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CONTENTS

Fritz Rück: The National Congress of Working People in Berlin.

Politics.

Arthur Rosenberg: The Abolition of the Inter-Allied Control in Germany.

K. Leski: Attack on the Franchise in Poland.

V. M.: Events in Albania

China.

Tang Shin She: The Removal of the Kuomintang Government to Wuchang.

Revolutionary Movements in the Colonies.

G. J. van Münster: The Background and History of the Insurrection in Java.

The Miners' Struggle in England.

John Pepper: The Results of the British Miners' Fight.

The Labour Movement.

Nino Barbieri: The Italian Trade Union Federation after the Last Wave of Terror.

For the Unity of the C. P. S. U.

A New Attack of the Opposition.

After Zinoviev, also Trotzky.

Against Fascism.

Protest of Intellectuals against the Savagery of Mussolini.

The White Terror.

Continuation of the Campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Appeal of the International Red Aid on Behalf of the arrested Kuomintang Members.

In the International.

On the Work of the Lenin Institute.

The National Congress of Working People in Berlin.

By Fritz Rück (Berlin).

The Congress of Working People which took place in Berlin from December 3rd to 5th, far exceeded in every respect the expectations which had been placed on it. It demonstrated the existence of a broad mass movement in Germany fed from the most various sources which, however, have a common origin: Intensified exploitation and oppression of the masses by large capital, growing pauperisation of ever widening circles who are beginning to combine for organised resistance. Following on the 14,5 million votes in the referendum with regard to the expropriation of the princes, the Congress was the second answer of the working masses of Germany to the attempt of German large capital to consolidate its economic and political positions of power by an intensified exploitation and oppression of all strata of workers, and to make a transition to a new era of an independent imperialist policy.

The composition and the radius of influence of the Congress are characterised by the following facts. It was attended by 2000 delegates who, without exception, were financed by the factories, trade unions, committees of unemployed and other organisations, by which they were nominated. In view of the present economic crisis, this means a tremendous effort. It was a Congress which was supported from below, by the working

masses themselves, and for this reason, all the greater effects may be expected from it. The commission for examining the mandates reported that the 1956 delegates who passed through a double control and who were present at every session of the Congress, were distributed as follows: S. P. of Germany 137 delegates, C. P. of Germany 858 delegates, Socialist League 15 delegates, Independent Socialist Party of Germany 16 delegates, Christian Socialist National party 9 delegates, Democrats 3 delegates, non-party members 690 delegates, representatives of the peasants 42 delegates. More than 200 delegates who had already been nominated and who are not included in the above figures, could not appear at the Congress, as for financial or other reasons, they had to abandon their intention of coming to Berlin. Although the threats of the executives of some of the biggest trade unions to exclude delegates to the Congress passed off in smoke in the majority of cases, a number of delegates were nevertheless deterred by them from visiting the Congress.

On behalf of the preparatory committee, Georg Ledebour opened the Congress. In short outlines he described the misery of the working population in Germany and pointed out that the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia had, by their example, shown the working people the way they should take.

Ledebour, Fritz Heckert, Schreck (S.P. of Germany), Freiburger (Munich) and Fritz Rück as well as representatives of all the social strata and political groups represented at the Congress, were elected into the Presidium.

Before starting on the agenda, the Congress unanimously passed a resolution in favour of the release of the political prisoners and another against the bill regarding impure literature. It was resolved to despatch a telegram to Max Hölz.

Comrade Fritz Heckert read a paper on "The Danger of War, the Crisis of Rationalisation and the Workers' Fight for Existence". He depicted the present situation of the workers, the small peasants and the working middle class, and brought evidence to the effect that the permanent deterioration of the standard of living of the working classes was a necessary condition for the rationalisation of large capital, that the latter would involve a new danger of imperialist wars and that a fresh strengthening of German imperialism would mean nothing more nor less than the advance of reaction in all fields. He drew the conclusion that the distress and pauperisation of the working people in town and country can only be removed by a determined fight with the object of overthrowing the capitalist order of society and of establishing a worker and peasant government. He called upon the workers to join the free trade unions, which must be forged afresh into a weapon for the struggle of the proletariat. He issued the following slogans: Against the rationalisation of capital! For socialism! Reduction of hours of work — a fight for the eight hours' day and the 42 hours' week! For the increase of wages! For adequate support of the unemployed and annuitants! For the re-establishment of the securities of the small savers! For a satisfactory distribution of land to the small peasants!

The paper, which met with the general approval of the Congress, was followed by speeches by Willy Joseph (Frankfurt), the representative of the unemployed and by Freiburger, the leader of the Central Committee of the factory councils in Munich. Both speakers laid special emphasis on the necessity of co-operation between the unemployed and those working in factories in the fight against capitalist rationalisation.

The serious work done by the Congress was specially intensified in the commissions, in which the workers displayed the most zealous activity. During the Congress, commissions sat to discuss the questions of tenants, the peasantry, factory councils, the intellectual professions, small savings and the middle class, work among women, war victims and annuitants, communal policy, work among juveniles and other questions.

Representatives of all social strata and political views took part in the discussion on Heckert's paper. They agreed like one man with the chief speech and the expositions of the representatives of the factory councils and the unemployed. They described by drastic examples the social misery of the working masses, the distress of the unemployed, the embittered petty warfare in the factories, the laborious sufferings of the social and war pensioners and of those living on their small savings. The vow to create a united front of all workers ran like a red thread through the whole discussion. It echoed with specially demonstrative force from the words of the social democratic speakers in the discussion. Schreck (Detmold), a trade union functionary who has been organised for more than 40 years in the S.P. of Germany, was followed with great attention by the whole Congress when he described how he had come more and more to recognise that the leaders of the S.P. of Germany and of the A. D. G. B. were pursuing a policy which was contrary to the interests of the working class. He protested vigorously against the threat of the trade union leaders to exclude delegates and called upon those present to join in a revolutionary fight. A representative of the S.P. of Germany from Saxony used similarly violent expressions against the leaders of his party. Under instructions from the christian workers a member of the Christian Socialist National party of Lützenkirchen, exhorted all workers to join in a united front against capital.

The political resolution was passed with three dissentient votes. Its final slogans were:

"For the dissolution of the Reichstag! For the overthrow of the capitalist Government! A fight for a worker and peasant government!"

A resolution in favour of trade union unity and against the secessionists was passed unanimously as was also a proclamation of solidarity with the English miners.

The resolutions of the Conference of Unemployed were con-

firmed by the Congress of Working People in a special resolution briefly summarizing the demands of the unemployed. A resolution with regard to the fight of the factory councils was passed. In a special resolution the Congress pointed out that the struggle of the German workers for the 8 hours' day and for the 42 hours' week was the centre-point of all the endeavours of the working masses to organise resistance to the offensive of capitalist rationalisation. It is stated that, should a referendum be taken in the question of hours of work, the Congress would support this question. It further states:

"The Congress would point out even to-day to all the organisations taking part in it, that not even a plebiscite would be able to solve the question of hours of work according to the wishes of the working class. This can only be done through a direct fight of workers in the factories and trade unions."

Comrade Neubauer, member of parliament, reported on the fight for the expropriation of the princes and explained in detail that this fight must be carried on with all energy in spite of treachery of the social democratic leaders. Dr. Preuss then drew a picture of the activities of class justice in Germany. Immediately after this speech a delegation was appointed from among those present at the Congress which, in the name of the Congress, was to present to the Prussian Diet, the "Reichstag" and the Ministry of Justice a demand for the release of all proletarian political prisoners.

Wilhelm Koenen, member of parliament, then reported on "The Distressed Condition of the Working Middle Class". He laid before the Congress extensive and heart-rending material with regard to the pauperisation of wide circles of the middle class and brought evidence to the effect that capitalist rationalisation is detrimental not only to the proletariat but to small artisans, small tradesmen and small peasants. He was followed by Schneider, a small peasant from the Erzgebirge, who described the desperate condition of the small-peasant population, illustrating it with many individual examples. Up to the present only a small section of the small peasants had recognised the necessity of fighting in common with the workers, but the small peasants who were present at the Congress had realised how important it is that the peasants should join the united front of the proletariat.

On the third day of the Congress, a number of delegates joined in the discussion. The expositions and suggestions given by them were very valuable.

In the name of the social democratic delegates, Schreck (Detmold) then made a violent protest against the "Vorwärts". In his statement he said: "We oppose the foul assertions of the 'Vorwärts'; the Congress is a dire necessity for the working class of Germany. Our leaders, who always put the interests of the working population in the background, are to blame for the fact that it had to take place."

Two papers of great importance were read on the third day of the Congress. Comrade Höllein, member of parliament, reported on taxation policy and on questions of re-standardisation and tenants. He expounded the wholesale taxation fraud of the bourgeoisie and the uncompensated expropriation of millions of persons with small savings, annuitants and tradesmen by the law passed by the German bourgeoisie for the re-establishment of currency. The chief part of his speech was concerned with the fight against exorbitant rents. He informed the audience that the tenants' organisations were preparing a plebiscite against exorbitant rents which the organisations affiliated to the Congress would support by every means in their power.

