberia above everything. Intervention in Siberia, against the Russian Revolution, came as a godsend to the Military Party. The songs of the Japanese soldiers express the hope of "watering our horses in the Volga". The Russian counter-revolution in the Far East, however, was as unsuccessful as everywhere else, and could not hold its ground before the Red armies. Japan was content when, after the debacle of Koltchak and Semenov, the Japanese divisions were able to retreat to the east without being pursued. She wanted, however, to draw the most advantage from this trick. When the Allied troops evacuated Siberia, Japan declared that she had particular interests to defend, citizens to protect. And under these pretexts she sent troops to Vladivostok and the Amur River.

At Nicolayevsk, on the Amur (1920), an unforeseen drama was enacted. As everywhere, the Japanese had conducted themselves in the country like arrogant conquerors. Russian sympathizers—irregulars not belonging to the Red Army, as enquiry proved—took the city by surprise, massacred the garrison and several Japanese families. Thereupon the Japanese, as an act of reprisal, occupied the mouth of the Amur and the northern part of the island of Sakhalin.

But to occupy Vladivostok, other reasons were necessary—and better ones. The inhabitants of the great Russian port had adhered to the democratic republic of the Far East established, in agreement with Soviet Russia, in the east of Baikal, with Tchita as its capital. Vladivostok being the rallying point for the officers and former soldiers of Koltchak and Semenov, the Japanese had no trouble in brewing up a conspiracy, and then a

reactionary *coup d'état*. Outwardly neutral, they armed and financed the counter-revolution, and it was thus that in May, 1921, the white "national" government of Vladivostok was born. That marked the beginning of an orgy impossible to describe. During the imperialist war all merchandise sent to Russia from America passed through Vladivostok. The warehouses of this city contained enormous quantities of food provisions, of war material, of railway stock, etc., worth several hundred million gold roubles. The "national" government lived upon the pillage and the sale of these public goods. Little by little, almost all was sold to the Japanese, who resold a good part of the stock to China. The occupation of Vladivostok and its "emancipation from Bglshhevik bondage" was a splendid affair for Japanese speculators. And as the military coteries and trouble brewers of Tokio kept themselves quite near, the proud *Samourais* received their share of the booty.

During the summer of 1921 the government of Tchita attempted to enter into negotiations with Japan. The latter did not refuse. For a long time the Empire had been a prey to an economic crisis, suffering from overproduction, from unemployment, etc. Hundreds of thousands of bourgeois were hostile to the occupation of Siberia. They were hoping for much from the opening of the Siberian markets. But on the other hand, the Military Party expected to continue its conquests. During the war Japanese scholars had explored the eastern part of Siberia; they knew what fabulous riches that country contained. Although it had been hoped to obtain them at the point of the sword, would it not be wise, Japanese capitalists asked, to plan a pacific penetration of Siberia, rather than to engage in a long and expensive war? Besides, the masses were demanding the recall of the troops of occupation because their maintenance involved enormous expenses, because the harsh Siberian climate gravely affected the health of the Japanese soldier, because the Bolshevik sympathizers did not give them one moment's rest.

For all these reasons the government of Tokio could not refuse to negotiate, and conferences began in September, 1921, at Dairen, that is, in the ancient Chinese village of Tabin-Vou, which later became the Russian port of Dalny later leased to the Japanese. With astounding insolence the Japanese negotiators at first presented demands signifying nothing less than the colonization of the whole of Transbaikai. The Russian negotiators, however, did not allow themselves to be the least bit influenced. It was then that, to complete its pressure, Japan launched the great offensive of the Whites of Vladivostok. About 8,000 men comprising the national Russian army passed beyond the Japanese zone of occupation without hindrances and marched towards Khabarovsk, on the Amur.

At first, the Red Army of the Far Eastern Republic was surprised, for no one in Tchita expected to engage in battle during the negotiations. But if the Whites and the Japanese had counted on the acquiescence of the inhabitants of that region and the cossacks of the Amur, they were sadly mistaken. The action of the Communist partisans rendered their situation more and more critical. It was not until last February, however, that the Republic of the Far East was able to furnish the force necessary to defeat its enemies. And considering the enormous difficulties of communication and the rigorous Siberian winter this ought not to astonish us.

The victory of the revolutionary troops was decisive. The Whites escaped complete annihilation only by taking refuge in the Japanese zone of occupation. After the victory of the Reds, the Japanese representatives decided to negotiate in earnest, and to abandon their exaggerated pretensions. A provisional treaty was drawn up at Dairen which accorded Japan great advantages. The Russian negotiators, however, refused to sign it before the date of the evacuation of Siberian territory by Japanese troops had been formally and precisely fixed. The Japanese negotiators appeared to yield for a moment, but then formulated anew counter-proposals altogether unacceptable. Finally, they offered to fix the time of evacuation in the following terms:

"A mixed commission shall regulate the mode of evacuation. Japan agrees to evacuate Siberian territory three months after the completion of the work of this commission".

This was to assure herself the possibility of dragging on the matter indefinitely into the future. The Far Eastern Republic could not consent. On April 16th, the negotiations were discontinued.

We know now why the Japanese imperialists could not accept a bona fide solution. The governor-general of Manchuria was at that time preparing for war against the Government of Peking. Japan, a power of the first rank, well-informed of these plans, could not give up holding her troops of 40,000 men in Vladivostok which was but a short distance away from the center of operations of the civil war in the celestial empire.

Several times since the recent events in China the press has announced the coming evacuation of Siberia by Japan. That is

still spoken of. Dates are fixed, negotiations are opened and broken. At Vladivostok, however, the orgy of the reactionaries continues. This experience makes it impossible to accord the least credence to these selfish promises of Japanese imperialism.

A new Government in Czecho-Slovakia

By Karl Kreibich (Prague).

After several days of severe birth pangs, the long announced new government of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic has now finally come into existence. It is in reality the old government; there sit in it the representatives of the same coalition parties as in the previous government, only some names have been changed and a minor alteration in the apportionment of the departments among the various parties has taken place. None the less, this change of government is of symptomatic importance. It is the expression of a crisis in the system of bourgeois-socialist coalition government; the new government marks a further stage on the road to the complete disintegration of this system of government.