Dr. Klauber reported on public health. The various forms of rationalisation have caused the morbidity statistics to rise enormously, occupational accidents are increasing in a threatening manner, the sickness and social insurance societies are utterly inadequate. The distress among the war victims and victims of the capitalist system is indescribable. In the discussion, speeches were made with extension of time by a representative of the freethinkers who spoke against spiritual enslavement and clerical reaction, and a representative of working class sportsmen, who pointed out the importance of promoting sport among the workers.

Schoenbeck reported on the organisatory forms of welding together the united front movement. The proposed lines of organisation demanding the establishment of a national committee of working people and the formation of local and district committees, met with unanimous assent. Furthermore a select national committee of working people was appointed.

The Congress was closed with short final addresses by Comrades Heckert and Rück. The delegates left the Congress filled with the determination to work with might and main throughout the country towards uniting all strata of workers in the Red class front.

The Congress was a flaring beacon acting as a signal to the German working class that it should, in alliance with the small peasants and the working middle classes, take up and carry through with renewed energy the fight against the danger of war, capitalist rationalisation and pauperisation. Even the representatives of the middle class and the small peasants acknowledged without reservations that the leadership in this fight is in the hands of the industrial proletariat. The Congress created the preliminary conditions for a mighty fighting block of all the workers in Germany. It was a tremendous advance along the path of gathering together the masses in order to defeat capitalism and establish socialism.

POLITICS

The Abolition of Inter-Allied Military Control in Germany.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The result of the negotiations in Geneva is a trilling addition to the prestige of Herr Stresemann; a small plaster for the wound of disappointment at the fact that up to the present Thoiry has not resulted in anything. What was the situation at the beginning of December, before the commencement of the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations? There is not the least doubt that since Locarno the foreign policy of Germany has been inclined to the West. What, however, is not so certain is whether the special orientation of the German bourgeoisie is towards England or towards France. In September, at the meeting of the League, Briand worked for a firm Franco-German alliance of a military, political and economic character. This was in fact the underlying idea of Thoiry. A step along this road was the conclusion of the Franco-German Iron Pact. But then a counter-action set in. That section of the German bourgeoisie which is inclined towards England, arranged the meeting at Romsey. This was before all the work of the all-powerful German Dye Trust. As a consequence, German foreign policy again began to vacillate. The Franco-German rapprochement made no progress, and France therefore felt that she had no reason to grant any concessions to Germany; the second and third Rhineland zone remain occupied, likewise the Saar district, and the Inter-Allied Military Control at present still remains in Berlin.

It is now absolutely certain that England has done everything possible in order to thwart the plans of Thoiry. "Augur", the well-known contributor to the "Fortnightly Review", has stated that France and Germany intended, immediately after Thoiry, to undertake a joint action of the Locarno powers in America, in order to induce America to consent to take over some milliards of the German railway debentures. This plan was wrecked owing to the resistance of England, who was supported by Italy.

The question now is whether Germany's foreign policy will definitely follow the English line or the French line. Owing to the inner contradictions of the New German Imperialism a decision of this question is not to be expected within the near future. But the French government, in order not to drive Germany completely into the arms of England, must at least grant some small concessions. The sphere of these concessions was the military control. Two things are involved here: first, the right to military control exercised by the Entente on the basis of the Versailles Treaty, and secondly, a certain control by the League of Nations, which body, at a given time, is to take over the right of the Entente. The Entente, under the Versailles Treaty, occupied the second and third Rhineland zones and had their military control commission in Berlin. Article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles provides that, on the abolition of the military control by the Entente the so-called

right of investigation shall pass into the hands of the League of Nations. The Council of the League shall then be empowered, at the behest of one of the signatory Powers, to undertake an "investigation" of German military conditions. France has been striving for years to widen the conditions of article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles.

This article is interpreted as follows: That part of Germany where a military control by the League of Nations would be specially necessary, is the demilitarized zone on the Rhine. This zone embraces not only the whole left bank of the Rhine, but also the first 50 kilometres on the right bank of the Rhine. According to the French view, the investigation of the League of Nations shall be made specially effective in the whole of this area. This is to be achieved in the first place by the League of Nations sending so-called "stable elements" to carry out the control in the Rhineland. This would be nothing else than a permanent garrison by the League of Nations in place of the present Entente garrison in the occupied areas.

It is evident that the German government has for years been offering resistance to this French view; for their acceptance would have meant nothing else than the perpetuation of the foreign occupation of the Rhine. Not only the second and third Rhineland zones would be blessed by such "stable elements", but also the first zone, including Cologne, which has already been evacuated, and in fact, under certain circumstances, the Ruhr area insofar as it lies within the 50 kilometres to the right of the Rhine. The situation for Germany was rendered worse by the fact that there already existed a decision of the Council of the League determining the future investigation, and which in the main endorsed the French view.

The concessions which Germany has now obtained in Geneva are as follows: first, the abolition of the military control by the Entente by the 1st of February; secondly, an interpretation of article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles which is more in accordance with the German than the French standpoint. What is the practical meaning of this? The Military Control Commission in Berlin has done very little in the last few years. There was no serious interference in the affairs of the Reichswehr. The sacrifice made by the Entente in allowing the recall of this commission is, therefore, very trifling. Practically it was only for reasons of prestige that German military circles wished to get rid of foreign supervision. It should be noted in the first place that foreign military control over Germany does not cease on the 1st of February, but that the place of the Entente Commission is taken by the Investigation Commission of the League of Nations, as President of which a French General has been chosen in Geneva. The difference is that the Entente Commission sat permanently in Berlin and could take action at any time, while the League of Nations Commission, on the other hand, only comes into action from time to time when a proposal to this effect is submitted to it. If the Entente so desires the Commission will sleep, but if France desires otherwise it will make itself very disagreeably.

In the question of investigation, agreement has been arrived at as follows: It is admitted that article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles makes no distinction between the occupied and unoccupied areas of Germany, that therefore a special occupation of the Rhineland by the famous "stable elements" would not be in accordance with the Peace Treaty. It is even admitted that the "stable elements" are incompatible with article 213. Nevertheless a loophole still remains; the Geneva agreement declares that the creation of such special control organs for the Rhineland is only possible by the voluntary agreement of the participating Powers. From this there arises the following possibility: France could, in the near future, propose to Germany to evacuate the second and third Rhineland zones before the stated time, if Germany allows a special League of Nations control in the Rhineland. The spectre of the "stable elements" is therefore not yet banished.

It is to be seen that the concessions which Herr Stresemann has brought back from Geneva are not of world-moving importance, but they suffice to make the Nobel prize winner once again master of the German parliamentary situation and victor over all the Reichstag crises.

Attack on the Franchise in Poland.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

Preparations are being made for an attack on the franchise in Poland, and that not for the first time.

For a long time the parties of the capitalists and the large landowners have been demanding a change in the franchise. They were followed by the "Piast", in which the large peasants play the first fiddle. The changes demanded by this party were directed towards restricting and even preventing the representation of the masses of workers and peasants, and of the national minorities in the Seim. Up to the present, however, these intentions have remained mere "pious wishes".

The Christian Socialists, the Piast and their following were so thoroughly hated by the broad masses of workers, the interests of the possessing classes were so clearly evident in the amendments they proposed that this attempt to alter the franchise could not but meet with a determined resistance on the part of the masses of workers and peasants. The capitalists and large landowners dared not make the attempt especially because in this case they could hardly count on the immediate support of the leaders of the Polish Socialist party who, in other cases, were slavishly submissive to the bourgeoisie.

An equal general franchise and parliamentary democracy are the fundamental dogmas of the social reformists who inhibit all the revolutionary endeavours of the masses of workers and peasants by their talk about its only being possible to accomplish the political and social liberation of the working masses and the introduction of socialism through a democratic Parliament, through "the Majesty of the Law", as Perl, the deputy of the S.P. of Poland, formulated it. There is a further reason why all attempts to alter the franchise for the worse must meet with the resistance of the leaders of the S.P. of Poland. The strength and influence of the S.P. of Poland are based to no inconsiderable extent on the mandates it holds and on petty parliamentary chaffering which is then represented to the working masses as the great victory of the S.P. of Poland. For this reason any restriction of the franchise of the workers which would necessarily have led to a decrease of the number of mandates held by the S.P. of Poland, would have had an adverse influence on the interests of the leaders of the S.P. of Poland.

In this way various weighty obstacles were placed in the way of carrying through the changes in the franchise which were described as necessary by the capitalists and large landowners in their selfish class interests.

Only by the Fascist revolution in May were the preliminary conditions for a smooth completion of the changes in the election regulations and even for the abolition of the essential foundation of the franchise, which is now in force, created.

This revolution aimed a fatal blow at the old bourgeois parties with the National Democrats at their head, it transferred the political initiative from their hands into those of Pilsudski's adherents. This means that the intentions and plans directed against the worker and peasant masses and the national minorities and intended to meet the interests and fulfil the desires of the capitalists and large landowners, plans which until recently were thoroughly abhorred, are now crowned with the nimbus of Marshall Pilsudski in whom the petty-bourgeoisie still see the creator of independent Poland and the victor over the Piast Government and its band of robbers.

This faith of the petty-bourgeoisie in Pilsudski makes it easier for the leaders of the S.P. of Poland and for the other peasant parties once more to betray the workers, Pilsudski is the man chosen by Providence who, by Fascist methods, is to lead Poland along the path of the stabilisation of capitalism, not only for the magnates but also for the leaders of the S.P. of Poland who are none the less thirsting for stabilisation. With this grand object in view, these gentlemen, in spite of their gestures of opposition, will reconcile themselves to the violence done to the franchise as they have already reconciled themselves in essentials with the Seim and parliamentary democracy being held up to ridicule. They will even get over the loss of their parliamentary mandates, since they hope that Pilsudski will reward them for their faithful service in some other way.

A further reason why the attack on the franchise was not possible at the time of the Piast Government but is so now under the Fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski, is that Pilsudski's heavy artillery wiped out the power of the Seim in May. Pilsudski is speculating that the masses, seeing how Parliamentary and parliamentary democracy have been debased, and seeing what a feeble plaything the Seim has become in the hands of the Dictator, will be indifferent to the franchise they have enjoyed hitherto and will not easily be mobilised in its defence.

On the other hand, if the Seim has no power, why should Pilsudski and the possessing classes need to change the franchise?

The Seim is necessary to Pilsudski and his people in order to conceal from the working masses of Poland and from foreign countries the fact of the bare-faced dictatorship and of the sole rule of the large landowners and capitalists.

Even though the Fascist dictatorship tolerates the Seim, it cannot admit any Communists to it, representatives of the revolutionary peasants and of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians who are fighting for their national freedom, fighters who make use of the tribunal of the Seim for organising the fight against capital and against its domination. Mussolini helped him by instructing the Fascist deputies to declare all the mandates of the non-Fascist deputies invalid. The Fascist dictatorship in Poland is endeavouring to achieve the same end by robbing thousands and thousands of electors — workers and peasants — Poles no less than members of other nationalities, of their right of franchise.

The truncation of the franchise would have other advantages for Fascism. It would take virtue out of the political life of the broad masses of workers; for the general franchise introduces into politics even less enlightened elements, it makes it easier for the revolutionary workers' and peasants' parties to enlighten the masses, to organise them, to deepen their influence and to prepare the army and the battle-field for the overthrow of the possessing classes.

This is just the reason why the revolutionary workers and peasants in Poland must, under the leadership of the Communist party, offer the most violent resistance to the intended attack on their franchise.

Their fight will be quite a different thing from the sham resistance demanded by the Reformists.

These gentlemen conceal from the masses the fact that Pilsudski's heavy artillery destroyed the power of the Seim. Gentlemen like Daszynski try to talk the masses into believing that an equal general franchise, the freedom of elections and a democratic Seim are possible under the regime of Fascism; whereas in reality the one excludes the other and hinders the fight of the proletariat against the Fascist dictatorship.

The Communists, the pioneers in the camp of the workers and peasants, have no illusions about the Constitution which existed in Poland before the May revolution. For this reason they will not only fight for the right of franchise of the workers and peasants, for the freedom to form revolutionary organisations, for freedom of assembly, of speech and of the Press, for the right to strike, for the right of self-determination of the peoples, for land for the peasants and for the release of political prisoners, but they will at the same time unmask the sham nature of the social Reformists for the franchise and will carry on a determined struggle for the revolutionary camp to overthrow the Fascist dictatorship and to establish a workers' Government.

Events in Albania.

By V. M. (Durazzo).

The present dictator in Albania, Achmed Bey Zogu, who in December 1924 overthrew the former Government of Fan Noli with active military help from Yugoslavia and indirect support from Italy and Great Britain, has consolidated his power in the country by the bloody extermination or banishment of all his personal opponents and of all honest National Revolutionaries. Nevertheless, this overthrow can terminate neither the domestic class fights nor the foreign political imperfections, in spite of the temporary co-operation of otherwise antagonistic powers. On the contrary, if the former Fan Noli Government gave vent — even in a paltry fashion

the anti-feudal efforts of the peasant masses and to the national freedom ideal of the younger intellectuals and, towards the end, undertook rapprochements to the Soviet Union in foreign affairs, the coup d'Etat executed by Achmed Bey Zogu meant the rise of sharp feudal reaction and his foreign policy a disgraceful bargaining with the Imperialist powers, leading within a very short period to fresh complications.

The opposition movements which constantly cropped up began to take on more and more pronouncedly a progressive, anti-feudal character and the repeated local insurrections were then clearly risings of the peasantry against the feudal landowners, the Beys. In emigrant circles a serious process of differentiation was enacted in the first place in relation to the reasons for the defeat of the Fan Noli Government and to questions of future political attitude and tactics, especially in regard to the agrarian question. While the right-wing elements completely deny the agrarian question in Albania and enthuse over an independent Albania as basis for further economic and cultural development, the elements tending towards the Left already recognise the close connection between Albanian national freedom and the destruction of feudal rule, and insist that the chief reason, as far as home politics was concerned, for the overthrow of Fan Noli lay in the irresolute attitude adopted towards the Beys. The left wing are also in favour of common action with other revolutionary movements in the Balkans for the purpose of creating a Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics. They also contribute to and help "La Fédération Balcanique", a periodical published in Vienna.

Fan Noli himself and his close associates of the Centre have not taken up any definite attitude but they incline more and more to the Left.

In the meanwhile, a readjustment has taken place in the disposition of the Imperialist powers. Achmed Bey Zogu, who seized power as the direct agent of Yugoslavia, adopted a clever strategem in order to institute closer relations with Italy and to open every avenue for the influx of Italian capital. The Albanian National Bank was founded with 50% participation from Italy. The Albanian currency was furnished in Italy with credits and cover. All contracting work on bridges, roads and buildings was taken over by Italian capital, which also introduced Italian Labour for the work. Along with Italian capital, British capital, too, began to make inroads. 200,000 hectares of unexploited oil-fields were given over to the British-Dutch Royal Shell, who thereby shouldered out the American Standard Oil Company, who had previously formed connections with Fan Noli. Politically, too, Italy endeavoured to get Achmed Bey entirely into her hands. There was even talk of Italy's supporting the proclamation of Achmed Bey as King of Albania and of his marriage to the Italian Princess Giovanna.

Naturally, all this caused much disquietude in Yugoslavia, which possesses most vital interests in Albania, and the result was a cleavage in the relations of Yugoslavia to Italy. Yugoslavia was already set at a disadvantage by the notorious Nettuno Conventions, which also had serious effect upon the working class and peasant class, especially in Dalmatia, Croatia and Slovenia. Achmed Bey staged manoeuvres to restore good feeling in Yugoslavia. He nominated his brother-in-law, Zena Bey, a Yugoslavian subject and agent, as Ambassador in Belgrade, and several weeks ago also concluded a trade treaty with Yugoslavia, an action which, on the other hand, made an unfavourable impression in Italy.

Such was the position in which Albania found itself at the outbreak of the last insurrection. It was without doubt an important rising, which was more wide-spread than any of the others within the last two years and bore testimony to the sharpening in the class antagonisms and in home-political relations in Albania. Nevertheless, all the rumours and reports spread abroad were also greatly exaggerated. All the rumours concerning the regionalistic and religious tendencies of the revolt may also be regarded as inaccurate. Religious differences in Albania never gave rise to antagonism and fights. Though Achmed Bey Zogu might wish to represent the fight of the peasant masses of all three regions as a fight against the Muselmans in general, he can hardly do so with success, for among the leaders of the opposition, in addition to the Greek Orthodox priest, Fan Noli, there were also several distinguished Muselmans. There can be no question of regionalism and

separatism, because the chief aim of the movement is the liberation of the whole of Albania, including the provinces which are at present under the humiliating yoke of Yugoslavia.

The rising was suppressed, or, rather, it has not been successful and has reverted to its previous form, namely, the constant guerilla warfare, till it breaks out anew at the first favourable opportunity. However, a subject of much more importance to the international proletariat is the Imperialist machinations to which the insurrection again gave rise. The insurrection cannot be regarded as a movement instigated by Yugoslavia, because among the strongest factors of the Opposition there was the anti-Yugoslav "Kossowo-Committee", whose object is to gain the Benian provinces. As the emigrant centres are located in Bari, Brindisi and Zara, it may be assumed that the whole movement was in some way tolerated by Italy. On the other hand, Italy sent five warships to Albania to protect Achmed Bey and thereby really rescued him from the difficult position into which he had got himself.

The key to all these apparent contradictions in the actions of Italy is to be found in the treaty which has been concluded within the last few days between Italy and Albania, a treaty which amounts to the complete subordination of Albania to Italy and which secures Achmed Bey Zogu in the dictatorship. From all appearance, Italy tolerated the rising, or even supported it in the beginning, in order to exercise pressure upon Achmed Zogu and thereby compel him to make concessions. That the Mussolini Government is accustomed to resort to such provocations and tricks is illustrated most crassly by the abortive Catalan plot (the Macia affair), which was in reality instigated and fostered by Italian Fascist provocateurs of the type of Ricciotti Garibaldi, in France, for the purpose of drawing Primo de Rivero closer to Italy.

These proceedings are a new and bitter experience for the Albanian revolutionaries, among whom there still prevail many illusions in regard to help from the Imperialist powers for the liberation movement. On the other hand, they are a fresh phenomenon in the struggle among the Imperialist powers for the supremacy of the Adriatic, a phenomenon which, as may be seen from the impression made in Government circles in Belgrade by the above treaty, will probably lead to further important crises.

CHINA

The Removal of the Kuomintang Government to Wuchang.