The national composition of the population of Czecho-Slovakia complicates to a considerable extent the problem of government combinations. There are here not only three possibilities: a bourgeois government, a bourgeois-socialist coalition, or a so-called pure socialist government; there is also the possibility of a German-Czechish coalition government which to be sure, has not yet been realized, and also a so-called government of national concentration which it has already had.

The first government of the Czecho-Slovakian republic consisted of a so-called all-national coalition, in which all the Czechish and Slovakian parties were represented. This was the government of *Kramar*. This government was wrecked because the National Democrats, a party of the large industrialists and financiers, took more liberties than one could then expect of the Social Democrats and because the radical mood among the socialist parties made a coalition with the clericals intolerable. Also the knowledge that the young and not yet consolidated state dare not as yet adopt too repressive measures against the national minorities, contributed to the overthrow of the National Democratic politicians.

There followed the government of Tuszar, the coalition of the two Socialist parties with the agrarians. This form of coalition government put an end to the aversion of the majority of the Czechish Social Democratic Party to the policy of coalition. The question now became one of setting aside the danger which threatened the state from the division of the Social Democracy and the adhesion of its majority to the Communist International. They decided upon the policy of the mailed fist, to which, however, no party wished to lend its name. As a result of this, we got the bureaucratic government with Czerny at the head, who up to the time of the downfall of the old Austria was one of the firmest supporters of the Hapsburgs. This government carried out the provocation of the Czechish left wing in December of 1920, and subdued the resistance of the revolutionary proletariat. This game could not be carried on for long for it jeopardized all too seriously the authority of "democracy" and of the national state towards the masses. The bureaucratic government therefore had to give way before the parties could resolve to take over the helm of state again.

The result of this queer position was a change of government,—the government of Benes. It was evident that Benes, as the *Commis voyageur* for the Great Entente and as manager for the Little Entente who spends most of his time in travelling, would by no means be in a position to act as Prime Minister de facto. The rest of the ministers were only figureheads. The real government was the *Committee of Five* of the coalition parties, which in official communications was cited as an official institution of the coalition government.

In home politics the government of Benes scored almost nothing but failures. The powerful position of the Committee of Five caused the government to appear ridiculous. It also received a considerable blow from the secession of the Slovakian Clerical People's Party which now made the whole of Slovakia rebellious against Prague. For some months there was much said and written about this hybrid government being impossible and that the coalition parties must formally and openly take over the government and with it the responsibility. Finally it was embodied in the slogan: the Committee of Five must now become the formal government.

Two circumstances made a quick decision necessary: the economic crisis and the movement for the proletarian united front. The bourgeoisie and the ruling clique had clearly recognized the danger from the economic crisis and the movement for the united front which threatened them and their whole system, and forced the two Czechish Socialist Parties to a decision. Thus the fact

of a new government means nothing less than that the Czechish Social Democrats and the Czechish National Socialists have determined to oppose the movement for the united front and to support the offensive of capital against the proletariat.

The task of the new government will consist in preventing the bringing about of the proletarian united front, reducing the wages of the state employees, supporting the capitalists in reducing the wages of the whole proletariat and in overcoming any attempt at revolutionary action by the proletariat. This task can only be realized if the coalition parties throw the whole weight of their authority into the scales, and if they place their most prominent representatives entirely at the disposal of the government. Thus, the present government is the final exertion of the coalition parties in an effort to save the system of coalition governments.

That the new government is following the path of reaction is already evidenced by present symptoms. The most important offices, Presidency, Ministry of the Interior, Finance, Justice, Trade, Agriculture and National Defense, are in the hands of the bourgeois parties. The Foreign Office is in essence only a department of the Entente. The Finance Minister Rasin, is the Director of the largest Bank, the most prominent representative of Czecho-Slovakian Finance Capital who has even advocated sacrificing a portion of industry because the state is over-industrialized.

This new coalition government is the counter-move of the bourgeoisie against the slogan of a workers government. The two Socialist parties are flinging themselves against this movement which is becoming continually stronger among the masses. The next few months in Czecho-Slovakia will therefore be of great importance. How deep this movement already is among the masses an example will show. A provincial organ of the National Socialists issued an appeal to the soldiers joining the ranks, which was expressed in the most intense anti-militarist tones and admonished them to be Socialists first and soldiers next and to support the abolition of militarism. In this party the masses are rebelling against the coalition policy. The bourgeoisie is centering all its hopes upon the present coalition government and above all on the one hope that this government will succeed in gaining the upper hand over the powerful movement which under the slogan of the proletarian united front and the workers' government, is now permeating the masses of the proletariat in Czecho-Slovakia; for this is now the greatest source of anxiety to the bourgeoisie. It will be the task of the Communist Party to concentrate its fight directly upon this point more strongly than hitherto.

Democracy in Austria.

By Paul Friedlander (Vienna).

While the reactionary parties of Austria, and in particular, the Christian Socialist Party seek to make the whole world believe in the absurd fairy story, that in Austria and especially in Vienna Bolshevism is making headway, whereby they do as much injustice to Otto Bauer as to Karl Renner or the Socialists on the Vienna Municipal Council, the Austrian Social Democrats wish to proclaim to the whole world, the fame of Austria as the "freest democracy" upon earth.

The experiences under this highly extolled Austrian democracy have confirmed the fact, that within the sphere of capitalist states, no matter what form it may assume (whereby the advantages of the republican form to that of the monarchist form is always noted) the economic dictatorship of the capitalist class—and this is the determining factor—finds expression under all circumstances.

After the rebellion the Social Democratic Party of Austria promised to the working population, prosperity and Socialism by means of democracy; in the first place the socialization of the most important branches of production as well as the new regulation of the distribution of wealth and in any case the improvement of the living conditions of the working class. Apart from some social-political legislation, such as the eight hour day, workshop councils, legal holidays, which have only a formal significance and have little changed the existing conditions, nothing has come from democracy.

But at the price of these formal gains which must be held fast and for whose maintenance a struggle with all possible means will have to be conducted, the bourgeoisie which had collapsed as a result of the war has again swung itself into saddle,—thanks to the coalition policy of the Social Democrats. Never before in Austria was there such an enrichment of the capitalist class simultaneous with such pauperization of the working class as during the last few years. Because the broad masses, thanks to the tactics of the Austrian Social Democrats, have calmly acquiesced in the continuous deterioration of their living condition, the Austrian bourgeoisie has not been compelled to openly tread down this formal democracy; they have

therefore had no need of a Noske. Deutsch and Adler have succeeded better without great bloody conflicts.