By Tang Shin She.

The Northern expedition of the Canton army has achieved successes far beyond the aims it had set out to accomplish. The revolutionary troops originally intended only to defeat Wu Pei-Fu and occupy Hunan and Hupe. Now they have also crushed Sun Chuan-Fang and captured the provinces of Szechwan, Kiangsi, and Fukien. In Honan, Kiangsu, Nganhui and Chekiang the situation is so ripe that these provinces will very soon submit to the Canton government. The revolutionary troops who originally wished to enter on a pause and to regard these provinces as neutral, are compelled, as the population are calling for their entry, to press further forward, and have already marched from Kiangsi and Fukien into Chekiang.

The Canton army displayed the greatest bravery in the capture of these provinces. Whilst the hostile troops prefer to meet their enemies with machine-gun fire, the revolutionary troops proceeded mainly with the bayonet. In particular the battles in the neighbourhood of Djin-Se-Tjau against Wu Pei-Fu and those in Kiangsi against Sun Chuan Fang were nearly all fought out with the bayonet. The mercenary troops of the Northern army feared the bravery of the revolutionary soldiers and were quite demoralised in the face of their attacks. What renders the position of these mercenary troops still worse is the fact that the population, including not only the workers and peasants but also the merchants, the middle class and even a portion of the bourgeoisie, is supporting the Canton army

against the white guardists. This is the reason why the mercenary troops are coming over in masses to the revolutionary army and are being made prisoners wholesale.

The Kuomin armies which a few months ago came over to the side of the Kuomintang, have in the meantime not been idle and have taken possession of the whole of Shensi. In this manner there has been established the long desired direct connection between the revolutionary troops of the North and the South, i. e. between Shensi — Hupe, Shensi — Szechwan and Kansu — Szechuan. It is true there is still lacking a connection between the two headquarters, from Shensi along the Lung hai railway line up to North Honan, and from North Honan along the Hankow—Peking line to Hankow. It will not be long, however, before this connection will be established, for Wu Pei-Fu's troops who hold possession of Honan, have long been negotiating with the Canton or the Kuomin armies.

Among the members of the Kuomintang there prevails the opinion that it is not sufficient to obtain military victory; before all it is necessary to capture political power. For this purpose the Kuomintang, — although at its Special Conference in October it was decided to remain in Canton in order to consolidate this revolutionary stronghold — has now transferred its executive committee and the Kuomin government to Wuchang in Central China. There is to be undertaken a reorganisation of the administrations in the captured provinces and a reorganisation of the troops who have come over to the Canton armies. That means that the Canton government is to be the bearer of the political victory.

After the final defeat of Sun Chuan-Fang on the Kiangsi front, Chang Tso-Lin, for various reasons, rapidly proceeded from Mukden to Tientsin. On the one hand it was his intention to deprive Sun Chuan-Fang of the remaining provinces of Kiangsu, Czekiang and Nganhui and divide them among his followers, the disconcerted Chang Tsun Chang to receive Honan, Nganhui and Kiangsu, in return for which he should obtain from the latter the province of Chili over which they had long disputed. On the other hand the Japanese imperialists were greatly afraid that the Canton troops would penetrate beyond the Yangtse area into Hoang-Ho and Northern Chinese territory, and then the Japanese would find themselves in the same position as the English in the South. It was therefore intended that Chang Tso-Lin should take over the Peking government in order to strengthen the Japanese position in North China. Finally, the English wished to induce Chang Tso-Lin to march to Central China in order to help Sun Chuan-Fang to maintain his power in Shanghai and Nanking or, should he not succeed in this, to take over this territory himself. In the middle of November, when Chang Tso-Lin impelled by these motives, had arrived in Tientsin, the newspapers in China were full of reports regarding military conferences. The English press and telegraph agencies declared that Chang Tso-Lin had decided to send his troops and his fleet to Nanking and Shanghai. The Japanese, on the other hand, maintained that Chang Tso-Lin would take over the presidency in Peking and the post of generalissimo. Mainly owing to the inner squabbles in the Chang Tso-Lin clique, all these plans have come to nothing. Chang Tsung-Chang, the governor of Shantung, did not wish to give up the sure position of Chili and did not wish to be drawn into serious struggles in the South. He stationed a single body of troops in Pukow in order to support Sun Chuan-Fang. Chang Tso-Lin, because he had not obtained Chili, would not and could not take over the post of President, for otherwise he would have been dependent upon Chang Tsung-Chang. The so-called Sun Chuan-Fang and Wu Pei-Fu troops in Kiangsu and Nganhui and Honan, apart from this, pronounced against the entry of the Mukden army and, in the event of the actual entry of these troops, would certainly have fought as the advance guard of the revolutionary troops. In the North, in Paoto, Chang Tso-Lin has, ever since the Summer, been confronted by the main troops of Feng Yu-Hsiang.

Although Chang Tso-Lin has proceeded from Mukden to Tientsin on very pressing business, i. e., in order immediately to commence an action, a month has passed without his being able to take a single step.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIES

The Background and History of the Insurrection in Java.

By G. J. van Munster (Amsterdam).

On November 13th 1926 it was officially reported that "in consequence of a wide-spread conspiracy, the Communists in West Java and in several places in Central Java had risen in arms". According to these official reports, the police in Batavia, the capital, were on their guard because they had been warned a few days previously. Later on 60 men in serried ranks advanced against a prison, whereupon a skirmish with the military guard developed, in the course of which about two hundred shots were exchanged and four communists were severely wounded.

After the attack had been repulsed, 30 of the attacking force occupied the telephone office. Shortly afterwards a division of the military took up a position in the Chartered Bank opposite the telephone office, whence they made a futile attack on the occupied office. The next move was that the telephone office was surrounded. The besieged made a sally; some of them succeeded in escaping whilst 17 were captured. The siege of the office was continued with reinforcements, until on the following day the rest of the garrison — three men in all! — surrendered.

There was also fighting in other quarters of Batavia and conflicts took place in the rest of West Java, that is in the provinces of Batavia and Bantam and in the Regency of Preanger. In several places in the province of Bantam the population forced their way into the administrative offices, and in two places the native Governor of the district was killed. Whites were not killed, only a Eurasian, but many of the assailants were killed or wounded. In several places the police barracks and prisons were stormed, but in most cases the attempt to release the prisoners failed.

On November 15th, 500 insurgents armed with guns made an attack on Labuan which is situated on the Sunda Straits (which separate Java from Sumatra) in West Java. The attack was repulsed with loss of life, but the situation in the surroundings of Labuan and altogether in the province of Bantam was very alarming: the villages were empty, telephone wires were cut, barricades had been erected on the roads to the villages. Government troops were working with five wireless stations, the European ladies had fled to Batavia. In several places the insurgents were clothed in white which, with Mahomedans, is a sign of their being ready to die.

In Central Java also attempts were made to start active warfare. The authorities seized secret circular letters and proceeded with arrests. Village schoolmasters were at the head of the movement. Attacks were repulsed leaving dead and wounded, and meetings were dispersed by force, wholesale arrests being made. On the other hand, informers were attacked, one of them being killed; attacks were made on prisons, but were repulsed. Here also telephone wires were cut and the European personnel of the sugar factories was supplied with arms.

Within a few days the insurgents were obliged to surrender. In West Java, the insurrection did not include large masses, it is true, but it was fairly wide-spread and, as it broke out simultaneously in so many places, it did not give the Government troops a chance of taking energetic proceedings at once; it was only in the surroundings of Labuan that it was possible to take immediate measures to suppress the revolt by force of arms. In Central Java, attempts at rebellion were only made a few days later and in any case, they were only of a sporadic character. In East Java "order" was not interfered with at all.

Nevertheless there were wholesale arrests of communists throughout the country, including East Java.

In West Java the movement only calmed down slowly. Even on December 2nd, i. e. 19 days after the outbreak of the insur-

rection, 350 men clad in white reported themselves to the central authorities in Batavia and offered to surrender. The Dutch Colonial Minister stated in an interview that the situation was at first uncertain. It was a few days before it became evident that the Government had command of the situation. The proposal of the European circles in Java to organise civic volunteers was rejected by the Government which feared that this would only increase the disturbances.

A semi-official report from Batavia states that it transpired from the investigations that the communist leaders in Java had resolved at the end of 1925 to provoke disturbances in 1926 as soon as the necessary money was at their disposal. In this connection there are said to have been differences of opinion with the leaders of the communist party of India, some of whom were out of their own country, for instance in Singapore. The plans for the disturbances in the night between the 12th and 13th of November are said to have been drawn up in secret meetings at various places on November 7th in connection with the anniversary celebrations of the foundation of the Soviet Power. The immediate orders had been given barely 24 hours previously, and, in addition to the measures taken by the Government, the failure of the insurrection was to be attributed to this and other defects of organisation.

The assertion that the communist party of India had been implicated was further maintained by the official authorities.

The Government has resolved to deport all the communist leaders — in so far as they are not being pursued by the law for participation in the insurrection — to an uninhabited district outside Java. Although the intention is only to strike at the nucleus by these measures, the number of those affected is considerable. Similar steps will also be taken against those participating in the reconstruction of the communist party. The questions of reinforcing the army and providing the police with better weapons are being considered.

The suspicion of some of the Dutch Press against the present Regent of Batavia, Achmed Djajadinigrat, the former Regent of Serang (capital of the province of Bantam) is rejected by the official circles. The suspicion had been particularly expressed in a remark of the Amsterdam "Handelsblad" on an interview with Dr. D. Fock, the former Governor General; but in reply to some questions put by "De Tribune"; the organ of the C. P. of Holland, Fock declared that he was not responsible for these editorial assertions. Nevertheless a suspicion of this kind with regard to a "communist plot" remains characteristic of the situation.

In the Dutch Second Chamber, Dr. Albarda, the chief leader of the social democratic fraction, 24 strong, stated that the insurrection was "regrettable and reprehensible", but he said no word about the background of the insurrection. In the so-called National Council of Java, in which there is a single social democratic member — who represents nothing and nobody and was appointed by the Government — he, a certain Stockvis, made a similar statement. It should also be remarked that a whole month before the outbreak of the insurrection, the police and the State administration of Batavia and its surroundings had taken the severest measures against the communist party.

Special emphasis should be laid on the fact that the above description of the course of the insurrection is based on official sources as, for the time being, none others are available.

What is the background of the insurrection in Java?

The reactionary rule of the Governor General, Dr. D. Fock, who retired at the beginning of September after five and a half years in office, protected exclusively the interests of foreign capital invested in Indonesia both from the social-economic and political point of view, and crushed under foot the interests of the native population. As regards social-economic conditions, the activities of the Government were characterised by far-reaching measures for "safeguarding the gulden" by reduction of wages, by limiting the apparatus of education and public health, which in any case are so scantily provided for in Indonesia, by increasing the taxation which has to be paid by the native population etc., whilst the profits of foreign capital were not only protected, but "safeguarded" at the same time as the gulden.

With regard to political conditions, the activities of the Government were adapted to the conditions which resulted from the measures taken in the social economic field. The predominance in the so-called National Council — a mere parody of national representation — was in the hands of the P. E. L. (Political Economic League), the political incorporation of the J. S. M. L. (Java Sugar Merchants' League) and the Powers friendly disposed towards it, under the leadership of Dr. Talma, the former Government plenipotentiary in Indonesia, who had in the meantime been bought by sugar capital; his twin brother is Dr. Treub who, as the leader of the undertakings interested in the exploitation of the colonies, dictated his wishes, from Holland, to the "Viceroy" of Indonesia. This year it came to light that the P. E. L. had secretly held a conference with the present Government plenipotentiary, Dr. Schrieke, in order to start anti-communist activities. The costs were to be paid by the J. S. M. L., which insisted that the Government should induce the Regent, i. e. the most eminent of the former Javanese chiefs who has been degraded to a State official, to participate, which was actually attempted.

The popular movement was driven into illegality by a number of legal measures, the introduction of new regulations against "incitement to hatred", against strikes and against the right of assembly and the right to form associations. These measures, however, only caused still greater dissensions between all the strata of native society and foreign capitalists, as is evidenced by numerous facts and verbal reports, even from bourgeois Dutchmen.

When he assumed office, the new Governor General, the Junker Dr. de Graeff, stated that he would make concessions to the native intellectuals, but that he would combat communism with all the means in his power. The social democrats who only have a few adherents among the white employees, praise this Junker to the skies as an "enlightened man", but 3000 intellectuals, including representatives of organisations of the whole country, rejected the proposals of Dr. de Graeff at a nationalist council held in Soerabaia in September 1926.

In West Java, the situation was acute in August 1926, as the population of this district, in which the utmost poverty prevails, had refused to pay the taxes. West Java lacks the modern agriculture which is carried on in Central Java and East Java, and has nothing but rubber plantations; furthermore, a large part of West Java is in the hands of large landowners and, from the economic and social point of view, the conditions are absolutely mediaeval and are even pilloried by bourgeois newspapers of Holland.

In the last ten years the situation of the population of the whole of Java has grown much worse, whilst at the same time the admitted profits on foreign capital invested in Indonesia (with about 47 million inhabitants of whom about 35 millions are in Java) have not amounted to less than 35% per annum. An estimate for Java in 1924 shows an income of 39 Dutch gulden per head, i. e. of 195 gulden for a family of five persons or of 3.75 gulden a week for man, wife and three children.

The native population of Java consumes half of the imports quoted below, and has hardly any share in exports.

Imports increased from 300 million gulden in 1913 to 467 millions in 1924, exports in the same period increased from 317 to 910 million gulden. If however, with the aid of the wholesale index figures, we calculate exports and imports at their actual value (i. e. excluding the varying purchasing power of money), we find, reckoning the imports in 1913 at 100, that imports have decreased to 79 whilst exports have risen from 106 to 215.

The causes of the outbreak of the insurrection are not only to be sought in the increased exploitation of the population of Indonesia but also in the general awakening of the suppressed peoples in the Far East. The insurrection in Java is connected with the recent victories of revolution in China. It is therefore to be expected that, in spite of the suppression of the present insurrection, the consolidation of the victory will be a new stimulus to the revolutionary movement in Indonesia.

THE MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

The Results of the British Miners' Fight.

By John Pepper.

The fight of the British miners is approaching its end, and one district after another is concluding separate agreements with the mineowners. The ranks of those who have not returned to work are becoming thinner and thinner. The guerilla warfare is only being continued in a few districts, but even there the resistance of the workers is growing weaker from day to day.

For seven whole months has this struggle lasted, one of the greatest events in the whole international Labour movement of recent years. Now, that it has entered on its last phase, the time has come to draw up the balance of this heroic mass struggle and to draw the logical conclusions. How can we explain the enormous significance of the fight of the British miners? In the first place in that the background of this fight is the decline of the British Empire, a situation in which the British capitalists, in view of their desperate struggle for the world market, are no longer able to make great concessions to the working class, and in which any great fight of the workers to maintain their former standard of living must inevitably meet with resistance from the whole bourgeoisie and their Government and must necessarily develop into a political fight.

The character of the fight was determined above all by the circumstance that the British coal mining industry is now passing through a severe crisis which places the British bourgeoisie before the dilemma of getting rid either of its "superfluous coal" or of its "superfluous miners". All the characteristic features of the great fight are due to these chief factors. We can only completely understand the significance of this struggle if we take the following circumstances into consideration.

The struggle of the miners which lasted for seven months, was connected with the first general strike and was to some extent simultaneous with it. Clausewitz, the great theorist on military strategy once said that it is only possible to understand the significance of a war if we take into consideration that it is carried on in an atmosphere of danger. It is equally difficult to understand the struggle of the miners unless we take into consideration that during the whole seven months there was an atmosphere of emergency conditions, i. e. the open application of dictatorial power, on the part of the capitalist Government.

From the very beginning the situation was characterised by an unusual intensification of the relations between the classes. Above all two hostile forces, the coal magnates and the miners, came into collision (according to the excellent expression of the "Economist" "an irresistible force came into contact with an immovable object"). Then, however, the fight of the miners started the general attack of the bourgeoisie on the whole trade union movement rolling.

Finally, one of the most important characteristic peculiarities in this fight was the circumstance that not such pronounced "Right" leaders as Hodges were at the head of the Miners' Federation, but Herbert Smith and Cook, who are known as "Left" leaders. Perhaps no fight has ever led to such important economic consequences as the present fight of the miners. In the course of the seven months' fight, not only the political but the whole economic life of the country depended on it. All the important branches of industry were paralysed as were also the whole exports and imports of Great Britain. For several months the whole world market was under the influence of the British miners' fight and the economic crisis in Great Britain as well as the improvement in the juncture of affairs in the countries of Central Europe were connected with the struggle. As regards the economic side, the strike proved a very strong weapon and now, when the struggle is nearing its end, we can state that the miners were compelled to capitulate not so much by the pressure of the dictatorial power of the Government, not so much because of the superiority of the forces of the coal magnates, not so much by hunger, as in the first place, chiefly, because of the treachery of the leaders of the British Labour movement and owing to the efforts of international Reformism.

The heroic fight of the British miners will always remain one of the most glorious chapters in the history of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. The history of the defeat of the miners is purely and simply the history of the treachery of the Reformist leaders. The analysis of this great struggle shows four different periods. In the first period the whole British working class fought with the miners and even compelled the official leaders of the trade union movement to place themselves at the head of the general strike. In the second period the Miners' Union was left alone in the fight and the treachery of the official leaders of the trade union movement isolated the miners from the other workers. Nevertheless the Miners' Federation, although it was isolated, represented a tremendous fighting force which would have had every prospect of success, had there been a united leadership and had the struggle taken its course it ought to have taken. In the third period, the leaders of the Miners' Federation, having till then vacillated, showed a tendency to capitulate. They recommended accepting the proposals of the Bishops, they sabotaged the extension of the fight recommended by South Wales, they called upon the workers to accept the conditions of capitulation laid down by the Government. The fourth period of the struggle began at the moment when all the former leaders (with few exceptions) left the fighting masses of the miners to their fate. In the most critical period of the fight these old leaders failed, and destroyed the united front of the miners by assenting to district agreements being concluded.

Side by side with the general treachery of the old Reformist leaders, we see new leaders cropping up. These new leaders were provided by the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Minority Movement. Wherever the influence of the Communists and the Minority Movement made itself felt, the most passed resolutions which testified to their determination to fight having remained unshaken.