When therefore it comes to a question of "democracy" there is nothing of it to be noticed in Austria. We will give some examples:

In Vorarlberg the Communist Party as a party is not allowed to be legally constituted and active. After many years of struggle it is now permitted to carry on a very limited activity under the title of *Communist Election Union*.

In Steiermark, now as before, Austrian citizens who are not directly domiciled in Steiermark itself are not allowed to engage in propaganda without running the danger of being arrested.

For many years, and particularly in the last few years, the *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag) was confiscated, when it contained anything too critical of the capitalist state of the bourgeoisie. House searches took place without any reason against the Communist Party and prominent members. The remaining parties and their press were of course exempted from all this.

During the last year a hundred and more Communists have been arrested. In addition to this, revolutionary workers are persecuted in Austria as elsewhere. After the stormy 1st of December 1921, on which a great demonstration against high prices took place, over a hundred proletarians were sentenced by the class justice to many months and to years of imprisonment, while the great profiteers were allowed to carry on their pernicious practices unpunished.

A series of Assize Court prosecutions and other criminal proceedings which arose purely from political motives were instituted against the Communists and partly carried through.

At demonstrations of workers and unemployed the demonstrating masses were brutally attacked by the police and gendarmes with drawn swords and were often fired upon. There have been a number of bloody days for the working class in the last years, from the recent one against the desparate unemployed, back to the bloody 15th of June 1919. There have also been bloody days outside of Vienna, in Linz, especially in Steiermark (Graz, Bruck, Leoben). But against reaction, against monarchists, against clericals, against reactionary emigrants etc. the treatment has been as mild and "democratic" as it possibly could be.

The revolutionary emigrants, however, in Austria have, in spite of the much vaunted right of asylum, had to experience most bitter times. In consequence of its position, Austria was naturally a gathering point for the Hungarian as well as for the Yugoslavian refugees. These could tell a story of arrest and internment, of expulsions and deportations, of anything but democratic treatment by the Austrian Government and police. Just now a former Hungarian People's Commissar who was not in the slightest way politically active is being expelled. The Social Democratic emigrants, to be sure, can engage quite freely in political activity without anyone disturbing them.

This fact is cited not because the Communist Party favors the persecution of the Social Democratic emigrants; by no means; but because it is a proof of how far the democracy of the Austrian Social Democrats extends. As the Christian Socialist minister of the interior proceeds today, so proceeded previously the Social Democratic minister Eldersch.

It must also be added that thousands of Communists and revolutionary workers, thanks to the support given to the employers by the trade union leaders and Social Democratic leaders in recent years, have been driven out of the workshops. In this respect conditions are as brutal in Austria as anywhere else in the world.

ECONOMICS

The Financial Situation of France

By Georges Lévy.

It is actually impossible to know exactly the financial situation of France for the many following reasons: the waste and the lack of control during the war; our ignorance as to exact expenditures made in 1916, 1917, 1918, and 1919; the impossibility of estimating the national defence bonds in circulation (recently an error of 7 billions was discovered; 59 billions had been issued by December 31, 1921, instead of the 65 billions quoted); the difficulty in learning the extent of the public debt, and hence its arrears (ministers of finance and budget comptrollers of the legislative chambers are not in accord on the subject); the impossibility of obtaining the real budgetary deficits, hidden by manipulation of the accounts (disagreement on their amounts among ministers, budget comptrollers, and finance commissions). But if it is difficult to obtain exact information, citations abound of

men we call experts, on the gravity, the peril of the financial situation.

M. Millès Lacroix, chairman of the Senate commission of finance expresses himself thus: "Never, for a century, has greater financial peril menaced the nation. We think that the country has the right to know everything and we are duty-bound to hide nothing from it. Not by closing our eyes shall we avoid the precipice we are sliding along. Arm yourself, then, with the civic courage necessary to put an end, cost what it may, to a situation which constitutes a real national peril. The Senate counts on you to realize the financial easement indispensable to the safety of the nation".

M. Chéron, chairman of the budget committee in the Senate declares: "On January 1st, 1914, we owed less than 30 billions; at the armistice (1918), we owed 171; in 1930 it will be 427 billions. The debt will require for itself alone, more than 27 billion francs for annual interest; which means that it will absorb almost the whole of our receipts without leaving a centime to pay our officials and assure the least public service".

M. Léon Bourgeois, president of the Senate, made these statements in his inaugural speech at the opening of the session: "By how many billions has the public debt been increased in one single period? At the present time no one can calculate it. A formidable abyss is being dug day by day, and no provision is made for filling it. . . . The Government acknowledged a few days ago, that it was necessary to have recourse to what the minister himself called daily borrowing in order to meet the bills of exchange."

M. Bokanovski, reporting on the budget in the lower Chamber, on June 23, 1922, uttered anew the cry of alarm. All these warnings have not sufficed to raise the finances of France, and the budgetary situation of 1923 has not been ameliorated by them. It is easier to state the evil than to find means of remedying it.

In 1914, on the eve of the war, the financial situation of France was as follows: "During the last 25 years a balanced budget has been realized, and extraordinary accounts have disappeared; during the last 20 years the public debt has not increased, deficits in one period have been counterbalanced by surpluses of another budget; loans were accidents". That was an epoch of high budgetary value. The budget of 1914 had provided for 5,191,643,000 francs; the budgetary deficit amounted to 800 millions, which was easily covered by a loan. The public debt was raised to 27 billions, and annual interest to 700 or 800 millions. The bank note circulation rose to 6,683,700,000 francs, upon a metal reserve (gold and silver) of 4,766,600,000 francs.

The wealth of France, according to E. Théry, was figured in 1908 at 287 billions. The yearly increase being about 3 billion francs, it amounted in 1914, to 300 billion francs in round numbers. The total revenue could be calculated at about 25 billions. The budget represented $\frac{1}{10}$ of the revenue; the public debt, about $\frac{1}{10}$ of the nation's wealth.