The same picture was seen in an international measure. The Reformist trade union leaders and social democracy left the fighting miners to their fate in the most shameful way, and only the Comintern and the revolutionary trade unions fulfilled their international duty. The attitude of the trade unions of the Soviet Union which gave evidence of their solidarity, was a brilliant example for the whole international working class.

After seven months of fighting and starvation, the miners are returning into the dark depths of the shafts. This time the battle is lost; the working day is lengthened, wages are reduced and the miners have been forced to enter into long period agreements; the importance of a united trade union has been considerably reduced thanks to the conclusion of district agreements.

These are facts which no one can deny, and the Reformists are sure to use them in order to draw the conclusion that it would have been better not to fight at all. After every defeat of a revolutionary fight, the Reformists once more come to Plachinow's conclusion that "it would have been better not to have taken up arms at all". The Reformists, however, are telling lies. The medal has its reverse side. The fight of the miners has not been useless. Not only the miners, but the whole British working class and the world proletariat will have much to learn from this fight. The British working class, which has for decades been deeply sunk in the slough of opportunism, has now learnt from the experiences of the general strike and the miners' fight how to fight against the bourgeoisie. The general strike and the seven months' struggle of the miners and the emergency conditions have greatly altered the British working class. It is passing through a deep-reaching process of revolutionisation, and many British workers have already found the path leading them towards the Communist Party.

The British and the international proletariat have learnt the following important truths from the experiences of the miners' fight:

1. The efforts of the bourgeoisie to stabilise capitalism inevitably lead to great mass fights and hasten the overthrow of capitalism.
2. Every important event in the Labour movement of any country will now inevitably become an international event and must be regarded by the international proletariat as a common cause of the workers.
3. Every great economic fight of the workers with the background of disintegrating capitalism turns into a political fight. It must be carried on with the application of political means.

4. The workers cannot be victorious either in great economic fights or in great political fights as long as the Reformists are at their head. Only when they are led by new revolutionary leaders will they be able to carry on their struggle for their standard of living and for political freedom to a victorious end.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Italian Trade Union Federation after the Last Wave of Terror.

By Nanno Barbieri (Milan).

The four attempts on Mussolini were rapidly succeeding blows on the part of reaction, the victims of which were those proletarian and trade union organisations still in existence.

The law introducing the death penalty, the special courts, the fascist police etc. have completed the long chain of measures against the proletariat. We do not speak of the arrests, the acts of violence, beatings to death, the devastations and burnings. The anti-fascist parties have been dissolved, the oppositional papers suppressed, the communist members of parliament were arrested even before the session at which all these laws were passed. Fascism, however, has at the same time restored the premises of the Italian Trade Union Federation (C. G. L.) to its reformist leaders. In order to understand the significance of this act of magnanimity on the part of the fascists it is necessary to bear in mind two facts:

1. The attitude of the social democratic leaders of the Italian Trade Union Federation towards fascism;

2. The attitude of the fascist trade unions to the International Eight Hour Agreement and to the Italian Trade Union Law.

Even before fascism took over power the readiness of the Italian social democracy, the leaders of the trade union Federation, to co-operate with the bourgeoisie was well known. Their most important leaders, from D'Arragona and Baldesi up to Colombino and Bruno, have one by one offered their technical co-operation to the Black Shirts. The last and not least characteristic acts of treachery to the cause of the Italian proletariat were committed by Bruno, who led the Printers' Union, of which he was the secretary, to fascism. There was also the treachery of Reina, the secretary of the Hatmakers' Union, and at the same time international secretary, who likewise offered his services to Fascism.

Bruno Buozzi, D'Arragona's successor, can boast of having throttled the metal workers' strike in Lombardy — which was commenced by the fascists in one town for purely demagogic reasons but which had gradually developed into a general strike — on the instructions of the Committee of the Aventino Parties, as the organ of the social democrats itself wrote at the time. Another trade unions secretary, Maglione, who was not even admitted to the social democratic party, wrote a number of articles in order to demonstrate how expedient the fascist trade union law is. This man is today the leader of the Trade Union Federation.

The second reason which induced Mussolini to hand back the premises of the Trade Union Federation is to be sought on the one hand in the fascist trade union law, and on the other hand in the International Labour Office. The trade union law permits the existence of trade unions such as the Trade Union Federation is at present. The restoration of the Trade Union Federation, which, according to the declarations of the social democratic leaders, has been converted into a purely bureaucratic office and which possesses a leadership which is more than friendly to fascism, on the one hand guarantees fascism that the Communists will never get the leadership of this body into their hands, and on the other hand gives Mussolini the opportunity of demonstrating in Geneva that freedom of trade unions is respected in Italy.

The anti-communism of the reformist leaders of the C. G. L. is well known. They make use of the fascist reaction in order to occupy posts to which communists have been elected, as is proved by the examples of Turin and Trieste. They then proceeded to take possession of the executive committees of the Labour Chambers which were formerly occupied by the workers through their directly elected functionaries. They suppressed numerous local federations which were led by revolu-

tionary workers. They expelled from the organisations, communist organisers and workers who wished to defend the trade unions from the reactionary fascist wave and to convert them into fighting organisations.

Therein lay the guarantee for fascism that nobody could surpass the social democrats in preventing the revolutionary workers from winning any influence within the Trade Union Federation. The social democratic functionaries always were the best friends of the bourgeoisie, the enemies of international unity; they were always of one opinion with Sassenbach, Jouhaux and Oudegeest, and they openly opposed the action in support of the English miners initiated by the Communists in accordance with the instructions of Amsterdam.

After the attempt on Mussolini in Bologna the position of the C. G. L. became very difficult. Its leaders rejected the proposal of the Communists to build up the organisation upon the basis of the workshops, and they estranged themselves completely from the masses. The problems which they did not wish to discuss in 1923, are now pressing more urgently than ever for solution; these problems, however, have now become far more difficult. The reactionary wave has swallowed up a great number of revolutionary fighters. The secretariats of the local Federations, which were in the hands of our comrades, have been destroyed under the exceptional laws. The social democrats, who are still allied with the maximalists, are still waiting for better times; they are waiting until freedom will one fine day come again of itself. The leaders of the C. G. L. have not yet understood that the proletariat wishes to win back its freedom by fighting. Like the fascists, they hope that after the liquidation of the Communist Party by a decree, the communists also will disappear. Many of them have disappeared, it is true: dead, in prison or driven into exile. Many of them are to be found in the islands in the Mediterranean and the African colonies. But it is a vain hope to believe that they will leave the trade union Federation to its liquidators and to fascism. The plan of the future Roman Emperor(?) is clear. The C. G. L. may live because it can be made good use of for certain purposes; but the Italian workers will not put up with this arrangement. The C. G. L. is a mass organisation. The Italian workers have no other means of defending their interests. The Communist Party with its clear slogans, has always shown them the way. The Communists will also in future defend the Trade Union Federation from the attacks of fascism and of the social democrats, the servants of Fascism. The struggle is a hard one, but victory is sure.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE C. P. S. U.

A New Attack of the Opposition.

(Leading Article of the "Pravda" of December 9th.)

The opposition which was defeated at the 15th party conference of the C. P. of the Soviet Union attempted yesterday to bring that which separates it from the line of the party into the international arena.

Comrade Zinoviev said, it is true, in the introduction to his speech that he was not appealing to the Communist International against the decisions of the 15th party conference but these remarks were openly hypocritical and were received by the Plenum of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. with laughter. If one is not appealing, why does one go there at all? Comrade Zinoviev has not answered, although clarity in this by no means formal question would be desirable.

Leaving out the problems which have been solved by our party, let us ask ourselves what is the political significance of the action of the opposition? It is an attempt to form an international platform for all the members of the opposition and all those elements hostile to the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. It is flirting with Maslow and his friends who have been expelled from the Communist International. It is a clear call: Oppositionalists of all countries, unite!

Against whom are the efforts of the opposition directed? Against the decisions of the 14th party congress and the 15th party conference of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R., against our whole party and against the whole Communist International.

Comrade Zinoviev who pretends to have abandoned the fractional struggle wishes to continue this struggle and seems to

assume that the working out of an international platform for the opposition and the attempts to unite the various elements half expelled from the Communist International in a united anti-communist party, is subordination to party discipline.

It is sufficient to compare the attitude of Comrade Zinoviev with the well-known document of the opposition of October 16th in order to grasp how very different are the promises of the opposition from their deeds.

After Zinoviev, also Trotzky.

Moscow, December 10, 1926.

To-day's leading article of the "Pravda", which is headed: "After Zinoviev, also Trotzky", states:

The fraction of the "Misunderstood", which has been defeated by the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, arranged a political demonstration at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Nobody can harbour any doubt regarding the true character of the action of the oppositional "leaders". This action is a proclamation of disloyalty towards the Party, a political act which is the continuation of the fractional struggle against the C. P. S. U. It is an appeal to the Comintern directed against the C. P. S. U. and its Central Committee, against the 15th Conference of the C. P. S. U. This action also means a fight against the Comintern itself, against its policy and leadership; it means an attempt to hinder the actual work of the Plenum. This action is tantamount to offering the hand to the alleged friends of the Comintern who are hindering the revolutionary fighting work of the Comintern.

After Zinoviev there appeared on the tribune of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I., Trotzky. He also came forward against the C. P. S. U. He also is against the chief decisions of the Party. For him also the Party laws are a dead letter. Scarcely is the ink on the resolutions of the XV. Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. dry, when Comrade Trotzky attempts to "overthrow" these resolutions before the Comintern. The speech of the "hegemon" of the bankrupt bloc is permeated with the same hypocrisy as the speech of Comrade Zinoviev. A modest beginning — a coming forward as it is stated, not for the sake of fighting, but for the sake of wiping out factionism and differences. But an all too treacherous conclusion — the fight is not ended: "History is on our side; if it is not us it will be others". Just as in "respectable" parliaments.

Of what did Comrade Trotzky speak? Of course, regarding our weaknesses, as to the technical backwardness of our country; that we are dependent upon foreign countries and will become more and more dependent; that the Soviet Union is an "integral part" of capitalist world economy; that the victory of Socialism in our country is impossible and again impossible. His whole speech was a graphic proclamation of our weaknesses, a funeral march of our socialist construction.

What did Trotzky refrain from mentioning? What was it he did not venture to take back in one word in his speech lasting an hour and a half before the best representatives of international Communism? Trotzky did not venture to repeat the evil-smelling, nauseating lies regarding the "Thermidor" which is puttying in the "bundle of principles" of the opposition. Trotzky did not venture to repeat that the C. P. S. U. is "kulakified", that it is "departing" from the class track of the proletariat, that the country is approaching a catastrophe" etc.

Comrade Trotzky preferred to adopt the strategy of silence regarding precisely those themes in which the members of the Plenum are interested.

Thoroughly characteristic and politically significant is the fact that Comrade Trotzky, who devoted his entire speech to the fight against our Party, did not find a single word in order to stigmatise the counter-revolutionary and semi-counter-revolutionary groupings of Korsch, Souvarine and their friends. This is not an accident. This is due to the fact that an invisible, anti-bolshevik, anti-Comintern Bloc still exists on an international scale. Trotzky is behaving as the "Field-Marshal" of the reserve who is ready, "when opportunity affords", to lead the opposition of all countries.

By their coming forward the Opposition are directing their course towards letting loose a new fractional struggle on a

world scale. This "newest course" of the Opposition will be defeated. It will be brought to naught by the whole Comintern and all Communist Parties. The political Opposition in the C. P. S. U. has burst like a soap bubble, and the new attempt of the representatives of the social democratic deviation to cause the Opposition to revive again on a world scale will also burst like a soap bubble.

AGAINST FASCISM

Protest of Intellectuals against the Savagery of Mussolini.

The undersigned intellectuals and artists most emphatically protest against the monstrous acts of violence and persecutions, following on the alleged attempts on Mussolini, of which acts of violence the entire non-fascist population have become the victims.

They call for the immediate public and impartial investigation of the Garibaldi affair and of the recent attempt on Mussolini and demand the re-establishment of unlimited freedom of the press and free expression of opinion for every Italian citizen.

They note with indignation and abhorrence the numerous arrests, deportations and brutalities and see in fascist imperialism an enormous danger to world peace.

Albert Fournier, Member of Chamber of Deputies; Henry Guilbeaux, journalist; Henri Barbusse, author; Madelaine Mary, authoress; George Pioch, author; Leon Vernochet, President of the International of Educational Workers (France).

Gerard, avocat; Marteaux, member of parliament; A. Verucryce, trade union secretary (Belgium).

Helen Ankersmit, authoress; Henriette Roland Holst, authoress; Joh. Siernheim, artist; John Kruyt, author; Edo Fimmen, secretary of the International Transport Federation; Peter Alma, painter; Doctor H. Koch, physician (Holland).

S. O. Davies, President of the South Wales Miners' Federation; Alexander Gossip, General Secretary of the Wood Workers' Union; S. Saklatla, member of parliament; Tom Mann, Amalgamated Engineering Union; Helen Crawford, authoress (England).

A. Freudenthal, author; Ture Nerman, author (Sweden).

Raissa Adler, authoress; Doctor Eugen Schönhoff, avocat; Doctor Frischau, physician; Doctor Lukacs, physician (Austria).

Professor Nedely, university professor; Mrs. Landova-Stuchova, member of parliament; Doctor phil. Bartosch, author; Doctor J. U. Bartoschek, avocat; B. Benesova, authoress; Helena Majerova, authoress; Jan Skela, substitute of Primatos of Prague (Czechoslovakia).

Katherina v. Oheimb, authoress, Berlin; Prof. Doctor Karl Grünberg, Frankfurt am Main; Doctor A. Görland, university professor, Hamburg; Julius Hart, author, Berlin; Baron von Schönau-Rheinsfelde; Gertrud Evsoldt, actress, Berlin; Eduard Fuchs, art historian, Berlin; Prof. Käthe Kollwitz, paintress; Curate A. Bleier, Berlin; O. Lehmann-Rüssbüdt, secretary of the League for Human Rights; Doctor Rudolph Laun, university professor, Hamburg; Professor Paul Oestreich, Berlin; Professor L. Quidde, Berlin; Alphons Paquet, author, Frankfurt am Main; Doctor Kurt Rosenfeld, lawyer, Berlin; Professor Rost Renschid; Regina Ruben, authoress, Berlin; Doctor Helen Stöcker, authoress, Berlin; Lawyer Doctor Sigfried Weinberg, member of the Prussian State Council; Doctor Arthur Wolff, lawyer, Düsseldorf; Professor Heinrich Zille, painter, Berlin; Wieland Herzfelde, publisher, Berlin; Doctor Joseph Herzfeld, lawyer, Berlin; Doctor Kurt Kersten, author, Berlin; Egon Lewin Kisch, author, Berlin; Georg Davidsohn, author, Berlin; Karl Emonts, editor, Berlin; Mrs. Freund-Hoppe, International Women's League; Doctor Hans Serehmann, physician, Berlin; Doctor Leo Guttmann, physician, Berlin; Franz Weidenfeld, physician, Berlin; Doctor Richard Fabian, physician, Berlin; Doctor Minna Flake, physician, Berlin; Doctor Böhnheim, physician, Berlin; Rudolf Belling, painter; H. Abeking, painter, Berlin.

lin; Doctor Aufrecht, author, Berlin; Doctor Fritz Ausländer, member of the Berlin magistrate; Doctor Alfred Gellhorn, engineer, Berlin; Franz Lehnhoff, author, Berlin; John Heartfield, painter, Berlin; Doctor N. Boykikoff, author, Berlin; Hellmuth Drexler, Free Socialist Youth League, Berlin; Ernst Friedrich, author, Berlin; Erwin Berger, publisher, Berlin; Berta Lask, authoress, Berlin; Johannes R. Becher, poet; Otto Gäbel, member of the Berlin Magistrate; Doctor Klepper, physician, Hamburg; Doctor Adolf Levenstein, art critic; Doctor Friedrich Maase, lawyer, Düsseldorf; Menz, member of the Berlin Magistrate; Henry Meyer, bank director, Berlin; Hernynia Zur Mühlen, authoress, Frankfurt am Main; Oskar Oehme, painter, Berlin; Erwin Piscator, stage manager, Berlin; Doctor Priess, Hamburg; Erwin Ruge, university tutor, Berlin; Arthur Segal, painter, Berlin; Otto Möller, painter, Berlin; Georg Tappert, painter, Berlin; Doctor Erich Schottländer, physician; Doctor Rudolf Schollenbruch, physician, München; Doctor L. Klauber, physician, Berlin; Schürmann-Horster, artist, Düsseldorf; Ines Wetzel, painter, Berlin; Erich Weinert, author, Berlin; Arthur Wolff, publisher, Leipzig; Karl Siemen, Doctor Hell, lawyers, Düsseldorf; Doctor Max Hodann, town physician, Berlin; Erich Baron, author, Berlin; Doctor Horstmann, lawyer, Gerhard Obuch, lawyer, Düsseldorf; Jupp Hussels, painter; Matthias Bartz, painter; Hermann Niehans, painter, Düsseldorf; Doctor med. Arnold Wilmer, Düsseldorf; Doctor Ernst Behne, art critic, Berlin; George Gross, painter, Berlin; Ernst Toller, author; Hugo Döblin, actor, Berlin; Roseberry d'Arguto, musician, Berlin; Bruno W. Reimann, art critic, Berlin; Doctor W. Vladigeroff-Grombol, Berlin; Meta Kraus-Fessel, government council, Berlin; Ernst Torgler, member of Parliament; Willi Münzenberg, member of Parliament, Berlin; Doctor Helm, lawyer, Dresden; Doctor Kurt Hiller, Berlin; Doctor Kurt Schumann, editor, Dresden; Engineer Emil Graf von Wedel, Government council, Dresden; Otto Griebel, painter, Dresden; Sieracks, architect, Dresden; Max Kosler, teacher, Dresden; Dora Lippold, teacher, Dresden; Friedrich Döring, teacher, Dresden; Gertrud Beyer, teacher, Dresden; Walter Nagel, teacher, Dresden; Doctor Willi Grohmann, Dresden; Doctor Weiland, Dresden; Doctor Otto Poppitz, Ministerial council, Dresden; Doctor med. Schminke, physician, Dresden (Germany).