The war completely transformed France, both economically and financially. It destroyed the equilibrium between her finances and her economy. During the period of the war, from 1914 to 1918, there were no budgets; no new imposts save a few sales taxes during the first two years. There was an orgy of spending, an absence of control, carelessness in all branches of service. The state bought promissary notes at excessive, sometimes even scandalous prices; grant were distributed abundantly. As had never happened before, those liable to taxes received from the state sums equal to, or even higher than, those they had turned in. To finance the war the government had continuous recourse to loans.

It was only from 1917 to 1920 that several attempts were made to liquidate them. From 1914 to 1917 in particular, and up to 1921, "the financial policy of banks and of the plutocracy" had ruled, in the matter of loans as well as of taxes. With regard to the latter, the chief care was to spare large fortunes and to resort only to sales taxes, hitting the working class hardest. The tax levies upon incomes or war profits were insufficient. Of the 300 billions of war expenditures normal resources supplied only 33 billion francs, or 16%. As for the rest, budgetary expeditors and treasury devices were resorted to; consolidated loans for 27%, advances of the Bank of France for 13%, and short term loans for 44%. This financial policy contributed to aggravate the disorder created by the war and to cause the present situation.

The budget increased from 5,191,643,000 francs provided for in 1914 to 22,804,000,000 francs in 1915; 32,945,000,000 francs in 1916; 41,680,000,000 in 1917; 54,537,000,000 in 1918; 36 billions, 685 millions in 1919; 27 billions 181 millions in 1920; 26,499 millions in 1921; 24,688 millions in 1922. (Considering only the ordinary and extraordinary expenditures and receipts, excluding the recoverable expenditures; that is, the sums advanced by France for pensions and the devastated areas while waiting for the recovery of sums due from Germany). These were the

budgets, viewed in their true light, for 1920, 1921, 1922. But the sums taken from the treasury have been for 1920, 44,365 millions; for 1921, 58 billions; for 1922, they will reach—we may prophesy—50 billions. The budget of 1923 has provided, with normal and exceptional receipts, and with 3,900 millions in loan resources, for 23,185 millions; but with the recoverable expenditures it reaches 36,183 millions.

The budgets show only a fictitious balance. They point to deficits, and the financial requirements for the ordinary budgets are met by special resources (liquidation of the war stocks and taxes on war profits) and by loans.

Thus in 1920 there was a real difference between expenditures and receipts of 38,322 millions; in 1921, of 30,480 millions; in 1922, of 24 billions. These sums must be covered by loans. For 1923, the minister has provided for a budget of 23,189 millions with 18 billions in normal receipts, 1,225 millions in special receipts, and 3,900 millions in loans. It has a deficit, admitted by the minister, of 3,900 millions. With the 13 billions provided for recoverable expenses, the total deficit is about 17 billions. But according to M. Caillaux, the annual deficit in our yearly budgets is about 10 billions if we figure the annual interest on our foreign debts, and about 7 billions if we do not count it. Which would bring the round deficit in 1923 up to 20 billions. The true situation, considering budgets of about 45 billions, and normal, permanent receipts amounting, at the maximum, to 19 or 20 billions, is that we have deficits each year of about 25 billions. No other solution than loans has up to the present been offered by our minister of finance.

The post-war public debt, the exact amount of which is not easily estimated, is, according to M. Caillaux, about 310 billions (a domestic debt of 240, and a foreign debt of 70, with regard to the average rate of exchange in 1921). The yearly interest on the debt is about 12 billions for the domestic one, and 4 billions at least for the foreign, or a total of 16 billions. According to M. Béranger, on December 31, 1921, we had a domestic debt of 242,987,000,000, which with the foreign debt would reach 332 billions, 797 million francs.

Let us accept the most moderate figures. The public debt rose from 27 billions in 1914 to 310 in 1921, increased therefore, 10 times. Each year it is augmented by the 30 billions borrowed to cover expenditures. "If we continue, the domestic public debt will reach in 1928, 400 billions at 5%. We shall have arrears of 22 or 24 billions as against the maximum receipts of 19 to 20 billions from resources of taxation. In addition to these 24 billions, we shall require 10 billions for public services, and 8 billions for the departmental and communal duties; in other words, it will be necessary to deduct 42 from the 50 to 80 billions of the revenue of France", (Bokanowski).

This heavy public debt, of which the payment of arrears is 12 billions for the home debt, or 16 including the foreign debt, absorbs $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the ordinary budget, bears heavily on production and still more on labor. The gravest part of this debt is the floating debt. "The 95 billions of bank and treasury bonds in circulation is the heaviest weight upon our financial situation. It constitutes a second fiduciary circulation which doubles that of the bank notes. It is very evident that if, for one reason or another, the demands for the repayment of the bonds grow much stronger it will be necessary to meet them by increasing the note circulation". No other method has as yet been considered for the liquidation of the debt. The minister of finance thinks the time has not yet come. . . . Outside this enormous national debt we must add the debts of the communes, increased from 4,924 million francs in 1914 to actually 10,850 millions (without counting those of Paris).

The bank note circulation has increased from 6,683 million francs on July 30, 1914 to 35,951 million on April 23, 1922; the metal reserve is 5,819,194,529 francs, of which 1,948,367,056 is foreign.

The real fortune of France is, on the word of M. Ed. Théry, impossible to evaluate. To do that we must wait, upon his advice, 1. until the monetary standard is stabilized; 2. until our foreign creditors have informed us of the definite conditions of repayment; 3. until we know where we stand with regard to the payment of the German indemnity. Actually, however, those who have estimated it, put it at 600 billions. These figures are estimated in terms of monetary, not real value; for in this latter sense, the wealth of France has diminished at least $\frac{1}{4}$. The debt represents actually $\frac{1}{2}$ of the France's wealth, if we take the figures of M. Fatout. If, according to the same author, we accept 50 billions as the round figure of the revenue, and if the budgets reach 45 billions, the imposts will absorb almost the entire revenue of the nation.

The financial situation, far from being bettered, will become more and more aggravated, and the French bourgeoisie has formulated no financial policy to meet the increasing problem. Permanent loans, and the formula, "*Germany will pay*", suffice for it.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Communist International to the Socialist Party of Italy

The split between the Maximalists and the Reformists in Italy is now accomplished! That which the Communist International demanded two years ago has inevitably been realized. The necessary surgical operation has been delayed two years. The sickness has been neglected and that has naturally caused incalculable harm to the organism of the Italian Socialist Party. The injuries suffered by the Italian working class in consequence of the errors committed in 1920 by the Maximalist leaders are enormous. The bourgeoisie has made use of the errors of the Socialists in order to consolidate itself and to take up an undisguised and cynical offensive against the Italian working class.

That the Maximalist leaders in 1920 committed a frightful error is perceived today by every honest Maximalist worker, when he is told that the split of 1922 is necessary but that it was not yet necessary in 1920, because—as was said at that time—there were no concrete facts which could prove the treachery of the reformists. Such a declaration is either a piece of childishness or a reprehensible attempt to conceal from the workers the real significance of the events.

One cannot call himself a leader of the proletarian masses who is only capable of slowly drawing a right conclusion after a delay of some years, but only he who immediately at the beginning of the stream can point out to the workers in time the danger which threatens them. The Marxists go straight to the matter, they investigate the process of the class struggle, and they know what conclusions to draw and what dangers to fight against as soon as they arise.

At the end of 1922 it is indeed easy to see whither reformism has led us, as it has already gone over body and soul into the camp of the bourgeoisie. The Communist International had already foreseen this at the right time but some Maximalist leaders either failed to see it or have consciously shut their eyes to the treachery of the reformists. Whatever it may be, however, the condition of the Italian working class is so desperate, that those men who have only the interests of the proletariat at heart, should not waste too much time in settling the question as to who was right and who was wrong. The most elemental and urgent task in Italy consists in uniting as quickly as possible all revolutionary forces and to set up the proletarian bloc against the bloc of the reformist, Fascist and imperialist forces.

Maximalist Comrades!

Two roads lie before you: either you will attempt to create a so-called independent Center Party, in which case your party will in six months or a year again become the booty of the reformists and bourgeoisie; such an independent, centrist, middle party could, under present conditions and in the present process of the class war in Italy, only lead a miserable existence of a few years and would inevitably be doomed to an ignominious end,—or, you will proceed the other way, and with resoluteness and without deviations set out for unity with the Communist Party of Italy, to tread the road of the real revolutionary struggle, and with this end in view, rally back to the flag of the Communist International.

Comrades, make your choice!

Your congress must take into account the importance of the situation and of the choice. Take heed! At the very time that you, Italian Maximalists, finally break the rusty chains which fetter you to the reformist traitors, the unity of the Second and 2½ Internationals is taking place in the international camp. As the Communist International has foretold so long ago, the independent centrists are laying down their weapons before Noske, Scheidemann, and Renaudel. The 2½ International has ceased to exist; it has capitulated and awaits the mercy of the yellow Social Democracy. Is it possible, comrades, that the enormous importance of these happenings in the camp of the international have escaped you? Is it possible that you have not yet seen that there are only two roads: the Second International,—the International of duplicity, and the Communist International,—the International of the class struggle.

The tactics pursued by the Communist International, the tactics of the united front, are successfully being realized in all countries with advanced labor movements. The tactics of the united front will also lead to great results in Italy if your congress is aware of the problems which confront you, if you will determine not merely in words but also by deeds to break away once and for all from the reformists, from the opportunists, if the

present split is not to remain a mere episode, if you take into account how incompatible are Marxism and Reformism. If you resolutely and courageously retrieve your errors and proceed to unite with the Communist Party of Italy, then the working class will immediately feel that a new era has dawned, that the formation of a powerful proletarian bloc has begun. And then we will, with united forces, vanquish in a short time all the Turatis, D'Aragnas, Modiglianis and all other agents of the bourgeoisie.

Either a slow process of decomposition, or the amendment of errors will provide the transition to other ways. You must choose!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is inspired by the sincere wish to do its utmost in order to facilitate your return under the flag of the Communist International. The situation of the working class in Italy is such that you must be given the opportunity of presenting this standpoint before the Third International and of hearing the view of the Communist International on those questions which are of the most vital interest to the Italian labor movement.

Recognize the necessity of creating in the shortest possible time, in unison with the Communist Party of Italy, which is today the only representative of the Communist International in Italy, a united proletarian Committee of Action. This Committee of Action shall attempt to organize in the trade unions and on the political field—regardless of the sharp differences still existing—a common struggle against the bourgeoisie and against the reformists, which will be the best means of preparing the unity of the genuine revolutionary forces in Italy.

We repeat: your destiny lies in your own hands. Further errors, further vacillations and indecision would indeed constitute treachery against the working class of Italy, whose breast the brigands of Fascism desire to hack to shreds and over whose head there croak the black ravens of reformism.

Remember Maximalist Comrades: the decision cannot be put off. You have the word, decide!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Italian Lesson

By M. Rakosi (Moscow).

The Italian Socialist Party excluded from its congress 29,000 reformists and accepted the decision to enter again into the Communist International. The reasons and experiences which have forced the Socialist Party of Italy to this decision are a proof of the correctness of the tactics of the Communist International.

Twenty months ago, at the Congress of Leghorn the question of the exclusion of the reformists was brought forward. The Italian Communists, backed by the experiences they had had with the trade union leaders and Social Democrats during the occupation of the factories, saw the necessity of removing these elements. The Communist International saw plainly that these people, in spite of their seeming revolutionary phraseology, are servants of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the labor movement.

The great majority of the congress, however, was of another opinion. They did not yet see the necessity for a breach with the reformists. They did not clearly see wherein their treachery lay, or argued that if in the future the harmfulness of these opportunists became more apparent and intelligible to the workers, it would be an easier matter to discard them. In spite of their sympathy for the Communist tactics and for the Russian Revolution, they rejected the expulsion of the reformists. Thus it came about that only a third of the Italian Socialist Party went over to the Communist Party, two thirds remained outside the Communist International.

The Social Democrats proclaimed the result of the Leghorn congress as a great defeat of the "Moscow Splitters"; they praised the Italian Socialists for not allowing themselves to be separated from their leaders who fought with democratic methods, and prophesied a speedy downfall for the young Communist Party.

It turned out otherwise. The Communist Party built up its organizations, took over the lead in the bloody struggle against the Fascists and pressed slowly but tenaciously forward. It certainly made mistakes, but 20 months after the split it is the most firmly established party of the Italian proletariat and holds its own against the furious attacks of the united bourgeoisie.