THE WHITE TERROR

Continuation of the Campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International, at its Opening Session, adopted an appeal calling for the continuation and extension of the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti. The appeal states:

"The Communist International calls upon all workers in every country to rally together in world-wide demonstrations in order to rescue our fellow workers Sacco and Vanzetti!"

It would be a serious mistake to assume that, as the case of Sacco and Vanzetti has been referred to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, the danger of death for Sacco and Vanzetti has been reduced. That is not the case. The ordering of a new trial by the Supreme Court is not dependent upon whether proof is furnished that Sacco and Vanzetti have been innocently condemned, whether witnesses are produced who could affirm this, but solely upon whether at the first trial there was any failure to observe the proper forms. It is an illusion to place hopes in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts which was always an open and brutal tool of the capitalist dictatorship. Consequently, Sacco and Vanzetti are still in immediate danger of death.

Only the International action of the working class can prevent the carrying out of the abominable judicial murder which has been dragged on for six years.

The mobilisation of the American working class in order to rescue Sacco and Vanzetti is proceeding. Among others there took place in Boston a meeting of the International Workers' Defence, at which Charles Cline, a revolutionary, who has just served a sentence of 13 years imprisonment, spoke and at which there was shown a complete model of the electric chair. The

slogan of the meeting was: "Sacco and Vanzetti are greatly in danger of death! They will die if you, the working class, do not demand their release!"

In New York there was held a meeting of 18,000 workers which was addressed by the most prominent personalities in the American labour movement. Many trade unions attended the demonstration with their banners.

In Chicago there recently met the local Sacco and Vanzetti Defence Committee. Numerous labour organisations of the most various tendencies sent delegates to this Conference. In the speeches it was particularly pointed out that in no case must the working class be satisfied with a "pardoning" of the two workers to lifelong imprisonment, but that they must fight for their complete acquittal. The Conference was attended by 75 delegates. The Conference made preparations for a gigantic mass demonstration which was held on the 26th November.

In Europe also the action must be continued and strengthened. The E. C. C. I. has prescribed the line for this action in its appeal for Sacco and Vanzetti: In all countries in which the dollar democracy of Wall Street, which claims to be the "most civilised" and "enlightened" nation, maintains Embassies and Consulates, whose task it is to report as to public opinion regarding American affairs, it is possible for many thousands and even millions of workers, even if they have no direct connection with the Wall Street government, to cause their voice to reach the ears of those who wish to murder Sacco and Vanzetti.

Appeal of the International Red Aid on Behalf of the Arrested Kuomintang Members.

Moscow, December 8th 1926.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid has issued an appeal in connection with the arrest of the 27 Kuomintang members by the British authorities and their delivery to the Mukden authorities. The appeal points out that the arrest of the 27 is the signal for open co-operation between imperialism and the reactionary elements in China. The imperialists have used the whole forces of their apparatus in an attack upon the Chinese association for the Assistance of the Victims of the Struggle for Liberation. In the course of a year this association has enrolled 100,000 individual members and secured the collective affiliation of over 600,000 members. With the growth of the national revolutionary movement in China the imperialist terror will be strengthened. The struggle to save the 27 Chinese revolutionaries, who are threatened with execution, is a recognition of the right of the working masses of China to live and a protest against the violence and excesses perpetrated in China by the imperialists. A general protest must hold back the hand of the hangman which is threatening China.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

On the Work of the Lenin Institute.

The Lenin Institute in Moscow is one of the institutes for scientific research of the Soviet Union which make it their aim to study the problems of the international proletariat in their theoretical and historical connections, to bring the life-work of the socialist classical writers within the reach of the broad masses and thus to contribute towards the elucidation of the question of the present day's struggles of the working class. Whilst the task set the Marx-Engels Institute was that of studying the era of the development of the industrial proletariat, the origin of the socialist doctrines and the history of the labour movement until about the outbreak of the great war, the institute named after Wladimir Ilyitch is destined to study the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolutions. The task set the Lenin Institute is that of making a systematic and all-round study of Leninism. The Institute makes it its aim to examine scientifically the economic and political phenomena of imperialism and to subject the theoretical and tactical questions of the labour movement and the situation and struggles of the allies of the proletariat, i. e. the peasantry and the oppressed colonial peoples, to a systematic study. Particular

attention is devoted not only to the history of the Russian revolutionary movements but also to the development of the Comintern and the history of its individual parties.

The Lenin Institute was founded by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Even now the Institute is still affiliated to the Central Committee, and the best representatives of the old Bolshevik guard have been appointed on its General Council.

After its foundation in 1924 the Lenin Institute regarded it as its first duty to collect, elaborate and publish Lenin's literary remains.

By far the greater part of such of Lenin's manuscripts as are preserved, are deposited in the archives of the Institute. At the request of the Central Committee, all party comrades who still had Lenin manuscripts in their possession, handed them over to the Institute. (It is much to be desired that this example should be followed by those members of brother parties who still possess such manuscripts.) Extremely valuable notes made by Lenin for his theoretical works are preserved there: hitherto unpublished preliminary sketches for "Imperialism", excerpts from the works of Hegel, Feuerbach, Aristoteles, Clausewitz etc. The extensive correspondence carried on by Lenin with the leaders of the Russian proletariat and with the International is of inestimable value for the study of the history of the revolutionary movements in Russia and Central Europe. The original letters which have been preserved are also among these archives. The many-sided activity which characterised Lenin as statesman and as leader of the international proletariat are reflected in the writings which date from the Soviet period. There is hardly any question connected with the Russian workers in their wrestling against hunger and misery, in their efforts to construct a new State and an industry of their own, hardly a problem of the International which has not been dealt with by Lenin in the numerous manuscripts, notes, concepts, letters and in his "loose leaves" which have become famous. The number of documents preserved in the archives exceeds 21,000. Without them it would be impossible to conceive a faithful reproduction of Lenin's life-work.

The library of the Institute, consists to-day of more than 100,000 volumes, chiefly concerning the history of the Russian and international labour movements. The library recently acquired the party archives of Russian social democracy from Geneva and also the foreign library of the "Bund". Several other collections which have been very carefully compiled, dealing with individual problems and individual periods are preserved in the library of the Institute. The library also boasts of more complete collection than exists anywhere else of the illegal literature published during the last few decades by the revolutionary parties in Russia and abroad. Special mention should be made of the excellent collection of the periodical publications of Russian social democracy. The literature on the history of the Comintern and its separate parties is also fairly well represented, but this department still needs far-reaching support from the various sections of the Comintern.

The Lenin Museum (also a department of the Institute) serves the purpose of giving the broad masses telling illustrations of Lenin's activities. Over a thousand exhibits illustrate the fame of a life spent in the service of the liberation of the working class. From time to time the collection is incorporated in the Revolution Museum in Moscow, where it has already been seen by tens of thousands of visitors.

During the comparatively short time of its existence, the Institute has developed extremely lively activity in the publishing line. The centre-point of this activity up to the present has been the publication of Lenin's works, which have already been issued — in twenty volumes — in a more or less complete form. This year the Institute began to issue the second and, at the same time, the third edition of Lenin's works. Both editions (of which the first four volumes are to be published before the end of 1926) have the same text; the third edition is only distinguished from the second by a more modest get-up and a lower price. Every volume contains detailed notes, an index and numerous appendices which are a considerable help in

using the edition. An academic edition is also being planned the preparation of which will, however, take years.

One of the most important tasks of the Institute is that of preparing for the publication of a scientific biography of Wladimir Ilyitch. This work is also being supported by systematic collection of material. The "Lenin collection", of which the first five volumes have already appeared, represent preliminary work for a scientific Lenin biography; they contain extremely valuable material for the history of the labour movement in Russia and Western Europe. In this publication we find, among other things, Lenin's correspondence with Maxim Gorki, with Rosa Luxemburg, Jogiches, Marchlewski, Schapiro, Kollontay, much about the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences and much about Lenin's work in the Comintern. A special volume of the Lenin collection contains Lenin material from the revolution of 1905 which has never been published before. Amongst the numerous separate publications of the Institute, we should further like to mention a few very carefully elaborated bibliographies.

The question is being considered of including a complete foreign edition of Lenin's works (in German, French and English) in the plan of work of the Institute, in order to bring Lenin's teachings within the reach of the working masses of Western Europe. It is hardly necessary to lay special stress either on the necessity of an edition of this kind or on its significance for the international labour movement.

A journal will shortly be published, which is intended to cultivate the theory of Leninism.

On the ninth anniversary of the October revolution, the newly built Institute was opened. Only in these new premises will it be possible for the directors to unfold the special work of the Institute and to make its various departments more accessible for general use than has hitherto been the case. A comfortable reading room, equipped with the most modern works of reference will be at the disposal of scholars and readers.

The work which is going on and which is planned in the Lenin Institute, undoubtedly deserves the greatest attention on the part of foreign party comrades. Without their active help the Lenin Institute will hardly be able in full measure to fulfil its vocation, that of being an institution for investigation into the economic and political problems of the present and the theoretical questions of the labour movement. On the other hand the revolutionary practice of the communist parties can only lead the proletariat to victory if it is combined with the theory of Marxism and Leninism, rightly applied and put into practice with a systematic further construction on the basis of the Leninist doctrines. In this sense the results of the work described above are intended to benefit our world party in its present struggles.

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