The Socialist Party in which the Reformists naturally gained the upper-hand, rapidly declined. The Party whose leaders renounced the methods of the revolutionary class struggle while the bourgeoisie employed armed bands of Fascists in its offensive against wages and against the eight hour day, rapidly lost its supporters. Its organizations were easily destroyed by the Fascists, its members became discouraged and abandoned the Party.

The lines of division among the Socialist workers became more defined. Their right wing led by old party and trade union bureaucrats saw salvation in cooperation with the employers, in collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Round the left wing there gathered the workers who perceived more and more the correctness of the Communist methods of struggle. Between them there oscillated the mass of the undecided, the Maximalists, who on the one hand perceived the impossibility of cooperation with the Fascisti bourgeoisie, but on the other hand could not summon up enough energy to break away from the Reformists. Their half-heartedness, their temporizing attitude was the best support for the collaborationists; their masses lost their direction, they turned their backs upon the party and disseminated disgust, disappointment and despair in the ranks of the proletariat.

A few figures will clearly illustrate this process. At Leghorn the Reformists received 14,000 votes and the Maximalists 98,000. Eighteen months later the Reformists and Centrists had 28,000 votes and the Maximalist votes totalled 25,000, i. e., a quarter of their previous votes. The group of followers of the Third International grew from 3,000 to 7,000 in ten months.

In August of this year there came the general strike. The treachery displayed by the Reformists and their subsequent proclamation in which they withdrew from everything which constitutes the class struggle and Socialism in order to justify themselves in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, was so clear that the Maximalist masses and many of their leaders perceived the necessity of expelling these servants of the bourgeoisie. They drew a lesson from this and attempted to make good their errors at Leghorn by excluding the Reformists and affiliating to the Communist International.

The lesson was very dearly bought. Not only the Socialist Party of Italy, but the trade unions also went the same way; their membership has declined in 18 months from 2,500,000 to 500,000. The majority of them lost their hope in Socialism, became indifferent, many even went over to the Fascisti. These 18 months of reformist leadership sufficed to destroy the Socialist Party and the trade unions. These are the fruits of the greatly extolled victory which the adherents of the Second and 2½ Internationals and the Amsterdamers celebrated at Leghorn.

It is now the task of the Communist Party of Italy to assemble the shattered forces of the proletariat. Their attitude towards the Maximalists is still greatly influenced by the bitter conflicts which they have fought out in the recent past against the Maximalists united with the Reformists. The Socialists must now prove that they have derived a lesson from their own faults and from the past. They must prove by deeds that they are earnest in their desire to return to the Communist International. Only thus can they allay the doubt which exists among a great number of the Italian Communists regarding the sincerity of their step. The cooperation and later on, the unity of the two parties has still many difficulties to overcome. It is to be hoped that with the help of the Communist International all these hindrances will be set aside and that the Communist Party, united with the workers of the purified Socialist Party of Italy, will mobilize the forces of the Italian proletariat shattered by the Reformists, and lead them to victory over the bourgeoisie.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

A Warning to the Counter-revolutionary Intellectuals

(From the Moscow Pravda.)

The Pravda of Moscow comments as follows upon the sending of a numerous group of university instructors and intellectuals of both Russian capitals to the Northern provinces and to foreign countries:

These intellectuals were trying to continue legally the work of counter-revolution in which they were stranded during the civil war. The *gymnasiums*, scarcely touched by the October Revolution constituted their chief citadels. On every occasion they resisted actively or passively all the rulings of the Soviet Power. They were known to be rallying the bourgeois elements of the student ranks and sometimes openly to oppose the reform of higher education, as happened last, spring at the time of the strike of the teaching staff of the universities. Above all, they had established a certain number of revues (periodicals) in Petrograd, in which, with as much caution as obstinacy, all the efforts of the Soviet Government were made the objects of malicious criticism pretending to be scientific.

Finally, they were in continuous relations with the White emigrants whom they were instructing. We may add that they pursued their counter-revolutionary activity most often at the cost of the proletarian government from which they received favored treatment, as the food rations allotted to scholars and all the other advantages accorded to specialists qualified to teach.

The Political Service of the Soviet Government has just decided upon the exile of the most active counter-revolutionary intellectuals—professors, doctors, agriculturists, litterateurs—either to the Northern provinces or to foreign lands.

This exile imposed upon the counter-revolutionary elements who imagined that the new economic policy offered them possibilities of preparing the ground for a bourgeois restoration, will show their colleagues to whom the ruling does not apply, the falsity and danger of such calculations. And the Russian workers who impatiently await the end of the propaganda carried on by Wrangel's and Koltchak's followers in Soviet Russia will fervidly approve of the measure that has just been taken.

Among the exiles there are few names known in the scientific world. In most cases it was a question of professors and other university employees, better known for their adhesion to the Cadets than for their scientific labors.

This measure should also again remind the workers and peasants that there are few intellectuals belonging to their class, and that the masses, awakened to a conscious life, as yet have everything to do to create their own culture and to produce their specialists of all kinds. But this task of setting scientific culture within reach of the large masses has already been begun and will be continued.

The measure taken by the Soviet Government against the counter-revolutionary intellectuals is only the first warning. But the Soviets appreciate as always, and will support with all their power those representatives of the intellectuals of the old regime who cooperate loyally—as do the best specialists—with the proletarian state. This will not prevent the latter from repressing at the start every attempt at open or disguised propaganda in favor of a bourgeois restoration.

THE COLONIES

The Struggle of the Akali Sikhs in the Punjab

By Evelyn Roy.

A struggle whose greatness and potentiality is little realized is being carried on in the Indian province of the Punjab, between the Government and property-holders on one side, and the insurgent peasants known as the Akali Sikhs on the other. This struggle is not a new one; it has been going on continuously, though less spectacularly, for many years. But of late it has broken out in such a form as to merit the august attention of the London "Times" and similar organs of Imperialism.

The Sikhs are a rugged northern people inhabiting the province of the Punjab, of whose population they number about 11%. They are mainly agricultural by profession, the majority being small tenants or day laborers, the number of the latter having swelled enormously of late years, owing to the growing pauperization of the peasantry and the intensifying land-concentration in the hands of large capitalists holding directly from the Government. By religion, the Sikhs are a reformed sect of the Hindus, with a strong military tradition dating back to the days when the Moghul Empire was overthrown and the Sikhs under their tenth Guru or spiritual leader, Govind Singh, established an autonomous military state. The history of this militant sect resembles somewhat the semi-military, semi-religious Christian communities that flourished during the Middle Ages in Europe, and in the manner of living, customs and traditions, is not unlike the Russian Cossacks of the Don. Nine spiritual heads preceded the advent of Govind Singh, who died in 1708, after having reorganized the Sikhs into a strongly militarized political unit and laid down certain principles of religious and social reform which are scrupulously observed by his followers even today. According to his mandate, the Sikh population was divided into two main branches or professions,—1. The *Nirmalas*, or Spotless Ones, who formed the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and 2. the *Akalis* or Immortal Ones, whose first duty was to be good soldiers and who constituted the military defenders of the Sikh State. Every member of this military brotherhood was enjoined to wear the "five K's"—the *Kes* or long hair, to pro-

tect head in battle; the *Karra*, or iron circlet; the *Kangi*, comb; the *Kirpan*, a knife or sword, and the *Kach*, or short drawers. In addition, each Sikh wears a turban, folded upon his head in a particular fashion peculiar to his sect.

As time passed, the *Nirmalas*, whose functions were purely priestly, degenerated into a corrupt and licentious body, fattening on the rich proceeds of the worshippers, and handing on the guardianship of the numerous sacred shrines with their vast landed estates as an hereditary trust to their sons. The *Akali*, on the other hand, tilled the soil and were forced more and more into the ranks of the agricultural proletariat. Unemployment and their own strong military traditions, forced many of them to take service in the Indian army and police force, to earn a livelihood. The Sikh regiments formed the flower of the British defense forces, and in this capacity, have acted not only as the jailors of their own people, but have been freely used to keep other races in bondage, beyond the confines of India. Sikh soldiery served in Europe and were sent to fight in Mesopotamia in the late war, and Imperialism thinks to have found in them an inexhaustible reservoir of mercenaries to carry out its plans of conquest.

But Man proposes, and the Law of Economic Determinism disposes. The end of the war and the exigencies of the Indian budget, topheavy with military expenditures, forced the demobilization of thousands of men who had learned more valuable lessons than manslaughter during their campaign abroad. Every Sikh soldier who returned to his village carried with him the seed of discontent and incipient revolt against the poverty and misery that he found there. This spirit added fuel to the flame that had already kindled the Punjab with sporadic agrarian revolts. The years from 1918-20 are filled with official reports about looting and burning, rioting and killing, on the part of the Punjab peasantry. In 1918, the Sikh League was formed to give political expression to this growing unrest, and in 1920, the Sikh community formally allied itself with the Indian National Congress, to win Swaraj by means of Non-violent Non-cooperation, including non-payment of rent and taxes.

The *Akalis*, who were the most aggressive members of the Sikh community, succeeded in forcing upon the acceptance of the Sikh League and the Congress leaders, the prosecution of their program of reform of the Sikh shrines, which they wished to remove from the guardianship of the *Nirmalas* and *Udasis* (an older Sikh sect closer to orthodox Hinduism than to reformed Sikhism), and administer in the interests of the Sikh peasants. There are upwards of three hundred of these shrines scattered throughout the province, dedicated to the memory of the ten Gurus, and used as places of worship by the people. Up till now, these Gurdwaras, or shrines, have been in the keeping of rich and corrupt *Mahants* or guardians, some holding their office by hereditary succession, others by government appointment. Needless to say, the treasure and revenue from the vast estates attached to these Gurdwaras, whose annual income alone is estimated at over £700,000 sterling, are vested exclusively in the *Mahant* or custodian. The program forced upon the Sikh League and Congress Committee by the *Akali Dal* (peasant organization) was to take forcible possession of these shrines by direct action. The Congress agreed to back the *Akalis* provided their tactics were non-violent.

Thereupon, between the latter part of 1920 to February, 1921, several shrines were seized by orderly detachments of *Akalis*, who would descend suddenly and in a body upon the unprepared *Mahant*, demand the keys, evict him and take possession. The first to be captured in this manner was the famous "Golden Temple", which the *Akalis* took by surprise and proceeded tranquilly to administer, despite the protests and wails for protection from the evicted *Mahants*. The Government held aloof in the beginning, not wishing to be accused of interfering in what was ostensibly a religious movement for reform. But the deeper conflict between the vested interests of the rich Sikhs and *Mahants* and the direct action of the landless *Akali* peasantry was soon apparent, and forced the Government to take its stand by the side of the propertied classes, where it spiritually belongs.

In February, 1921, the whole of India was startled by the slaughter of 130 *Akalis* who had visited the shrine of Nankana Sahib to attend a Conference called there by the Sikhs, and who were attacked by armed Pathan soldiery hired by the *Mahant*. Thousands of *Akalis* rushed to the spot, to vindicate the wrong perpetrated upon their brothers, and the forces of the government intervened. Hundreds of *Akalis* were arrested and sentenced to jail, while the *Mahant* who had caused the outrage, after being put on trial and condemned to death, had his sentence reduced to transportation for life.

This incident united the Sikh community against the Government and made a political issue out of what had seemed a purely religious affair. A bill introduced by the Government in April, 1921 for the reform of the Shrines had to be withdrawn because the Sikhs refused to cooperate in its discussion unless all

Akalis held in jail were released, and the bill were drawn up according to the dictates of the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (Committee for the Reform of the Shrines). Sikh members of the Legislative and Provincial Assemblies resigned, and one of them, Sirdar Mehtak Singh, former Government Advocate and Vice President of the Punjab Legislative Council, became Secretary of the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. The effect on the Sikh masses was instantaneous and alarming to the Government. Every Sikh, man, woman and child, armed himself with a *kirpan*, which grew overnight from a conventional religious symbol into a shining two-edged sword. Disaffection spread to the Sikh regiments, recruited directly from the peasantry, and soldiers appeared on parade in black turban and trousers, with their kirpans conspicuously displayed. Those sentenced for insubordination for refusing to remove these symbols went on hunger strike; whole companies followed their example. So serious did the situation appear that the Government was forced to make hurried concessions to save its face during the visit of the Prince of Wales. In January 1922 Sikh prisoners were released, the keys of the Golden Temple which had been taken by the Government were handed over unconditionally to the Gurdwara Reform Committee, and the Kirpan recognized as exempt from the Arms Act.

The next few months witnessed a steady strengthening of the Akali movement, now organized into well-disciplined peasant societies known as the *Akali Dal*. Their program was access to land, free of rent and taxes, and their tactics that of passive resistance by the application of Civil Disobedience in the shape of non-payment of rent and taxes, to the landlords and Government. The repression that visited India on the departure of the Prince of Wales, fell heaviest of all on the Punjab. Over 3,000 Akalis were thrown into jail, martial law was declared throughout the province, and the press effectually muzzled to conceal the true state of affairs.

Out of this state of darkness, the Punjab has once more leaped into the center of the world's stage. The Akali Sikhs, after suffering temporary suppression, have recommenced their activities in a more determined and sensational manner than before. The forcible capture of shrines has been again resorted to, in the teeth of Government opposition, and Akali volunteers are marching in bands to the shrines, clad in black turban and kirpan, singing nationalist songs and refusing to obey the order of troops posted on the highroads to turn back whence they came. At Guru Ka Bagh, a shrine six miles from Amritsar, five Akalis were arrested by order of the Mahant for chopping down a tree on the estate of the shrine. They were sentenced on a charge of theft to six months imprisonment and a heavy fine. Next day five more Volunteers were called for and they came in hundreds, then in thousands. The railroads, by government order, refused to carry them, and so they walked, swinging along the highroads in organized formation, singing their martial songs, and declaring themselves ready to die in the cause. Troops were rushed to the spot to defend the shrine, a cordon of armed soldiers and police was thrown around it for several miles, and pickets stationed on all the approaching roads to turn back the Akali volunteers. The latter refused to obey, and orders were given to fire. At Guru ka Bagh, six miles from the scene of the Amritsar massacre of 1919, more Indian blood has been shed in the defence of fundamental human rights.

The Government has openly declared its position. The efforts of the Akalis to take possession of the shrines will be resisted by all the resources of the state. The sacred rights of private property are declared to be in jeopardy, and a deputation of the mahants to the Government protesting against the action of the Akalis was received sympathetically. A second bill for the reform of the shrines, introduced in the last session of the Punjab Council, was rejected by the vested Sikh interests. It is proposed by the Government to introduce a third one, effectuating a compromise between the mahants and property-holders on one side, and the militant peasantry on the other.

Meanwhile, the situation is described as "critical". Battles are being fought, not alone at Guru ka Bagh, but in other parts of the Punjab, where the Akali bands have repeated their attempts to oust the mahants and put themselves in possession of the temple lands. Such lawless actions form stepping stones on the road to an open agrarian revolution, and the Government sees the danger ahead. The Akali revolt in the Punjab is but one manifestation of the widespread spirit of unrest that has seized every part of the Indian people, and which expresses itself in the case of the rich merchant and manufacturer in the demand for "home rule" and "fiscal autonomy"; on the part of the lower middle-class and intellectuals in the Non-cooperation agitation for "Swaraj"; on the part of industrial proletariat of all the great cities in numerous and prolonged strikes, and on the part of the Indian peasantry, from Madras to the Punjab, from Bombay to Assam and Bengal, in riots and risings, in non-payment of rent

and taxes, and in frequent bloody conflicts with the armed forces of the state. The ferment in India has many essences, but all are working together to produce, one fine morning, a monumental revolution which will not be a mere expression of resurgent nationalism, but a vast social and economic upheaval as well. In the final reckoning with British Imperialism, it is the Indian worker and peasant who must pay the price for freedom, and they will see to it that their blood has not been shed in vain.

OUR PROBLEMS

Regarding the Communist Program

By B. Smeral (Prague).

I. General Section.

The Experience of the Russian Revolution.

The general section of a Communist program is already contained in the theses and discussions of the international congresses.

It would nevertheless be necessary to insert a passage therein regarding the experience of the Russian Revolution in the sphere of economic improvement. Central and Eastern Europe hold numerous workers who need no longer be shown the bankruptcy of capitalism, who are ready to battle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. What prevents them from joining the Communist Party and keeps them back in the ranks of the Socialist Internationals, is their doubt of the capacity of the proletariat as an organizer on the morrow of the seizure of power, of production. And what the working masses of Europe know about the Russian Revolution is not correct enough to remove their scepticism. Their impressions are, first, those of *War Communism* and second, those of the *New Economic Policy*,—not yet well understood, moreover, by the workers of Europe. That is why the program of the Party ought to point out that in both cases it is a question of transitory measures imposed by extraordinary necessity; in a word, a stage in Communist development after the conquest of power by the proletariat.

The Small and Moderately Well-to-do Proprietors.

We have not the least intention to confiscate immediately after the seizing of power, property of small and moderate value, particularly in the agricultural districts. It seems to us very possible to organize it according to a plan of cooperation. It is to our interest to effect an alliance with agricultural and industrial production of a small and moderate scale for the period in which civil war disorganizes large production.

If we state clearly in our program that we will respect small and moderate sized property so long as the owners do not make common cause with the counter-revolution, it will become possible for us to influence strongly the middle classes who constantly oscillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and have really much to suffer from the latter.

Role of the Unions and the Cooperatives in Economic Reconstruction.

It would be equally advisable to devote several passages in our program to the role of the unions and the cooperatives in economic reconstruction on the morrow of the revolution. We would thus interest a great number of trade-union workers and cooperators who are not Communists.

Form of the Program.

Let us not forget, finally, the importance even the form of our program might have. We ought to address the people of the Orient on equal terms. We ought to make them feel that Communism is much more than a party program; that it is the conception of a new organization of liberated humanity working together.

II. Specific Part of the Program.

The second part of the program ought to contain the *concrete demands* of the various Communist Parties in the present period.

The *question of nationalities* presents itself in a certain number of countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe, all of which contain minority nationalities. It is, therefore, of importance.

The *question of a proletarian government* presents itself in these times: ought we to make use of this slogan as a goal of our propaganda, or ought we to count on the possibility of realizing proletarian governments in a certain number of countries? In this latter case it is important for us to know exactly what tasks to assign to these governments from the time of their establishment.